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Governing Global Children: Child Welfare in Palestine, 1917-1950

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Governing Global Children: Child Welfare in Palestine, 1917-1950

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the construction of a regime of child welfare initiatives in interwar Palestine and the organizations, networks, and individuals that promoted them. In exploring the different arenas in which poor children were brought into systems of aid and care, it argues that child welfare in Mandate Palestine was part of a new form of transnational welfare governance in the twentieth century. My dissertation shows how this form of governance was predicated upon new relationships between local and global forces and born out of mixed economy of care in a colonial setting. The child welfare initiatives described in this narrative created both political spaces in which Palestinians asserted claims to governance and new political subjectivities of the child and those tasked with his or her care.

Movements for child welfare reform gained international attention in the years following the First World War. Through international organizations, such as Save the Children, and the novel infrastructure of the League of Nations, the child rose to prominence as a new global subject of governance. This dissertation shows, however, that the globalization of the child and childhood emanated from the particularities of local power relationships in the socio-political conditions of a twentieth-century imperial world order. Using sources from seventeen archives across four countries, this dissertation tells the story of transnational child welfare projects from the perspectives of the cities, towns, and villages of Palestine.

In Mandate Palestine, child welfare encompassed a variety of projects, including public health education, juvenile delinquency reform, and child rescue initiatives. These concerns reflected both global discussions about child development and pre-existing infrastructures of welfare from the late Ottoman period. Although the ideologies of governing children were premised on a form of imperial biopolitics, the structure of child welfare in Palestine did not arise solely from the British colonial administration. Rather, child welfare projects were undertaken by a diffuse network of actors, which included missionaries, philanthropists, government officials, nurses, social workers, local political leaders, and parents.

The first chapter of this study analyzes the landscape of humanitarian aid in Palestine in the wake of the First World War. Several Anglo-American aid organizations arrived in Palestine to provide relief in the interim years between the war's end and the establishment of a British civil government. The welfare network they established in those years both enshrined the child as a primary subject of humanitarian aid and laid the foundations for the social welfare system of the incoming colonial government. The second chapter examines the rise of a network of health clinics for infants and children across Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s. Based on emerging global discourses of scientific childrearing, these clinics became political spaces in which Palestinian nurses and local leaders claimed authority and expertise. The third chapter follows the construction of a juvenile justice system over the period of the Mandate. Using records of the colonial government and petitions from parents of juvenile defendants, it examines how childhood was defined and negotiated by a multitude of actors in the legal system. The final chapter traces the emergence of a network of local and foreign organizations that were formed to care for children orphaned or made refugees by the 1936-1939 Revolt and the 1948 war. By looking at the growing web of Palestinian Arab social welfare institutions of the early 1940s and the development of international aid following 1948, this chapter traces the continuities and changes in child welfare in an era of decolonization, refugees, and human rights.

Drawing on archival work in Israel/Palestine, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States, this study connects the socio-political history of Palestine during the Mandate period to transnational and global studies of humanitarianism, aid, and empire. By integrating Palestine's local and regional history into these broader discussions, it makes a case for seeing Palestine as a generative site of global history. At the same time, in focusing on childhood, welfare, and regimes of care, this study reclaims the social realm as an important and understudied arena of Palestinian history.

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Acknowledgments

One of the biggest myths of academia is that the act of researching and writing is a solitary pursuit. The name on this dissertation obscures the many people who have been profound parts of my journey to this point. And so, before delving into the institutions and networks of Mandate Palestine, I must take a moment to thank some of my own.

In these troubling times of divestment from education, I was extraordinarily lucky to receive financial support for my research from UC Berkeley's Institute of International Studies, through the John L. Simpson Memorial Research Grant, and the Center for Middle East Studies, through the Sultan Program for Arabic Studies Grant.

My research was aided by a bevy of dedicated and talented archivists around the world. I must especially thank Ms. Mahira Dajani for allowing me to look at the private records of the Dar al-Tifl school and orphanage. I also owe a great deal to Rachel Lev at the American Colony Archive in East Jerusalem. Rachel not only gave me full access to the archive as it was in the process of being created, but she was also a much appreciated friend during a particularly unsettling summer and fall in Jerusalem.

The History Department at Berkeley has been a great source of support, tangible and otherwise. The department is known the world over for its intellectual contributions; less well known is the extraordinary and vital work of its staff. This dissertation exists in large part due to Mabel Lee and her years of experience in guiding graduate students through the logistical and emotional obstacles of a PhD program. That she did so with compassion, humor, and unending patience is proof of how lucky we all were to work with her.

It's difficult to imagine what this project – or the past eight years – would have looked like without James Vernon. I'm quite sure I would not have reached this point but for his continual reassurance and gentle prodding to more compelling questions, more ambitious arguments, and greater depths of analysis. Working with James is akin to taking a master class in compassionate and ethical mentorship. I know I am not alone in owing my success in graduate school to his unparalleled dedication both to his students and to a vision of equitable and humane graduate education.

The first time I met Beshara Doumani, I left his office feeling energized, excited, and overwhelmed. And that is how I've left every conversation with him since. Beshara's enthusiasm has pushed me to see new possibilities in my own work and his investment in reimaging Palestinian history has inspired me to do the same.

Samera Esmeir pushed me to think analytically and conceptually beyond the parameters of my discipline. Although I may never be able to keep pace with her brilliant mind, I have been made better by her insights and her kindness. Joel Beinin has been a generous reader of my work and a wonderful model for how to teach the history of Palestine. I am grateful for his feedback on this project and the advice and guidance he has given me over the years.

My entrée into the discipline of history began at Vassar College, where I had the privilege of learning from Joshua Schreier and Lydia Murdoch. Josh broke open my eighteen year-old mind and taught me how to think about the Middle East. Lydia taught me to *do* history – how to love research and how to ask interesting questions. Although I

did not intentionally set out to write a dissertation that effectively combined their fields of study, it seems entirely fitting that this project is so clearly rooted in each of them.

The best advice I received about PhD programs was to choose one based on its graduate students. My years at Berkeley have borne that out. More than anything else, the community of colleagues, collaborators, and friends I found here has made this journey worthwhile. Through this whole process, Sarah Gold McBride and Erica Lee have been my soulmates. They have taught me so much about teaching, university politics, and how to be an ethical member of an academic community. More importantly, they are my kindred spirits, favorite lunch companions, and dearest friends. On many Monday mornings, all that compelled me back to the dissertation was the deep determination to not let down Trevor Jackson. Trevor is the voice in my head (and on the other side of a Google Doc), urging me forward to higher standards of writing, teaching, and politics. His dry humor and constant encouragement saved my sanity on more than one occasion. To my great benefit, Tehila Sasson adopted me as her academic younger sister on my first day at Berkeley. Tehila is one of the most brilliant scholars and incisive thinkers I know, but I am equally grateful for her patient advice, amazing cooking, and warm friendship. Hilary Falb Kalisman held my hand so many times during the development of this project. She has been an ever-encouraging source of support across states, countries and continents. Zoe Griffith has been a cherished and trusted confidante, sounding board, and, when necessary, partner in commiseration. I spent a delightful Parisian weekend eating delicious food with Julia Wambach. I am eternally grateful for those meals and all the others we shared over the years in Berkeley, talking about academia and life and the daunting task of marrying the two. My time at Berkeley was also made meaningful and enjoyable by the camaraderie of Danny Kelly, Chris Casey, Gillian Chisom, Andrea Horbinski, Giuliana Perrone, and Melissa Turoff.

A life of the mind, no matter how stimulating, is not enough to sustain a person by itself. I am deeply indebted to all of the people who reminded me that I am more than one project or career and that the most rewarding parts of life are found outside of the archive and away from the page. Talia Kostick and I spent hours in Berkeley coffee shops, having the kinds of conversations that you can only sustain with someone who has been in your life for a quarter of a century. The wonders of modern technological communications kept me tied into a close network of college friends, who provided welcome perspective and connection to the non-academic world. I am especially indebted to those of them that offered up guest rooms and couches to a weary, nomadic historian.

In the process of researching and writing about the lives of ordinary families, I have leaned quite heavily on my own. I am fortunate to have the world's most supportive in-laws in Frank and Mary Ann McGuire. They have encouraged me in my academic pursuits and never seemed to question the convoluted and seemingly illogical life choices we've made. My sister's house in Boston became a way station of sorts in my journeys from California to the Middle East. When I returned from yet another lonely trip to the archives, Naomi and her family were my first reminders of all of the more important parts of life. A lot has happened during my tenure in graduate school and there's no better marker of time than the arrivals of four enchanting nieces and nephews. Watching Noa, Asa, Timothy, and Corinne grow has been one of the greatest joys of the past seven years and I'm only sorry so much of it has had to be over FaceTime.

In a family of lawyers, becoming a historian might seem like a way to stand out from the crowd. But the truth is that in pursuing this path, I am simply walking a road begun for me by my parents, Nina and Steve. They gave me all the fundamentals of a good historian – they taught me to love learning, to embrace intellectual challenges, and to always work in service of others. I am additionally grateful for all of the very real ways in which they lent their support in the past several years, from brainstorming with me about pedagogy to providing a place to stay so that I could continue teaching to heroically reading every line of this dissertation. The happiest side effect of returning to Berkeley for graduate school has been the time I've spent with them.

In many ways, the road to this dissertation started eleven years ago in Amman, Jordan, which also turned out to be the beginning of another, more profound, life journey. Peter McGuire has been the quiet and unwavering support behind this project, from the moment in 2010 when I announced that I was moving 3,000 miles away to pursue a PhD, through all the other times I've left to research or teach and his response has been, "Of course you should go. This is important." So much of academic work can be invisible and Peter has always chosen to see and value what I do. I hope he knows that he has been every best part of these past eight years and that nothing contained in these pages means as much to me as the life we've built together.

Berkeley, May 2018.

Introduction

In August 1924, members of the Ramallah Friends Mission and their supporters met to plan demonstrations of healthy infant care practices for the surrounding community.[1] The demonstrations, which would showcase best practices in infant feeding and clothing to Ramallah mothers, were part of a larger scheme to improve infant and child health in the area. The informal committee also planned to train local Palestinian midwives in infant welfare, through educational films from the United States and United Kingdom, and eventually to open a fully operational infant welfare clinic in the city.[2] They resolved to establish a comprehensive infant welfare network throughout Palestine, one that would integrate religious voluntary societies, branches of the Mandate government, Palestinian nurses, midwives, and doctors, and local families. Their intention was twofold: combating the epidemic of infant mortality that plagued post-war Palestine and instituting permanent structures of child welfare, based on emerging global scientific knowledge about child development and health.

The following month, some four thousand kilometers away, members of the League of Nations gathered in Geneva to adopt a radical resolution, which declared the child a new subject of international governance. The Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child enumerated several categories of obligation, including material care, relief, protection, and education. The guarantors of these rights were to be "men and women of all nations," who, "recognizing that mankind owes to the Child the best it has to give," accepted these obligations "above and beyond all considerations of race, nationality or creed."[3] As a rhetorical act, the Declaration abstracted the child, dislocating him or her from prior bonds of national, communal or familial structures and entrusting him or her, instead, to the world at large. The Declaration spoke not of actual children, but of the idea of the Child, a category that, as many scholars have shown, came in the aftermath of the First World War to represent the promise of societal, national, and international hope and redemption.[4]

The League's Child Welfare Committee (CWC), established within a year of the Declaration, knit together a number of pre-existing international movements for child welfare reform, which had represented expertise on a wide variety of child welfare issues, ranging from health and child development to juvenile delinquency and child marriage. The multi-focal orientation of the CWC was foreshadowed in the Declaration's second point, which read:

The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed;

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[1] Infant Welfare Ramallah, Israel State Archive (ISA)/RG 10/M 6597/2.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child, Adopted 26 September 1924, League of Nations.
[4] See Joelle Droux, "A League of Its Own? The League of Nations' Child Welfare Committee (1919-1936) and International Monitoring of Child Welfare Policies," in *The League's Work on Social Issues: Visions, Endeavors, Experiments,* UN, New York (2016), 92.

the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succored.[5]

My study takes up the stories of these children – the hungry, the sick, the delinquent, the orphan, the waif - and the men, women, and institutions that attempted to feed, nurse, reclaim, and shelter them in Mandate Palestine. I show that, despite the universality of the League's rhetoric, the global nature of child welfare governance stemmed from embodiment rather than abstraction, and from embeddedness in particular political contexts, rather than from dislocation. My story is not of "the Child" or the ideas and ideals he came to represent, but of children and the systems and networks that began to govern them in novel ways in the twentieth century. This is a story that is not led by the League, its experts, or its commissions. It is a story driven by the local contexts that the League claimed to supersede.

The forms of internationalism that flourished after the First World War aspired to standardization and cohesion. By examining this global moment from the perspective of Palestinian history, my work shows that the emergence of a new imperial world system in the twentieth century was framed by multiple, fragmented, and contradictory forces of governance. These forces of governance gave rise to the modern Middle East as we know it, to the specificities of Palestine, and to the parameters of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In this work, I use "governance" to mean the constellations of power relationships that ordered daily life, regulated the operation of politics, and constructed different forms of subjectivity.[6] I do not employ the idea of governance in an effort to absent the state from this narrative, but as a way of more fully illuminating the kind of state that constructed, and was constructed by, interwar Palestine.[7]

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[5] Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child, Adopted 26 September 1924, League of Nations.

[6] My focus on governance both stems and departs from Michel Foucault's ideas of 'governmentality,' which he developed most famously in a series of lectures at the Collège de France in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Colle`ge de France, 1977–1978* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Michel Foucault, "Governmentality, " in Burchell G, Gordon C and Miller P (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Against Foucault's notion of governmentality – the process and technologies through which governments come to know, regulate, and govern subject populations – has emerged a theory of governance, which rejects the assumed state centricity of governmentality in favor of focusing on the institutions of civil society and the non-governmental sector. Henrik Enroth defined the discourse on governance as "taking us form an art of governing premised on producing policy for a society or population to an art of governing premised on solving problems with no reference to any kind of society or population," (Henrik Enroth, "Governance: The Art of Governing After Governmentality," *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol 17 (1), 60. See also: Mark Bevir, "Rethinking Governmentality: Towards Genealogies of Governance," *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol. 13, Issue 4 (2010): 423-441.

[7] Recent works have also sought to apply Foucault's concepts of governmentality to the NGO and civil society sectors, thereby rejecting the notion of a zero-sum transfer of power from the state to the nonstate. Ole Sending and Iver Neumann write that applying the frameworks of governmentality to civil society, "civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon and into an entity that is both an object and a subject of government," (Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann, "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power," *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006), 652. In this work, I also reject the bifurcation of state and society, or, more precisely, the idea of the state as a sealed, cohesive, and distinct institution from society. Like Sending and Neumann, I do not see governing power as a zero-sum game, in which the state necessarily loses power as governing responsibility is taken up by non-state actors and institutions. Rather, using Lauren Benton's concepts of vectors of sovereignty, I

This project examines the globalization of child welfare governance from the vantage points of Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Haifa, but also of the small towns of al-Bireh, Beit Sahur, and Jifna. It weaves together the perspectives of the colonial government, non-governmental institutions, and individuals to understand how a particular regime of child welfare emerged in interwar Palestine and to answer the question: how did the child become global? This is a story about the making of Palestine in a particular socio-historical moment, but also about how Palestine was an integral part of the making of a new form of global governance in the twentieth century. In this story, Palestine, which has been seen for so long as a stage on which religious and nationalist dramas were enacted, becomes a generative space, not only of its own history, but also of global phenomena.

It is no coincidence that the Ramallah meeting took place prior to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The League's child welfare efforts reflected and consolidated existing movements from around the globe, but were not themselves the impetus for new reforms. The United States, Britain, and France had notably robust legal and institutional campaigns for child welfare in the late nineteenth century, but so too did the Ottoman Empire, which underwent dramatic changes in juvenile justice, education, and public health policies in the same moment. The members of the Child Welfare Committee (CWC) had backgrounds in international child welfare organizations (for example, the International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare and Save the Children), national child protection agencies, or both.[8] In recent years, scholars have recast their gaze on the history of the League of Nations, beginning with Susan Pedersen's call to take seriously the League's work, especially the forgotten work of its social missions.[9] Much of this work has shown the ways in which the League provided a new international forum for the dissemination of information, standards, and knowledge as well as for petitions from colonized peoples in the Global South. Pedersen herself credits the League with the creation of a new discourse, writing about the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC):

> What was new [about the PMC] was the apparatus and level of international diplomacy, publicity, and 'talk' that the system brought into being. Put bluntly, League oversight could not force the mandatory powers to govern mandated territories differently; instead, it obliged them to *say* they were governing them differently.[10]

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understand governing power as emanating along specific relationships of people and organizations in uneven and fragmented ways (Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[8] Eglantyne Jebb, founder of Save the Children, was responsible for the language of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child. Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott, for example, representatives to the Child Welfare Committee, had headed the Child Welfare Bureau in the United States. Although not a member of the League, the United States was well represented on the CWC throughout its existence.

[9] Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 112, No. 4 (Oct., 2007), 1091-1117.

[10] Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 4.

Pedersen's assessment of the PMC might be extended to other arms of the League, including the CWC. Joelle Droux writes that "however brief or ineffective [the CWC's] activity may have been in terms of drafting conventions or binding decisions," it nonetheless represented a new model of transnational collaboration.[11] Like the PMC, the CWC was an arena in which networks of experts could exchange ideas, resulting in, according to Droux, "the gradual convergence of Western child-welfare policies during the interwar years."[12]

These works, which turn "back to the League" and the League's rich archival possibilities, are important steps in understanding the mechanisms through which internationalization occurred and the ways in which social welfare movements erupted national boundaries. As Droux's own article demonstrates, however, to view the process of internationalization primarily from the perspective of Geneva necessarily absents much of the Global South from the phenomenon of the globalization of social welfare. Palestine, for instance, was of marginal concern to many of the League's social missions. The CWC was mostly silent on child welfare activities in the region; reading the League's archives in Geneva, one would assume that the history of Palestine has little to contribute to a conversation on international social welfare. My research is meant as a revision to these new works on the League, and global social welfare more generally. As vital as the League's archives are in helping us understand the radical changes in transnational work in the twentieth century, I hope that my work here makes the case that to construct that narrative more completely, we also need to knit together the stories found in local archives, of overlooked actors in unlikely places.

This project is an attempt to re-localize the global child and the globalization of welfare governance in the twentieth century. In this formulation, Palestine is not merely a case study of the impacts of this form of welfare governance, but one of its generative sites. My claim is not that interwar Palestine was solely generative of this phenomenon, but that its specific conditions – as long an arena of multi-national and missionary presence, the particular nature of post-World War I imperialism, and the impacts of war itself – rendered it a site in which this structure of governance formed. I make here two primary arguments about this system of welfare governance. First, I argue that child welfare governance in Mandate Palestine emerged in the intersections of the local and the global – what scholars have called "glocalization."[13] Second, I posit that welfare governance in Palestine was based on a "mixed economy of care,"[14] in which responsibility for governance was refracted between public and private agencies.

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[11] Droux, 90.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage Press, 1992).
[14] The term "mixed economy of care" originated to describe the nascent welfare state in the postwar United Kingdom, with the integration of the voluntary and private sectors into the public provision of health and social services. This term takes the notion of a mixed economy – an economic system that includes both public and private enterprise – and adapts it to the social sector. In the 1990s and 2000s, a robust literature developed that applied the notion of a "mixed economy of welfare" to studies of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain, showing the origins of the postwar welfare state in the Victorian era. See, for example, the works of Jane Lewis, in particular, Jane Lewis, "Family Provision of Health and Welfare in the Mixed Economy of Care in the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 8

My project begins and ends in moments of war. I start with the work of the Red Cross and similar societies that arrived in Palestine in the aftermath of the First World War, when the region was reeling from the economic, demographic, and social devastation of years of blockade, military mobilization, and famine. I conclude in 1950, as the permanent crisis of the 1948 war became the responsibility of a new system of international humanitarian governance embodied in the United Nations. The bulk of my dissertation focuses on the years between these two wars, when the consequences of violence, a new world imperial system, and the increasing internationalization of child welfare coalesced in a system of welfare governance that was simultaneously local and international and built on a mixed economy of care. My project follows this form of welfare governance into different arenas of child welfare intervention – infant welfare and public health care, the juvenile justice system, orphanages, and refugee camps – as a way of viewing this system from the ground-up.

These arenas coincide with the broad categories through which global child welfare movements operated and they were generally recognized as the primary areas of concern by international children's organizations after the First World War. They were sites that created a particular child-subject, one that was imbued with equal measures of hope and fear as the productive subject of the national or colonial future. They also, importantly, embedded the individual child-subject in the communities and societies in which they lived. Child welfare initiatives, like all social welfare, were discussed primarily as charitable and humane interventions. As such, they were nominally apolitical. But, as this work will show, the child welfare initiatives in this story – public health, juvenile justice, child rescue – created deeply political spaces in which Palestinians asserted claims to governance and through which they built the state, albeit a state form that was neither strictly nationalist nor entirely cohesive. The negotiations and contestations over child welfare also created new political subjectivities, both of the child and of those tasked with his or her care. Part of what this narrative traces is the construction of the global child and how that subject gradually and unintentionally became rooted in the Global South.

Children were certainly not the only subjects of a growing regime of social welfare governance in the mid-twentieth century, but they were uniquely positioned in

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(1995): 1-16. Other reconsiderations of the role of mixed economies of care in the origins of Euro-American welfare state include, David Gladstone, ed., *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State* (Institute of Economic Affairs, 1999); Margaret Tennant, "Governments and Voluntary Sector Welfare: Historians' Perspectives," *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* Issue 17 (December 2001): 147-160; Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Womenly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 95, No. 4 (Oct., 1990): 1076-1108; Michael B. Katz and Christoph Schasse, eds., *The Mixed Economy of Social Welfare: Public/Private Relations in England, Germany, and the United States, the 1870s to the 1930s* (Baden-Baden : Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996). By using the idea of a mixed economy of care to describe colonial governance in mid-twentieth century Palestine, I am relocating this framework to the colonized, Global South and arguing that some version of this system of refracted responsibility and power constituted the basis of twentieth century colonial governance without regard to the eventual establishment of a recognizable democratic welfare state.

the interwar years as the first test subjects of a new internationalism.[15] Viewed in equal turns with sympathy and trepidation, children represented both hope and peril to the local, national, and colonial societies to which they were born. Children outside the properly demarcated bounds of authority – the poor, the orphaned, the delinquent, the colonized – were seen as especially threatening to national, imperial, and international social order. In 1900, Swedish social theorist, Ellen Key, predicted that the twentieth century would be "the century of the child."[16] By then, developments in the fields of psychology, sociology, and education had made children a focal point of urban social reform movements around the world. In the years preceding the First World War, those movements outgrew national borders and coalesced in burgeoning international organizations dedicated to the aid of children throughout the globe. The last one hundred-plus years, with the advent of international children's organizations, the Child Welfare Committee, UNICEF, pro-natalist policies, and humanitarian "child saving" campaigns, seem to have proven Key right. The idea of the child has come to occupy a singular place in the global imagination as an innocent and vulnerable subject, in need of collective care and governance. This singularity of the child is what makes children, and child welfare, such a useful entry point into the larger questions of transnational governance, social welfare, and humanitarianism with which this project engages.

That is the sanitized, idealized version of what the child came to represent in the twentieth century. The reality, in 2018 as well as in 1918, is that the discussions over what childhood meant, who got to be counted as a child, how children should best be protected, nurtured, and cared for were fractured and fraught, inflected by considerations of race, ethnicity, class, and national origin. Palestinian childhood, which continues to this day to be virulently contested, was made and unmade, demarcated, transgressed, and redefined by the eclectic collection of local actors in this story, in the particular conditions of Mandate Palestine's social, political, and historical landscape.

This study bridges several literatures and historiographic trends that tend not to be placed together. It is, first and foremost, a social and political history of Mandate Palestine. As a work of Palestinian history, it relocates its narrative outside of the well-trodden framework of nationalism and nation-building to highlight overlooked actors and untold stories. At the same time, my research connects that history to current literature on humanitarian governance and local-global dynamics. My intention is not merely to place these historiographies side-by-side, or to argue for Palestine's inclusion in global history, although this study does, I hope, suggest that the Middle East must also be looked upon as part of a global historical world. An overarching argument of my work is that Palestine made the global world as much as it was made by it and therefore to understand the broader histories of humanitarian governance, social welfare, and the relationship between the local and the global, we must understand the specificities of Palestine's socio-political history.

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[15] The objects of post-World War I internationalist welfare included other categories of peoples seen as vulnerable, namely (poor) women and refugees.

[16] Ellen Key, *Barnets århundrade (The Century of the Child)* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1900) (trans. 1909).

The Socio-Political History of Palestine

As a work of social and political history, this project both follows and diverges from the existing literature on Mandate Palestine. Over twenty-five years ago, Beshara Doumani, critiquing the dearth of social and cultural histories of Palestine, wrote:

> Until Palestinians are written into the history of Palestine, it will be difficult to answer key questions about the nature of Palestinian society on the eve of the twentieth century, much less understand why its members took the decisions that they did during the Mandate period and beyond.[17]

Essential in remedying this lacuna, Doumani argued, is writing into history the "historically 'silent' majority of peasants, workers, artisans, women, merchants, and Bedouin."[18] In this, Doumani joined a small cadre of other historians who were responding to the overwhelming emphasis on high politics and the nationalist struggle in the historiography on Palestine.[19] While their challenges to the existing literature reflected the larger turn away from elite history (and to social, materialist, and women's histories) of the 1980s and 1990s, their calls for alternative perspectives also reflected the continuing challenges of writing post-nationalist histories of a place that is still firmly locked in a nationalist struggle.

The past quarter century has seen a new flourishing of works on Mandate Palestine, rendering the field still larger than that which Doumani originally critiqued. Many of these newer works have taken up the call to write histories other than those of the elite, nationalism, or high politics. Recent scholarship has included the incorporation of women, a focus on cosmopolitan Palestine, and a turn to materialist political economy.[20] Still other scholarship has begun to take seriously Mandate Palestine's role in a British imperial network.[21] These works brought the kind of diversity to the field that

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[17] Beshara Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXI, no. 2 (Winter, 1992), 24.
[18] Ibid, 6.
[19] For instance, Rosemary Sayigh, "Femmes Palestiniennes: Une Histoire en quete d'historiens*," Revue d'études palestiniennes* Vol. 6, no. 1 (1987); Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).
[20] For works on women, see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003); Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010). For works of urban/cosmopolitan history, see Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011). For works incorporating new perspectives on Palestine's political economy, see Sherene Seikaly's new work, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).
[21] See Jacob Norris. *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011).

Doumani called for and have upended ideas of what Palestinian history could or should be about.

In a large respect, my work is part of this movement to tell the stories of unseen actors and to write into Palestinian history new experiences and vantage points. At the same time, this study pushes that movement beyond enduring questions of the state to examine questions of governance and the role of the social. For all that recent literature on Mandate Palestine has uncovered new avenues of inquiry, much (although certainly not all) remains in orbit around the central suns of nationalism, nation-building, and the emerging Zionist-Palestinian conflict. I do not deny the centrality of the conflict, the breaking point of 1948 and the Nakba, or the importance of nationalism to the history of Mandate Palestine. However, unrelenting adherence to those pillars as the primary stories of the interwar period has obscured other aspects of life, society, and governance under the Mandate. In this work, I seek to recover the social realm as an important arena for understanding everyday governance in Mandate Palestine. I employ the idea of "the social" and "the social realm" as the domain of governance that regulated aspects of life outside of the formally delineated economic and political domains.[22] More specifically, I am interested in the institutions and networks that intervened in the everyday lives of poor populations. The discursive segregation of political, economic, and social, is, of course, an epistemological fallacy and in this story, the three are deeply implicated in each other. Nonetheless, the social realm, to the extent that it exists, is the arena of the issues of daily life – health, education, welfare – and is where marginalized and unseen subjects primarily reside. By placing these issues at the center of this dissertation, I uncover the nuances and complications of how constellations of power shaped Palestinian society in the mid-twentieth century.

Childhood and children have, historically, not drawn significant attention from scholars of the region, although that fact has been changing in the past several years. While the historiography of childhood continues to be dominated by a focus on the West (and particularly, North America), scholars of the Arab Middle East and the Ottoman Empire have recently increased attention to the study of children.[23] In spring 2017, a group of historians and anthropologists created the Association of Middle East Children's and Youth Studies (AMECYS), a new academic association intended to promote scholarship and facilitate academic exchange around the study of Middle East childhood

[22] The idea of "the social" as a distinct realm owes its origins to the works of Karl Polyani, Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault (Karl Polyani, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon, [1957] 2001); Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963); Michel Foucault, "On Governmentality," *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (Autumn 1979): 5–22. The social also became important to the work of Mary Poovey in tracing the formation of Victorian mass culture (Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). James Vernon offers a useful outline of the development the idea of "the social" in *Hunger: A Modern History* (James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 13.

[23] The 2015 biennial conference of the Society for the History of Childhood and Youth included only two papers from scholars of the Middle East. Although the following conference, in 2017, did involve more research from the Global South in general – especially from Indian and sub-Saharan African contexts – there were still only three presentations that focused on the Middle East.

and youth.[24] The emergence of AMECYS in the institutional landscape of Middle East studies follows a burgeoning of works on children and childhood in the field.[25] In 2015, Brill published an edited volume, *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After,* which featured contributions by many of the scholars leading the turn to the study of childhood in the Middle East.[26] That volume, like childhood studies in the Middle East in general, is weighted toward research on the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic. Nazan Maksudyan, for example, one of the founders of AMECYS, works on the history of childhood and youth in the nineteenth and twentieth-century Ottoman Empire, specifically in the context of Ottoman modernization and urbanization. Her book, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire,* looks at how concerns about children and childhood in the late nineteenth century "came to constitute a trend of modernity," particularly in urbanizing Ottoman Turkish settings.[27] Other scholars have looked at discourses of childhood and citizenship in the early Turkish Republic or depictions and memories of childhood in Ottoman literature.[28] Scholars of the Arab Middle East have not, as yet, embraced the turn to childhood studies as robustly as their Ottomanist colleagues, but historians such as Heidi Morrison are now beginning to create inroads into the Arabic-speaking regions as well.[29]

In the case of Palestine in the Mandate period, the literature on social welfare has been sparse; that on children is much sparser. The studies that have been done on such topics almost exclusively look at the Jewish community and the role of social welfare institutions in the emergent Zionist national project. In the past decade or so, there has been an increase in works that examine the role of social welfare institutions in the Zionist nation-building project. This literature looks at public health and welfare initiatives to understand how new ideas of the Jewish national community in Palestine were created and propagated.[30] These works, which deal exclusively with the Jewish population, have broadened the literature on the Zionist movement in Mandate Palestine, but in doing so have remained firmly within the nationalist framework that perpetuates the bifurcation of the historiography into Zionist and Palestinian Arab camps.

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[24] Nazan Maksudyan, "The Association of Middle East Children's and Youth Studies," H-Turk, 28 April 2017, https://networks.h-net.org/node/11419/discussions/177172/association-middle-east-childrens-and-youth-studies-amecys (Accessed 19 March 2018).

[25] It should be noted that the increased attention to childhood studies in recent years followed from the now-decades old work on women, gender, family, and law undertaken by social historians of the Middle East over the 1980s, 1990s, and more recently. Scholars such as Judith Tucker, Margaret Meriwether, Amira Sonbol, and Mahmud Yazbak and others built the infrastructure of social and gender histories from which the study of childhood certainly emerged.

[26] Benjamin Fortna, ed., *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After* (London: Brill, 2015).

[27] Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 9.

[28] See Nazan Çiçek, Kathryn Libal, Elif Akşit, Benjamin Fortna, and others.

[29] Heidi Morrison, *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015).

[30] See Sandra Sufian, *Healing the Land and Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Palestine, 1920-1947* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Dafna Hirsch, "We are Here to Bring the West, Not Only to Ourselves": Zionist Occidentalism and the Discourse of Hygiene in Mandate Palestine," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 577-594; Tammi Razi, "Immigration and its Discontents: Treating the Children in the Psycho-Hygiene Clinic in Mandate Tel-Aviv," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 11:3 (2012): 339-356.

Compared to the literature on the Jewish population of Mandate Palestine, scholarship on the issues of children and social welfare amongst the Mandate's Arab population is virtually non-existent. Ellen Fleischmann has written about the development of Palestinian women's organizations and their involvement with philanthropic and social welfare causes.[31] Ela Greenberg has studied Muslim girls' education during the Mandate period and the development of independent, Islamic girls' schools.[32] Both of these works look at social issues in terms of their roles in animating their subjects' entrée into nationalist politics in which the subjects are the enactors, rather than the targets, of social welfare intervention. The nationalist framework thus continues to dominate even those studies ostensibly focused on the level of social welfare. With the exception of Ilana Feldman's study of the bureaucratic administration of Gaza,[33] the work of everyday rule, and of the role of social welfare projects in perpetuating that rule, remains largely unexamined.

This lacuna is attributable as much to archival obstacles as it is to analytical blind spots. The discrepancy in source availability between archives of the Jewish community and the Palestinian Arab community has been well noted.[34] Furthermore, social welfare services for the Jewish population of the Mandate period were organized into formal, quasi-governmental entities, which have left behind robust and cohesive records.[35] By contrast, social and welfare services for the Palestinian Arab population, which were provided in awkward partnership between the Mandate government and diffuse voluntary associations, have left a far more broken trail for historians to follow. The records of the Mandate government, dispersed between Jerusalem and London, have not been kept in as near pristine or complete condition; absent a national archive, other Palestinian records remain dispersed and hidden.[36] The scattered nature of the archives, however, reflects the structure of social welfare governance as well as the particular political realities of Palestinian history. As I will show, social welfare governance was not the purview of a single governmental entity, but rather existed as a mixed economy of care – across and between governmental, non-governmental, and quasi-governmental agencies. Telling the history of social welfare governance in Palestine – and even more so the history of *child* welfare – is an act of pulling reluctant stories out of unlikely places.

For example, tracing the story of infant welfare clinics, the subject of Chapter Two, led me to at least half a dozen archives on three continents. The fragmented nature of the research was not only due to the dispersal of Palestinian records, but also because

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[31] Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and its "New" Women*.
[32] Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow*.
[33] Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917-1967* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
[34] Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies,* 16.
[35] The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, for example, hold extensive records from the education, health, social work, and welfare branches of the Jewish Agency. The Center for Jewish History, in New York, holds over 1,200 linear feet of archival material from Hadassah, the Zionist health organization.
[36] See Aziza Nofal, "Palestinian Archives Remain Scattered," *Al-Monitor*, 2 September 2015, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/09/palestinian-plan-retrieve-archive-diaspora-inside.html; Anne Irfan, "Stateless history: connecting Palestinian archives," *The National Archives,* 9 March 2017, http://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/stateless-history-connecting-palestinian-archives/.

the clinics were themselves operated, staffed, and funded by a wide variety of institutions, organizations and individuals. The story led me not only to governmental records from the Mandate's Department of Health, but also to Palestinian nurses' pension claims held by the UK National Archives, the Church Missionary Society records in Birmingham, the private archives of the American Colony in East Jerusalem, and the records of Hadassah, housed in New York City. Similarly, in trying to reconstruct the network of Arab social welfare institutions of the early 1940s, the story of Chapter Four, it was necessary to piece together sources from a number of organizations, some of which continue to exist to this day and some of which do not. Undoubtedly, the political circumstances of 1948, which dramatically changed the fortunes and futures of these organizations, affected the condition of their records. Nonetheless, even without the impact of the war and subsequent disruption and dispersal of Palestinian society, that social welfare network was multifaceted and ad-hoc, which has created a fragmented archival record.

In addition to weaving together narratives from a multitude of archives (something incumbent on all historians of Palestine), my work here opens up new avenues into Palestinian social and political history by stepping outside its familiar conceptual frameworks. My arguments enfold a particular conceptualization of Mandate Palestine's coloniality, which I posit can be seen as a model of the twentieth century world colonial system writ large. The framing of Mandate Palestine as a colonial space has gained momentum among historians in recent years, from scholars who apply the frameworks of settler-colonialism to analyses of the Zionist project in Palestine to those with new interests in re-centering, rather than backgrounding, the role of the British colonial government.[37] My project argues that the colonial nature of Mandate Palestine was not confined merely to the dynamics of Zionist settler-colonialism or the political structures of the British Empire, but was part of a newly internationalized imperial system following the First World War. While the most obvious formal manifestation of this internationalized imperialism was in the political structure of the League of Nations' Mandate system itself, I posit that the networks of humanitarian governance that existed

[37] For the British imperial framework, see works cited above, including Norris and Robson. For an analysis of the gendered natures of British imperialism in Palestine, see Nancy Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters Among English and Palestinian Women, 1800-1948* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007). The emergence of the field of settler colonial studies (theorized mostly famously by anthropologist Patrick Wolfe and more recently, Lorenzo Veracini) has encouraged a growing embrace of this concept in the study of the histories of Palestine, Zionism, and the Israel-Palestine conflict. For the application of the settler colonial framework to Palestine, see several works by Ilan Pappe (including Ilan Pappe, "The framing of the question of Palestine by the early Palestinian press: Zionist settler colonialism and the newspaper *Filastin,* 1912-1922," *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* Volume 14, Issue 1 (2015): 59-81) and Nur Masalha (Nur Masalha, "Settler-Colonialism, Memoricide and Indigenous Toponymic Memory: The Appropriation of Palestinian Place Names by the Israeli State," *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* Volume 14, Issue 1 (2015): 3-57). Seikaly also uses the settler-colonial paradigm in *Men of Capital*. Finally, the use of the settler-colonial framework has allowed scholars to "de-exceptionalize" Israel/Palestine and place it in a comparative lens with other settler-colonial contexts. For example, in Mike Krebs and Dana Olwan, "From Jerusalem to the Grand River, our struggles are one': Challenging Canadian and Israeli settler colonialism," *Settler Colonial Studies* Volume 2, Issue, 1 (2012): 59-80, the authors put Israel in a comparative framework with Canada.

within and outside of the League's formal institutions were essential nodes of a diffuse imperial world system no longer anchored in a single metropole.

By locating its arguments outside the traditional bounds of a colonizer-colonized dynamic, my study makes two historiographic moves. First, to the extent that my archival work has allowed me to tell the stories of overlooked actors and subjects – the Palestinian nurse, the juvenile delinquent, the refugee – this framework enables my analysis to function as a work of social historical recovery. Second, dislocating the notion of Palestine as a colonial space from the legal or political parameters of the British Mandate enables me to challenge the strict chronological borders of the Mandate period, which too often have stood as impenetrable analytical and narrative barriers.

I trace the emergence and transformation of this internationalized coloniality in my story's beginning and end, which both encompass moments of political transition. My first chapter shows how the transnational humanitarian aid organizations that provided services in Palestine at the end of the First World War formed a social relief network that underlay the foundations of the formal colonial state that followed them. The project's last chapter, which examines child welfare in the wake of the Nakba, argues that with the expansion of both a Palestinian Arab social welfare network and international mechanisms of refugee relief, local and international child welfare governance became more explicitly interwoven. As is my aim throughout this work, I use this final chapter to re-localize what were, following the Second World War, increasingly internationalized networks of care. In the wake of the 1948 war, new international structures embodied in the United Nations became the permanent sites of social welfare governance for Palestinian refugees. The internationalization of child welfare after the 1948 war, however, did not eradicate local social welfare networks, but in some cases, bolstered them.

The aim of this particular conceptualization of Mandate Palestine is not to deny either the settler-colonial or British imperial frameworks, both of which have been illuminating and vital in recent reconfigurations of Palestinian history. By looking through the lens of an internationalized and diffuse coloniality, I seek to center local Palestinian socio-political history as a driving force of the Mandate period and to connect that history to broader global phenomena in ways that complement existing theoretical frameworks.

Humanitarian Governance and Regimes of Care

The particular structure of social welfare governance in Mandate Palestine was what I am calling a "mixed economy of care," in which responsibility for governance was refracted between a variety of public and private entities. In making this argument, I employ the concept of a transnational "regime of care," as articulated by scholars of contemporary humanitarianism and international welfare. Miriam Ticktin first used the idea of a "regime of care" to refer to "a set of regulated discourses and practices" that

intended to relieve human suffering.[38] These networks coalesce through the work of NGOs, legal institutions, military, and the state.[39] Ticktin argues that regimes of care emerge to address human suffering and, more importantly, are founded on the belief in the universality of suffering. In an article on "girl initiatives" in Egyptian villages, Rania Sweis builds on Ticktin's framework to posit that an "emergent transnational regime of care," embodied in NGO-led welfare and health projects, promotes and cultivates new forms of universalized young humanity.[40]

The targets of Ticktin's regimes of care are objects of suffering that elicit intervention based on sentiment and a particular understanding of morality. Sweis's subjects, in contrast, come in for a more permanent type of care. Rather than representing the suffering of acute crisis, young Egyptian village women signified the continual crisis of underdevelopment. Rather than sentiment and morality, NGOs promoting these girl initiatives mobilized ideas of development. Sweis's formulation is a significant re-articulation of Ticktin's framework for the Global South and formerly colonized world, in which the concept of permanent crises undergirded and enabled much of the structures of colonial (and post-colonial) governance.

Traditionally, the subjects of regimes of care are those left out of the state. For Ticktin, these are the undocumented immigrants (*sans-papiers*) of contemporary France. As she writes, the humanitarian measures that were enacted to aid the *sans-papiers* were outside of the regular state policies on immigration: "in fact, they were explicit exceptions to the contentious politics of immigration, grounded instead in the moral imperative to relieve suffering."[41] Other works on humanitarianism and humanitarian governance highlight refugees as the quintessential humanitarian subject.[42] Refugees, like the sans-papiers, are by definition stateless, and thus exist outside of normative relationships of governance. Instead, these individuals and communities must be provided for and supervised by networks of state and non-state actors who create patchwork and uneven terrains of governance. Founded on ideas of sentiment and universal compassion, rather than legal or civil rights, these governing networks appear to function entirely outside of traditional relationships of state-craft. Many studies on social welfare regimes in post-1967 Palestine embrace this framework. The primary form of governance available to Palestinians in refugee camps or in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, who might epitomize subjects existing outside of traditional state paradigms, is the governance of social welfare provided by non-state entities.[43]

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[38] Miriam Ticktin, *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 3.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Rania Sweis, "Saving Egypt's Girls: Humanity, Rights, and Gendered Vulnerability in a Global Youth Initiative," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 2012), 28.
[41] Ticktin, 2.
[42] See Keith Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015). Watenpaugh embeds the emergence of what he calls "modern humanitarianism" in the relief efforts to aid refugees in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the midst of the First World War and Armenian Genocide.
[43] Julie Peteet writes that the "aid regime" was "productive of the [Palestinian] refugee subject." Julie Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 47. In a recent article, Lucas Oesch argues that scholars should view refugee

As Ticktin's own work demonstrates, however, regimes of care do not exist outside of state frameworks, but in concert with them. In Sweis's formulation, as in the work of Ilana Feldman, regimes of care often target those who are nominally within the purview of state governance. My project shows that rather than a shift from the state to non-state agencies, humanitarian and welfare aid by non-state organizations worked in concert with the rise of the state, not merely in its absence.[44] In making this argument, I am also engaging with the recent literature on what Gregory Mann has called "nongovernmentality" or the phenomenon of governance by NGO. Much of this literature, understandably, has concentrated on the post-1970s period, where, in the wake of a neo-liberal economic and political orientation and the crisis of the welfare state, responsibility for social welfare of the population is seen to have relocated to non-state entities.[45] In studies of post-colonial societies, scholars of the Global South have illuminated the ways in which NGOs and international development aid organizations formed sites of neo-liberal neo-colonialism.[46] To find continuity across the chasm of formal decolonization, my project extends this chronology back to the interwar period and shows that this form of hybrid, refracted rule was the basis of twentieth century colonial governance.

Critical to this form of welfare governance were the twin phenomena of development and expertise. As Joseph Hodge shows in *Triumph of the Expert,* development and expertise defined the new, scientific, colonial governance of the twentieth century. Hodge writes that development "would come to play a pivotal role in the emergence of scientific colonialism and the rise of the expert in the first half of the

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camps through a framework of ambiguity, in which refugees occupy multiple subjectivities of both inclusion and exclusion from the normative sovereignty of the state. Lucas Oesch, "The Refugee Camp as a Space of Multiple Ambiguities and Subjectivities," *Political Geography* 60 (2017): 110-120.

[44] Keith Watenpaugh argues that the post-World War I Middle East was generative of modern humanitarianism, which he claims is defined by its reliance on professional forms of knowledge and infrastructure. Modern humanitarianism is also distinguished from prior incarnations of humanitarian interventions in its proto-state nature and permanence. I am making a similar claim about the generative nature of Palestine in the construction of twentieth century welfare governance. I also employ much of Watenpaugh's formulation of modern humanitarianism while disagreeing with his position that it only functioned in the absence of the state and its institutions or in the face of their collapse and failure.

[45] See: Matthew Hilton, "Politics is Ordinary: Non-Governmental Organizations and Political Participation in Contemporary Britain," *Twentieth Century British History* 22, 2 (2011): 230-268; Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World. 1st ed.* (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 2004); Matthew Hilton, et al. eds, *Living with Leviathan: NGOs, the State, and Governance,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Thomas Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014). I also discuss these ideas in an essay on the child welfare work of the American Colony, Julia Shatz, "Governing Jerusalem's Children, Revealing Invisible Inhabitants: The American Colony Aid Association, 1920s-1950s" in *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940,* Angelo Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, eds., (London: Brill, 2018): 423-439.

[46] Islah Jad, "The NGO-isation of Arab Women's Movements," *IDS Bulletin* 35 (2004): 34-43; Julie Hearn "The 'NGO-isation' of Kenyan society: USAID & the restructuring of health care," *Review of African Political Economy* No: 75 (1998): 89-100; Kiprono Lang'at, "Deconstructing Neo-Colonialism and Liberalism: Kenya and the NGOs – A Discourse Analysis," *International Education Journal* Vol. 9, No. 2 (2008): 57-68.

twentieth century."[47] Many works on colonial development have focused on agrarian or infrastructure development – that is, the development of the land, rather than the people. The emphasis of the historiography reflects the priorities of the colonial states themselves; land and infrastructure development was assumed to produce more valuable colonial possessions than human development. Nevertheless, by the 1940s, in part as an attempt to defuse rising anti-colonial movements, colonial development increasingly incorporated welfare policies focused on the health of the colonized population.[48] As Sherene Seikaly has shown for Mandate Palestine, the British war effort in the 1940s and the demands of rationing mobilized a new focus on nutrition in the 1940s.[49] Even the development policies that appeared to focus on the colonized themselves, Seikaly argues, were tools of imperial defense and resource productivity, rather than the well-being of the population.[50]

Development and expertise brought science and scientists into the roles of managers and governors of land, if not always of people. But what my project hopes to show is that as much as the imperatives of development and scientific colonialism seemed to expand the colonial state, they also made the functions of governance more diffuse. The state was not the only repository for experts; NGOs, voluntary associations, and even religious missions had long claimed scientific expertise in the endeavors of Empire. My project also aims to destabilize our image of "the expert" as a European male technocrat. Many of the architects of child welfare initiatives in Palestine were women, of varying nationalities, including nurses, social workers, missionaries, and mothers.[51] Some of them occupied dual positions as experts and subordinate subjects in colonial institutional relationships. Their roles in this story complicate the gendered dimensions of expertise as well as its allusions to totalizing Foucauldian power. The child welfare initiatives of this story were indeed undergirded by scientific knowledge and technical expertise, but not always by experts recognizable as such. I hope to show that twentieth-century expertise and governance in the Middle East was a story of interpersonal relations as well as systemization, as much about locality as universalism, and as reliant on local actors as it was on colonial scientists.

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[47] Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), 29.

[48] For the African context, Frederick Cooper has shown that the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act inaugurated a new era of colonial development, in which the "standard of living of African rural farmers and urban workers was now on the agenda." Frederick Cooper, "Reconstructing Empire in British and French Africa," *Past and Present* 210:6 (2011), 205. Cooper has argued that the new forms of development spending were responses to a series of worker strikes and demonstrations. Development was a tool to keep empire safe both abroad and at home. Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[49] Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 88.

[50] Ibid.

[51] I address the gendered formation of expertise and the role of women nurses in developing a landscape of public health governance in Palestine in Julia Shatz, "A Politics of Care: Local Nurses in Mandate Palestine," Accepted for publication, *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 2018.

From the Global to the Local

The networks that governed Palestinian children and their families during the British Mandate were globally informed, but locally embedded. Rather than assume that the trajectory of globalization in the twentieth century moved from the global to the local, my project is invested in the ways in which the local became increasingly central to the story of the globalization of child welfare and social welfare governance. I argue that child welfare governance in Mandate Palestine emerged in the intersections of the local and the global –sociologist Richard Roland's phenomenon of "glocalization."[52] As children became increasingly universalized subjects of governance and care over the twentieth century, institutions of child welfare were sites in which local and global forms of welfare governance increasingly intertwined. My archival sources show that global ideas about children, and the transnational networks of people, labor, and capital that promoted them, were embedded in local power configurations in the establishment of child welfare institutions and projects in Palestine.

The heart of this argument is that the local informed the global as much as the reverse. In this framing, I join several scholars of the past two decades who are committed to recognizing the roles of local actors and contexts in the construction of global networks and phenomena. In their recent volume, *Women in Transnational History,* Clare Midgley, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier posit that the local and global are co-constituted: "processes and actors at the local level shaped the global, while at the same time, global changes impacted local lives."[53] Midgley et al. root this conceptualization of the local-global relationship in a feminist framework inspired by Carla Freeman's work on the gendered dichotomy of the global and local. The feminist lens employed by Freeman, they argue, contests the formulation of the global as masculine and the local as feminine.[54]

The focus of Midgley et al.'s collection of essays is on women and the positioning of women's lives at the center of transnational history. But the gender and feminist framework they invoke to challenge the dichotomy of the local and the global can be utilized for all those coded feminine (that is, passive, objects, recipients of global change), whether women or not. In the colonial context, the feminization of "the local" and their exclusion from agency includes all those demarcated as the colonized. While my work certainly aims to assert the generative role of women, including non-European women, in the globalization of welfare governance, challenging the gendered dichotomy

[52] Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture.* Glocalization originally referred to the exchange of local and global cultures at the root of the globalization of the economy or the globalization of ideas and discourse. I am arguing that we can apply that general framework to look at the globalization of networks of care. In the words of Vanessa Ogle, "It has become commonplace to assert that globalization somehow involved the interactions between the global and the local." Vanessa Ogle, "Whose Time Is it? The Pluralization of Time and the Global Condition, 1870s-1940s," *The American Historical Review* 118, 5 (2013), 1379.
[53] Clare Midgley, Alison Twells, Julie Carlier, eds., *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global* (London: Routledge, 2016), 4.
[54] Ibid.

of local/global allows me to recover and re-center the agency of several as yet unseen groups.

This project challenges the dichotomy between the local and the global in another respect. From the nineteenth century on, Palestine was a highly international space, traversed and populated by multinational communities. What mileage does the concept of "local" give us in this context? Many of the characters in this dissertation did not hold Palestinian nationality or were not born within its borders, but were nonetheless deeply embedded in the particular on-the-ground contexts of specific communities.[55] Here we come up against the inadequacy of the vocabulary of "localness" to identify historical actors. It is easy to slip into an implied framework in which local becomes not only coded for gender, but also for race, ethnicity, or colonial status. I do not intend for the foreign-local distinction to stand in for colonizer-colonized or European-Arab in this work. Nor do I intend for readers to interpret "local" as a code word for indigeneity. Indeed, my aim in arguing that the local was constitutive of the global in the history of welfare governance is to move outside of the dichotomous narratives that have long ensnared the historiography of interwar Palestine. Just as the dialectical relationship between local and global allowed Carla Freedman to recover Caribbean higglers as constructive agents in globalization,[56] so too does it enable me to tell the stories of overlooked historical actors and subjects as constitutive to the emergence of transnational welfare governance.

Chapter Structure

My narrative is arranged around four different arenas of child welfare intervention in Mandate Palestine. Each chapter highlights the role of different constituent groups in constructing a regime of welfare governance. Chapter One looks at the establishment of a network of Anglo-American aid organizations in Palestine in the aftermath of the First World War. This chapter shows both how foreign aid organizations formed a system of welfare governance in the years directly following the war that provided the basis for the system of welfare governance of the Mandate period and how the figure of "the child" became prominent as a focus of that welfare intervention after the war. Chapter Two examines the promulgation of a system of public health care for children via the establishment of infant welfare clinics. It shows how a discourse and infrastructure of infant welfare was constructed through the interactions between the colonial Department of Health, foreign missionaries, Palestinian nurses, and local political leaders. Chapter Three looks at the establishment of a juvenile justice system in Palestine, first by aid organizations and then by the Mandate government. This chapter highlights the

[55] Take, for instance, the members of the American Colony. As immigrants to Palestine in the late nineteenth century and as American citizens with continuing familial, organizational, and financial ties to the United States, this community might epitomize "foreignness". Yet, as later chapters of this dissertation will show, Colony members were long integrated into multinational and multiethnic philanthropic and welfare networks in the specific context of twentieth-century Jerusalem. The American Colony members, and others in this dissertation, serve as a reminder not to equate "localness" with "powerlessness". Power was unevenly distributed amongst the actors in this narrative, regardless of whether they could be identified as local or foreign.

[56] Carla Freeman, "Is Local:Global as Feminine:Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization," *Sign,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Globalization and Gender (Summer, 2001): 1007-1037.

participation of parents and families in defining "childhood" through contestations in the legal arena. Chapter Four examines the local, Palestinian and foreign institutions and organizations that were formed to care for children orphaned or made refugees by the 1936-1939 Revolt and the 1948 war. This chapter explores the changing dynamics of child welfare in an era of decolonization, refugees, and human rights. This chapter also points to a historical moment when the "global child" became firmly located in the Global South and inextricably tied to diaspora and displacement.

The story is organized around two temporal poles – the First World War and the Nakba of 1948. By mirroring those particular historical moments in the first and final chapters, I hope to challenge narratives that isolate them as complete ruptures. As the dissertation will show, the challenges and aftermaths of those wars shared fascinating – and little noticed – echoes. Turning from stories of nationalist politics or geo-strategy and toward questions of welfare, children, and governance enables us to see those seminal political moments as signposts in a continuing story. At the same time, paralleling World War I and 1948 allows me to highlight the differences between those historical moments and track the changes in child welfare and ideas of humanitarian governance from the First World War to the early era of decolonization. Using the First World War and 1948 as anchors rather than strict borders for the dissertation allows us to understand those moments as processes rather than discrete events, ones that neither fully began nor ended in the seminal years of 1918 and 1948.

Telling the stories of children is always a challenge for historians. Children – especially the poor and the marginalized – are not often visible in the archive. Nor, for that matter, are the nurses and social workers who cared for them or the parents who advocated on their behalf. In doing this work, I nonetheless attempt to gather the voices of some of these actors from the traces they have left in the archives. Other actors in my story – the colonial officials, missionaries, and elite Palestinian writers – are much more easily captured. This study weaves together its stories from multiple archives and source types. I have relied on government records, both from departments of the Government of Palestine and from the Colonial Office, particularly for the second and third chapters. I have used the archives of international aid organizations, such as the American Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee, as well as Palestinian voluntary associations and European missionary societies. I have also used sources from both the popular and academic press to capture some of the conversations among the Palestinian population on issues of child welfare.

In some cases, I have found new source bases that have not yet been exploited by historians of this period. In others, I have read well-trodden materials for unseen characters and unremarked upon narratives. This history is still full of holes – voices unheard and people undiscovered. There are some actors in these stories whom we may never find, some, of whom we will only ever see glimpses, and others whose lives and impacts may still yet become more completely told. The direct voices and stories of children remain frustratingly elusive, as do those of the many Palestinian workers and family members who cared for them. Where it was possible, I have named these figures,

even when little other information about their lives was available. At its heart, after all, this is their story.

Chapter One

Governing the Children of the War:
International Humanitarian Relief Networks, 1917-1920

In 1921, the Christian Herald Orphanage in Jerusalem listed forty-one girls, ages five to fourteen, in its intake register. Orphaned or destitute, the journeys that brought these girls to the orphanage reflected the varieties of violence and deprivation that years of war and famine had visited upon the families of Palestine. Zaheye Fallace (age six), for example, lost her father to diseases incurred during his service in the Ottoman labor corps during the war; her mother, Jameelie, was invalided from typhus and malnutrition.[1] Ayesha Abdul 'Aziz (age five) had entered the orphanage after her father was killed in the war and her mother remarried and left Jerusalem.[2] Marie Aboud's (age eight) father was paralyzed from shell shock and her mother was dead.[3] Mary Elias (age eight) was at the orphanage with her two sisters, Julia (age nine) and Nellie (age twelve). During the war, their father had been deported to Salt because of his affiliation with a British missionary society. In Salt, their mother died and the entire family was impoverished, leaving the father unable to support his children.[4] In total, thirty-seven of the forty-one girls had lost one or both parents; fourteen had fathers killed directly in the war.[5] Some of the girls came from poor families, but many were the daughters of families that were previously middle class but had lost their financial security during the war. Several single mothers sent their daughters to the orphanage because they had younger children at home whom they could barely support with odd jobs or work as servants.

For a long time, the First World War and its immediate aftermath were black holes in the historiography of Palestine. While some literature exists on the geostrategic and military operations in the Middle East during the war, until recently, the social, cultural, and political life of local inhabitants of the region have been absent. This lacuna is most often attributed to the scarcity of local sources from the period. The destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the post-war political transition of Palestine, the chaos of the First World War itself, as well as the subsequent wars in the area, have scattered or destroyed many potential source bases, making it difficult for historians to piece together a proper narrative of Palestine during the war. Most local newspapers, for example, closed production during the war, leaving few traces of the intellectual and discursive atmosphere of the period. In the past decade, more and more scholars have turned to this particular period in Palestinian history in attempts to recover the years directly before and during the war as important historical moments in their own right.

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[1] Bertha Spafford Vester, and Christian Herald Orphanage, *Record book listing girls receiving support through the Christian Herald Orphanage, as supervised by the American Colony*, Ca. to 1927, 1920. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mamcol.092. In many instances, the transliterations of these girls' names do not conform to current Arabic to English transliteration guidelines. I have nonetheless chosen to maintain the spellings of the names as recorded in the original source material.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

Salim Tamari's *Year of the Locust,* for example, recovered the diaries of a Palestinian Ottoman soldier, Ihsan Hasan al-Turjman, to reveal the social world of Palestine during the war. Turjman was stationed in Jerusalem and his diaries, and Tamari's book, are some of the first published detailed accounts of daily life in the wartime city.[6] Similarly, Abigail Jacobson's *From Empire to Empire,* a history of Jerusalem in the transition from Ottoman to British rule, dedicates its first chapter to capturing the experiences of civilian communities during the war years. Jacobson's work eschews the notion of the First World War as a rupture in Palestine and instead seeks to highlight both continuities and transitions between the end of the Ottoman period and the beginning of the British Mandate.[7] The idea of the late Ottoman period and the war as unique moments of transition that should be examined on their own terms has become increasingly prevalent in recent literature on Palestine. Despite this turn in research agendas, however, social and political histories of the war itself remain few and far between. That is not to say that the war is ever absent from histories of Palestine; on the contrary, the macro-political effects of the war loom ever large as determinant factors for what would become Palestine's twentieth-century political saga. The Sykes-Picot agreement, the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations' Mandate System – all products of the war and the post-war settlement – pepper every history of Palestine from the First World War onward.

However, the First World War transformed Palestine from the ground up as well as from the top down. The Palestinian men who were conscripted into Ottoman forces at the start of the war entered an army that would have a fatality rate as high as 27 percent, with most deaths the result of disease.[8] Other men, such as Zaheye Fallace's father, were pulled out of the civilian economy to work in the Ottoman Labor Corps, where many suffered brutal privations. Civilians who were left at home during the war endured food scarcities made worse by the 1915 locust plague and the famine exacerbated by the Allied blockade of the Ottoman Empire. As the records of the Christian Herald Orphanage reveal, the years of war tore at the social fabric of families and local communities. The destructive power of violence and deprivation, however, was not the only means by which the war and its immediate aftermath transformed the Palestinian landscape on the ground. The war's destruction also invited in a network of local and foreign organizations to minister to the suffering poor. Humanitarian intervention, and the form of humanitarian governance that arose in Palestine, was produced by the twin conditions of war and imperialism.[9] The relief organizations that entered Palestine because of the war would fundamentally shape the system of social welfare in Palestine going forward.

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[6] Salim Tamari, *Year of the Locust: A Soldier's Diary and the Erasure of Palestine's Ottoman Past,* Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 2011.

[7] Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule*.

[8] Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 210.

[9] Scholars of humanitarianism have long connected the origins of humanitarian movements to the consequences of war, and much more recently, to modern imperialism. Of particular interest to the story of the Ottoman Empire and its successor states is Davide Rodogno's work on European humanitarian intervention in the Ottoman Empire from the nineteenth century (Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). Rodogno argues that a European "international community" claimed the right to intervene in the

This chapter explores the structure and work of several of those relief organizations and their efforts to provide welfare for the children of the war. I argue that the system of relief for poor children that followed the war in Palestine was not temporary or a stopgap measure. Rather, it drew upon institutional infrastructure and networks in Palestine that preceded the war and laid the groundwork for the transnational network of voluntary associations that would be integral parts of the foundation for social relief during the British Mandate period. The humanitarian relief organizations in Palestine emerged from the history of imperialism in the Middle East and helped create the particular form of colonial governance that emerged after the First World War. The humanitarian aid structures that arose out of the war did not merely fill the gaps of the colonial state in the post-war chaos, but constituted the colonial state itself.

Humanitarianism has been a fertile area of research for historians, sociologists, and anthropologists in recent years. Moving from earlier works focused on how Europeans came to empathize with "distant strangers,"[10] the literature on humanitarianism has, more recently, turned to the effects of humanitarian intervention on its objects – the subjectivities, infrastructures, and silences it creates. Challenging humanitarianism's own claim that it exists outside of politics, scholars such as Liisa Malkki have shown that humanitarian interventions aim to produce an ahistorical, depoliticized, universal object, which is itself a political act.[11] Other scholars have turned attention to the geo-politics of humanitarianism, linking humanitarian efforts to imperialist and capitalist systems.[12]

Although the objects of humanitarian intervention are often found in the Global South, the literature on humanitarianism has been oriented primarily toward the Euro-American providers of transnational welfare aid. Until quite recently, the Middle East rarely appeared in this literature and conceptual discussions of humanitarianism have been equally absent from the historiography of the region. This gap is precisely what Keith Watenpaugh addresses in his book, *Bread from Stones*: *The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Watenpaugh argues that, not only was the Middle East an active site of humanitarian intervention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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Ottoman Empire under the guise of preventing humanitarian violations of Ottoman subjects by the state. The organizations that I examine in this chapter can be seen as direct inheritors of the discourses Rodogno unpacks in his work.

[10] Select examples include: Thomas Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989): 176-204; Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2007); Richard Wilson and Richard Brown, eds., *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[11] Liisa Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 11, No. 3 (Aug., 1996): 377-404.

[12] Rob Skinner and Alan Lester, "Humanitarianism and Empire: New Research Agendas," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* Vol. 40, Issue 5 (Empire and Humanitarianism, 2012): 729-747; Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Costas Douzinas, *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007); Thomas Haskell, "Capitalism and the Humanitarian Sensibility," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 90, No. 2 (Apr., 1985): 339-361; James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History,*

centuries, but the Eastern Mediterranean was, in fact, the birthplace of much of what he terms "modern humanitarianism."[13] In Watenpaugh's view, "modern humanitarianism" denotes a shift from the late nineteenth century missionary-based charity relief in the region to a transnational, institutional, neutral, secular regime during the interwar period. Looking primarily at relief provided to Armenian refugees during and after the First World War and Armenian genocide, Watenpaugh argues that while modern humanitarianism had roots in the early activities of missionaries and abolitionists, new bureaucratic and institutional forms of relief and aid, as well as new structures through which human suffering was communicated, marked the interwar period as a distinct era in the development of humanitarianism.[14]

Watenpaugh's "modern humanitarianism" is defined by its reliance on professional forms of knowledge and infrastructure, namely the emergent fields of social science and public health, as well as by its aim to permanently address social causes of suffering, rather than merely provide immediate and individual relief. It is the latter phenomenon that Watenpaugh argues provides the blueprint for "humanitarian governance," wherein subnational or insurgent groups used humanitarian relief to create proto-state entities.[15] I engage Watenpaugh's conception of permanence as distinguishing modern humanitarianism from earlier forms of relief, but I expand that concept to include not only the aims of humanitarian interventions, but also the institutional and legal infrastructure and networks they created. Furthermore, I modify Watenpaugh's argument about the role of the state in humanitarian governance. While Watenpaugh posits that non-state groups took on proto-state functions through the administration of modern humanitarian relief, he argues that modern humanitarianism mostly functioned in the absence of the state and its institutions or in the face of their collapse and failure.[16] I argue instead that the non-state humanitarian actors not only acted symbiotically with the colonial state by preparing the ground for its establishment, but actually co-constituted the colonial state itself. Although the explicit missions of the relief organizations that flooded into Palestine at the war's end were indeed the provision of temporary welfare in an uncertain and transitioning political landscape, their work and their relationships to each other and to the British military regime lay the groundwork for the social services of the colonial state. In Palestine, the humanitarian interventions following the destruction of the war functioned in concert with the rise of the state, not merely in its absence. These interventions were not merely engaged with emergency aid, but with broader questions of the future of society and the development of the social subject. As the figure of the child took on a novel global political currency in the interwar period, humanitarian relief to poor and vulnerable children became inextricably and permanently embedded in the legitimate governance of Palestinians.[17]

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[13] Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread From Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*.
[14] Ibid, 2.
[15] Ibid, 44.
[16] Ibid, 9.
[17] This argument, in many respects, follows Gregory Mann's portrayal of "nongovernmentality" in the postcolonial moment. Mann, *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel*.

This argument proceeds in three parts. First, I examine the local and global contexts that enabled the construction of a network of humanitarian governance of children in immediate post-war Palestine. Second, I narrow in on three of the organizations leading relief for children in the years directly following the war – the American Colony, the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, and the American Red Cross – to discuss how and why they came to work in Palestine. Finally, I show how the network those organizations formed was layered over existing infrastructures of welfare and at the same time inaugurated a new mode of governance, with new social subjects, that would persist throughout much of the twentieth century.

The War and the Rise of the Global Child

The mixed economy of care that would define social welfare governance under the Mandate for Palestine emerged from structural conditions of Palestine during and immediately after the war on both a local and international level. First, the specific wartime conditions of Palestine created it as a site of transnational humanitarian intervention and made children particular targets of that intervention. The ravages of the war itself created a visible need for relief among large sectors of the population at the same time that the political results of the war empowered Anglo-American and Western European organizations by allowing them unprecedented access to those populations. In the same moment, a novel international infrastructure of knowledge production and oversight of vulnerable children raised the figure of the child to a new position as a subject of global governance. Although that international system never intended to target Palestine, the realities of the war and war settlement made Palestine a generative site of a new form of humanitarian governance.

The experience of the war in Palestine created both new needs and new opportunities for the entrance of transnational humanitarian relief efforts targeting children. As the entries in the Christian Herald Orphanage register show, the war, and its attendant phenomena, visited social and demographic horrors on many children in Palestine. In 1918, eleven-year-old Lydia Abbud described her memories of the war to an American pen-pal:

> I want to tell you about the famine we had. People went begging and the rich gave them [help], but after some months nearly all were in need. Many people use to pick up the orange barks from the ground and mud and eat them. Many had no clothes especially in winter. When it was very cold they had to go with one piece of clothing. And many were sick and died from want of food so that many houses were quite closed. Little children were on the roadsides shouting and saying, "Lord I am hungry."[18]

The food shortages that struck the Eastern Mediterranean during the war resulted from a confluence of political and environmental phenomena. The military practice of

[18] Pen-Pal Letters (Bethlehem/Beit Jala to America), Series I (Correspondence), Box 36 (Palestine Letters), John Huston Finley Papers (1892-1940), Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library.

confiscating foodstuffs to send to the front and the Allied blockade of the Ottoman Empire that prevented imports combined with low crop yields and a destructive locust plague to create a monumental food crisis. The demographic and human catastrophes of the war years have been documented most intensively for Syria and Lebanon, but greatly impacted Palestine as well.[19] As Ihsan Tourjman described in his diary in 1916,

> I saw many men, women and children in *Bab al-'Amoud* looking for flour . . . Two days ago the flour finished. My father gave my brother 'Aref one dirham to buy us bread. He left the house and looked for bread but could not find any . . . The flour has finished in our country, and it is the main source [of food].[20]

Salim Tamari and others have observed how the devastation of the famine, coupled with the Ottoman authorities' responses to it, fundamentally altered the relationship between Palestinian citizens and the Ottoman state. Indeed, Tourjman himself remarked on the political impact of the humanitarian suffering, writing, "If these conditions persist, the people will rebel and bring down this government . . . we have tolerated so far living without rice, sugar, and kerosene. But how can we live without bread?"[21]

During the first years of the war, local organizations attended to the needs of a suffering population. The Red Crescent Society, established in 1868 during the Crimean War, opened a Jerusalem branch in 1915. Although the branch was opened explicitly to garner support and funds for the Ottoman war effort against the Allies, it also provided civilian relief. A photograph from the American Colony's photography collection shows a Red Crescent relief station in Jerusalem in 1917. Sitting outside at a table, making notations in a register are several men clad in the fez and the Red Crescent armband. Behind them is a line of women and one young girl, standing off to the side.[22] The photograph does not indicate whether the relief was financial or in the form of food rations. That those receiving relief were women (and children) reveals another social disruption of the war years: by 1917, many of Palestine's adult men had been removed from family homes and the workforce as conscripts in the Ottoman Labor Corps or Ottoman army. Many women were left alone to manage the impact of the famine on their families.

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[19] In recent years, important research on the social and cultural impact of the famine and the lived experience of the war has been undertaken by scholars of Lebanon and Syria. See especially, Melanie Tanielian, ""Feeding the City: The Beirut Municipality and Civilian Provisioning During World War I," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46 (2014), 737-758," and "Politics of Wartime Relief in Ottoman Beirut," *First World War Studies* 5 (2014): 69-82; Najwa al-Qattan, "When Mothers Ate Their Children: Wartime Memory and the Language of Food in Syria and Lebanon," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46 (2014), 719-736.

[20] Quoted in Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* 39.

[21] Tamari, *Year of the Locust,* 143.

[22] American Colony Photography Department, photographer, "[Red Crescent Relief, Jerusalem.]" Photograph. Jerusalem: American Colony Photo. Dept., 1917. From Library of Congress: *Matson (G. Eric and Edith) Photograph Collection*. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2005000721/PP/ (accessed 6 June 2014).

Local religious institutions also strove to provide aid to the population in the face of the famine and war. Muslim *waqfs* (religious endowments), which had provided services for the poor prior to the war, became centers of food relief. The leaders of Jerusalem's Muslim community, for example, ran the Takiyat Khaski Sultan soup kitchen, a charitable *waqf* that had been in operation for hundreds of years and continues to this day.[23] In the course of the war, however, the Ottoman authorities appropriated a significant amount of the *waqf* revenue and so Kamil Effendi al Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, asked the members of the local organization, the American Colony, to take over its management and support.[24] Local Christian organizations that were associated with non-Allied countries, such as the German Schnellers orphanage in Jerusalem, also continued to provide services to children and families during the war.

With the British military victory in Jerusalem in 1917, however, the configuration of social relief and aid became dominated by Anglo-American organizations and funding. Although both countries had significant charitable and missionary presences in Palestine prior to the war, the British occupation of the country allowed for the expansion of that presence and the creation of an Anglo-American welfare network. As a neutral country until 1917, the United States was able to send money and aid into Palestine for most of the war. Much of the American relief coming into Palestine during the war was raised by the Joint Distribution Committee of the American Funds for Jewish War Sufferers in aid of the Jewish population of Palestine. From 1914-1918, the Joint Distribution Committee sent $1,571,485.86 (roughly $27 million in contemporary values) to Palestine, primarily earmarked for food aid.[25] The Joint Distribution Committee, along with other religious and voluntary organizations seeking to send aid to Palestine, cooperated intimately with the United States Consul to Jerusalem, Otis Glazebrook.[26] American aid during the war, whether from Jewish or Christian organizations in the United States, was privately raised, but facilitated through official state channels.

Once the British military took control of Palestine in the final years of the war, the gates opened to an influx of British and American relief organizations. Some of those organizations, like the American Colony, were institutions that existed in pre-war Palestine; some, like the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, were new configurations of existing missionary institutions; others, like the American Red Cross, were brand new actors in the humanitarian landscape in Palestine. The post-war moment ushered in a new scale of humanitarian need and new organizations and networks to meet that need. In Palestine, the particular political settlement of the war strongly affected which aid networks would predominate. With British military and political control came the ascendancy of an Anglo-American humanitarian relief network. Britons and Americans were not more predisposed to engaging in humanitarian relief or somehow more empathetic to the plights of various Palestinian communities; rather the political

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[23] Jonathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 30.
[24] Bertha Spafford Vester, *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881-1949* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1988 (1950)), 264.
[25] Albert Lucas, "American Jewish Relief in the World War," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 79, War Relief Work (Sep., 1918), 228.
[26] Ibid, 227.

circumstances of the war's end allowed their capital and their institutions to form a system of relief that would fundamentally structure the organization of welfare in Palestine going forward.

The humanitarian impacts of the First World War created a new global landscape for transnational relief and aid; the war also gave new weight to the international oversight of care for vulnerable children. The elevation of children to the position of post-war global subjects, however, did not proceed in a unidirectional manner from Geneva down. Novel international institutions and local conditions and responses informed each other in the creation of the child as a new subject of governance. International and transnational child welfare movements began to coalesce before the outbreak of the war, but with the new international institutions created in the war's wake, especially the League of Nations, those movements found permanent homes and access to some form of global power for the first time. Before the war, social reformers and academics in the United States, Britain, France, and other Western European countries formed transnational associations around the perceived social ills of juvenile delinquency and sexual slavery.[27] Influenced by the emerging academic fields of childhood psychology, sociology, and education, these associations advocated for reforms that would protect and nurture children in their particular phases of development, rather than discipline them.[28] With the establishment of the League of Nations, these pre-war movements for child protection unified in the umbrella institution of the League's Child Welfare Committee.

As the particular organization of the League of Nations took form, several social reformers and humanitarian organizations agitated for a branch within the League specifically dedicated to the needs and protection of children.[29] In the aftermath of the war, the International Association for the Protection of Children agreed to turn its work over to the Secretariat of the League and, with the International Red Cross Committee and League of Red Cross Societies, pressed for a special department in Secretariat that would have the responsibility of collecting documentation for any issue that concerned child welfare.[30] The CWC was given authority to amass data on child welfare, correspond with national and colonial governments, and issue reports, but it was not endowed with any form of legal or political jurisdiction over these issues. Nevertheless, the CWC was a source of knowledge production, both in terms of collecting and organizing statistical information about children all over the world and in terms of generating standards for the treatment and care of children with an eye to their development and progress. In an

[27] Such organizations included the International Prisons Commission (1870s), International Congress of Children's Courts (1911), Association international pour la Protection de l'enfance (1913) and the International Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (1899).
[28] Works such as psychologist G Stanley Hall's *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904) became references for these movements' proposed legal and social reforms.
[29] As indicated in the introduction, the interest in the child as a subject of international care was both a culmination of pre-war movements for child welfare and a reaction to new realities of (European) children's conditions following the war.
[30] "Protection of Children. Report of the Fifth Committee to the Fifth Assembly," *League of Nations Publications, Volume IV*, 1924.

environment in which the League also held the responsibility for the political, social, and economic development of colonized countries, this kind of knowledge production mattered a great deal.

The development of the CWC was connected, not only to the pre-war movements for social reform, but also to the effects on children of the war itself. A large part of the League's social and relief work in the immediate aftermath of the war centered on the situation of refugees, which overlapped significantly with concerns about the care of children. Women and children comprised the majority of war refugees in Eastern Europe and Russia (where the League's attention was originally focused) as well among the large numbers of Armenian refugees in the former Ottoman Empire.[31] In addition to being actual refugees, vulnerable children were seen as analogous to refugees in many ways. Refugees were seen by international organizations as socially and politically problematic and in need of oversight and care because they were dislocated from the state – they had no authority to which to belong. Similarly, vulnerable, poor, and orphaned children were seen as social and politically problematic because they, too, were dislocated from the proper channels of authority – in this case, parents or at least parents who were thought to be acceptable guardians. The connection between child welfare and the humanitarian problem of refugees was explicit in the founding of Save the Children in 1919, an organization that began in response to the needs of starving and refugee children in Germany, Austria, and Russia. Indeed, it was Save the Children founder, Eglantyne Jebb, who submitted to the League of Nations the Declaration on the Rights of the Child. The document, adopted in 1924, read:

> By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as "Declaration of Geneva," men and women of all nations, recognizing that mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty that, beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed:
>
> 1. The child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually;
> 2. The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succored;
> 3. The child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress;
> 4. The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation;
> 5. The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of fellow men.[32]

Like the rest of the League's departments, the CWC had no means of enforcing its declaration; however, the document and the CWC's work enshrined on the international stage the figure of the child as separate from its adult parents and as possessing certain

[31] Geraldine Van Bueren, ed., *International Documents on Children* (Save the Children) (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1998), xviii.
[32] Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child, Adopted 26 September 1924, League of Nations.

rights. Furthermore, the Declaration and the establishment of the CWC itself gave nominal responsibility for the protection of children to "mankind" as a whole. The child, who formerly had been the responsibility of its parents, its local community, or its government, was now entrusted to the world at large. In the context of the twentieth-century colonial structures of the interwar years, the "world at large" in reality meant European and American academics, bureaucrats, and social reformers. In the promotional materials created by humanitarian relief organizations, children were often symbols of the devastation and destruction of the war. In the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, however, they also became symbols for the hope and aspirations of the post-war moment. Children stood in for the promises of progress and development that the architects of the League hoped would be realized in the new environment of an internationalized imperial world order.

Save the Children and the CWC were more concerned with European children than Palestinian children and it would be easy to assume that the ideas about child welfare relief only filtered down to the Middle East as an afterthought. Palestinian and Syrian children became the targets and symbols of transnational humanitarian intervention, however, prior to the foundation of either organization.[33] The Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, for example, focused on children as particularly important subjects of care in their relief efforts during the war. The organization's promotional material highlighted the plight of children (and sometimes their mothers), independent of the society as a whole. Just a month after the British forces captured Jerusalem, the Fund published an appeal for £100,000 in donations. The appeal featured a photograph of four young children in a relief camp with the caption, "The Children's Turn."[34] Disheveled and dirty, but smiling and looking into the sun, the children seemed to represent both the past horrors of the war and the hope of the future of the region. "Hear the cry of the Lebanon mother!" the appeal implored: "Listen to the wail of my little one! A mouthful – a fill of the hand – would still the pain. Redeem this child's life with a bit of bread."[35] For these organizations, children represented the potential progress Palestinian society could achieve once supervised and cared for by the proper guardians. To the organizations that worked with Palestinian children, that potential progress was both spiritual and material. It was also tied to the specific political establishment in power that enabled and depended upon their work. The child had become a new subject of governance, but in Palestine, that governance and subjectivity was located within the specific conditions of the region and particular political network of local and transnational relief.

The Relief Organizations

In the wake of the war, many foreign organizations, new and old, worked in relief and aid in Palestine. The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, for

[33] The borders and boundaries between the territories that would become Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon under the League of Nations system were fluid and amorphous in the late Ottoman period. They would only become cohesive and separate administrative units when the Ottoman Empire was partitioned into European mandated territories at the end of the war.
[34] "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund," *Church Family Newspaper,* 11 January 1918, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[35] Ibid.

example, raised money on behalf of Armenian refugees in the areas of Syria and Palestine. The American Zionist Medical Unit, the precursor to the Zionist health organization, Hadassah, began its work with the Jewish communities of Palestine in 1918. I examine the origins, relationships, and work of three relief organizations – the American Colony, the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, and the American Red Cross – because they represent three different institutional trajectories. Their histories in Palestine reflect the deep roots of transnational organizations in the area as well as the novel forms that humanitarian relief took following the First World War. Despite different origins and paths to Palestine, these organizations nonetheless formed a cohesive network of humanitarian aid to children in the liminal years between the war and the establishment of the Mandate government.

The American Colony[36]

By the outbreak of the war, the American Colony had been a part of the landscape of religious and voluntary organizations in Jerusalem for over thirty years. It was one of the only foreign institutions to continue its work uninterrupted by the war. In many ways, the American Colony was a unique institution in pre-war Palestine. Unlike most other Euro-American religious outposts, it was not an evangelizing mission nor was it formally connected to an institution in the United States. The Colony was established in the 1880s when Horatio and Anna Spafford, emigrated from Chicago to Jerusalem on a personal pilgrimage. Although the Spaffords were deeply religious Christians, following the deaths of five of their children, they had broken with the Presbyterian church in Chicago and formed their own messianic sect. A group of Christian Swedes joined the family in the 1890s and together they formed a utopian Christian communal society in Jerusalem. The Spafford family and the members of the American Colony were well connected to the Protestant and elite communities of Jerusalem and its environs, although unlike other Protestant groups in the area, they did not have any interest or focus in proselytizing. Instead, Colony members ran a small farm and handicrafts workshops, established a photographic department, and set up a store that traded in souvenirs and antiquities.

With the onset of the war, the Colony – long established in the Jerusalem community – was well positioned to expand its activities to war relief. As Americans, Colony members were permitted to remain in Palestine during the war, unlike the European missionaries who were nationals of belligerent countries. When the United States entered the war in 1917, many other Americans left Palestine; however, because the United States never declared war on the Ottoman Empire, they were not forcibly exiled. The Spafford family chose to remain in Jerusalem for the duration of the war and kept amicable relations with the Ottoman authorities by offering their building and services to nurse wounded Ottoman soldiers.[37]

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[36] I further explore the work of the American Colony in providing Jerusalem-based aid throughout the twentieth century in Julia Shatz, "Governing Jerusalem's Children, Revealing Invisible Inhabitants: The American Colony Aid Association, 1920s-1950s" in *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940,* Angelo Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, eds., (London: Brill, 2018): 423-439.

[37] Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* 260.

In certain ways, the American Colony was a unique institution in the Jerusalem religious and philanthropic landscape. Although early twentieth century Palestine (and Jerusalem more specifically) teemed with foreign missionary organizations of all Christian denominations, as a non-evangelizing and independent utopian movement, the American Colony was somewhat distinct from its American and European neighbors. Nevertheless, unique though it may have been, the Colony was intimately embedded in that missionary community and personally connected to American official interests in Palestine. Bertha Spafford Vester, daughter of Horatio and Anna and leader of the American Colony by the outbreak of the war, remembered helping the American Consul in Palestine, Dr. Otis Glazebrook, in sorting and securing British property in Palestine as the Americans took over responsibility for the British Consulate; Vester and her husband personally housed British and French valuables and title deeds until the end of the war.[38] The American Colony was also well connected in the United States. When they lacked funds to continue their workroom and soup kitchen during the locust plague, Bertha Vester appealed to Michigan lumber industry titan, Edward F. Loud, who gave a loan of five thousand dollars and collected additional donations to keep the soup kitchen open.[39]

The American Colony's wartime relief projects began by addressing the most immediate and visible need of the local population – hunger. Although the Colony had initially attempted to provide aid to local women by employing them in a workroom, Vester noted that as the wartime food shortages progressed, the women became too hungry to work and the Colony turned its efforts to running its soup kitchen.[40] With claims of feeding upwards of 2,400 Jerusalemites a day, the American Colony, like the tea and bread houses established by the Yishuv or the projects of the Red Crescent Society, focused on providing instant and temporary relief.[41] The emphasis was on the alleviation of immediate hunger and not on the larger social and political implications of the food crisis.

With the turn to a focus on children in the war's aftermath, the American Colony's aid projects migrated from the administration of temporary relief to a more structural involvement with social welfare. In her memoir, Bertha Spafford Vester remembered how the decision was made to establish an orphanage in 1918: "After much debate and many consultations the consensus of opinion was that the most urgent need was for an orphanage in which to house the small neglected children wandering the streets."[42] The Christian Herald Orphanage was open from 1918 until Bertha and her husband traveled to the United States in 1922. To be sure, like the soup kitchen, the orphanage was opened in response to a visible need – the scene of destitute and abandoned children in the streets of Jerusalem. The logic behind the orphanage, however, was as much about addressing larger social problems as it was about providing temporary housing for orphaned girls. The intake register described at the beginning of this chapter included small descriptions of the girls and their circumstances, for the purposes of

[38] Ibid, 248-249.
[39] Ibid, 256.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid, 297.

fundraising for the orphanage in the United States. In analyzing these fundraising appeals, it becomes clear that the orphanage was a piece of a larger effort of social welfare transformation for the girls and young women of Jerusalem.

Clippings from the intake register described the girls in less than flattering terms. The notes on Zaheye Fallace, whose father died in the Ottoman labor corps, said that upon arrival at the orphanage, she "looked more like an animal than a human being."[43] Khadija Goshie and her sister, who lost their father to typhus during the war, were called "the most pitiful specimens of the ravages of war that came to the refuge."[44] The girls often came to the orphanage in poor hygiene and health and many of them were treated for eye diseases, such as trachoma, or effects of malnutrition and starvation.

The American Colony orphanage is an important example of the influence and role of American capital in establishing the infrastructure of social welfare in Palestine's post-war landscape. While the American Colony worked closely with the British military government (and the civilian Mandate government later on), the orphanage was funded primarily by American donations. The initial $5,000 to finance the orphanage came from Major Theodore Waters, editor of the *Christian Herald* and a major in the American Red Cross unit in Palestine.[45] Each girl was sponsored by an individual, family, or church group, who gave in amounts ranging from $10 to $65 per year.[46] Thus despite its position and even self-perception as an independent institution, embedded into the local Jerusalem environment, the American Colony and its child welfare projects in the aftermath of the war were deeply intertwined with American money and American political power.

The Syria and Palestine Relief Fund

In 1916, in Cairo while exiled from Palestine, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, Rennie MacInnes, created a fund to raise money and materials for "the relief of distress in Syria and Palestine."[47] The organization, which came to be called the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, established a steering committee in London and began soliciting donations from the British public. The Fund aimed to bring together the various English missionary societies who, until the outbreak of the war, had worked in the Eastern Mediterranean. The first meeting of the committee in London, in September 1916, included

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[43] Vester, Bertha Spafford, and Christian Herald Orphanage. *Record book listing girls receiving support through the Christian Herald Orphanage, as supervised by the American Colony*. Ca. to 1927, 1920. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mamcol.092.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* 297.

[46] Vester, Bertha Spafford, and Christian Herald Orphanage. *Record book listing girls receiving support through the Christian Herald Orphanage, as supervised by the American Colony*. Ca. to 1927, 1920. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mamcol.092 (accessed 6 June 2014). It is possible that this sponsorship of orphans was among the earliest instances of the "charitable adoption" model of direct humanitarian child aid that would become more prevalent in the post-World War II era.

[47] Meeting Minutes, 28 September 1916, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316 Lambeth Palace Library.

representatives from the Church Missionary Society, the Jerusalem and the East Mission, the Edinburgh Medical Mission, the United Free Church of Scotland, and others.[48] All of those missions had active outposts in Palestine prior to the war and all would return to Palestine under the British occupation and administration of the country.

Bishop MacInnes was explicit that the aim of the Fund was, in larger part, to retain the missions' connection to the region and to prepare for the moment when their institutions could be re-established.[49] Relief activities were not separate from the core aims of the missions themselves. At a June 1917 meeting of the committee, members acknowledged that while the priority of the missionary societies was to carry out "regular missionary work," such work would be impossible if immediate needs for relief were not met first.[50] Furthermore, relief work could be a conduit to evangelical activities: "For if Missionaries are admitted to the country to organize relief, they will gradually be gaining the love and respect of those amongst whom they labour, and will thus be bringing nearer the time when they can take up once more their own proper work."[51]

That the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund saw welfare aid as a prerequisite to the resumption of normal missionary activities complicates Watenpaugh's chronology of humanitarian governance. Watenpaugh posits that the post-First World War period saw a decisive shift from missionary-based individual charitable efforts to a scientifically driven bureaucracy. The trajectory of the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund challenges the simplicity of this transition since it shows that missionaries did indeed continue to provide aid (indeed, they were, in many cases, the primary source of humanitarian aid), but they did so within reconstituted frameworks. The Syria and Palestine Relief Fund was a new organization created in the wake of the circumstances of the war, but it was comprised of the same personnel that had been involved in Syria and Palestine before the war and retained many of the same missionary goals. Although missionary societies in Palestine had often cooperated and shared knowledge in the late Ottoman period, the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund brought about a new level of coordination. By establishing a new framework for co-operation, the Fund's founders expected that "much waste and overlapping will be avoided, both at home and in the field."[52] To that end, the Fund streamlined donations and administration, with the single London Committee coordinating the solicitation of funds and then sending the money to a unified administration "on the spot" to mete out relief.[53]

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Meeting Minutes, 7 June 1917, "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Meeting Minutes, 2 October 1916, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[53] Meeting Minutes, 28 September 1916, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

In addition to uniting the missionary societies under one umbrella and leadership, the Fund was also deeply intertwined with the political and colonial officials, past, present and future, of the Middle East. Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner of Egypt and author of the infamous Husayn-McMahon correspondence,[54] served as the chairman of the London Committee.[55] Prior to securing McMahon, the Fund reached out to Lord Cromer, former colonial administrator in India and the first British Consul-General of Egypt, who declined on account of his failing health. The Fund also corresponded with Sir Mark Sykes, the official responsible for the Sykes-Picot agreement,[56] and Glazebrook, the American consul in Jerusalem.[57] As the British forces began to win territory in Palestine and missionaries could envision the occasion of their return to the region, the relationships between the participants in the Fund and the official colonial establishment became more entangled. At a meeting of the London Committee in December 1917, McMahon relayed his communications with the Army Medical Services about missionary nurses and doctors in their employ. McMahon said that they discussed the possibilities of transferring these nurses and doctors serving with the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) to the Palestine front, so that the Fund could have personnel on the ground in Palestine. If this were to be done, the nurses and doctors would remain in the RAMC, but upon their arrival in Palestine, would be employed in connection with the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund. [58]

The Fund was also discursively engaged and invested in the politics of the war. Far from taking the sort of neutral stance expected of today's humanitarian organizations, as a British and a missionary enterprise, the Fund was decidedly partisan in its conception of its work: the suffering of the Syrian and Palestinian populations resulted from the inhuman and uncivilized rule of the Ottomans and, conversely, relief would come from the benevolence, not just of British organizations, but of the British military as well. Through its appeal campaign, the Fund promoted a public discourse that argued that the Ottoman state was "unfit to rule" its inhabitants and that the only hope for the people of Palestine and Syria was in a British victory. Although the Fund's relief projects were ostensibly for people of all faiths, the language used in this campaign was decidedly religious and sectarian, highlighting the Ottomans' purported inability to rule over non-Muslims and the alleged targeting of Christian populations. "Holy Land Massacres," read the headline of an appeal in the Daily Chronicle; "£50,000 Wanted for the Victims of the

[54] The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence refers to a series of letters written in 1916 between Henry McMahon and Sharif Husayn bin 'Ali of Mecca that negotiated Husayn's support for British war aims in exchange for British recognition of an Arab state following the war. Husayn's son, Faysal, went on to lead the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire. The exact nature of McMahon's promises to Husayn became a source of contention and debate following the war.

[55] Meeting Minutes, 12 December 1917, "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

[56] The Sykes-Picot agreement was a wartime agreement formed in 1916 between representatives of Britain and France. It outlined the post-war division of the Middle East into mutually recognized spheres of influence.

[57] Meeting Minutes, 3 October 1917, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

[58] Meeting Minutes 12 December 1917, "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

Turks."[59] Another article about the Fund made the argument more directly: "The Unspeakable Turk: Unfit to Rule Persons of Another Faith."[60] Articles reporting on a Fund meeting in 1917 recounted the searing condemnation of Ottoman rule made by Viscount Bryce, Liberal cabinet member and former ambassador. After describing scenes of starving families in Jerusalem and slaughtered populations in Mt. Lebanon, Bryce asked the assembled crowd, "Do we want any more proof that the Turk ought not be allowed to remain as a ruling power?"[61] British military victories were touted by the Fund as paving the way for the relief of human suffering. "The Capture of Gaza and Beersheba," read one Fund ad from November 1917, "has opened up large areas for relief work. Food, clothing, and medicines are already being distributed to the starving and destitute peoples, but £50,000 is needed at once."[62] The Fund's relief program worked hand in hand with British military success – as the army conquered territory, the Fund followed with humanitarian aid.[63]

The Fund's appeals and advertisements simultaneously emphasized the particular suffering of Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean and the ecumenical nature of the organization's efforts. The Ottoman Empire's supposed crimes against Christianity were against both the human body and the land: the alleged singling out of Christians for starvation and violence and the mistreatment of the Holy Land itself. As this chapter has already shown, a combination of environmental and political factors led to massive famine and starvation in the Eastern Mediterranean that was endured across sectarian divisions. Early on, the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund chose to heavily highlight Christian, and then Jewish, suffering. At a 1917 meeting, Lord Bryce reported on rumors that, following the massacre of the Armenians and the intentional starving of Christians in Lebanon, the Ottomans were planning to send infectious peoples into Christian and Jewish towns and villages.[64] Writing to the *Times* in January 1917, the Fund's committee quoted Lord Grey in stating that the Ottomans were waging a deliberate starvation campaign against its Christian population in Syria: "there has gone on, in Turkey, on a scale unprecedented with horrors unequalled before, an attempt to exterminate the Christian population."[65]

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[59] "Holy Land Massacres," *Daily Chronicle,* 21 February 1917, "News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[60] "The Unspeakable Turk," *Western Mail,* 21 February 1917, "News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[61] "Famine in the Holy Land," *Daily Mail,* 21 February 1917, "News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[62] "Recent Victories in the Holy Land," *Challenge*, 15 November 1917, "News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[63] For the interrelationship between military and humanitarian intervention, see Rodogno's *Against Massacre.* Rodogno's work focuses on the pre-World War I moment; the continued entwined nature of humanitarian organizations with military forces into the twentieth century, however, suggests that that relationship persisted, complicating Watenpaugh's stricter delineation of the humanitarian interventions of the nineteenth century and what he's termed "modern humanitarianism."
[64] "Unfit to Rule," *Sheffield Daily Telegraph,* 21 February 1917, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[65] Meeting Minutes, 29 January 1917, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library. Again, this discourse strongly echoes the interventions outlined in Rodogno's work.

Attempts to elicit sympathy and outrage among the British public by emphasizing Christian suffering in the region were coupled with arguments of the Fund's own non-discriminatory practices. The above letter to the *Times* closed with the following: "Though the policy of starvation is, mainly, directed against the Christian population, help will be given to all in need, irrespective of creed or race."[66] The ecumenical approach to relief was drawn in contrast to the purported atrocities of the Ottoman regime; Britons and Christians, unlike the Ottomans, were fit to govern those of another faith. The cross-sectarian nature of the relief provided was presented as an argument for Christian rule. A 1917 article in *The Life of Faith* about the Fund's work lauded the organization for providing relief "in the name of Jesus Christ."[67] In contrast to the horrors of Ottoman rule, the author wrote, "how befitting the Christian religion, then, that Bishop MacInnes, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, should have inaugurated a great Relief Fund in which all the societies working in Syria and Palestine have co-operated!"[68] The article focused a great deal on the ethnic distinctions between the Turkish rulers and the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean. Claiming that the suffering brought about by the Ottomans had nothing to do with religion, the article argued that the Ottoman authorities were entirely alien to Syria and Palestine and were oppressing Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike as a part of a Pan-Turanian movement.[69] The implications of this argument are self-evident: it dismisses communal identity as a legitimate basis for governance between a Muslim polity and a majority Muslim population and it posits British rule as no more alien to the region than Ottoman rule, while being significantly more benevolent. The discourse used to promote the Fund's humanitarian mission and relief activities thus simultaneously justified and legitimized British imperial rule in the region.

Although the Fund's relief projects nominally targeted populations of all religions, nationalities, and ages, its promotional materials increasingly focused on children as the most pitiable, and thus deserving, recipients of aid. An appeal appeared in early 1918 in the *Express and Echo*, reporting on cables from the Red Cross about the situation of children in Jaffa. The children were described as "in a pitiable condition" and "naked and starving and had not even beds to lie in."[70] The appeal addressed Britons as particular vanguards of child welfare:

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[66] Ibid.
[67] "A Tragic Cry from the Holy Land," *The Life of Faith,* 25 April 1917, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] The discourses of development that ran through these appeals, and the relief efforts more broadly, recall to some extent earlier colonial initiatives for reforms among the peasantry and laboring poor. In her work on nineteenth-century Egypt, Samera Esmeir shows how colonial penal reforms aimed to cultivate a particular type of productive Egyptian peasant whose labor would align with the demands of a colonial modern capitalism (Samera Esmeir, *Juridical Humanity: A Colonial History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), Chapter Four: Battles). While both humanitarian organizations and national and colonial states did view children as potential productive subjects, the line between humanitarian reforms for children and capitalist labor output was not as direct as in the case of the Egyptian peasantry. Nevertheless, it is useful to think of children not only in comparison to refugees, as simultaneously vulnerable and threatening, but also with reference to large-scale social interventions that targeted laboring classes.

> This question is addressed to the generous heart of the British public. Is the protective instinct – so swift and sure – that instinct which in England expresses itself in Maternity Schemes and Child Welfare – to fail here, and fall short?[71]

As in the work of the American Colony, children symbolized the possibilities of the future, but also the looming social ills that might arise absent a social welfare system. For boys, these were the ills of vagrancy and poverty. One article about the Fund's orphanage in Jaffa highlighted the story of an eleven-year-old orphan who lost his hands in a shelling: "But for the Relief Fund his fate in life would be that of a professional beggar."[72] For girls, the Fund's promotional material played on the public's fears of sexual exploitation, namely in the forms prostitution and child marriage. In the early years of the Fund, prior to the British military victory in Palestine, rumors of sexual exploitation of young girls fueled British imaginations about the abuses of the Ottoman authorities. An oft-repeated eyewitness account of abductions of women and children in Syria circulated in the Fund's press: "In three different places which we visited were camps of women and children, where any man could go in and select a child or a woman and take them with him, dragging them by their hair."[73] The abductions or sales of children – especially girls – were raised as specters of Ottoman barbarity and the need for the Fund's particular care for children. As child welfare was increasingly understood, worldwide, as an integral component of modern governance, the figure of the abandoned child became a justification for new forms of welfare intervention and governance.

The American Red Cross

The American Colony and the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund both had histories in Palestine that pre-dated the First World War; by contrast, the American Red Cross (ARC), which arrived in Palestine in 1917, was new to the area. In the wake of the British capture of Jerusalem, the American Red Cross sent its first commission to Palestine in March 1918, headed by Colonel John H. Finley. Upon arrival in Palestine, the American Red Cross commission worked closely with the British authorities, spearheading much of the provision of medical, social, and public works services on behalf of the military administration. As reported in both the *Palestine News* and the *Red Cross Magazine*, all of the administrative heads of the military government attended the opening of the Red Cross building in Jerusalem and the commission was formally welcomed by General Edmund Allenby. Allenby's remarks indicated a close and symbiotic relationship between the military administration and the Red Cross. Speaking of the British authorities and the commission as partners, he said, "You have come to help set right the wrongs and to rebuild what military force has destroyed and it is for this work that we particularly welcome your cooperation."[74]

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[71] "Help for Destitute Children of Palestine," *Express and Echo,* 26 January 1918, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[72] "News from Palestine," *Hospital,* 9 March 1918, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[73] "Famine in the Holy Land," *Christian Herald,* 1 March 1917, News Cuttings," MSS 2613, Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[74] "The American Red Cross Commission in Jerusalem," *The Palestine News* (Cairo: 18 July 1918), 12.

Although the American Red Cross commission was a new entity in the political and social landscape of Palestine, several members of its staff had prior lives in Palestine as members of missionary and religious institutions. Asa Edward Kelsey, for example, served in the Red Cross agriculture and relief departments from 1918 to 1919. Prior to joining the Red Cross, however, Kelsey and his wife were members of the Friends Mission in Ramallah. The Red Cross served as their way back into Palestine during and after the war. After the Red Cross left Palestine, the Kelseys resumed their work with the Friends Mission and Mrs. Kelsey helped found the Ramallah infant welfare center, which is discussed at length the next chapter. Another Friends Mission member, Alice Jones, was listed on the Red Cross payroll as a social worker for the commission and directed an orphanage for girls in a former missionary school building in Jerusalem.[75]

The Red Cross commission undertook a wider breadth of activities than the other relief organizations. In addition to direct service relief, it worked closely with the military government on engineering, agricultural development, and public works construction. However, like the American Colony and Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, the commission's humanitarian projects were largely focused on children. A 1918 Red Cross Magazine article on the commission's work in Palestine painted a harrowing picture of life for children in the streets of Palestine:

> Everywhere there are children – children carrying huge bundles in the straggling lines of incoming refugees; little children who hang on to mothers' skirts much as our youngsters do, but who are weary as ours never were from walking six hundred miles in their bare feet; starving little children lost in the streets whose mothers and fathers are dead of dysentery or typhus or malaria or just plain exhaustion.[76]

Children, however, did not merely represent the devastations of the war; they also symbolized – as they had come to throughout the globe in the post-war moment – the societies of the future. The same article concluded by saying, "The hope of Palestine, as the hope of France, lies in its children. The Red Cross, the greatest mother in the world has spread her protecting arm above them . . ."[77] The war had upset society as it had been, but it had also given an opportunity for its renaissance. Children were both the symbols and the practical objects of that rebirth and the Red Cross, and its related aid organizations, were mother and midwife.

The Work

Rather than remaining isolated charitable enterprises in the practical administration of relief to children, the aid organizations closely cooperated with each other and with the military government, forming a comprehensive web of humanitarian governance. Although this form of "collaborative governance" relied on the scientific and

[75] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[76] E.M. Heath, "The Mercy Road to Palestine, *The Red Cross Magazine*, (December 1918), 49.
[77] Ibid, 50.

social scientific expertise that often distinguish twentieth century technocracies and development projects, that governance was ad-hoc, patchwork, and voluntary, rather than being fully systematized from the top down. From the beginning of the American Red Cross's (ARC) arrival in Palestine, the British military government heavily relied on ARC personnel, materials, and expertise to carry out the essential works of governing. British forces controlled Palestine from the time of General Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem in 1917. With the Allied occupation of the Eastern Mediterranean in the latter years of the war, French and British forces created Occupied Enemy Territory Administrations (OETA), wherein they divided territory and governing responsibilities between themselves. The British controlled OETA South, which joined together the Ottoman *sanjaks* of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre, effectively creating the territory of Palestine as a cohesive entity for the first time. OETA South was governed by a British military administration until the civilian government was established in 1920.

The ARC worked as a partner with the OETA in several arenas, most notably in the provision of social services. The 1918 ARC annual report stated, "From the very first, the American Red Cross was called upon both by the Military Authorities and by other charitable organizations working in Palestine to aid them in their work."[78] Almost immediately upon the Commission's arrival in Palestine, an ARC nurse took charge of the Government Civilian Hospital in Jerusalem and a few weeks later another ARC nurse took charge of the Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Jaffa.[79] This pattern continued, and within the first month of the ARC's establishment in Palestine, their doctors and nurses (alongside some personnel from the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund) took over the majority of the direct medical services for the civilian population. The ARC also served as the emergency response department for the military administration – in October 1918, the government requested the ARC's assistance in stamping out a cholera outbreak in Tiberias.[80]

As voluntary organizations began to assume the majority of direct service and social welfare work on behalf of the government, they also became the target of appeals for assistance from members of the communities in which they worked. A doctor from Haifa, Nasif Kawari, who had lost his eyesight during the war, wrote to the American Red Cross, asking for aid so that he could send his children to school. "It will be the worst crime on my part," Kawari wrote, "after having tasted what education is, to leave them ignorant."[81] Kawari was himself a graduate of the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut), which could mean that he had more familiarity with the networks of American Protestant organizations in the Middle East and was better positioned to appeal to their generosity.

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[78] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Nasif Kawari to Red Cross, 15 January 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.

It was not only individuals who turned to the relief agencies for help; local organizations also appealed for assistance or collaboration. The director of the Zahrat al-Ihsan Society of Nablus asked for the Red Cross's financial assistance for the society's "needy young boys and girls" who wanted to go to school, but could not afford the expenses. With a particular focus on the dire straits of orphaned children, the letter emphasized the difficulty of advancement for these children without the aid of the Red Cross.[82] Another school, Dar al-'Ulum, of Jaffa, also wrote to the Red Cross asking for help in rebuilding its institution. Founded around 1912, Dar al-'Ulum closed with the Ottoman ordered evacuation of Jaffa during the war. In 1919, when the school inspector, Aref Budeiri, wrote the Red Cross, the school committee was attempting to reopen the facility, but lacked sufficient funds to replace furniture and materials. The school had already received £E60 from the government, but still had a deficit of at least £E140.[83]

The appeals received by the Red Cross demonstrate the commission's unique position among the various voluntary associations that were administering relief in post-war Palestine. The ARC, along with the entire Anglo-American relief network in Palestine, assumed a governmental role. Not only responsible for providing discrete services, the ARC also aided and managed welfare relief on a macro-scale, bankrolling local organizations and determining the value of relief projects in deciding which would be funded. Dar al-'Ulum, for example, was financially supported by the military authorities, but turned to the ARC for twice the amount given to them by the government. On the one hand, the relationship between the relief organizations and the government suggests a state of emergency, in which a nascent and temporary administration relied on the resources of private organizations until a permanent governmental structure could be established. On the other hand, this governing configuration outlasted both the OETA and the ARC's presence in Palestine; under the Mandate, as the next chapter will show, the government continued to outsource social services and welfare for the local population to voluntary associations.

In addition to close partnerships with the military authorities, the relief organizations also worked with each other in the provision of aid and services to children. The Red Cross and Syria and Palestine Relief Fund (SPRF) worked especially closely in developing institutions and services for children. In 1918, soon after the arrival of the ARC to Palestine, John Finley met with the secretary of the SPRF and proposed that "instead of delimitation of areas, the two Funds should together tackle the work of relief of Syria and Palestine as a whole."[84] The two organizations, along with the American Colony and in cooperation with the government and other voluntary associations, provided services to children in two main arenas: medical care and orphanages.

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[82] Sharif Sbouk to Red Cross, 12 January 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[83] Aref Budeiri to Red Cross, 24 April 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[84] Meeting Minutes, 23 May 1918, "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

Alongside destitution came disease, and the relief organizations collaborated in constructing a network of medical and public health services for children. Prior to the war, medical care was provided to local populations either through Ottoman municipal hospitals in the cities or through European medical missions. With both of those systems destroyed or halted during the war, the beginnings of a new public health network emerged through the work of the relief organizations. By the organizations' own accounts, the most pressing health problem facing the children of Palestine after the war was undernourishment, an unsurprising consequence of years of famine and continuing economic insecurity. The relief organizations combated malnourishment through clinical care and food distribution programs. In addition to reopening and running pre-war hospitals, the ARC, for example, also opened a children's clinic in Jerusalem, where the military authorities had delegated civilian medical work to the ARC. The children's clinic was opened in response to the "vast number of applications for medical aid for children" and in conjunction with pediatric medical work already undertaken by the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund.[85] The demand for medical aid to children outstripped other civilian needs; the ARC hospital had twenty-five beds, while between forty and one hundred mothers brought their children to the children's clinic daily.[86] The 1918 report on the ARC medical work stated that the clinic gave out 250 tins of milk daily to hungry children and attended to a total of 2,329 cases.[87] Nearly one third of the children who attended the clinic, the reports noted, had fathers who had been conscripted into the Ottoman military during the war.[88]

Relief organizations tackled the problem of malnourishment through food distribution centers, as well as through clinics. Under the auspices of its relief department, the ARC ran a food distribution center for hungry residents in Birzeit, where 200-250 children a day came from neighboring towns to receive rice, soup, or porridge.[89] The SPRF likewise undertook food and milk distribution as a means of combating child illness. A report on the organization's work in the first few months of 1918 noted that relief workers had distributed 16,500 tins of milk to children in Jerusalem alone and had spent £E470 on food relief.[90] The American Colony, as noted, had also run a soup kitchen during the war itself and continued to provide nutritional relief to children and mothers. In a letter about the soup kitchen sent to the United States in 1917, Bertha Vester commented, "It is the babies and children who suffer. They have had no part in bringing about this sad state of affairs. Their appealing glances would break hearts of stone."[91] Malnutrition, undernourishment, and the illnesses brought on by food scarcity contributed to high infant mortality rates in Palestine well into the 1920s. The provision of nutritional relief, especially in the form of milk distribution, continued far past the crises moments of

[85] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Rennie McInnes, *Syria and Palestine Relief Fund* (pamphlet), "Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[91] Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* 256.

the immediate post-war and continued to be operated by a partnership between the (then) civilian government and voluntary associations, like the American Colony and Christian missionary societies.

Next to malnutrition, epidemic and endemic diseases factored heavily in the medical care of children. It was here that relief organizations' work most prefigured the structure of the public health system, as it would develop under the Mandate government. According to the Red Cross, the most common childhood disease was malaria, followed by measles and dysentery. Approximately three percent of the children's clinic patients died in 1918, with over half of those deaths resulting from malaria.[92] Although the government nominally held responsibility for controlling epidemics, the military authorities outsourced much of this work to the relief and voluntary organizations. In October 1918, the OETA called upon the ARC to manage an outbreak of cholera in Tiberias. After dispatching seven ARC members to the scene of the outbreak for two weeks, the ARC turned over control of the Cholera Hospital to the American Zionist Medical Unit, who took "permanent charge of the civilian medical work of the town."[93]

The distribution of labor between the government and the voluntary organizations during the cholera outbreak in Tiberias foreshadowed the structure of public health under the Mandate government. In Tiberias, the government called upon the ARC (and later, the American Zionist Medical Unit[94]) to take on the direct medical care of the population, while the authorities supported that work by enforcing broader policies, such as the chlorination of water and mass vaccination efforts.[95] The Department of Health in the Mandate period was founded on the explicit assumption that medical services to the civilian population would be delegated to existing voluntary associations in the area while the Department would take on the regulations, research, and public works of controlling epidemic diseases and other broad public health threats. The reality during the OETA period, however, was far messier, with relief organizations providing not just aid in treating individuals, but also epidemiological research and financial support to the government. The SPRF opened hospitals and dispensaries in Hebron, Jaffa, and

[92] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[93] Ibid.
[94] The American Zionist Medical Unit (AZMU) was a significant actor in the landscape of medical relief after the war. The Red Cross collaborated closely with the AZMU on issues of public health and control of epidemic disease. The AZMU's successor organization, Hadassah, would be a major participant in the provision of health care during the Mandate period, specifically for the Jewish community. The histories of Hadassah and the AZMU have been extensively catalogued in the historiography of Zionism and the founding of the Israeli state. Watenpaugh actually references the AZMU as an example of how humanitarian aid allows proto-state entities to assert a certain form of governing power. While the AZMU was incredibly important in the story of social welfare in Palestine from 1918-on, I choose to focus on the organizations that catered to the non-Jewish population of Palestine in this chapter to illuminate the network of humanitarian governance that existed outside of the trajectory of Zionist organizational development.
[95] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.

Jerusalem, but also provided drugs to the hospitals run by the government.[96] The ARC opened a bacteriology laboratory in Jerusalem, where its workers ran sample analyses for members of the military as well as civilians.[97] Relief organizations participated in founding permanent structures of public health and medical relief in post-war Palestine, and they did so because they came to the area not merely as extra sets of hands amidst a crisis, but as medical professionals and experts with developed technologies, resources, and experience.

While laying the groundwork for the public health infrastructure that would develop through the 1920s, the relief organizations' medical work also built on the infrastructures of the late Ottoman period. First, the organizations quite literally built on the prior medical landscape by taking over pre-existing hospital spaces. The ARC inhabited and refurbished the pre-existing Russian Hospital in Jerusalem as well as the English Mission Hospital in Haifa.[98] The SPRF focused on re-opening former missionary hospitals that had been closed during the war, such as Church Missionary Society hospitals in Hebron and Gaza, the London Jews Society hospital in Jerusalem, and the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society (EMMS) hospital in Nazareth.[99] During the war itself, the American Colony members had taken over the management of several Ottoman hospitals in Jerusalem.

More significant than the use of pre-war infrastructure and spaces, the efforts of the relief organizations in the aftermath of the war created a continuum of medical work in Palestine from the late Ottoman period to the Mandate period through personnel and institutions. For instance, the SPRF outsourced some of its medical work in Jerusalem to Frederick Scrimgeour, formerly the missionary of the EMMS in Nazareth. By 1918, Dr. Scrimgeour returned to his post in Nazareth and employed local Palestinian nurses and doctors to re-open the hospital there.[100] At a meeting of the Fund in 1917, Bishop MacInnes suggested that when British forced captured Hebron, Dr. Paterson would re-open the hospital in the city. Dr. Paterson, who had worked in Hebron with the United Free Church of Scotland prior to the war, eventually became the Principal Medical Officer for Hebron under the Mandate government. For SPRF, relief work was a means through which the pre-war missionary societies might resume their pre-war medical work. As missionary hospitals were secured and re-opened, the SPRF turned over their management to the individual missionary societies that had formerly run them.[101]

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[96] Prospectus of Relief Work in Palestine, 1918, Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[97] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Meeting Minutes, 22 November 1917, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[100] Meeting Minutes, 29 October 1918, Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, 2nd Minute Book, November 1917 to December 1918" Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.
[101] Meeting Minutes, 22 November 1917, "Bishop MacInnes' Fund (In conjunction with the Missionary Societies) for Relief in Syria and Palestine. Minute Book, September 1916-November 1917," Syria and Palestine Relief, Davidson 400, ff. 247-316, Lambeth Palace Library.

The American Colony's work also provided a continuity of health care provision from the war through the Mandate period. Although the American Colony had taken over the management of hospitals in the specific circumstances of the war, it remained an integral part of the post-war public health scene, especially for children, and was one of the only foreign institutions to continue its work uninterrupted from the late Ottoman through the Mandate periods. In the Mandate period, the American Colony founded an infant welfare center and, eventually, a children's hospital in Jerusalem that exists to this day. The medical work of the relief organizations in the war's aftermath was integral in the formation of the public health structure of the Mandate administration, but rather than creating that structure as sui generis in the moment of the war, the relief organizations built on infrastructure, institutions, and knowledge that already existed in the medical landscape of Palestine.

In addition to childhood diseases, the primary social problem that the organizations sought to alleviate was the huge number of orphans living on the streets or in utter destitution. To provide relief for these children, the relief organizations opened up a series of orphanages, many of which were jointly operated or taken over from voluntary and charitable associations that had operated in Palestine prior to the war. The orphanages addressed the acute crises of poverty, homeless, and abandonment; they also, however, became sites of governance themselves. Not only were the boundaries between the state and the non-state organizations slippery and nebulous, but the relief organizations themselves became governors of the social. Through their work, they produced a particular vision of what Palestinian society should look like, informed by local conditions, Orientalist and imperialist knowledge production, and international imperatives. That vision of Palestinian society and Palestinian childhood was explicitly gendered in the work of the post-war orphanages. Sex-segregated from their inceptions, these orphanages embodied the logics of a highly gendered imperial social formation, in which girls were prepared to be modern mothers and boys to be productive workers. [102] The gender logic that guided this welfare work stemmed simultaneously from Orientalist assumptions about the gendered structure of the social formation in the Middle East and in Muslim-majority countries and from twentieth-century ideals of the operation of gender in a scientifically-modern, progressive society. Left without social welfare intervention, the logic of the orphanages dictated, Palestinian girls would become prostitutes and Palestinian boys would become criminals. The child welfare operations of the humanitarian governance network were thus seen as almost equal in importance in the making of post-war Palestine as the agricultural and infrastructural endeavors.

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[102] In her books *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), Mrinalini Sinha employs the term "imperial social formation" to describe "the imperial ordering of modern society," (*Specters of Mother India,* 17). In *Specters of Mother India,* specifically, Sinha argues that the dynamics of the imperial social formation was reconfigured in the particular global dynamics of the interwar period in ways that exceeded conventionally understood imperialist-nationalist framework. While Sinha's work primarily looks at the operation of gender for adults in constructing the imperial social formation, her framework can be equally applied to an examination of gendered childhood.

In a monthly budget from 1918, the ARC allocated $18,000 for orphanage work, the third highest budget item behind only agricultural work and generalized relief.[103] In 1918-1919, the ARC operated four orphanages and a day nursery. The first orphanage managed by the ARC was the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem (also known as Schneller Orphanage). The Syrian Orphanage was a long-standing institution in Palestine, founded in 1860 by German Lutheran missionary Johann Ludwig Schneller for orphans from Mount Lebanon civil war. After the First World War, the ARC assumed responsibility for the orphanage until it was returned to the Schneller family in 1921.[104] Their own reports credit ARC members with changing the atmosphere of the orphanage "almost entirely," and introducing "moral tone and fiber," "self reliance" and "mutual confidence" to the boys living in the institution.[105] Like many of the orphanages, the Syrian Orphanage promoted a curriculum for training its pupils in various urban and rural industries – shoemaking, carpentry, printing, mechanics, baking, farming were among the trades offered. The industrial trades were not simply theoretical – the printing office, for example, supplied the military authorities with their needed forms.[106]

The Red Cross also took charge of an orphanage for boys, which was established by the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund in a former Greek monastery. At the time of the transfer to the ARC, the orphanage housed one hundred boys. Like the Syrian Orphanage, the curriculum of this orphanage was meant to encourage self-reliance and industrious behavior, but the ARC also emphasized that the orphanage aimed to keep its charges "in tune with native life."[107] To this end, the ARC members who ran the orphanage gave the children "native food" and "native costumes."[108] At the same time, the boys received lessons in both Arabic and English reading and writing, in addition to trade work, and the Red Cross reports congratulated the orphanage for reforming and inspiring the "ordinarily rather listless Palestinian child."[109] The orphanage report also detailed the medical interventions that the institution provided. Reporting that 43% of the charges were afflicted with the endemic eye disease trachoma and half of the orphanage had to be quarantined on account of scabies, the orphanage directors claimed that they were contributing to the physical, as well as moral, regeneration of the boys.[110] In addition to regular visits by Red Cross doctors, a Palestinian nurse oversaw the daily health of the boys, which is one of the only mentions in the reports of the local labor that was integrated into the care of orphaned children. The curriculum and concerns of the boys' orphanage show the ideological and rhetorical tension that animated much of the child welfare relief work. On the one hand, the relief organizations saw themselves as providing temporary aid, enough to repair some of the damages of the war and reintegrate

[103] Budget for Palestine, Series I (Correspondence), Box 37 (Palestine Letters), John Huston Finley Papers (1892-1940), Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library.
[104] The Syrian Orphanage remained open and operational until its German proprietors were exiled from Palestine at the beginning of World War II when the orphanage was repurposed as a British military camp.
[105] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, 20 March 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

the children into the society that had existed prior to the war's trauma. On the other hand, the foreign relief organizations' agendas contained no small amount of a civilizing mission and they saw their roles as contributing to the permanent transformation of society, beginning with its youngest members.

The first new orphanage established by the Red Cross was a girls' orphanage in Jerusalem. Although the orphanage itself was new, it was housed in a building that was formerly the London Jews Society Girls School. Run by Alice W. Jones, previously a teacher at the Ramallah Friends School before the war, the orphanage housed between one and two hundred girls at a time and gave instruction in academic subjects (Arabic, English, geography, arithmetic, history) as well as domestic subjects (sewing, hygiene, housework, gardening).[111] Two-thirds of the girls at the orphanage were Christian (mostly Greek Orthodox) and one-third were Muslim, reflecting more the impact of Christian-dominated relief networks than the demographics of need in the city.[112] The self-reported aim of the girls' orphanage was to inspire in its charges "the ideals of honesty and simplicity."[113] Less explicit, however, was the desire to shape these girls into respectable and responsible young women who might elicit marriage proposals from respectable and responsible young men. Most importantly, the girls' orphanages throughout Palestine sought to train girls in either the trades or the homemaking skills that would prevent them from turning to prostitution.

Fears of prostitution and sexual exploitation animated much of the relief organizations' work with girls and young women in the post-war environment. The American Colony orphanage, for example, credited itself with rescuing girls from the social, as well as the physical, ills of the war's aftermath. The description of one of the orphanage's charges, Hannie Salfeetie (age 10), whose father died and mother was invalided, concluded, "There was nothing for such a child but to roam the streets and learn all kinds of wickedness had not the Orphanage opened its loving gates."[114] By many accounts, prostitution had surged in Jerusalem as the war brought both poverty and German and Ottoman, and then British, soldiers to the city. In Ihsan Tourjman's wartime diaries, Abigail Jacobson found many references to both the number of prostitutes on the street in Jerusalem during the war and the Ottoman authorities' apparent complicity in the industry. Tourjman blamed the economic deprivations of the war for leaving women with no alternative with which to provide for their families and Jacobson credits the problem of prostitution with further estranging Tourjman from the government.[115]

The arrival of the British forces in Palestine only served to increase the visibility of prostitution in Jerusalem. The British conquest of Jerusalem in 1917 brought over

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Vester, Bertha Spafford, and Christian Herald Orphanage. *Record book listing girls receiving support through the Christian Herald Orphanage, as supervised by the American Colony*. Ca. to 1927, 1920. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mamcol.092.
[115] Abigail Jacobson, "Negotiating Ottomanism in Times of War: Jerusalem During World War I Through the Eyes of a Local Muslim Resident," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008), 77.

20,000 soldiers into the city and with them an infrastructure that ensured prostitution was both accessible to the soldiers and well-regulated by the military authorities. The British military regime adapted both existing Ottoman regulations and practices developed in the British army across the Empire to create red light districts and known brothels in the city. While the provision of women to soldiers was also a practice of the Ottoman military, as Margalit Shilo argues, British soldiers arrived in the city with substantially larger paychecks to inject into the sexual service economy.[116] Both Shilo's sources and Tourjman's diaries identify the majority of Jerusalemite prostitutes as coming from the Jewish community, though all sources acknowledge that women of all religious groups and denominations worked as prostitutes.

The campaign to "rescue" women and girls from the streets of Palestine will be revisited in Chapter Three; suffice to say, the social conditions of the post-war city greatly influenced the direction of the American Colony's humanitarian projects. While Shilo cites evidence that girls as young as seven or eight did work in the post-war brothels, none of the American Colony's orphans had actually been directly involved in prostitution. The orphanage was intended to rescue the girls from the potential of prostitution and abuse, not from actual experiences of it. The fear that girls in precarious economic circumstances without proper supervision would fall into disreputable lifestyles drove the orphanage's mission and justified its work to its overseas funders.

Wartime prostitution was not the only wickedness that the orphanage meant to combat; its proprietors were equally concerned with preventing early marriages, especially among the Muslim girls. Several of the clippings noted that the girls would have been given in marriage had not the orphanage stepped in and taken them. The orphanage reports credited the orphanage with preventing the marriages of Guldusta Bada (age 10) and Khadigie Ersas (age 8), whom, the reports claim, was to be "dragged away and married" before the American Colony "rescued her."[117] Although the reports recognized economic circumstances as the reasons behind these alleged marriage agreements, they also reflected certain assumptions about the place of women within the Muslim community and the deficiencies in Muslims' treatment of women. About Khadigie Ersas' mother, the report proclaimed, "She is quite helpless, like the majority of Muslim women of her class and relies entirely on charity for her support."[118] Even when Christian girls were also "rescued" from early marriages, the reports put the responsibility on the Muslim community, as was the case with Marie Aboud (age 8), a Greek Orthodox girl from Northern Palestine whom the reports claim moved to Jerusalem to escape Muslims who wanted to "take Marie by force to be a concubine."[119] Highlighting the stories of child marriage and abduction no doubt bolstered the urgency

[116] Margalit Shilo, "Women as Victims of War: The British Conquest (1917) and the Blight of Prostitution in the Holy City," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* No. 6, Women, War, and Peace in Jewish and Middle East Contexts, (Fall 5764/2003), 73.
[117] Bertha Spafford Vester and Christian Herald Orphanage. *Record book listing girls receiving support through the Christian Herald Orphanage, as supervised by the American Colony*. Ca. to 1927, 1920. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mamcol.092.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

of the orphanage's work in the eyes of its foreign backers. Emphasizing the broader social problems of prostitution and child marriage also placed the American Colony's work with the orphans in a larger narrative of the civilizing force of Western (and Christian) power in Palestine. The orphanage, though meeting the immediate physical needs of these children, was also part of a deeper scheme to enact fundamental transformations in the social realm.

Although the orphanage reports emphasized the economic roots of the girls' circumstances, and even of prostitution and child marriage, the American Colony pursued individual and liberal remedies, rather than addressing the larger socio-economic situation of post-war Palestine. Both in their handicrafts workroom and in the orphanage, the American Colony sought to save girls from "depraved circumstances" by teaching them artisan skills, or, equally importantly, domestic skills that would enable them to make eligible marriages when they came of age. The American Colony workroom, designed to keep young women off the streets and give them economic resources that might prevent an early marriage, is a good example of the cross-organizational nature of relief, especially to girls, in this period. The workroom was initially opened by the American Colony members and housed in their facilities. In 1918, however, first the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund and then the American Red Cross took over the management of the workroom.[120] Rather than operate as individual outfits that provided limited and discrete modes of relief, these three organizations communicated, cooperated, and shared knowledge, personnel and funds.

Similarly motivated by concerns about the safety and morality of women and girls, the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, in cooperation with the Red Cross, established a hostel for "working girls" in Jerusalem. The hostel provided a place for young women to stay, but also classes in English, singing, homemaking, and Bible studies.[121] The hostel also organized social events for the girls, such as parties and picnics. The committee that established and ran the hostel was comprised of women from either the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund or the Red Cross, with the exception of one Palestinian woman, Mrs. Salameh.[122] The raison d'etre of the hostel was to keep the girls away from the temptations of prostitution. In the hostel's fundraising appeal, the committee wrote that the hostel was necessary because girls who worked in relief organizations' workrooms had no place to go in their leisure hours and "the streets are full of troops."[123] The rhetoric of the appeal suggested a paternalistic protection for young Palestinian women from the dangers of wild soldiers: "To our many friends in the army who are passing through this land, we do not hesitate to appeal for contributions, knowing they are glad that other men's sisters have been safeguarded during times of difficulty and danger."[124]

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[120] Report of the American Red Cross Commission to Palestine for the Year 1918, Series I (Correspondence), Box 34 (Palestine Letters), John Huston Finley Papers (1892-1940), Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library.
[121] *S&P Hostel and Club, Jerusalem: Its Work and Its Need* (booklet), Series I (Correspondence), Box 36 (Palestine Letters), John Huston Finley Papers (1892-1940), Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

At the same time, however, the appeal suggested that the danger actually lay within the young women, who might slip into disreputable work and leisure activities if they were not vigilantly guarded and provided for. The appeal concluded with a message, not of the protection that the hostel provided, but of its role in moral uplift: "By means of these Clubs in Palestine and Egypt, we hope to help raise the standard of the young woman of the Near East."[125]

The Girls' Hostel Committee was an early project of the Social Service Association (SSA), which was established in the postwar environment with the aim of protecting the virtue and futures of young Palestinian women. Spearheaded by Bertha Vester of the American Colony, the SSA included British, American, and Palestinian women, mostly from the missionary and relief societies. As with the Hostel, the primary aim of the SSA upon its founding was to combat the wartime prostitution industry. The SSA members claimed that prostitution was not endemic to Palestine, but was a phenomenon induced by the presence of soldiers and the economic circumstances of the war: "the presence of large armies and the prevalence of starvation had forced a great many respectable girls to accept dishonour as the only means of livelihood for themselves and their families."[126] Unlike the Red Cross, which only administered relief and social services through 1919, the SSA was a presence in Palestine's social welfare network throughout the Mandate period. The SSA worked closely with the High Commissioner and the police department, first in outlawing brothels and red light districts, and then in enforcing anti-vice laws. The SSA also worked with the Government of Palestine on developing juvenile delinquency regulations and infrastructure and was contracted by the government to run and manage a girls' reformatory institution. The girls' home was initially founded to provide a place for destitute girls and young women who were taken off the streets by the authorities and put in prisons for lack of alternative accommodation.[127] In the early 1920s, the SSA received permission from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to take in female juvenile delinquents and function as a reformatory institution. An annual report of the SSA's work claimed that two-thirds of the women and girls in the girls' home were convicted juvenile delinquents. The government paid the SSA at a rate of five tariff piasters per girl per day as well as giving the SSA a monthly grant of £E5 for personnel.[128] The juvenile delinquents were supervised in the girls' home by the Government Welfare Inspector who was simultaneously a government official and a founding member of the SSA. The rest of the funds for the Home were raised through donations, both from the elite women of Palestine and from the SSA's networks abroad.

The imperative to care for the orphans of the war shifted into a concern about problematic behavior for Palestinian boys as well as girls. In August 1918, ARC director,

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Social Service Association, *Social Service Association Report, 1923-1924*, Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1924,1. Accessed National Library of Israel.
[127] Ibid, 4.
[128] Ibid. Until 1927, both the Ottoman lira and the Egyptian pound were the legal currencies of Palestine. The Egyptian pound was divisible into 100 piastres. In 1927, the Government of Palestine established a Currency Board and began to circulate the Palestinian pound.

John Finley, wrote a letter to Colonel Clive-Davis of the military government, responding to the latter's suggestion that the Red Cross work with the military authorities to establish a boys' reformatory institution. Finley offered that the ARC would fund and oversee such an institution, under the direction of the military government, if they could bring in a person specifically trained in juvenile delinquency work from abroad.[129] In their own reports, ARC members commented on the impact the war had on juvenile delinquency, attributing to the post-war social and economic conditions a noticeable rise in youth criminal behavior.[130] By 1919, legal secretary to OETA (and later, the Attorney General of the Mandate administration), Norman Bentwich, had opened a boys' reformatory institution alongside Captain A.E. Kelsey of the ARC.[131] Captain Kelsey, head of both the agricultural and relief departments, oversaw the day-to-day management of the reformatory, named the Howard Home, and his wife acted as nurse and matron of the institution.[132] Like the Girls' Home, the Howard Home worked with the OETA courts to house juveniles convicted of crimes, thus acting as a contract service for the military government's judicial system. Red Cross budgets from 1919 show an allocation of around $16,000 per year towards the operation of both the girls' and boys' reformatories, providing a significant cost-savings for the government.[133] As with the Girls' Home, the Howard Home outlasted the presence of the Red Cross or the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund in Palestine; the Home provided care for juvenile delinquents sentenced to a reformatory until 1928, when it was finally subsumed under direct authority of the Mandate administration.

If orphanages represented the rescue of Palestine's future potential, then the reformatories represented that potential's dark underbelly. Children were to be pitied and cared for, but they were to be feared as well. Juvenile delinquents, whether boys arrested for theft or girls taken off the streets under accusations of prostitution, signaled the social destruction of the war, but also the possibility of that destruction to create a permanently chaotic and immoral society. The Red Cross and Social Service Association saw themselves as wading into that fray to bring to Palestine not only order, but progress. The frames through which the relief organizations would bring such progress and renewal to the children of Palestine were, importantly, both moral and scientific. The Red Cross and the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund certainly spoke about their work with children in religious (specifically Christian) terms, using words like "redemption" and emphasizing that these children were the future of the Holy Land and the birthplace of Christ. Their work with those children, however, was undergirded by the social scientific expertise of early interwar period. Finley, after all, insisted on recruiting an expert in juvenile delinquency from a place with an established system of juvenile courts and reformatory

[129] John H. Finley to Colonel Clive-Davies, 28 August 1918, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[130] John H. Finley to Major General Money, 18 September 1918, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[131] Letter from Helen Bentwich to Caroline Franklin. 6 July 1919. Women's Library, London School of Economics, 7HBE/2/03.
[132] American Red Cross Personnel, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.
[133] American Red Cross Commission to Palestine, Proposed Budget, Jan-Jul 1919, Box 110, American National Red Cross, 1906-1995, Hoover Institution Archives.

schools; when the SSA and the Mandate government brought a woman officer to Palestine to oversee the girls' reformatory in 1921, one SSA member noted her experience running a relief office during the war.[134] Scientific and social scientific knowledge and expertise was understood by these relief agencies as imperative for addressing both the social and the moral quandaries of a war-torn society. The former did not replace the latter, rather, in the construction of a colonial post-war social welfare network, they became evermore entangled.

Conclusion

In a May 1919 report on the administration of OETA, Major-General Sir Walter Lawrence remarked on the withdrawal of the American Red Cross and Syria and Palestine Relief Fund from Palestine: four orphanages, he commented, had been turned over to the Administration from the societies that had managed them previously and the Administration had likewise been compelled to make numerous grants to aid the estimated 10,000 people still in need of relief in Jerusalem.[135] Aside from the American Committee for Relief in the Near East, he wrote, "there are now no purely relief societies operating in Palestine."[136] Sir Lawrence's report reflects the process that we often assume to be true of humanitarian relief schemes – they are temporary projects that retreat once the crisis has passed or when a functional state government can assume the duty of care for its population. But to what extent had the post-war relief societies really withdrawn from Palestine in 1919? To be sure, the American Red Cross formally ended its extensive operations that year and the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund ceased to exist as a cohesive organization after that point. Despite the nominal withdrawal of these organizations from Palestine, however, their institutions, personnel, and networks did not disappear from the landscape of social welfare nor was their work simply handed off to a robust welfare state. Members of the ARC who had been recruited locally returned to their original organizations; the Kelseys, for example, returned to the Ramallah Friends Society, where Mrs. Kelsey became deeply involved in infant welfare projects in the 1920s. The SPRF fragmented back into the individual missionary organizations that had comprised it and its members returned to the missions where they had served before the war. Those missions continued to be integral partners in medical care and education for vulnerable children throughout the Mandate period. The American Colony, the only of these institutions to continue completely unaltered throughout the war and post-war period, retained its place as a central actor in child welfare activities in Jerusalem for the next century. The immediate crises that prompted the organizations' work – famine, homelessness, wartime prostitution – had receded, but the organizations themselves, and their intimate involvement in daily governance, would persist.

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[134] Letter from Helen Bentwich to Caroline Franklin. 27 Jan 1921. Women's Library, London School of Economics, 7HBE/2/03.
[135] Report by Maj-Gen Sir Walter Lawrence to the Commander-in-Chief, Egypt Expeditionary Force, *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948 Volume I: 1918-1924,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[136] Ibid.

The political and social effects of the First World War on Palestine enabled the advent of a particular configuration of humanitarian relief intervention. This relief network was heavily dominated by Anglo-American finances and personnel and built on the institutions of the late Ottoman period, while simultaneously inaugurating a system that set the stage for the child welfare projects of the Mandate years. Integral to that system was an intimate and cooperative relationship between voluntary associations and the state in the provision of care for children. Although the Mandate's civil administration nominally undertook the duty of care for poor and vulnerable children, it relied heavily upon the infrastructures, knowledge, and finances of the private organizations that had preceded its establishment. The few years in between the British occupation of Jerusalem and the eventual declaration of the Mandate government was not an anomalous period, but one that formed the framework for social relief and child welfare going forward. Humanitarian intervention, produced by the consequences of war and the structures of empire, became inextricably embedded into the permanent structure of governance of children.

Chapter Two

Raising the Village:
Infant Welfare Centers and the Politics of Childrearing

In 1919, the wartime relief agencies withdrew their personnel and funding from Palestine as the newly established civil government and the recently revived pre-war missionary network moved to assert a more permanent system of governance over the land and population. Soon after, the British government in Palestine would accept the Mandate for Palestine from the League of Nations and with it, the dual charge to rule the population in a way that would promote self-governance and to develop the economic and human capacities of the country. Historians have spilled much ink over the decades outlining Britain's utter failure to achieve the former, at least for the vast majority of the Palestinian population, but have paid far less attention to the latter. When the League of Nations and the Permanent Mandates Commission charged the appointed Mandatory powers with the responsibility not only to protect, but also to improve the Mandated populations, they did so in an international environment of rapidly changing conceptions about what societal progress looked like. This chapter explores one measure of such progress - infant welfare.

Infant welfare became an important barometer for the health and progress of societies all over the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a consequence of several factors. First, urbanization and the subsequent "discovery" of poverty in global cities gave rise to movements for social reform, led by middle class and professional crusaders. Second, centralizing governmental institutions and expanding administrative bureaucracies enabled the collection of vital statistics on a massive scale for the first time; that is, health in general and infant mortality and well-being in particular suddenly became measurable categories. Finally, states, industrialists, and nationalist groups began to understand children's health as tied inexorably to the future of the society as a whole – investment in healthy children was an investment in the healthy soldiers, laborers, and citizens of tomorrow.[1] This narrative is familiar in the annals of Western historiography. Similar movements appeared in the same moments in the population centers of the Middle East. Omnia El Shakry, for example, has shown that a discourse of scientific childrearing arose in Egypt at the turn of the century. As in Europe and the United States, this discourse was predicated on the assumption that the health of

[1] For Britain and British Empire, see: Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England, 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1979); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London,* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Roger Cooter, ed. *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1880-1940* (London: Routledge, 1992); Henry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England, 1872-1989* (London: Routledge, 1994); Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters: Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998). For United States, see: James Marten, ed., *Children and Youth During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Noralee Frankel and Nancy Dye, eds., *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2015).

the society lay in the health of its children and that the ignorance of those rearing poor children (that is, poor mothers) retarded the progress of the country.[2] Equally important to this discourse was the notion that childrearing was itself a science – with universal rules and measurable outcomes and, above all, the authority of professionals, rather than parents themselves. Afsaneh Najmabadi has identified the same concerns in early twentieth-century Iran, citing an 1891 text, *Tarbiat-i atfal (Childrearing)*, which instructed would-be mothers on proper means of pre-natal hygiene and the importance of breastfeeding.[3]

Nor were these movements solely discursive. New institutions dedicated to improvements in public health for children and the scientific development of pre- and neo-natal care arose in the Middle East, as in Euro-American cities, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The mid-nineteenth century medical reforms of Mehmet 'Ali in Egypt, for instance, included a new school of midwifery in Cairo, which was founded in large part in response to perceived high child mortality rates.[4] In the Ottoman Empire, the first birth clinic was founded in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century by French-educated pediatrician, Besim Omer Pasa.[5] At that time, care of sick and poor children was transferred to newly established state institutions – such as publicly-run foundling houses – that attempted to emphasize the best-practices of infant welfare of the day.[6]

At the turn-of-the-century, social movements, institutional reforms, and conceptions about child welfare and scientific childrearing were global phenomena, in that they emerged in more or less the same moment in multiple geographic sites around the world. Following the First World War, however, these ideas and movements became newly internationalized, in that they suddenly were embedded and embodied in international institutions, such as the League of Nations and Save the Children. In 1921, the International Association for the Protection of Children, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies asked the League's Secretariat to create a special department for the purpose of collecting documentation on any issue concerning child welfare.[7] The subsequent Child Welfare Committee launched investigations into questions of child welfare across the world – on issues of juvenile delinquency, child marriage, and, of course, infant and child health.

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[2] Omnia El Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn of the Century Egypt," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East,* Lila Abu-Lughod, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 135.

[3] Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East,* Lila Abu-Lughod, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 104-105.

[4] Liat Kozma, *Policing Egyptian Women: Sex, Law, and Medicine in Khedival Egypt* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 30.

[5] Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 32.

[6] Such practices included hiring state-employed wet nurses to breastfeed orphans and foundlings. As Maksudyan has shown, however, infant mortality rates in state foundling houses were extremely high, perhaps due in part to improper hygiene and nutrition of the wet nurses and sub-standard facilities of the institutions themselves.

[7] League of Nations, *Protection of Children. Report of the Fifth Committee to the Fifth Assembly*, Geneva, 1924.

The CWC also drew heavily from connections with Save the Children, an organization that was founded as a direct response to the plight of European children after the war. The Save the Children Fund was established in London in 1919 with the initial aim of providing relief to the starving children of Germany and Austro-Hungary who were suffering under the continued Allied blockade. The organization quickly took a broader geographic perspective and in 1920, the International Save the Children Union was established with an office in Geneva. Although not officially connected to the newly formed League of Nations, Save the Children kept in close contact with the CWC and its work.

Despite the expanding international scope of child welfare in the early 1920s, when the CWC and the League's Social Division compiled investigations and reports on infant welfare, maternal mortality, and child medical care, their focus was not global, but decidedly European. Indeed for all that Jebb and the League used universal language in proclaiming that "mankind owes to the child the best it has to give," this universal child was undoubtedly – at least at first – a European child.[8] The vast majority of inquiries, commissions, and conferences on infant mortality and welfare by the League and its affiliates concerned the state of European children. Infant mortality rates were measured and reported on from England and Germany; correspondence about maternal and infant health in Russia traveled between Geneva and Moscow; surveys of infant care and mortality in Norway, the Netherlands, and Austria were compiled for a 1928 conference on infant welfare in London. [9] Where, in all of this European knowledge production and institution building, was the global child?

This chapter examines the establishment and operation of a network of infant welfare clinics in Palestine to show how infant welfare and public health became global in the interwar years. As I argue more broadly, the globalization of child welfare was a local process and it is only from the vantage point of those localities that we can truly understand the emergence of the global child. Palestine – like much of the global south – was mostly ignored by the League's social and health divisions, yet Palestine, which emerged from the First World War with high rates of infant mortality and a dilapidated system of public health, saw one of the most rapid developments of a robust infant welfare infrastructure in the world. The reasons for that are multifaceted and intimately tied to Palestine's particular political structure during the Mandate period, the nature of its international ties, and its position as a de facto British colony. In revealing the messy and overlapping institutional relationships that governed infant welfare during the Mandate period, I argue that the globalization of infant welfare care was rooted in a contested relationship of power between the colonial government, non-governmental organizations, and individual local actors.

[8] League of Nations, "Declaration on the Rights of the Child," *Protection of Children. Report of the Fifth Committee to the Fifth Assembly*, Geneva, 1924.
[9] League of Nations Archives (LNA), R12B/R997/60021;R12B/R940/ 35972; R8F/11424/1092.

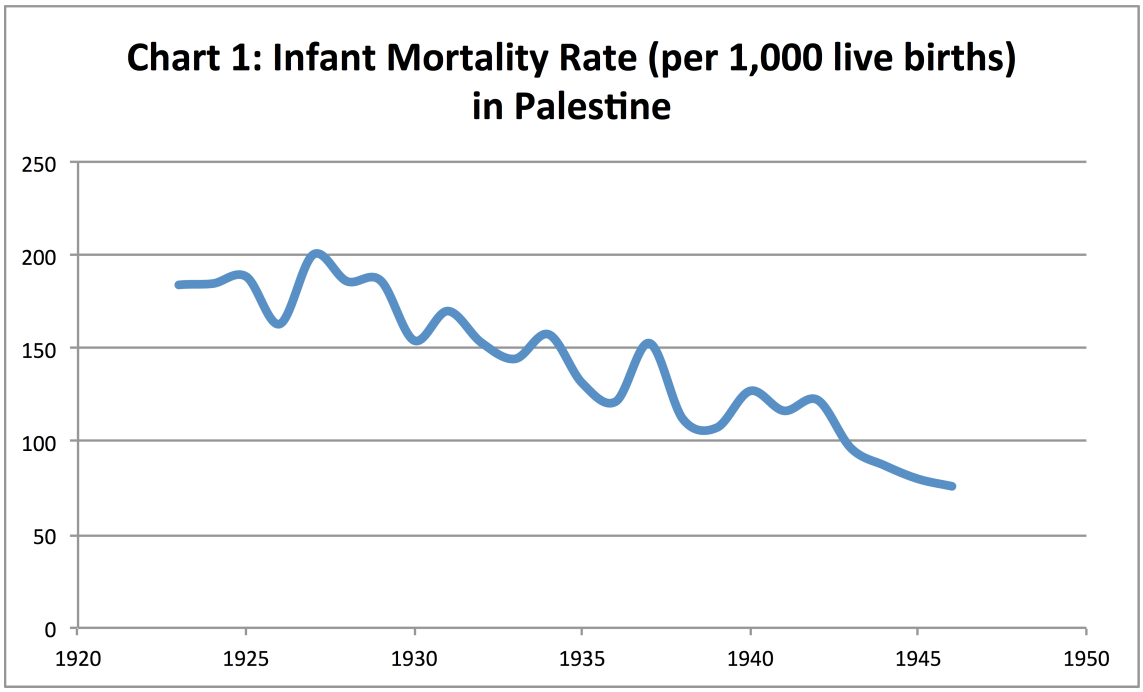
Infant Mortality

The particular structural, economic, and social conditions of Palestine immediately after the war shaped the development of infant welfare in the Mandate period. The war had exacerbated the effects of poverty and deprivation experienced by segments of the Palestinian population, particularly in urban areas. As the Department of Health took over public health oversight from the various post-war relief organizations, it began compiling statistics on the general health of the populations. Prime among the concerns of certain public health officials and social reformers in Palestine was the health of infants and children. With the introduction of mandatory birth registration in 1918, the Department of Health was able to establish rates of infant mortality and judge the impacts of epidemic diseases. In 1920-1921, the first year that the Department recorded such statistics, the infant mortality rate in Palestine – defined as deaths of children under the age of one year – ranged between 123.3 per 1,000 live births in the villages and 209.6 per 1,000 live births in the towns.[10] The Palestine administration's report for that year acknowledged that this number might be an underestimate given the variability of birth registration at the time.[11] The large discrepancy in infant mortality between the urban and rural regions reflected more general public health inequalities. War and poverty impacted towns and cities more harshly because damaged urban infrastructure led to poor sanitation, which exacerbated the spread of epidemic and infectious disease. Urban areas were more likely to have unsafe water systems, increasing rates of infections. Jerusalem, in contrast to other Palestinian cities, had a limited piped water system and a developed cistern water supply, which led to its comparatively lower infant mortality rates.[12] As urban areas recovered from the ravages of the war and the Mandate's public health infrastructure began to stretch through its populated regions, comparative rates of infant mortality reversed and rural areas began to lag behind cities.

Infant mortality rates stayed fairly consistent throughout the 1920s, with a few anomalous years. 1926, with an infant mortality rate of 163.15 per 1,000 live births was significantly lower than the three preceding years.[13] In the following year, however, the rate rose to 200.46 – the highest infant mortality rate of the entire Mandate period.[14] Although the Department of Health reports from that year claim that the country had comparatively few serious disease epidemics, they did report 3,305 cases of measles, which were a considerable source of infant deaths thorough the 1920s.[15] Infant mortality rates began to drop precipitously over the next two decades, seemingly undeterred by the

[10] Report on the Palestine Administration, July, 1920-December, 1921, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 1: 1918-1924,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. A version of this account of the urban/rural infant mortality rates appears in Shatz, "Governing Jersualem's Children, 429.
[13] Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1926, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 2: 1925-1928,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[14] Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1927, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 2: 1925-1928,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[15] Ibid.

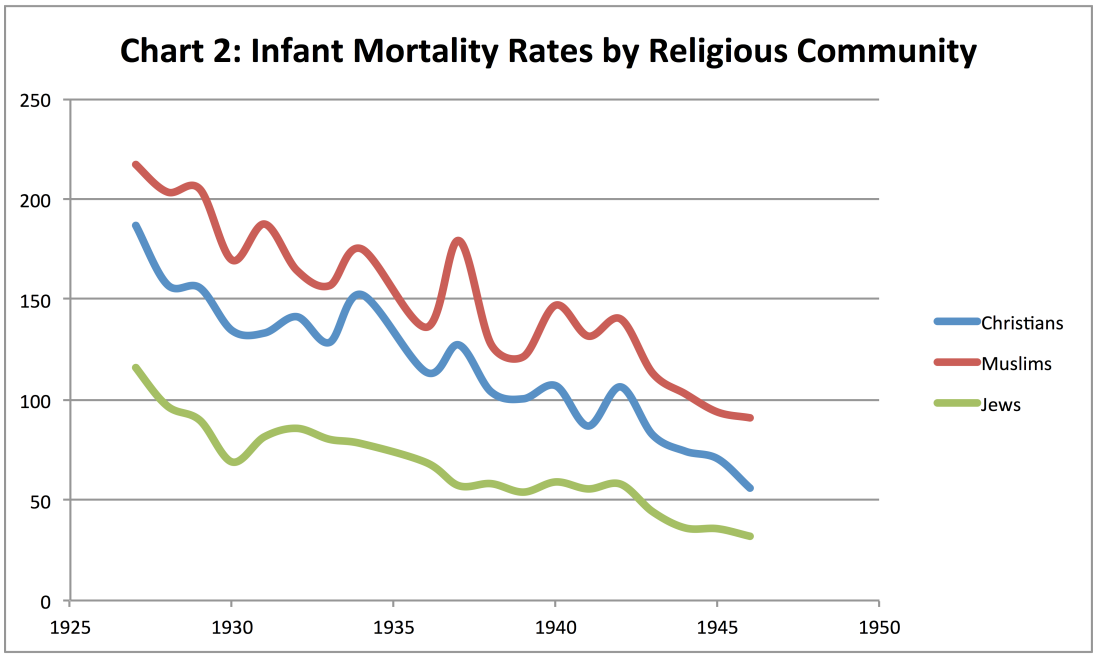
economic crisis of the 1930s, the outbreak of the Great Revolt in 1936, or the effects of the Second World War. While infant deaths continued to fluctuate throughout this period (even spiking slightly in the second year of the Revolt and the first year of the war), the general pattern was a steep downward trend. Whereas the average infant mortality rate in the 1920s was 194.52 deaths per 1,000 live births, the average rate declined to 140.48 for the 1930s, and 100.8 for the first half of the1940s (see Chart 1 below[16]). Indeed, in 1946 – the last year for which the Mandate government produced such records – the infant mortality rate for the whole of Palestine was 76 deaths per 1,000 live births, around 40% of the rate in 1923.[17]



From 1927-on, the government also kept records of infant mortality disaggregated by religious population. The use of communal affiliation as an organizing category reflected how the government understood the population more than it reflected any realities of the population itself. That communal categorization was introduced in the health reports in the late 1920s also underlines the extent to which religion became a colonial tool for filtering and responding to political tensions and desires. The Muslim population consistently had the highest infant mortality rate, followed by the Christian population, and then the Jewish population, reflecting the general trends in death rates overall (see Chart 2 below[18]). These general trends were attributable to the relative poverty of the Muslim population as well as the fact that a higher proportion of the Christian and Jewish populations lived in urban areas, which became more readily

[16] Compiled from Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, years 1921-1946.
[17] Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1946, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 12: 1945/1946,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[18] Compiled from Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1927-1946.

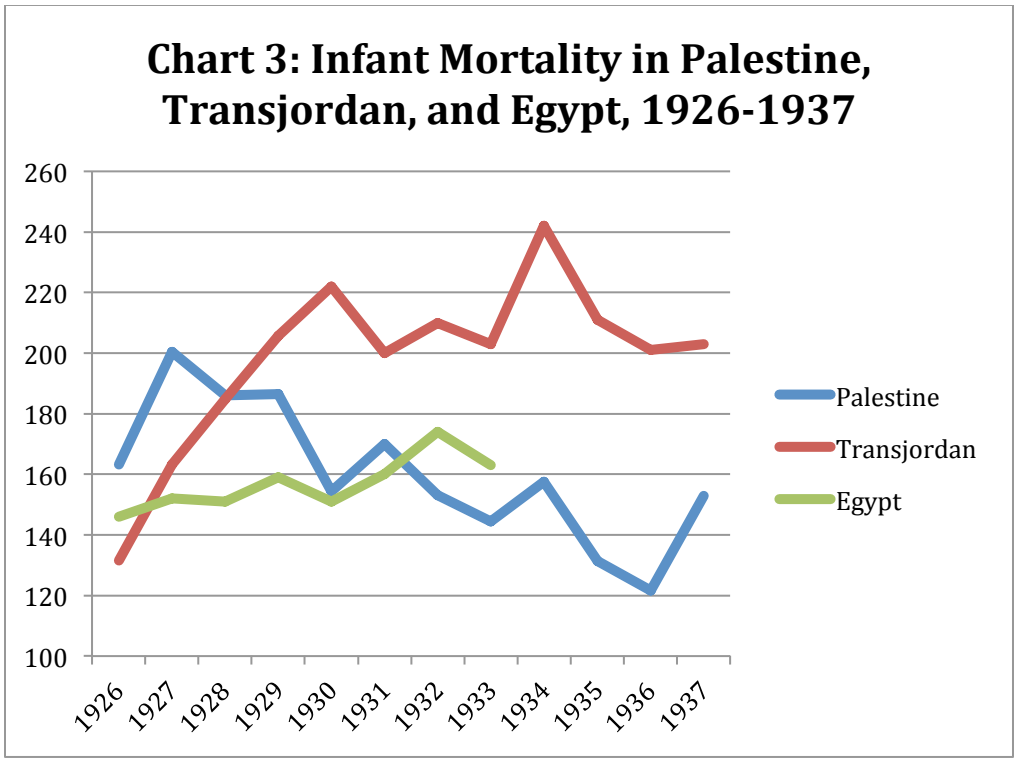
serviced by public health infrastructure. While Muslim death rates in all categories outpaced those of the Christian or Jewish populations, the discrepancy was actually smaller in infant mortality compared with the mortality of the general population. In the five-year period 1927 to 1931, for example, the Muslim population had a general death rate that was 77% higher than that of the Christian population and 177% higher than that of the Jewish population. In the same period, however, the infant mortality rate among Muslims was only 28% higher than that among Christians and 116% higher than that among Jews. The same trend did not hold for the Christian population, which had a general mortality rate 56% higher than the Jewish population, but an infant mortality rate that was 69% higher than the Jewish population. While infant mortality rates fell dramatically for all three populations over the 1930s and 1940s, they fell much more quickly in the Jewish and Christian populations. In 1946, the infant mortality rate for the Muslim population was 41% of its 1927 rate, whereas for the Christian and Jewish populations respectively, it fell to 29% and 27% of the 1927 rates.[19]



Compared to its surrounding countries, Palestine's infant mortality rates directly after the war were rather unexceptional. Transjordan had comparable and sometimes lower rates than Palestine in the 1920s, but the two countries began to diverge in 1930s, when Palestine's rates started to fall and Transjordan's did not. Transjordan's rates actually increased throughout the late 1920s, most likely due to the introduction of mandatory birth registration and the expansion of the system.[20] Even with the expansion of registration, however, Transjordan's administrators warned that the vital statistics might be unreliable given the novelty of the system and the proportion of the population

[19] Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1946, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 12: 1945/1946,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[20] *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 2: 1925-1928,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.

that was nomadic and thus difficult to register. To the south, Egypt seemed, at first glance, to have infant mortality rates below those of both Palestine and Transjordan. However, as a population study conducted in 1936 showed, there was a significant discrepancy between the overall infant mortality rate of the entire country and that of the areas in which there were health bureaus, once again casting doubt on the reliability of the data. The areas with health bureaus actually reported significantly higher infant mortality rates than the population as a whole, suggesting that infant births and deaths were underreported in non-serviced areas and that the mortality rates on the whole must be underestimated.[21]



Elsewhere in the British imperial world, infant mortality rates also entered record keeping by the early twentieth century. In India, the average infant mortality rate for the 1920s (188 for male infants and 172 for female infants) was comparable to Palestine in that period.[22] While infant mortality rates did steadily fall in India over the interwar period, they did not experience the sharp decline observed in Palestine in the late 1930s and 1940s. Like Egypt, India had a significant amount of regional variation and India, Transjordan, and Egypt all experienced the unreliability of standardizing vital statistics in a colonial context in which the government's bureaucratic reach spread unevenly across territory. Palestine was not immune from these problems. Introduced by Public Health

[21] Wendell Cleland, *The Population Problem in Egypt: A Study of Population Trends and Conditions in Modern Egypt* (Lancaster, PA: Science Press Printing Company, 1936), 56.
[22] Tim Dyson, "Infant Mortality in the Indian Subcontinent," in *Infant and Child Mortality in the Past*, Alain Bideau, Bertrand Desjardins, and Hector Perez Brinogli, eds. (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 115.

Ordinance Number 1 in 1918, birth registration was mandatory, although not always consistent. The ordinance gave responsibility for registering births (and deaths) to parents, mukhtars, imams, and midwives. Mukhtars received monetary incentives to participate in the new regulatory regime by earning one piaster for every notification made. Any individual tasked with the duty to report births and deaths who failed to do so could be fined up to £E1 or imprisoned for up to a month.[23] This schema for demographic data collection allowed for both intentional and unintentional non-cooperation as did the irregularity of public health apparatuses. Nevertheless, Palestine's size and local infrastructure made its vital statistics collection somewhat more reliable than that of its contemporary colonized neighbors.

The Science of Childrearing in Palestine

The relatively high rates of infant mortality in the early 1920s concerned the Government of Palestine, but not enough for the Department of Health to lead the charge to reduce them. Nominally, of course, the Government was obligated by the League of Nations to ensure the development and progress of the population, and infant mortality and infant welfare in general was, by the 1920s, a globally accepted barometer of such progress. From its inception, however, the Department of Health had emphasized the very limited nature of its responsibility towards the local population. In its ideal formulation, the Department of Health would assume the responsibility for managing major public health and public works projects designed to combat epidemic and endemic diseases (for example, malaria) and provide technical assistance, equipment, and advice, but leave the direct service work with the general population to voluntary associations. In actuality, many of those medical voluntary organizations – mostly Christian missions established in the late Ottoman period in Palestine – were insolvent immediately following the war and the Department of Health ended up providing more financial and personnel assistance than originally anticipated. Despite its enlarged role, the initial push to address infant mortality came not from the Department, but from charitable voluntary associations and organized groups of elite men and women.

Palestine had not been a key urban or population center in the Ottoman Empire prior to the war and thus the discursive and institutional reforms to infant care had not gained the same amount of traction in Palestinian cities as they had in Cairo or Istanbul. Although movements for scientific childrearing did not become massified until after the war, the discourse was not entirely absent in the late Ottoman Palestinian landscape. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Palestine's medical and public health arena was dominated by European missions, which had begun to infiltrate Palestine in the mid-1800s. While the Ottoman political reforms of the 1870s resulted in an increased investment in municipal infrastructure, such as hospitals, missions continued to provide a disproportionate amount of on-the-ground medical care. Indeed, the number of missionary medical institutions not only greatly exceeded government medical institutions, but was also surprisingly high given the relatively small size of Palestine's pre-war population. Commenting on this proliferation, missionary physician Ernest

[23] Public Health Ordinance No. 1, in *Legislation of Palestine, 1918-1925 Volume I,* comp. by Norman Bentwich, Whitehead Morris Ltd., 1926.

Masterman wrote in 1918, "Jerusalem is a city of hospitals," a sentiment that could be extended to many of the other cities of the country, where over two dozen hospitals and clinics served a population of under 700,000 people in the pre-war years.[24] Most of these institutions belonged to European missions – among them British, French, Italian, Russian, and German – who were engaged in a fierce competition for a foothold in the Ottoman province and an audience of potential converts. As part of their mission of service and to gain access to the population, these institutions served the poor of Palestine's cities and towns. Although their ministry often focused on specific ethnic and religious communities, the medical services attracted a broader swath of a given population. In addition to offering surgical and hospital services, missions began to do preventative care work, including maternal and neo-natal services and education. Missions were also responsible for producing European knowledge about local infant care practices. In 1919, *Bible Lands*, the publication of the Anglican Church's Jerusalem and the East Mission, printed an article entitled, "Children of Palestine." The article described the local customs surrounding the birth and care of a new child, for the benefit of the Church audience back home.[25] In outlining the various traditions surrounding the swaddling, cleaning, and naming of a new child, the article portrayed Palestinian children as more lovable, warm, and docile than Western children, if also somewhat less intelligent and sophisticated. Indeed what Palestinian children lacked in modern knowledge and resources, in this view, they balanced with a more natural disposition towards grace, from which, in the eyes of the author, Western children might learn a great deal. This disposition – a version, clearly, of the concept of the "noble savage" – endowed the children with "a deep remembering faithfulness."[26] The author concluded her article by commenting, "In these Children of Palestine lies the great hope for the future of the Holy Land. What will they do for her, how will they serve her, in the day of better things, whose dawn is just beginning to touch the East with light?"[27] Writing in 1919, under the British military occupation of Palestine, that light was both the light of modern government and progress – Britain's supposed gift to its conquered lands – and the light of Christ. Palestinian children, symbolizing the future of the country, represented to missionaries the possibility for both a scientifically modern and a Christian future.

For many of these missionary workers, the precepts of scientific childrearing, which were seen as central in national progress and the creation of a modern society, were also central to divine salvation and the creation of a godly society. Frederic Scrimgeour, a physician with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in Nazareth, published a portrait of the Nazarene population and Nazarene life in 1913. The EMMS, which established an outpost in Nazareth in 1866 was one of two medical missions to serve the town. In his book, Scrimgeour lamented the ignorance and "backwards" customs that resulted in the poor health of Nazarene children. A lack of pre-natal care and proper supervision of childbirth resulted in "a crop of gynecological ailments" among the

[24] Ernest Masterman, "Jerusalem from a Point of View of Health and Disease," *Lancet* (February 23, 1918), 306.
[25] Estelle Blyth, "Children of Palestine," *Bible Lands* No. 79, Vol. V (January 1919), 305-307.
[26] Ibid, 307.
[27] Ibid, 307.

mothers of Nazareth.[28] Even more telling, Scrimgeour posits the EMMS as the medical salvation of town's children: "The Medical Mission has used every endeavour to save the children from the barbarous native treatment they so often undergo, and the teaching is having its effect."[29] "Saving" the children of Nazareth was not only the product of medical intervention, but of public health education, in which members of the EMMS taught Nazarene mothers approved methods of childcare. Scrimgeour included a photograph of a Baby Show run by the mission, in which mothers brought their infants and toddlers to be judged by mission staff and the ones that appeared to be the cleanest, and most well cared for, won prizes.[30] The Baby Show is perhaps one of the best examples of the ways in which parenting and childrearing became public enterprises in the early twentieth century. The title of "good mother" was one that could only be endowed upon you by a quasi-governing institution and one that you received only after publicly displaying the internalization of that institution's standards.

The very concept of the Baby Show, in which local women paraded their children in front of European missionaries to be judged by those missionaries' standards, was clearly fraught. It is worth noting, however, that the colonial nature of the mission outpost and its baby show cannot be reduced to a simplistic Western European-Global South dynamic, though that aspect was, of course, undeniable. Baby shows were popular events in the United States in the early twentieth century, where they were colored with eugenic ideas, as well as in the United Kingdom and throughout the Empire, where they carried on into the post-war period.[31] In Palestine, too, these endeavors were targeted particularly at the poor town, and to a lesser extent, rural populations. As we shall see, the middle and upper classes of Palestinian society joined foreign missionaries and relief workers in promoting such events and institutions, or, in some cases, created parallel alternatives themselves.

The late Ottoman Palestinian landscape was thus not devoid of the discourse of infant welfare or public health improvement, but neither had those movements gathered the intellectual and institutional power that they had in more urbanized, populated, and cosmopolitan centers of the Middle East. The war itself created a new level of public health emergency in Palestine and the influx of public health and relief workers and organizations in the wake of the war and the British occupation of Palestine – as seen in the previous chapter – enabled the growth of a network of infant welfare institutions and a dissemination of infant welfare knowledge on a level not seen before the war. By the 1920s and 1930s, a discourse of scientific childrearing and neonatal care had become popularized in the country. I use the phrase "scientific childrearing" not as a descriptor, but to denote both a specific epistemological movement of the turn of the century and a

[28] Frederick Scrimgeour. *Nazareth of To-Day* (Edinburgh: W. Green, 1913), 59.
[29] Ibid, 57.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Steven Selden, "Transforming Better Babies into Fitter Families: Archival Resources and the History of the American Eugenics Movement, 1908-1930," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149 (2) (Jun. 2005): 199–225; Martin S. Pernick, "Taking Better Baby Contests Seriously," *American Journal of Public Health* 92(5), 2002: 707-708; Andrew Porter, "Empires in the Mind," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire,* ed. P.J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 185.

contemporary framework for child care of that period. Both the term "scientific childrearing" and its precepts emerged in the American context in the early years of the twentieth century, at least partly as the result of the rise of the disciplines of pediatrics and developmental psychology.[32] The discourse of "scientific childrearing" maintained that caring for infants and children was a science like any other science. And, as a science, its authorities were academics and professionals. Promoted by pediatricians and psychologists, such as Stanley Hall, this science not only posited universal truths about childrearing, it also transferred expertise on children from parents to professional practitioners. Women, under this rubric, had to be taught how to mother.[33] Intertwined as it was with movements for infant welfare, scientific childrearing, too, became a global epistemological framework in the early to mid-twentieth century. In Palestine, knowledge about infant welfare and scientific childrearing emerged from the educated elite of its own population, the influx of British and American missionaries and relief workers, and the American-funded Zionist medical apparatus, Hadassah, which became a dominant force on the public health scene in Palestine following the First World War.

Although missionary organizations were important players in creating a discourse of infant welfare in Palestine both before and after the war, the infant welfare regime that arose in the interwar period was multi-focal and included local, as well as foreign, proponents. In a colonial setting, infant welfare, like many other aspects of public health, can easily be subsumed under the category of colonial medicine. Colonial medicine, as articulated by scholars such as David Arnold, was the colonial state's use of public health and epidemic disease interventions as a means of exerting power over the colonized population.[34] Though infant welfare interventions in Palestine certainly were, in many ways, colonial interventions, they defied a simplistic dichotomy between colonizer and colonized. First, while European missionaries clearly represent a type of imperial power, prior to the war, they were not representatives of a governing European colonial power in Palestine. Second, elite Palestinians – that is, Palestine's educated and governing class – themselves were proponents and leaders of infant welfare interventions. The colonial nature of the movement for infant welfare was both fragmented and shared between different groups that occupied differing positions of power in Palestine and was as much a function of class, as it was of race or national origin. Furthermore, a Foucauldian understanding of colonial medicine assumes a cohesiveness of the state that Mandate Palestine's system of governance belied. Although there was a single British-run administration in Palestine following the war, as the establishment and operation of infant welfare clinics will show, the functions of the state were deeply embedded and intertwined with a variety of non-state voluntary associations and private individuals, both Palestinian and foreign. To imagine the colonial state as a discrete entity, separate from something called "a society," would be to misunderstand both how ideas about

[32] In her book, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893-1935,* Alice Smuts notes that both the phrase "scientific child rearing" and "scientific motherhood" were common parlance among educated, elite American women of the time. Alice Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893-1935* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
[33] A version of this account of scientific childrearing appears in Shatz, "Governing Jersualem's Children," 430.
[34] David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

infant welfare took hold of Palestine and how an institutional system of infant welfare emerged.

Elite Palestinians contributed to a growing discourse of scientific childrearing by advocating for public health education and by producing knowledge and evaluations of local practices. Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, medical doctor and ethnographer, wrote numerous works on the beliefs and practices of rural Palestinians, including the rearing of children. Canaan, born in Beit Jala in 1882, was perhaps Palestine's most well known physician in the late Ottoman and interwar period. Following his secondary education at the German Schneller School in Jerusalem, Canaan received his medical degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1905.[35] He returned to Palestine to work in the German Hospital in Jerusalem, and, occasionally, in the English Hospital (run by the London Jews Society). Canaan became a skilled surgeon and expert on leprosy. In 1912 and 1913, he traveled to Germany to study microbiology and tropical medicine. In the years before the war, Canaan also oversaw new polyclinics in Jerusalem, founded and funded by the municipality.[36]

Like many of his European colleagues in Palestine, Canaan's academic interests expanded beyond the practice of medicine, and he began to consider himself an observer and ethnographer of local life, in addition to being a physician. In 1909, he published his first article on local life, describing the history and development of Palestinian agriculture. In 1913, the journal of the German Palestine Society published his first article on Palestinian folklore.[37] Folklore, local customs, and superstition would come to dominate Canaan's interests for the next several decades.

In 1927, Canaan examined the role of superstition in Palestinian childrearing in an article in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, an organization of which he was the president. The article combined Canaan's interest in local superstitions with his medical training and he observed the various rituals that governed pregnancy, childbirth, and infant care amongst the Muslims, Christians, and Jews of the Palestinian Arab population. Canaan argued that studying the local customs and superstitions of the Palestinians was vital in evaluating the condition of the Palestinian child, which he took to be impeded by local beliefs.[38] As an ethnographer and student of Palestinian folklore, Canaan was interested in cataloguing the various customs that surrounded children – the amulets and religious objects used to ensure a safe delivery, the beliefs that the day of a baby's birth heralded its fortune, the veneration of saints to heal a sick child, etc. As a physician, however, he outlined the various local practices that, in his estimation, "account for the heavy mortality of infants and children."[39] Like his contemporaries in the infant welfare movement, Canaan blamed parental ignorance and traditional beliefs,

[35] Khaled Nashef, "Tawfiq Canaan: His Life and Works," *Jerusalem Quarterly* Issue 16 (2002), 12.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Tawfiq Canaan, "The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1927, 159.
[39] Ibid, 180.

rather than the structural conditions of poverty, for infant disease and death. In a telling moment in the article, while recounting mothers' reluctance to bathe their babies for fear of attracting the evil eye, he acknowledged off-hand that "a minor excuse for this neglect is the great lack of water."[40] On the whole, however, Canaan and the other physicians and social reformers concerned with infant welfare, emphasized the ignorance of the poor and not their social conditions.

Prime among the customs Canaan decried as contributing to the poor health of Palestinian children were local practices of infant feeding. He wrote that while Palestinian mothers commendably breastfed their children for long periods of time, they also introduced foods and sweets too early to infants, which Canaan concluded was the main cause of intestinal diseases that resulted in marasmus and infant death.[41] He likewise criticized the veneration of children's desires that led to feeding babies whenever they cried. Irregularities in feeding schedules, he argued, caused digestive problems in infants. Moreover, Canaan wrote, constant feeding had "devastating effects" on the growing child as "even after being weaned, children are given whatever they desire and whenever they desire it."[42] Local feeding practices not only threatened the child's physical health, but also his personal character.

In addition to recording cultural and religious customs, Canaan conducted his own statistical survey of infant mortality, which, in his view, presented an enormous social problem. For the year 1925, he found that, of 2185 pregnancies that he observed, 20% ended in miscarriage or still-birth, and of the 1740 remaining live births, 44.7% of the infants died "within a short time."[43] The rate of mortality Canaan recorded vastly outstrips the official government data for that year (which was closer to a mortality rate of 19%), and Canaan does not mention from what geographic area he took his statistics. While his data is certainly anomalous for the country as a whole, it is likely that Canaan's records came from poorer and more rural areas, where infant mortality rates were higher. Canaan concluded that Palestinian parents' ignorance of proper childrearing practices and reliance on superstition and custom was a root cause of infant disease and death. Taking something of an Orientalist view himself, he heralded the arrival of "European civilization" as a remedy for the public health crisis. Yet if Canaan represented many of the colonialist and patronizing assumptions of his European colleagues, he expressed conflict about the changes he saw coming to Palestine. Espousing another line of Orientalist thought, Canaan praised the great respect and affection that Palestinian children had for their parents and older relatives and the high moral standard of Palestinians overall. The march to a modern, scientific childhood, Canaan posited, might mean the sacrifice of those characteristics.[44]

Canaan and his physician colleagues were not alone in producing knowledge about the practices of Palestinian childrearing and its supposed deficits. In 1930, Haifa

[40] Ibid, 175.
[41] Ibid, 171.
[42] Ibid, 172.
[43] Ibid, 185.
[44] Ibid, 186.

resident, Eva Cotching, published a slim volume entitled *Infant Welfare for Women and Girls in Palestine*. Cotching, who received an MBE in 1929 for her work in infant welfare in Haifa and the King's Silver Jubilee Medal in 1935, was listed in official records as a "civilian resident", though, like many of her fellow British women devoted to social welfare work in Palestine, she was in the country as the wife of a colonial government official.[45] Cotching's husband, Houghton Aldgate Cotching, was Chief Mechanical Engineer of the Palestine Railways. Though Cotching was in Palestine as a government spouse and held no official employment, she was herself a physician who held a British medical degree. Cotching's book was a how-to guide for raising a hygienic, healthy, and scientifically modern baby. Its preface betrayed the assumption common to the British colonial apparatus at large - that high infant mortality rates in Palestine stemmed from the fact that "their mothers do not know the art of rearing them."[46] Like Canaan, Cotching identified the problem as one of ignorance – not lack of maternal affection – and set her book as a simple manual that could relay the importance of scientific childrearing. Cotching's book laid out twenty-one brief chapters ranging from "Proper Way of Holding a Baby" to "The Baby's Bath" to "The Education of the Baby's Stomach."[47] Over half of the book – eleven chapters – was devoted to feeding. Like most infant welfare advocates of her time, Cotching heavily emphasized the superiority of breastfeeding infants for as long as possible, remarking, "Many babies born in Palestine die during the first nine months of their lives. If a healthy baby is fed properly on human milk, as nature devised, and weighed regularly to ensure that he is obtaining sufficient food, and yet not being given too much, he should not die [in that period]."[48] Suspicion was cast on cow's milk for the diseases it carried and on artificial milk products ("No food is as good for the baby as breast milk. Baby foods are made by manufacturers for money-making purposes"), though Cotching conceded that artificial milk was necessary if the mother could not produce enough to feed her child or if she herself carried a communicable disease, such as tuberculosis.[49]

Although Cotching's book was written as a guide to raising a healthy baby, its intended audience was clearly not the Palestinian mothers themselves. For one, the book was published in English, which would have been inaccessible to the poor, heavily illiterate, Arabic-speaking population targeted by Cotching's teachings. Nor was it likely intended for educated medical professionals, to whom this knowledge would be fairly basic. Rather, the book was likely aimed at the social welfare advocates who organized infant welfare clinics, but nonetheless were laypeople, and the nurses not yet trained in the new specialty of infant welfare. The book was thus less a self-help guide for individual women than a resource in the institutional establishment and expansion of infant welfare care in Palestine.

By the early 1930s, the promotion of scientific childrearing made its way into the Arabic press. As Ela Greenberg has noted, articles aimed at Palestinian mothers on the

[45] *Palestine Gazette,* 6 May 1935, 381.
[46] Eva Cotching, *Infant Welfare for Women and Girls in Palestine* (Haifa: 1930), 3.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid, 12.
[49] Ibid, 36.

topic of infant feeding appeared in *al-Nafir, al-Hayat, Filastin* and *al-Karmal*.[50] These articles, mostly written by Palestinian physicians, echoed the concerns of Canaan and Cotching and provided Palestinian women with advice, schedules and guidelines to follow to ensure a healthy baby. An article titled "Breastfeeding Schedule," by Dr. Hafiz 'Afifi, on the "Women's Page" of a 1930 issue of *al-Karmal*, instructed mothers on the proper means of feeding their newborn infants. "Breastfeeding" Dr. 'Afifi began, "is the best way of feeding the baby and lesser ways of feeding him are dangerous to his health."[51] The article went on to describe the necessity of the mother breastfeeding the baby soon after birth, the intestinal benefits of colostrum, and the dangers of using wet nurses.[52] To give the newborn baby the wrong type of milk in those first few days, the article warned, would be to court the dangers of gastroenteritis. Gastroenteritis and other digestive problems were identified by Canaan and Cotching as leading causes of infant morbidity and mortality. Dr. 'Afifi concluded his column with specific instructions for the timing of the newborn's first feed: it should occur after six to eight hours of rest following childbirth if the birth was easy and eighteen to twenty-four if it was difficult.[53] While newspaper columns certainly had a wider reach than Canaan's academic research or Cotching's book (not to mention, the articles were accessible to an Arabic-speaking population), newspaper readership was necessarily literate and overwhelmingly urban. The mothers receiving Dr. 'Afifi's message were likely to be the middle and upper class women of Palestine's cities, and not the poor, rural women whose childrearing practices, according to people like Canaan, constituted the true public health crisis.

In addition to medical columns, newspapers' corporate advertisements carried messages of infant care to potential consumers. An advertisement for Nestle milk in a 1935 issue of *Filastin* proclaimed that "health is cleanliness – the most important cleanliness is clean eating."[54] Titled "Baby Contest," the lengthy advertisement presented Nestle formula as the means to ensuring a healthy and robust baby. "The most important way to nourish infants," the advertisement claimed, "is to feed them Nestle milk" and, after five or six months, Nestle's special flour formula.[55]

The Nestle ad was clearly directed at mothers and appealed to their maternal feelings of affection towards their children. As the title suggests, however, the ad also appealed to a sense of competition and to the child as an object that reflected the mother's character and success. The ad opened with the statement that all mothers who look upon their healthy, rosy-cheeked babies desire to put them into baby contests. But, the ad reminded mothers, "there is no need for a jury to give its opinion – life itself gives the child first prize when he grows up" – a life, of course, sponsored by Nestle products.[56] Despite proffering this sentimental notion – all children could be winners in life, if only their mothers bought the correct products – the end of the ad returned to the idea of the

[50] Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine,* 6.
[51] Dr. Hafiz 'Afifi, "Niẓām al-Riḍā'a al-Tabī'īa [Breastfeeding Schedule],"*al-Karmal* (Haifa)*,* 20 September 1930.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] "Musābaqat al-Atfāl [Baby Contest]," *Filastin* (Jaffa), 15 December 1935.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

baby contest: "We have observed," the ad concluded, "that babies who win prizes at contests are ones who were fed with Nestle milk, and in most cases, they won against babies who were fed with mother's milk."[57] This assertion was somewhat at odds with the advice of the doctors and social welfare advocates, who emphasized the importance of breastfeeding, at the same time acknowledging a need for supplemental formula. The vision of child-rearing that the ad promoted, however, very much aligned with that of the physicians: there was an ideal baby to strive for; the onus for raising an ideal child was on its mother; and she could only do so by following the rubrics set by modern medical practice and the technological advancements of corporate products.

In the middle of the second page of the same issue of *Filastin* was an ad for Scott's Emulsion. With an image of a smiling young boy reaching for a bottle on a shelf, the title claimed, "This is Awad Getting Stronger."[58] Scott's Emulsion was the premier brand of cod liver oil, seen as a panacea for many ailments, but primarily given to children to prevent rickets, due to its Vitamin D potency. Scott's Emulsion was the product of the Scott and Browne firm, founded in the 1870s in New York City. By the 1890s, Scott and Browne was a multinational corporation, with factories in Canada, England, Spain, Portugal, Italy and France. At the time the ad appeared in *Filastin* in 1935, Scott and Browne sold Scott's Emulsion throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Cover to cover, that issue of *Filastin* was selling readers the possibility of a healthy future for their children. Child welfare and the "science" of childrearing was as much the purview of business – and made global as much by multinational corporations – as of physicians, scientists and researchers. It is important to recognize the ways in which capitalist interests coincided and comingled with the "nobler" goals of the child welfare proponents. There was, after all, money to be made from the idea of a healthy child.

That there existed in Palestine a discourse of scientific and modern childrearing, as demonstrated by Canaan and Cotching's writings, as well as the regular appearance of articles in the press, of course tells us very little about the practice of infant care nor about whether it ever even reached the populations that it purported to serve. These writings, however, did not exist in a vacuum, but were part of an institutional landscape of public health that relied on them for its legitimacy.

Ideas about infant welfare policies and infrastructure also came to Palestine from the United States, courtesy of the Zionist medical organization, Hadassah, and its American Zionist Medical Unit. Formed in 1912 in New York City, Hadassah, or the Women's Zionist Organization of America, intended to promote Zionism in Palestine through education and public health initiatives, including the training of nurses. Henrietta Szold, the founder of Hadassah, and its early members were committed to a vision of American Progressivism as a means to realize the Jewish nationalist project in Palestine. Historian Erica Simmons has termed this hybrid political philosophy "Zionist maternalism."[59] Simmons argues that the core tenet of Zionist maternalism was that Jewish women had a particular role in promoting social welfare in the Yishuv in Palestine

[57] Ibid.
[58] "Hadhā Awād Taqwītahu [This is Awad Getting Stronger]," *Filastin* (Jaffa), 15 December 1935.
[59] Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 2

and they fulfilled this role by importing to Palestine the maternalist and "child-saving" projects of the American Progressive era.[60] Infant welfare was a key component of such projects. Hadassah opened its first infant welfare station in Jerusalem in 1921, three years after launching a nursing school to train the women who would spread the gospel of scientific childrearing and proper infant care to the populations of Palestine.[61] The purpose of the infant welfare station, as a Hadassah report explained, was to prevent illness, rather than to treat it.[62] In this sense, the station served as much as a center for education as for health: the station was "primarily an educational institution providing advice and teaching for mothers in the care and management of infants and little children, with a view to maintaining them in good health. Our task here consists largely in overcoming ignorance and prejudice."[63] Like Cotching, the Hadassah workers set about teaching the women of Palestine about the importance of breastfeeding, clean milk, and ways of preventing childhood diseases. The education of mothers was so vital to the work that Hadassah members imagined for themselves that their literature stated that their "infant welfare work calls for physicians who not only are familiar with the principles and technique of infant feeding, but have the tact and ability to reach and teach the most ignorant mothers."[64]

Hadassah was, of course, a Zionist organization and the "ignorant" mothers targeted by Hadassah's infant welfare outreach were Palestinian Jewish women. Hadassah members believed, as did other subscribers to the progressivist ethos, that infant welfare was key to the societal uplift of a community, but it was specifically the Jewish community of the imagined Jewish nation that they sought to uplift. Here, ideas of social progress were inextricable from ideas of nationalism and nation-building: Hadassah was invested in producing healthy babies as the building blocks of a healthy and strong future nation. At the time that Hadassah began its work in Palestine, the vast majority of Jews living in the country were *mizrahi* or Eastern Jews; that is, they were the indigenous Jews that had lived in Palestine for hundreds of years. These communities spoke Arabic, intermingled, socially and commercially, with Palestinian Muslims and Christians, and shared many customs with their non-Jewish neighbors. In the eyes of European and American Zionists, these Jews would inevitably be part of the future Jewish nation, but they had to be assimilated into Western standards and norms in order for that nation to be a modern society – infant welfare re-education was one step in that process of assimilation and absorption. It was with no small amount of condescension and racism towards those populations, then, that Hadassah workers made efforts to "reach and teach" the supposedly ignorant mothers of their future nation.[65]

The nationalist agenda of Hadassah's infant welfare efforts coexisted with a contradictory impulse – the attempt to extend education and services to all Palestinian families and children, regardless of communal identity. Although the clinics targeted

[60] Ibid, 25.
[61] Summary Report of Infant Welfare Work (Jan. 1922 to May 1923), Center for Jewish History (CJH), HMO RG 2, 72/1.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

Jewish women and children, they also tried to bring in Palestinian Arab patients. Initially, Hadassah ran two infant welfare stations in Jerusalem. The station in the Old City saw the registration of 256 babies in its first year of operation, of whom a mere 30 were Christian or Muslim.[66] Regardless of its claim that its services were open to all the families of Palestine, the Zionist infrastructure within which Hadassah operated clearly favored attracting Jewish patients. Volunteers of the Jewish Women's Organization in Jerusalem referred Jewish mothers to the infant welfare stations; Christian and Muslim mothers, on the other hand, learned about the station from their Jewish neighbors and then began to refer one another.[67] The low attendance by non-Jewish women and children troubled some Zionist health care advocates, including American businessman and philanthropist, Nathan Straus. Between 1922 and 1923, Straus donated $13,000[68] to the infant welfare stations, including a specially earmarked contribution for an Arabic-speaking nurse who could do home visits to Christian and Muslim houses.[69]

The politics of Hadassah in these years and the political effects of the infant welfare regime it was pioneering were multifaceted and often in tension with each other. The drive to reform the mothers of Palestine into modern, scientific caretakers and the children of Palestine into the healthy citizens of tomorrow was inextricable from a natalist, national project. Zionist maternalism, by virtue of being Zionist, was an exclusionary movement. The construction of a system of infant welfare care was a means by which Hadassah could colonize the political and material infrastructure of Palestine and a means by which it could colonize the "problematic" elements of what it saw as its own population. Yet, for figures like Nathan Straus or even Henrietta Szold, who would come to favor a bi-national state in Palestine, Palestinian Arabs were included in that imaginary. But if the doors to the clinics were nominally open to all, the operation of the clinic was not. A significant amount of American money was invested in Hadassah and Hadassah in turn used that money to construct health centers, built mostly by Jewish workers and unions, open nursing schools, attended mostly by Jewish women, and provide unprecedented medical care, accessible mostly to Jewish families. That the network of clinics created by Hadassah both reached across communal boundaries and hardened them was not an aberration in the story of infant welfare in Mandate Palestine, but an important feature of that system.

Like the European medical missions, Dr. Canaan, the Arabic press, and Eva Cotching, Hadassah's infant welfare committee and clinics helped popularize a discourse of scientific childrearing and pre- and neo-natal care in Palestine. More than discourse, however, Hadassah's infant welfare project was significant in the broader institutional network of infant welfare care that emerged in the early 1920s. This network was not the product of a single entity or organization, but rather arose as a collaboration between multiple actors, representing a variety of interests. It drew on expertise, personnel, and funding from within Palestine and across the globe.

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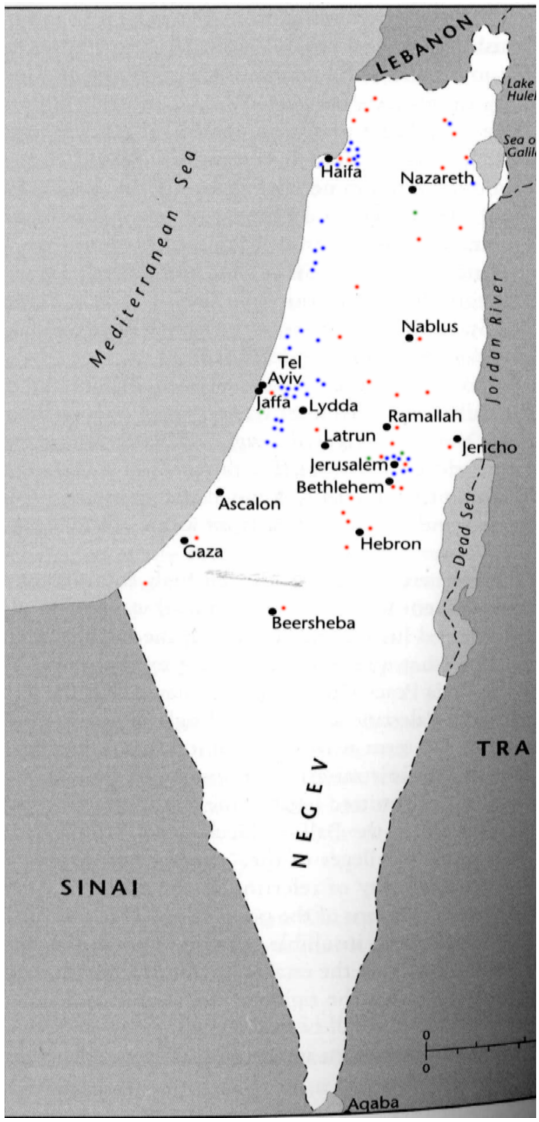
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Approximately $193,000 in today's currency.
[69] Infant Welfare Work Done by Hadassah Medical Organization in Jersualem, CJH/HMO RG 2/72/1; Straus Health Center Committee Minutes (20 February 1927), CJH/HMO RG 2/14/46/3.

Clinics

By the late 1930s, infant welfare centers covered the map of Palestine. In 1939, there were 83 infant welfare centers in various Palestinian cities and towns. Of those 83, over half were operated by Hadassah and other Jewish organizations for the service of Jewish infants and families.

Map Showing Approximate Locations of Infant Welfare Centers in 1939[70]

ed: Government
lue – Zionist
Green – Other



[70] Map created with information from Government of Palestine, *Department of Health Annual Report, 1939.*

Despite its desire to shift direct service work to voluntary organizations, the Department of Health operated a full 34 clinics, and other voluntary associations ran a total of four clinics.[71] Even the government clinics, however, were established and managed by an amalgamation of individuals, institutions, and financing. In-depth records of each individual clinic have not survived in the archives. The infant welfare center files that have survived, however, tell us a great deal about the variety of actors involved in the clinics, the local and colonial politics that governed their operations, and the fluidity with which public and private, local and foreign organizations interwove their efforts to build and maintain the infrastructure of an infant welfare regime.

While Hadassah began to operate its infant welfare centers in the early 1920s, the first clinic to explicitly serve the Palestinian Arab population was established in Ramallah in 1925. The infant welfare center in Ramallah began at the urging of members of the Ramallah Friends Mission in 1924. The Ramallah Friends Mission was an American Quaker society that was established in Ramallah in 1869, when it opened several schools for Palestinian girls. By the beginning of the Mandate period, the Girls and Boys Friends Schools were well-respected educational institutions, which had graduated some of Palestine's most illustrious civic leaders and professionals. Members of the Friends Mission, most notably Mrs. A.E. Kelsey, wife of a Red Cross "general" who arrived in Palestine as part of the Red Cross relief after the war, wanted to set up a demonstration of healthy baby care for Ramallah mothers and to train local midwives in best infant welfare practices.[72] The committee soon expanded its plans to a full infant welfare center.

The practicalities of setting up the Ramallah clinic demanded the involvement and cooperation of several different bodies. In addition to the Friends members, the planning committee included the local District Officer and Palestinian medical officer.[73] While the Friends Mission initiated the charge, they lacked the resources to staff and oversee the clinic themselves. The Department of Health insisted on total oversight of the clinic and agreed to provide technical advice, but mandated that the funds had to be raised entirely from voluntary associations and the municipality. The committee's intention was for the municipal council to pay 20% of the nurse's salary and raise the remainder from the Ramallah Young Men's Society and American and British sources. Additional funds would be obtained from the nurse's private midwifery fees.[74]

The biggest challenge to opening the Ramallah clinic came in identifying a qualified nurse. Both the committee and the Department of Health were insistent that the nurse selected to run the clinic not only be fully qualified according to government regulations, but also be trained in midwifery and infant welfare. The committee enlisted the assistance of Hadassah, which already had established infant welfare centers of its own in Jerusalem. Hadassah's infant welfare clinic supervisor, Miss Landsman, agreed to provide three months of specialized training in infant welfare for the selected nurse free

[71] Government of Palestine, *Department of Health Annual Report, 1939.*
[72] Infant Welfare Ramallah, ISA/RG 10/M 6597/2.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

of charge.[75] In the interim, Hadassah would send one of its own (Arabic-speaking) nurses for bi-weekly visits to the Ramallah clinic[76] until a local nurse was ready. When the clinic opened for business in 1925, it did so as the product of this complex web of voluntary and governmental institutions of various religious affiliation. The Department of Health provided the space, the equipment, and the official oversight; Hadassah gave specialized training to the Palestinian nurse; the matron of the Jerusalem Hospital (formerly a CMS nurse in Jaffa) gave technical advice; the funds for the clinic were raised locally, from both the municipal council and Ramallah voluntary associations. The first official infant welfare center to serve the Palestinian community was born as a joint venture between the public and private, Jewish and Christian, colonial official, American missionary, and local philanthropist.

At the same time that the Ramallah infant welfare center was established, another American organization in Jerusalem opened a similar institution. The American Colony – which, as the previous chapter noted, had long been involved in care of the city's poor and orphaned children – opened a Baby Home in 1925. The story behind the Baby Home rose to the level of legend in the narrative of the American Colony in the ensuing decades. As Bertha Vester wrote in her memoir, *Our Jerusalem,* the story was that on Christmas Eve in 1925, a man brought his sickly wife and newborn son to Anna Spafford at the American Colony, begging for assistance. She helped them get admitted to the Government Hospital, but the man returned the following day, with the baby. The wife had died and he asked Anna for help with his child. The American Colony members took in the baby, named him Noel (for the occasion of the holiday), and nursed him back to health.[77] Noel was the beginning of the American Colony's Baby Home, which quickly added more sickly and foundling children, as well as a full-time nurse. To fund and expand the Baby Home, Bertha Vester appealed to donors in the United States. Along with an American woman, who had visited the American Colony in the 1920s, Vester established a committee based in New York to fundraise and receive donations for the Baby Home. The committee developed into the American Colony Aid Association, which came to fund a variety of American Colony social welfare projects – the Baby Home and child welfare clinics included. In addition to the financial support from the United States, Palestinian families contributed financially to help the American Colony procure a site for the Home. In the ACAA's 1927 report, Vester reported that three distinct families consisting of a total of twenty-one people owned shares in the Baby Home.[78]

The Baby Home was meant to be an in-patient clinic for acute cases, for which the hospital might not have room or resources. However, the American Colony and its Aid Association were also interested in long-term preventative care and education of mothers, in exactly the same manner of Hadassah or the Ramallah Friends Society. To this end, they also established two child welfare stations, where babies could be seen on a regular basis and their mothers could receive lessons in proper childcare. In 1927, the

[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Vester, *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881-1949,* 328.
[78] American Colony Aid Association, *Annual Report, 1927-1928.*

ACAA registered 236 infants in their Old City child welfare center, a number that increased to 458 infants the following year.[79] The Baby Home and the child welfare stations were deeply intertwined institutions – the latter being a means of preventing the need for the former. The two places also shared medical staff. The primary physician overseeing work at the Baby Home and the child welfare stations was Dr. Helen Kagan, a Russian Jewish pediatrician who founded a Jewish children's hospital in Jerusalem 1916 and served as the ACAA's medical director until 1948.[80] Along with Dr. Kagan, a Palestinian physician, Dr. Said, and several nurses and nurse probationers worked at the Baby Home and child welfare stations.[81] The nurses came from a variety of backgrounds. The first head nurse at the Baby Home was an English woman, named Dorothy Poole. When she returned to England the following year, she was replaced by a native Jerusalemite who had trained in nursing, midwifery, and child welfare in Germany.[82] The Baby Home also served as a training site for Palestinian nurse probationers. Members of the Jerusalemite elite supported the Home and child welfare stations through donations clothing and food.

The aims of the American Colony institutions echoed the concerns of Canaan, Cotching, Hadassah, and the Ramallah Friends Society. Bertha Vester wrote in her memoir that when the Baby Home started it resembled an orphanage, but its services were expanded because "after keeping the babies for years and making them accustomed to cleanliness and regular habits, it was tragic to give this children back to their parents or relatives to live in the hovels from which we had rescued them."[83] The Baby Home and even more, the Child Welfare Stations, became centers of education for poor mothers as well as sites of medical treatment. Like Canaan, the members of the American Colony saw themselves as charged with combating poor women's superstitions surrounding care of infants. The 1927 ACAA report complained that women were reluctant to bring healthy babies to the clinics for check-ups lest they tempt the evil eye. The ACAA arranged an additional sick babies' clinic "which we used as a school to teach mothers – and fathers too – the value of preventative work."[84] Among the lessons taught was the value of breastfeeding (as in Cotching's work) and how to hygienically prepare food for the child. The ACAA also ran a sewing class for expectant mothers to learn to make "comfortable" baby clothes.[85] As in other clinics, supplemental milk was given away (or sold at a small fee to those who could pay) for the mothers who could not produce enough milk or whose milk risked being contaminated by communicable diseases.

Access to clean milk was a cornerstone of infant care for all institutions and actors involved in Palestine's child welfare scene and indeed a political rallying cry for social reformers around the globe at the time. As the writings and works of Dr. Canaan, Eva Cotching, and Hadassah demonstrate, improper or inadequate feeding was thought to be

[79] American Colony Aid Association, *Annual Report, 1929-1930.*
[80] ACAA, *Annual Report, 1927-1928*.
[81] Ibid.
[82] ACAA, *Annual Report, 1929-1930.*
[83] Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* 329.
[84] ACAA, *Annual Report, 1927-1928.*
[85] Ibid.

the root cause of many infantile ailments. And while all the physicians, nurses, and activists in Palestine uniformly encouraged breast-feeding, concerns about contaminated maternal milk or insufficient supplies meant that providing supplemental milk was an important function of infant welfare centers. In the early 1920s, Hadassah set up milk kitchens in Jerusalem to provide clean, pasteurized milk to Jerusalemite mothers. The milk kitchens – known by the name, Tipat Halav (a Drop of Milk) – were financed by Flora Solomon, wife of Harold Solomon, director of the Commerce and Industry Department of the Mandate government.[86] American businessman and philanthropist, Nathan Straus, also contributed a significant amount of money to Hadassah's infant welfare projects, including milk distribution.[87] In the United States, Straus was famous for being a leading proponent of milk pasteurization as a means of eradicating infectious diseases in children. In 1892, Straus and his wife privately funded a pasteurized milk laboratory in New York City. Around twenty years later, Straus became a co-founder and co-financer of the first Pasteur Institute in Palestine.[88]

The American Colony's infant welfare center also had an American milk benefactor. From 1929-on, the Colony received annual donations of malted milk from William Horlick, Jr., who was the heir and leader of the Horlick Food Company. [89] William Horlick, Jr.'s father had trademarked "malted milk" in the late nineteenth century and the dried milk product became famous as a nutritional aid. Upon Horlick, Jr.'s death, the Wisconsin Historical Society wrote a statement that described the company's malted milk as a "world famous product which proved of such inestimable value in the diet for infants and invalids."[90] The donations were meant to supplement breastfeeding for patients of the Colony's clinic. By the 1920s, the Horlick Food Company had become a multi-national, with offices in the United States and the United Kingdom. While William Horlick, Sr. had been involved in charitable activities in Wisconsin (where the company was headquartered), his son expanded the company's philanthropic efforts to the international arena. William Horlick, Jr.'s support for welfare schemes abroad was not unique or exceptional in the interwar period. Nonetheless, it suggests that there is an important story to be told about the role of corporations in transnational welfare governance in the twentieth century. By viewing colonial public health regimes only through the lens of the colonial administration, scholars have not only overlooked the fragmentation that characterized such systems; they have also absented capital and capitalism from the story. As scholars of post-war humanitarianism have shown us, multinational corporations would come to play a large part in global

[86] "A Drop of Milk" Statement of Receipts and Expenditures for the Months of April, May and June 1923, CJH/RG 2/72/1. Flora Solomon would later become known for developing the "staff welfare system" at Marks and Spencer in the late 1930s. Her son, Peter Benenson, was the founder of Amnesty International.
[87] Straus Health Center Committee Minutes, CJH/RG 2/14/46/3.
[88] Nadav Davidovitch and Rakefet Zalafshik, "Pasteur in Palestine: The Politics of the Laboratory," *Sci Context* 4 (December 2010): 401-425. Davidovitch and Zalafshik argue that the Pasteur Institute, like other bacteriology laboratories founded by colonial powers, had a political role in the colonization of Palestine and the construction of a Zionist political framework. The laboratory was part of an attempt to imagine a "new society".
[89] ACAA, Annual Reports, 1928-1937.
[90] E.B. Hand, "William Horlick, Jr.," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. 24, No. 3 (Mar., 1941), 253.

humanitarian aid schemes of the 1970s.[91] The 1920s were not yet the 1970s, and Horlick's corporate philanthropy did not function in the same way as the capitalist humanitarianism that Tehila Sasson and others have identified.[92] Yet, the reliance of infant welfare organizations in Palestine on transnational corporate capital suggests an intriguing pre-history to the post-welfare state and NGO era of the 1970s-on.

These early infant welfare centers were strikingly American in both founders and funding. However, they were also the products of messy, transnational and multinational networks of individuals, organizations, and companies. The medical professionals who served the clinics were Eastern European Jews, Arab Palestinians, Britons, and Americans. Other privately founded infant welfare clinics in Palestine employed Russian woman doctors, Palestinian male doctors, and British nurses to provide medical care, all under the governmental oversight of medical inspectors from the Department of Health. The funding to establish and operate clinics came from the colonial Government of Palestine, from middle class and elite Palestinian families, local political bodies, and from charitable coffers that were filled abroad.

As demonstrated in the examples of the Ramallah clinics, as well as the American Colony stations, an amalgamation of public and private institutions and individuals from various parts of the world were responsible for the operation of the infant welfare centers. Furthermore, as in the Ramallah example, the impetus for constructing and opening such clinics usually came from local groups, rather than from the Department of Health itself. In many instances, the mukhtars or local council of a village or town approached the Department of Health to ask for an infant welfare center in their locality. Much has been made about the impotence of Palestinian political leadership under the British Mandate. Denied representative political bodies under the colonial system, Palestinian leaders were relegated to municipal councils, which, many scholars have argued, were ineffective and toothless. Powerless though they may have been on the macro-political level, municipal councils, mayors, and mukhtars were actively involved with the daily work of governing when it came to negotiating for services with the colonial bureaucracy. In May of 1935, for example, local inhabitants of the village of al-Tayibeh, along with other nearby residents, submitted a petition (*mazbata)* to the Medical Officer at Ramallah requesting an infant welfare center. Signed by mukhtars and other leaders of al-Tayibeh, Deir-Jarir, and Rammun, the petition promised that the villages would provide the space for the clinic.[93] Moreover, the residents already had a nurse in mind - a local woman from al-Tayibeh who was a licensed midwife and had trained in infant welfare. The Medical Officer who received the petition endorsed it to the Department of Health, emphasizing the village's distance from Ramallah (20 kilometers) and arguing that the combined total population of the villages (roughly 2716 people) warranted a central clinic that could

[91] Tehila Sasson offers an analysis of this phenomenon for the post-war era in "Milking the Third World?: Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Nestlé Boycott," *American Historical Review* Vol. 121, Issue 4 (October, 2016): 1996-1224. Sasson's article examines the politics of the provision of artificial milk to infants in the Global South in the 1970s – in her case, in the boycott campaign to end bottle-feeding in the Third World.

[92] Tehila Sasson, "In the Name of Humanity: Britain the Rise of Global Humanitarianism," PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2015.

[93] Mazbata to Medical Officer, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/29.

serve all three places.[94] The Department of Health agreed to cover the costs of the nurse's salary as well as any necessary equipment, drugs, and dressings.[95]

A similar application was received from the local council of al-Bireh village in 1934. The application argued that al-Bireh was a growing town, with two large schools and thus a substantial population of children in need of medical care.[96] The Department of Health replied that the government could not afford to send a nurse to this village and the local inhabitants should attend the infant welfare clinic in Ramallah (only a few kilometers away).[97] Presumably the petition was dropped as the government file shows no further correspondence on this question for the rest of the decade. In 1942, however, the local council submitted another petition. Once again, they asked for an infant welfare center to be opened, citing requests made by several residents. The petition emphasized children's need for treatment of trachoma as well as the need for mothers to receive instruction on proper health care and childrearing. The local council guaranteed the payment of the nurse's salary (and other related costs) from "community funds" and promised to provide a building to house the clinic.[98] With all financial responsibility taken off of the Department of Health, the infant welfare center opened in al-Bireh in 1944.

As the cases of al-Tayibeh and al-Bireh demonstrate, the Department of Health was rarely eager to implement plans for infant welfare centers unless localities assumed much of the logistical and financial burdens. While emergent expertise and knowledge about child development and public health undergirded infant welfare schemes, the agitation for the actual expansion of such services came almost entirely from below. The colonial government, which had an obligation under the terms of the Mandate to promote political and social development in Palestine, was reluctant to commit its resources to the general population. The construction of a new public health regime around the care of children, then, was as much a result of local actions within the colonial framework as it was the result of the actions of colonial or international actors themselves.

Local leadership also petitioned the Department of Health to challenge changes to infant welfare clinics or in attempt to hold the government to its professed obligations. In 1940, the Department of Health received a petition from the mukhtars of Jifna, protesting the proposed closure of their infant welfare center, which had originally opened in 1928. Signed by leaders from Jifna, as well as nearby villages, the petition urged the Department to keep the clinic open, saying that the community had benefitted from the clinic and most villagers could not afford the bus fare to the next nearest infant welfare center in Ramallah.[99]

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[94] Ibid.
[95] District Health Office to Director of Medical Services, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/29.
[96] Establishment of an Infant Welfare Center at El Bira Village, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/26.
[97] Majlis mahalī al-Bireh (Local Council al-Bireh), 'Iinshā' mastūs sahī fī al-Bireh (Establishment of a Health Clinic in al-Bireh), ISA/RG 10/M 6572/26.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Mukhtars (Jifna) to Senior Medical Officer, 1940, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/20.

Municipal councils and mukhtars were not the only local groups involved in setting up and overseeing infant welfare centers – Palestinian voluntary associations and private individuals also took part in the project. In 1931, for example, the Arab Women's Association in Jerusalem submitted a plan to the Senior Medical Officer to open an infant welfare center in the Old City. The Association would financially support the center and they had recruited Drs. Tannous and Haddad to do the medical work. Dr. H.F. Khalid agreed to supervise the nurse, one Marie Mitchell.[100] The Association had located a four-room house to use for the clinic and members of the Association proposed to assist the nurse in her duties and with home visits. Relieved of financial obligations towards the clinic, the Department of Health was quick to approve its opening.[101]

Another voluntary association - the Palestine Educational Society - proved less successful with their infant welfare scheme in Birzeit. In 1932, the newly formed society submitted a letter to the Director of Health proposing, among other items, the establishment of a clinic in Birzeit.[102] The Society proposed that its Board of Trustees provide the clinic space and half of the nurse's salary and appealed to the government to assist with the other half of the salary as well as the necessary equipment. The Department of Health responded that, as an infant welfare center was already in operation in nearby Jifna, they could not afford to send an additional nurse to the area. Instead, the Department of Health agreed to have the nurse travel from Jifna to Birzeit once a week to see and treat patients.[103]

The Palestine Educational Society was an intriguing actor in the infant welfare network. Child welfare schemes are usually associated with women's activities; indeed, as Ellen Fleischmann and others have so aptly demonstrated, social welfare provided an entree point into the political realm for elite Palestinian women as it did for women in all parts of the globe. Moreover, the social was itself a realm often gendered female (much as the political and the economic were gendered male). The Palestine Educational Society, by contrast, was a mostly male organization. Its board included such illustrious figures as 'Issa al-'Issa, proprietor of the newspaper *Filastin*, Ali Bey Jarallah and Mustafa Bey Khalidi, members of the Jerusalem Court of Appeal, and several district officers from various regions of the country. Why were the powerful men of Palestine concerning themselves with something as seemingly inconsequential as one clinic in a small town? One argument is that, as for the elite women of Palestine, social welfare was an avenue to politics for these men. Lacking any form of representative body and little access to the colonial administration, Palestinian men and women were best able to participate in governance through the social realm. Similarly, one could argue that the promotion of infant welfare clinics was part of a nationalist natalist movement, as it was - quite explicitly - for the Jewish Zionist community of Palestine. In either case, the involvement of men's societies in promoting and overseeing infant welfare schemes complicates our understanding of the ways in which politics were gendered in Mandate Palestine.

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[100] Arab Women's Association to Senior Medical Officer, 1931, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/19.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Nazmi Eff. Anabtawy to Director of Health,1932, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/23.
[103] Ibid.

Men were also involved in promoting infant welfare schemes as individual actors and donors. In 1943, Ahmad Samih Khalidi, the principal of the Arab College and architect of several social welfare projects in the 1930s and 1940s, wrote to the Department of Health about the possibility of establishing an infant welfare center in Jericho. Khalidi, the letter stated, had convinced a Jericho notable to donate space and £P500 for the clinic, and he appealed to the government to match the notable's donation.[104] Should the Jericho scheme prove successful, Khalidi had a similar proposal for the town of Beisan. By the early 1940s, Khalidi was involved in a number of welfare initiatives for children. Khalidi was concerned with the effects of poverty and deprivation on Palestinian young people and especially concerned with the fates of boys and young men who suffered familial and community dislocation as a result of the Palestinian Revolt and its repression. Khalidi's most significant welfare project was a school and orphanage – Deir 'Amr – for such children, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

The relationships between the Department of Health and the local interests that supported infant welfare centers were not always cooperative. In addition to local disgruntlement about the closure of clinics or removal of nurses, there was also often disagreement about what role the government should play in the clinic, particularly when it came to financial matters. Officially, the Department of Health planned to provide only the technical expertise and equipment to all local clinics and dispensaries and rely completely on voluntary associations for the direct service work, freeing the Department up to focus on broad public health issues as well as the care of British colonial officials. In reality, however, the aftermath of the war left many voluntary associations in dire straits and they often appealed to the government for financial assistance in setting up and maintaining clinics. In Beit Hanina, for example, the mukhtars wrote to the Senior Medical Officer insisting on the government's obligation to pay for a nurse at their infant welfare center. "We are poor," the petition read, "and we did not promise to pay anything and we cannot commit to paying anything."[105] Highlighting the size and centrality of the village, the petition concluded with a plea that the Government order the opening of the clinic and appoint a nurse at its expense.

A similar conflict arose around the opening of Beit Sahur's clinic. The initial correspondence between the Department of Health and Basil Shoumali, a member of the local council, established that the government would provide a nurse for the clinic as long as the local council secured a suitable location and the requisite furniture.[106] The local council proposed to spend a budget credit of £P43 on improvements to the premises, which the government itself had to approve. This first financial conflict came over buying the necessary furniture for the clinic. The local council managed to gather tables, chairs, and some office supplies, but was overwhelmed by the long list provided to them by the Department of Health. The District Officer of the Jerusalem Sub-District, intervened on the council's behalf, writing to the Department of Health that the impression had been

[104] A.S. Khalidi to Dr. Macqueen, 1943, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/24.
[105] Mukhtars to Senior Medical Officer, 1937, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/32.
[106] Basil Shoumali to Senior Medical Officer, 1934, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/25.

that the necessary furniture would be simple and inexpensive, which had not proved the case.[107] There was further confusion over who had the responsibility to provide the funds for a maid's salary, a medicine cupboard and a baby-weighing machine. The infant welfare nurse herself, Afifeh Najjar, ended up writing to the District Health Office, inquiring about the servant's salary. The municipality, Najjar wrote, instructed her to discharge the servant as they had no funds with which to pay her. Without the servant, the clinic's floors had not been washed or scrubbed for two weeks. Najjar concluded the letter by asking the Department to arrange for back pay for the discharged servant and to set-up a permanent servant paid "with a state-wage."[108] The Department eventually agreed to pay the servant, Rahmeh Jadallah, at a wage of £P6/year, but with no future wage increase.[109]

These examples demonstrate two important facts about governance in Mandate Palestine. First, despite popular images of municipal councils as toothless and impotent under the Mandate system, local leaders were active participants in the daily governance of their populations and demanded accountability – if sometimes fruitlessly – from the Mandate government. Second, daily governance of those local populations was fragmented, contested, and shared amongst a broad range of actors. Infant welfare did not simply emanate from the colonial bureaucracy; rather, the networks of infant welfare clinics that grew up in Palestine over the decades of the Mandate period resulted from an inchoate collection of individuals and organizations representing both public and private interests.

Nurses[110]

The nurse was the central figure of the infant welfare clinic. Although the centers were funded by voluntary associations or local councils and technically overseen by the government's medical officers, the nurse-midwife was the only person in charge of the clinic's day-to-day operations, perhaps assisted by a servant or doorkeeper. The nurses that staffed infant welfare clinics represented both the rise of a new professional nursing landscape in interwar Palestine and its structural limitations. Nursing was a new and growing profession throughout the world in the early twentieth century and Palestine was no exception. The training and employment of professional nurses had begun in Palestine in the late Ottoman period, though in an ad hoc and sporadic manner. Most of the nurses in Palestine in the late nineteenth century were European women who arrived in the country as medical staff for missionary institutions. As scholars of medicine and women's history have noted, participation in missionary activities was a way for

[107] District Officer to Senior Medical Officer, 1934, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/25.
[108] Afifeh Najjar to District Health Office, 1934, Ibid.
[109] Director of Medical Services to Senior Medical Officer, 1935, Ibid.
[110] I explore the story of Palestinian nurses and nurse-midwives in a forthcoming article, "A Politics of Care: Local Nurses in Mandate Palestine," Accepted for Publication, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. That article examines the system of nurse training in late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine, the relationship between nurses and the villages in which they served (as discussed in this chapter), and their positions as government employees.

European and American women to practice professions that were restricted at home.[111] Women medical missionaries were also thought to be able to access parts of the local population that remained closed to foreign men. As historian Vanessa Heggie has written about female medical practitioners in general, "women also proved useful in blurring the boundary between public and private spaces" by extending professional intervention and oversight into spaces that men were thought unable to access.[112] Both European and Palestinian nurses served as vectors for the form of biopolitics that constructed the colonial social realm. Although European women made up a majority of the professional nursing cohort in nineteenth-century Palestine, around the turn of the century, medical missions also began training local women in nursing practices. While the missions made attempts to align their nurse training with emerging international standards for nurses – even coordinating between missionary institutions to establish a set curriculum – nurse education did not approach a true level of standardization until after the war.

As the British military government took control of Palestine directly following the war – even before a civil administration was established – it issued a series of medical regulations. These regulations focused on oversight of professional medical practice, including the compulsory licensing and registration of midwives, physicians and pharmacists.[113] As a part of the reformation of medical practice, the government also attempted to establish oversight of the nascent nursing profession. To this end, it standardized nursing education and examination, so that all nurse probationers would be held to the same levels of proficiency in the same areas, regardless of where they trained. As before the war, nursing students continued to be trained in missionary hospitals and clinics, but they also flocked to recently opened government hospitals and, after 1918, the newly enshrined Hadassah Nurse Training School. The aim was to create a cadre of professionally trained and qualified Palestinian nurses who could assist in urban hospitals and clinics, but could also spread out across small towns and rural villages to act as the foot soldiers in the battle for public health reform. The project of improving infant welfare depended not only on re-educating poor mothers in the proper means of childrearing, as expressed in the works of Canaan and Cotching, but also on establishing a network of professional Palestinian young women who could be the agents of that re-education.

The ideal of qualified, professional nurses staffing infant welfare centers and clinics across Palestine was stymied by the structural realities of nurse training and

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[111] Janet Lee has shown how missionary work enabled Protestant women to expand their professional activities while not transgressing the prescribed parameters of white Western femininity (Janet Lee, "Between Subordination and She-Tiger: Social Constructions of White Femininity in the Lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930," *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 19, No. 6 (1996): 621-632). Laura Kelly has shown how women's missionary work and work in the British empire also served as way to protect the jobs of male doctors at home in the face of increasing numbers of female medical school graduates (Laura Kelly, "'The Turning Point in the Whole Struggle': The Admission of Women to the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland," *Women's History Review* Vol. 22, No. 1 (2013): 97-125).

[112] Vanessa Heggie, "Women Doctors and Lady Nurses: Class, Education, and the Professional Victorian Woman," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Vol. 89, No. 2 (Summer 2015), 272.

[113] Along with compulsory birth registration, the oversight of medical professions was part of Public Health Ordinance No. 1 found in Bentwich, comp. *Legislation of Palestine, 1918-1925.*

employment in the interwar years. From the government's perspective, there simply were not enough trained nurses to meet the needs of the Palestinian Arab population. This was thought to be especially true of Muslim nurses who were disproportionately outnumbered by their Christian and Jewish counterparts. Although contemporary commenters and more recent historians ascribed the low rate of Muslim women in nursing at least in part to a cultural reluctance, the primary reasons for the discrepancy were undoubtedly structural.[114] The majority of nurses, especially in the early years of the Mandate, were trained at either missionary institutions or the Hadassah Nursing Training School. While Hadassah was nominally open to any and all nursing students, regardless of religious affiliation, Hadassah's infrastructure and ideology resulted in a predominantly Jewish nursing program that was difficult for Palestinian Arab women to access. Knowledge of Hebrew, for example, was a pre-requisite for acceptance in Hadassah's training school and it was also the language of instruction within the school, virtually eliminating the possibility of non-Jewish pupils. Christian missions were similarly unlikely to draw in students other than their coreligionists, by virtue of opportunity if not design. To enter into any nursing program, moreover, probationers had to have completed an elementary education, a qualification much more likely to be held by Jewish and Christian women. As I write in an article on the nursing profession in Palestine, "the delegation of nurse training to religiously-based, voluntary organizations thus rendered those organizations unintentional gatekeepers of the nursing profession, determining who was welcomed in or kept out."[115]

The infant welfare centers' nurses played the primary role in the daily management of the clinics themselves and thus, they were consistently both subjects and objects of political negotiations. Local leaders sought to exercise quality control over their clinics by freely informing the Department of Health when the caliber of the nurse was thought to be inadequate. In 1937, the mukhtars of the town of Dura, near Hebron, appealed to the director of the Public Health Department on behalf of their local infant welfare center. According to the mukhtars' petition, the nurse-midwife in charge of the clinic, one Nazira Haj Adham, was improperly qualified to make the clinic fully beneficial to the community. They pleaded for the Director of Medical Services to appoint a fully licensed, graduate nurse to their town[116], claiming that they were getting no use out of Nurse Adham and that the population of the town necessitated a more highly trained practitioner. Signed by ten men of the town, the petition also alleged that the clinic was devoid of medicine. In addition to pointing to the need for proper infant medical care in the town by highlighting the size of the population, the petition also positioned the community as a partner to the Department of Health in the operation of the clinic. The mukhtars opened their petition by reminding the Department that the population of Dura "shared in the expense" of the clinic, before demanding the Department remedy its perceived deficiencies.[117]

[114] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* 182.
[115] Shatz, "A Politics of Care: Local Nurses in Mandate Palestine."
[116] Mukhtars to Department of Health, 1937, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/27.
[117] Ibid.

The Director of Medical Services was not persuaded. In a terse memo, he simply replied, "You are changing the nurse-midwife when Nazira Adham is retired. This is sufficient. There is no question of posting a graduate nurse to Dura."[118] Next to lack of available funds, the scarcity of nurses – specifically Palestinian Arab nurses – was the limiting factor in the spread of infant welfare clinics.

In the absence of a full roster of qualified nurses, the Department of Health staffed infant welfare centers with nurses and midwives who had not gone through government-sanctioned training and examinations. This was the situation in the case of Dura, where the local council resented the lack of formal qualifications of their nurse-midwife and asked for a graduate nurse in her place. It was also the situation in al-Tayibeh, although the local attitudes towards the nurse's qualifications there were quite different from those in Dura. In the case of al-Tayibeh, it was the villagers themselves who nominated a local midwife, Helena Issa Jabra, as the nurse of the proposed clinic.[119] Jabra was not, at the time, a graduate of any approved nursing institution, nor does she appear on any list of graduate nurses from the Mandate period. She was a licensed midwife, and the Superintendent of Midwifery for the Department of Health, remembered her as a "clean and willing" midwifery pupil who would make a good infant welfare nurse as long as she took an additional specialized course in Jerusalem.[120]

On more than one occasion, however, a suitable candidate could not be located and the Department of Health would have to refuse village requests for infant welfare centers for want of trained medical staff or close centers when nurses were needed elsewhere. In 1929, a government medical officer recommended the establishment of an infant welfare center in Beit Jala on account of the area's particularly high infant mortality rates.[121] According to the medical officer, the local council welcomed the idea of an infant welfare center as long as the government agreed to pay for the nurse or provide the local council with a grant-in-aid. In 1934, the government gave a grant for £P100 to the local council in Beit Jala to establish such a center; the mayor wrote to the Department of Health, saying that the local council was anxious to hire a nurse or midwife to run the center before the grant lapsed and suggested a midwife from the area.[122] The Superintendent of Midwifery approved of the candidate, but stipulated that she would need to travel to Jerusalem for two months of specialized infant welfare training. By the time the midwife was properly trained, the time of the grant would have elapsed, leaving the local council without the funds to maintain the clinic.[123] Again in 1938 and 1944, the mayor petitioned the government, arguing that an infant welfare center was desperately needed in Beit Jala. The District Officer signed on to the mayor's

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[118] Director of Medical Services, 1937, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/27.
[119] Mazbata to Medical Officer, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/29.
[120] Superintendent of Midwifery to Senior Medical Officer, ISA/RG 10/M 6572/29.
[121] Medical Officer, Bethlehem to Senior Medical Officer (1929), ISA/RG 10/6572/22. According to the medical officer, the infant mortality rate in Beit Jala peaked at 201 per thousand live births in the years 1924-1928 and at 332 per thousand live births in nearby Bethlehem. In fact, the government only agreed to give a grant to Beit Jala after the infant mortality data was provided, demonstrating the acute nature of the problem in the area.
[122] Mayor of Beit Jala to Senior Medical Officer, 1935, ISA/RG 10/6572/22.
[123] Ibid.

petition, saying that the council could provide premises and asking for Department of Health to appoint a qualified nurse. The Department responded that no such appointment would be possible due to a shortage of trained nurses.[124] An infant welfare center was finally established in Beit Jala in 1945 – sixteen years after the first recommendation – on the full funding of the Beit Jala Women's Society at a cost of approximately £P313 a year.[125]

The fate of an infant welfare center thus rose and fell with its nurse. Infant welfare care did not exist independently of her person and thus the individual nurse-midwife herself had a large impact on the execution of the infant welfare system. These nurses operated on two levels simultaneously; on one hand, they were agents of a colonial bureaucracy. It was, after all, these women who registered births in the villages and towns, disseminated information and ideas about infant welfare, and otherwise extended the reach of the colonial state into local populations. On the other hand, the nurses were themselves members of these local populations – at times, residents of the very places in which they were stationed – and they were individuals with community relationships and obligations. Nominally, infant welfare nurses, as agents of the Department of Health, were merely nodes in a larger system of colonial regulation and oversight. In reality, however, as the sole medical practitioners in the clinics, nurses, as individuals, had a great deal of influence over the actual practice of infant welfare on-the-ground.

A good portion of the on-the-ground practice of infant welfare in Palestinian towns and villages depended on the relationships between individual nurses and members of the local communities. Town and village communities objected to changes to their clinics or the removal of their particular infant welfare nurse. In 1935, the local council of Beit Sahur protested the rumor that the Department of Health was to transfer their nurse to another clinic. Claiming that the transfer was harmful to the village, a petition from the council to the Senior Medical Officer argued that the nurse, Afifeh Najjar, had been successful in reducing incidences of childhood diseases in the village.[126] Furthermore, the petition claimed, Najjar already knew the families in the village and was familiar with their particular medical problems. A new nurse would not be able to replicate her success because she would be unfamiliar with the specific conditions of Beit Sahur.[127] The local council ended with a plea for the Department of Health to look on the matter "with mercy and pity and let the situation remain as is."[128]

The petitions failed to sway the Department of Health and Najjar was transferred from Beit Sahur. However, the arguments made by the local council demonstrate the extent to which local communities participated in defining the parameters of scientific childrearing and infant welfare expertise. Their arguments for keep Najjar rested on two points: that she was qualified by her training and that she knew the particularities of the

[124] Senior Medical Officer to Mayor, ISA/RG 10/6572/22.
[125] District Officer to Assistant District Commissioner, ISA/RG 10/6572/22.
[126] Local Council to Senior Medical Officer, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/25. A fuller account of the story of Nurse Najjar appears in my article: Shatz, "A Politics of Care."
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

village needs. In this formulation, expertise stemmed from both a scientific and universalized education and from localized experience.

Conflicts also arose between the town or village population and the Department of Health about who had authority over the infant welfare nurse. Was the nurse strictly an employee of the Department of Health or was she accountable, first and foremost, to the local population? In Ramallah, the terms of the infant welfare nurse's employment caused concern among officials in the Department of Health. The mayor of Ramallah insisted that the nurse communicate directly with the municipality on matters of pay and send clinic reports to the municipality, rather than to the Department of Health.[129] The Medical Officer for the area complained that the mayor was attempting to "rule over" the clinic and the nurse and interfere with her work. Because municipalities and local organizations provided funding for infant welfare clinics and for nurses' salaries, there could be confusion and tension over which institution held jurisdiction over the clinic.[130]

By virtue of how the infant welfare system was constructed – the Department of Health's desire to keep costs down and the scarcity of qualified nurses – individual nurses had a great deal of autonomy over infant welfare clinics. The clinics brought the government's public health regime into village and town life, but that regime was uneven, ad hoc, and highly dependent on individuals, such as nurses. It would be easy to see nurses as merely the conduits through which knowledge and control of modern childrearing flowed from the colonial state to the local communities; a more robust analysis, however, shows that they were individuals with particular relationships to the communities they served. They were also employees of the colonial state – not simply its mouthpieces – and as employees had complex, and at times contentious, relationships with the Department of Health.

Conclusion

"The health of a nation depends in the first instance upon the well-being of its children and young people."[131] So read a League of Nations memo prepared in advance of the world's first conference on international child welfare in 1925. Following decades of social reformist activism in the urban slums of the world's capital cities and the immediate ravages of the First World War, societal obligation and indebtedness to the welfare of children was, by the 1920s, a globally accepted concept. With the advent of the League of Nations and its ancillary organizations, that concept was given international institutional structure for the first time. Yet, as this chapter has shown, infant welfare did not become global solely through the data-gathering and knowledge production of bureaucrats in Geneva. In Palestine, a truly transnational infant welfare system grew out of local political and social networks and the fragmented, multifocal power structures of an unevenly colonized society.

[129] Contract between Mayor and Nurse Tannous, 1928, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/2.
[130] Medical Officer to Senior Medical Officer, ISA/RG 10/M/6572/2.
[131] LNA/R8F/11424/1092.

By the 1940s, Palestine's landscape was dotted with dozens and dozens of infant welfare centers. These clinics were deeply gendered spaces, in which women advised other women, governing their bodies and policing their practices. The clinics were also spaces of biopolitics, which aimed to produce healthy child-subjects for present and future Palestinian society. The politics of scientific childrearing overreached the clinic's walls, as district nurses made home visits to expectant and new mothers, a school system of medical inspection examined children for endemic eye diseases, and milk depots and pasteurization centers attempted to provide safe and abundant nutrition for feeding infants. These efforts to construct and govern the social were spearheaded by local committees of women and men, Jewish and Arab, who organized to build clinics in their towns and cities. In Jerusalem in the 1940s, a committee of the YWCA collaborated with the Supreme Muslim Council to bring free milk into Arab schools.[132] For the most part, the infant welfare system that arose in Mandate Palestine was decentralized, with the government playing the role more of mediator than architect. At times, the various pieces of this network were explicitly uncoordinated, as when Hadassah members complained that they had not been informed that the American Colony was opening a clinic in the same neighborhood as one of their own.[133]

The story of infant welfare in Mandate Palestine reveals the fallacy in assuming cohesion in statecraft or in assuming the bifurcation of a state – national or colonial – from its society. The lines between the public and private, governmental and voluntary, local and foreign blur greatly in examining the on-the-ground operation of infant welfare centers and the greater infant welfare regime. Infant welfare was neither a project that emanated solely from the colonial state, nor was it simply an avenue of resistance by the local population. It was neither wholly indigenous, nor merely an import from abroad. Indeed, the infant welfare regime in Palestine underlines the futility of older taxonomies of colonial societies. As this chapter as shown, the coloniality of infant welfare in Mandate Palestine was not vested solely in the colonial administration, but built within the power relations among a multitude of actors. The transnational character of Palestine's infant welfare system was embedded in specific, local circumstances – the sheer amount of American money invested in Palestine in Hadassah and elsewhere, the long presence of European missions in the area and their relationships to social services and public health, the inherent global networks that come with colonial rule. As this chapter has shown, it was local power dynamics, and the negotiations between them, that determined the emergence of the infant welfare network and the governance of its operation.

[132] Minutes of Jerusalem Young Women's Christian Association Meeting (1943), ISA/RG 65/3067/4.
[133] CJH/RG 2/14/46/2.

Chapter Three

Reforming Young Offenders:
Juvenile Delinquency and the Boundaries of Childhood

Over the course of 2015 and early 2016, a spate of street violence broke out in cities in Israel and the West Bank. Deemed the "Knife Intifada," by international media, this outburst of violence consisted of lone wolf knife attacks by Palestinians. Many of the attackers were children and young people, in their early teenage years. Invariably, the Israeli and Western media described these individuals as "terrorists," even when the attacker was as young as twelve-years-old. These labels prompted pushback from Palestinian communities (and some Israelis) who argued that Palestinian childhood is routinely obscured, both in reality and in rhetoric. An article in *Haaretz* in 2016 decried the practice of deeming these young people "terrorists," and urged that the discussion take account of the neurological, social, and psychological reasons young people engage in at-risk behavior: "We have to call a child a child and treat children who perpetrate stabbing attacks as children in distress."[1]

As historians and sociologists remind us, childhood is not universal. It is socially constructed around the particular values, structures, and circumstances of a given time or place.[2] But more than simply a social construct, childhood is a political category that is mediated and policed by a variety of institutions. In the political geography of contemporary Israel/Palestine, the meaning of childhood is filtered through conflict and real or imagined nationalist borders. In Mandate Palestine, too, the boundaries of childhood were created and negotiated across colonial institutions and between different constituencies. Not every young person got to be a child, or to have what Philip Aries would call a childhood.[3] How those boundaries were drawn, who was kept out, and why is the subject of this chapter.

The regimes of care that characterized the post-war humanitarian network and the system of infant welfare described in the previous two chapters aimed to realize Palestinian children's physical, social, and moral potential and mold a productive social subject. Child welfare endeavors during the Mandate period, however, also assumed a darker potential embedded in Palestine's children – the potential towards delinquency, crime, and social unrest. From the early 1920s to the late 1940s, the government of Palestine constructed a host of laws, regulations, and institutions intended to control and

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[1] Steven Klein and Rivka Klein-De Graaf, "They're Palestinian Children in Distress, Not Terrorists," *Haaretz* (30 March 2016).

[2] In 1960, Philippe Aries posited the (then controversial) idea that childhood was a historical phenomenon not recognized in Europe prior to the seventeenth century (see Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* [originally published as *L'Enfant et la Vie Familliale Sous L'Ancien Regime],* Trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Press, 1962). Since Aries' work, an entire field of history of childhood studies has emerged, which examines the historical constructions and expressions of childhood in different times and places (see the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, published since 2008 by Johns Hopkins University). Likewise, the field of sociology has examined childhood as a sociologically constructed phenomenon (see in particular the work of sociologist Christopher Jenks).

[3] Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood.*.

contain juvenile delinquency and return Palestinian children back to a path of normal, productive development. The span of two decades saw the overhaul of the juvenile criminal code, the erection of reformatory schools and remand homes, and the creation of a juvenile court and a robust probation service. As it came into being, the juvenile delinquency system of the Mandate era defined and redefined the parameters of childhood.

Like infant welfare and child health, by the end of the First World War, juvenile delinquency had become a topic of international discussion among social reformers that fell under the general category of "child welfare". The "young offender" had begun to emerge as a new category in the late nineteenth century and as an object of international discussion in the early twentieth century, based on knowledge production from new scientific disciplines and the broader "child-saving" moments of urban social reformers. In the years before the First World War, efforts at juvenile justice reform coalesced into international movements, dominated by the United States, Britain, and France.[4] These social and political movements for court and penal reform were concomitant with the emergence of new social scientific disciplines focused on the study of children and childhood. In Britain, psychologist James Sully began the Child Study Movement to understand the psychological differences between childhood and adulthood. In the United States, Sully's American colleague, G. Stanley Hall, argued for the delineation of a new phase of development – adolescence. The demarcation of adolescence as a separate developmental phase was key in articulating a new criminal category – that of the young offender – and the system that would serve him. The introduction of the "young offender" into legal schemas echoed Hall's assertion that the adolescent, while possessing some adult faculties, was an emotionally and psychologically distinct creature from the adult.[5] Moreover, in his seminal 1904 volume, *Adolescence,* Hall posited that in this developmental phase (roughly 14-24), young men showed high tendencies toward criminal behaviors that did not indicate permanent dispositions towards criminality. Thus the emerging fields of psychology, and later, of sociology, were essential in the creation of the new category of the young offender as well as in the movements towards his rehabilitative rather than punitive treatment.

Unlike the post-war relief or infant welfare systems, which relied most heavily on a network of voluntary organizations, the juvenile delinquency system in Palestine developed in intimate relationship with the colonial state. As a regime of law, it was created and embodied by the power of the state. Law, however, is neither static nor sealed, and like those other systems of child welfare, the juvenile delinquency regime was deeply fragmented and dependent on non-state actors. If child welfare writ large in Mandate Palestine was born out of a mixed economy of care, then the Mandate's juvenile justice regime likewise emerged as a mixed economy of control. In this chapter, I

[4] The movement for juvenile delinquency reform is often traced to the work of the Chicago Women's Club, which helped to establish the first juvenile court in the United States in 1899. The International Congress of Children's Courts convened in 1911 and led to laws establishing juvenile courts in France and Belgium the following year. The *Association international pour la Protection de l'enfance* was founded in 1913 and became one of the feeder organizations that helped established the League's Child Welfare Committee.
[5] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime and Religion* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1904).

conceptualize law not merely as a discursive power, which calls reality into being through language, but as a dynamic field of relationships. The criminal law that addressed juvenile delinquency in Mandate Palestine existed not only within the bounds of the legal code, but also in the institutions that grew to govern juvenile offenders and the people who interacted with them.

The argument of this chapter is that the rhetoric, institutions, and relationships embedded in the juvenile delinquency system shaped and defined the legal and social meanings of Palestinian childhood. By making a definition of childhood foundational to the operation of the legal system, the juvenile delinquency regime opened up that inherently unstable and malleable category to the lawyers, colonial officials, and local families that engaged with it. On the one hand, the very logic of the juvenile delinquency system depended on an assumption of the universality of childhood. On the other hand, the operation of that system constructed the boundaries of childhood based on the socio-political circumstances of Mandate Palestine. As this chapter will show, juvenile delinquency became part of the global dialogue on child welfare in the twentieth century, but who counted as a juvenile delinquent remained embedded in the particularities of Palestine's local and colonial relationships.

"The Law-in-the-Books": Creating the Juvenile Delinquent

Juvenile delinquency legislation emerged around the world as part of the centralizing efforts of modern states, which aimed at extending the reach of law and regulation. In the Ottoman Empire, the juvenile justice system emerged amidst the larger legal and administrative restructuring of the mid-nineteenth century reform era, or *Tanzimat*. In the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire underwent a process of juvenile justice development and reform, influenced by new global ideas about child development, education, and modern governance. Changes in the understandings and treatment of juvenile delinquents in this period emanated from two separate developments – the construction of new institutions that targeted poor and vagrant urban children and the legal redefinition of childhood and youth.

In the 1860s, reformatory institutions (*islahhanes)* began to proliferate in Ottoman cities. In 1867, an imperial decree required that each province establish an *islahhane,* and by the end of the century, thirty such institutions existed throughout the Ottoman Empire.[6] While juvenile offenders – that is children and young people who had been accused of committing crimes – did make up a small percentage of the children in the *islahhane*, the majority of its inhabitants were not criminals, but simply destitute and orphaned children pulled off of the streets. Nazan Maksudyan has argued that the establishment of the *islahhane* was more about urban reform and renewal than a

[6] Nazan Maksudyan, "Children as Transgressors in Urban Space: Delinquency, Public Order and Philanthropy in the Ottoman Reform Era," in *Violences juveniles sous expertise(s) /Expertise and Juvenile Violence: :XIX-XXI siècles/19th-21st Century,* eds. Aurore Francois et al. (Louvain-la-Nueve, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2011), 22.

particular investment in child welfare as such.[7] Removing vagrant and poor children from city streets was part and parcel of the larger *Tanzimat* efforts of public security and urban beautification. As an institution that housed both juvenile offenders and the urban poor, the *islahhane* blurred the distinctions between "poor" and "criminal." As Maksudyan suggests, both criminal and poor children were threats to the new Ottoman public order and the *islahhane* functioned as a space of re-education of undesirable subjects as well as control over their mobility.[8]

In addition to the advent of the *islahhane,* the *Tanzimat* reforms also entailed a renegotiation of the meaning of childhood in the criminal law. Prior to the late nineteenth century, the age of criminal accountability was set according to Islamic law, which put responsibility for one's actions at the onset of puberty. Since the biological phenomenon of puberty occurs at different chronological ages in different individuals, the category of "child" in the criminal law was flexible and dependent on the particular defendant and particular judge. From the mid-nineteenth century, several reforms and directives attempted to clarify the legal demarcation of childhood in the criminal law. Article 40 of the 1858 Imperial Ottoman Penal Code outlined three different biological circumstances to guide the courts' treatment of young offenders. If the offender had not reached the age of puberty, he or she was not liable for punishment, as she or he did not possess *mens rea*. If, on the other hand, the offender did not show visible signs of puberty, but was *murahiq*, or in the chronological period in which puberty tends to manifests (between nine and fifteen for females and between twelve and fifteen for males, according to the Hanafi tradition of Islamic jurisprudence), *and* could be shown to have committed an offence deliberately, she or he would be held partially responsible and receive reduced punishment. Those above the age of fifteen, regardless of physical signs of puberty, would be held fully responsible and subject to full punishment.[9] In 1874, the Ministry of Justice attempted to clarify age categories for the purposes of prosecuting and sentencing young offenders. A directive held that young persons under the age of thirteen would be deemed minors and offenders just over the age of fifteen who do not show signs of puberty would be deemed *murahiq* with *mens rea*.[10]

In 1911, the revolutionary government, the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP), overhauled the 1858 Imperial Penal Code, and with it, Article 40. Replacing a notion of biological age with the more rigid parameters of chronological age, the new Article 40 maintained that persons below the age of fourteen were minors lacking *mens rea* and could not receive punishments under the law, but could be handed over to parents on guarantee or sent to a reformatory institution for further education.[11] The new Article 40 also implemented a graduated system of punishment for adolescents: persons who were fourteen or fifteen were deemed responsible for their actions, but given reduced

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid, 37.
[9] Kent F. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 172.
[10] Ibid, 173.
[11] "Muqayasa bayna al-mâda al-arba'în min qânûn al-jizâ, al-'uthmaniwa-qânûn al-a/hdâth aladhi a/sratahi /hukûma filis/tîn," (Comparison Between Article 40 of the Ottoman Penal Code and the Young Offenders Ordinance Issued by the Government of Palestine), *al-Huqûq*, (July, 1926), 718.

sentences (one third or one quarter of an adult sentence); persons who were sixteen to nineteen were given prison sentences equivalent to one third or one half of an adult sentence. In no case was a person who had not completed his or her nineteenth year subject to capital punishment, life imprisonment, or hard labor.[12]

Kent Schull has suggested that the delineation of different stages of young offenders in the 1911 penal code reflected a remnant of the idea of the *murahiq,* and thus the enfolding of some components of Islamic jurisprudential thought into the new legal system.[13] While this may be so, it is also true that many contemporary emerging juvenile justice systems differentiated between various stages of youth and adolescence in their laws. A 1912 law in France, which established juvenile courts, similarly divided adolescence into different stages: those under thirteen acted without *mens rea*, but between thirteen and eighteen, the determination of *mens rea* was left to the court. Those found to be acting with discretion, but who were younger than sixteen, received attenuated adult sentences, much as in the Ottoman code.[14] The United Kingdom's 1908 Children's Act set the age of criminal responsibility at seven years old and gave the newly established juvenile court jurisdiction over those aged sixteen and below. The court recognized two distinct categories within that group: "children," defined as those below fourteen years of age (or between seven and fourteen), and "young person," defined as those between fourteen and sixteen. Different restrictions on punishments applied to children and young persons.[15] The Illinois Juvenile Court Act of 1899, which established the first juvenile court in the United States, likewise gave the court jurisdiction over those sixteen years old and younger. Just as in France, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire, however, the Illinois Act created sub-categories to distinguish between appropriate punishments for different aged juveniles. Juveniles under the age of twelve could not be sentenced to jail; those over the age of ten could be sent to reformatory schools.[16] As a comparison with legal frameworks of contemporary juvenile justice systems shows, if the Ottoman code incorporated jurisprudence from Islamic law, then so too did it reflect the secular logic of child development theories that were beginning to permeate the globe.

In Palestine, with the installment of the British colonial government, the Ottoman system gave way to a British regime, heavily influenced by and implicated in the development of juvenile justice theory at the international level. The new British system for dealing with young offenders came out of three planes simultaneously: the specific legal history of the Ottoman Empire, the contemporary international movements for juvenile delinquency reform, and the trans-colonial network of juvenile delinquency systems within the interwar British Empire. Norman Bentwich, the first Attorney General of the Mandate administration, undertook a total overhaul of the existing Ottoman criminal code in the early 1920s. In 1938, reflecting on the decision to reform the legal

[12] Ibid.
[13] Schull, 175.
[14] Sarah Fishman, "Crisis and Change in the Juvenile Justice System, 1934-1945," in *Crisis and Renewal in France*: *1918-1962*, eds. Kenneth Moure and Martin S. Alexander (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2002), 157.
[15] Children and Young Persons Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7.
[16] Illinois Juvenile Court Act § 1, 1899, Ill. Laws.

system, Bentwich wrote, "The Mandatory Administration in Palestine early recognized that the Ottoman Code was not a suitable instrument of justice and decided to replace it."[17] For "young offenders," as they were designated under the new laws, this penal reform resulted in the 1922 Young Offender's Ordinance. The 1922 Ordinance established several parameters for the courts in dealing with juvenile defendants. First, the ordinance set the age of criminal liability at nine years old. Second, it proscribed certain punishments for young offenders, according to chronological age. Defendants below the age of thirteen could not incur "the penalties of death and penal servitude, imprisonment and fine."[18] For defendants between thirteen and eighteen years, sentences of death and penal servitude for life were replaced with imprisonment and prison sentences were not to exceed half the length prescribed by law for adult offenders. The ordinance also offered alternative punishments for minors: boys could be whipped and boys and girls could be handed over to a guardian on guarantee or sentenced to a period of time in a reformatory school.[19]

Bentwich's legal reforms, including those to the criminal code, had the effect of Anglicizing the existing Ottoman law. The extent to which the criminal code should be changed to fit English legal norms was a matter of debate and disagreement among different officials in Palestine and between the Government of Palestine and the Colonial Office back in London.[20] At stake was the question of how much of the status quo should be maintained and how much thrown out. When the British military administration established itself in Palestine at the end of the First World War, General Allenby made a public guarantee that, to the extent possible, existing Ottoman laws and institutions would be preserved.[21] The preservation of the status quo fit with a certain colonial philosophy of many British officials at that time. Not only did they fear the potential local resistance to the wholesale implementation of English laws, but some of them also believed that the "Palestinian mind" might require a different set of legal norms than were appropriate for Englishmen.[22] At the same time, officials, such as Bentwich, felt a responsibility that Mandatory rule needed to bring progress and modernization to Palestine and that such development could not occur under the existing Ottoman legal structure. Ultimately, to those officials, progress necessitated bringing the Palestinian legal code in line with British law. Thus in Bentwich's own estimation, Mandate Palestine's criminal code "follow[ed] the broad lines of codes in British dominions and colonies, but [had] regard to the special circumstances of Palestine."[23]

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[17] Norman Bentwich, "The New Criminal Code for Palestine," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law,* Third Series Vol. 20, No. 1 (1938), 71.
[18] Government of Palestine, Young Offenders' Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1 of 1922), enacted 1922.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Bentwich, 71-72.
[21] Allenby's Instructions for the military administration of all occupied territory in Syria and Palestine. 23 October 1918. FO 371/3384, in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports Volume I*. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[22] Assaf Likhovski discusses this tension in *Law and Identity in Mandate Palestine* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[23] Norman Bentwich, "The Legal System of Palestine under the Mandate," *Middle East Journal* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan., 1948), 40.

The juvenile justice system was no exception to this process of legal reform and was modeled most strongly on British juvenile justice legislation of only a decade prior.[24] The low age of criminal liability (nine years versus seven in Britain), the creation of a juvenile court (1937), the probation service (1928), and the reliance on new networks of reformatory institutions as modified penitentiaries were features of both systems. Mandate Palestine's juvenile justice regime was also written to be congruous with similar reforms in juvenile justice in other parts of Britain's empire. The Colonial Office issued a series of memos and reports evaluating the juvenile justice apparatuses in its colonial holdings, gathering information on the systems in India, Kenya, the West Indies, and the Straits Settlements, in addition to Palestine.[25] Most of these memos focused on data gathering and standard setting, rather than prescriptive statements. In this way, the Colonial Office replicated, for its colonial territories, what the Child Welfare Committee was attempting to do in collecting information on juvenile justice systems for the world at large. To some extent, the Colonial Office (and later, its Social Welfare Advisory Committee) sought to replicate the developing British structures of juvenile delinquency intervention in the colonies and dependencies. One memo noted, "It seems clear that Colonial children become delinquent for very largely the same reasons that adolescents take to crime in other countries," namely poverty, broken families, and lack of education and employment.[26] The memo went on to outline, however, the particularities of the "colonial situation" that would inform the development of juvenile delinquency regimes; some of those particularities were structural – rapid urbanization and industrialization and vast wealth and infrastructure disparities between cities and rural areas.[27] Other colonial particularities highlighted in the memo were projected cultural features, especially different family structures and notions of kinship.[28] Despite addressing a large and diverse group of colonial holdings in these reports, the memos from the Colonial Office rarely distinguished between conditions in different places when making such broad statements. Because many of the particularities of colonial circumstances were assumed to be shared among different colonies, the conversation and knowledge exchange in the development of juvenile delinquency systems occurred as much in a horizontal network of colony-to-colony as in a vertical relationship of metropole to colony. Palestine's juvenile delinquency system, which developed comparatively early, was highlighted as a particular success and model to follow.[29]

The 1922 Young Offenders Ordinance, published by the Government of Palestine, significantly altered the rhetorical parameters of childhood set out by Article 40 of the Ottoman code by lowering the age of criminal responsibility to nine years old. This change did not go unnoticed by the Palestinian legal community. In 1926, the editors of the Arabic-language legal journal, *al-Huquq*, published a side-by-side review of the two laws. Titled "A Comparison Between Article Forty of the Ottoman Penal Code and the

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[24] Specifically, the 1907 Probation of Young Offenders Act and the 1908 Childrens Act.

[25] Report of the Juvenile Delinquency Sub-Committee, The National Archives (TNA) Colonial Office (CO) 859/73/11; Probation Service in the Colonies, TNA CO 859/73/5.

[26] Report of the Juvenile Delinquency Sub-Committee, TNA CO 859/73/11.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Probation Service in the Colonies, TNA CO 859/73/5.

Juvenile Law Issued by the Government of Palestine," the article primarily concerned itself with outlining the provisions of each law. At its start, the article laid out the definitions of age embedded in each law, noting that, while the Ottoman code defined four separate age categories (under fourteen, fourteen to sixteen, sixteen to nineteen, and nineteen and older), the new law only recognized three categories (under nine, nine to eighteen, and eighteen and older).[30]

In comparing the two codes, the author of the article noted that the prescriptions for the treatment of juvenile offenders in each were fairly similar. As the author pointed out, both codes prohibited the death penalty *('aqubat al-i'dam*) and hard labor (*al-ashghal al-shafa*) for juveniles.[31] Both codes permitted the court to turn juveniles over to their parents on guarantee for good behavior in the future (*hasan al-suluk fi al-mustaqbil*). Both codes also included reformatory schools (*dar al-islah*) as a means of rehabilitation.[32] The codes identified similar tools in the treatment of young offenders; indeed, these were the tools used all over the world in emerging juvenile justice systems.

Despite employing similar tools in the punishment, treatment, or rehabilitation of young offenders, the differences in the age of criminal responsibility meant that these tools had very different meanings in the law. For example, the author wrote that, under the Ottoman code, a child thirteen or younger who was brought before the court could be released to his or her parents or guardians on guarantee or could be sent to a reformatory school, but that the child's action would not be considered to be a crime. The reformatory school, under this law, was not strictly a carceral institution. As Maksudyan showed, the majority of children within reformatory schools were institutionalized for reasons other than criminal behavior. Under the new laws of the Government of Palestine, however, reformatory schools were spaces solely intended for the incarceration and rehabilitation of criminal youths. The expansion of the chronological definition of criminality not only widened the parameters of how childhood was seen under the law, it also fundamentally transformed the meaning of the court's sentences.

The article concluded with a critique of the new law and its lower age of criminal responsibility: the Ottoman code, the author wrote, was preferable as it showed "greater compassion" (*a'zam rafa*).[33] This conclusion was the only time in the article when its author offered an explicit value assessment of the new law. That he focused on the level of compassion of the law, rather than on justice, is telling. Indeed, a discussion of "justice", the usual standard in assessing a legal code, did not appear in the article at all. Similarly, in an article from a 1924 issue of *al-Huquq* about the development of penal codes and the rules of criminal penalties, the author(s) identified reformatory schools as intended for "criminals for whom hope of reform was not lost."[34] The concern with compassion was in line with the precepts of the movements for juvenile justice reform occurring all around the world in the early twentieth century. Those movements

[30] "Muqayasa bayna al-mâda al-arba'în," *al-Huquq,* 718.
[31] Ibid, 718-719.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, 723.
[34] "Tatawar al-huquq al-'aqabiya," *al-Huquq*, Vol. 1, No. 9 and 10 (Aug. and Sep. 1924), 686.

deliberately sought to temper the law's justice by explicitly introducing compassion, allowing for judicial discretion, reduced sentencing and rehabilitative alternatives to traditional incarceration.

At the very end of the 1926 article, the author offered a broad summary of the definitions of criminal responsibility in various European countries. The author noted that in two provinces of Switzerland, the age of criminal responsibility was fourteen and it was twelve in France and Belgium. Britain and Portugal, he wrote, had minimum ages of seven, and other countries did not specify a particular age, but did not hold persons responsible under sixteen years old.[35] The inclusion of this laundry list of European laws seems somewhat out of place at the end of a detailed and specific comparison of the two penal codes at work in Palestine, but it shows that the author was assessing Palestine's juvenile justice regime within an international context. In the 1924 article, the author had a similarly international view of juvenile justice. He cited the United States' use of children's and juvenile courts as creating a completely distinct mode of treating juvenile offenders, in which the proceedings were secret and the punishments were meant to educate young delinquents.[36] Both architects of the new criminal code, and the Palestinian legal community that responded to it, were aware of the broader global movements for juvenile justice reform and the ways in which the new laws in Palestine fit into them. Legal reform in the establishment of a colonial regime was nothing new of course – indeed, it was a hallmark of nineteenth century British imperial rule. In the post-First World War environment of the Mandate system, however, the overhaul of the criminal code, and the laws affecting children especially, were made not only within the bounds of a traditional colonial power relationship, but within a wider context of emerging global standards for the treatment of children. As laws and statutes all over the world crafted the parameters of juvenile delinquency, those systems emerged in reference to each other. The juvenile delinquent in Palestine was born, rhetorically, in the interactions between a global conversation about childhood, development, and crime and the particular history, legal structures, and political relationships of Palestine in that moment.

"The Law-in-Practice": The Institutions of Juvenile Justice

The "juvenile delinquent" was constructed in the abstract through legislation, memoranda, and criminal codes. The system of juvenile delinquency governance in Palestine, however, developed around real, not rhetorical, children. Who were the children found to be criminals under the laws of Palestine? How did the institutions of the judicial system establish criminal childhood? Here, I use arrest records, compiled by the Government of Palestine from district police precinct reports, from the years 1931 and 1932 to illuminate the social demographics of those deemed by the government to be "young offenders." The returns from these years betray confusion and inconsistency in the on-the-ground implementation of the juvenile justice regime articulated in the 1922 Ordinance. The unevenness in implementation highlights the discrepancies between what one historian of the American juvenile justice system called, "the law-in-the-books" and

[35] "Muqayasa bayna al-mâda al-arba'în," *al-Huquq,* 723.
[36] "Tatawar al-huquq al-'aqabiya," *al-Huquq*, 686.

"the law-in-practice."[37] The remainder of this chapter is concerned with "the law-in-practice" and how Palestinian childhood came to be defined, contested, and rearticulated through this practice. The institutions of the juvenile delinquency system were intimate spaces, constructed and governed by individuals with a great deal of influence over their development. They likewise facilitated intimate relationships of power between representatives of the colonial state's legal regime and the juvenile delinquents and their families. Much like the infant welfare centers of the previous chapter, the criminal legal system's assumed impersonal nature belied its deeply personal and contingent relationships. The precinct returns reflect this juxtaposition between the universality and impersonality of the criminal law and its embeddedness in particularity. The returns allow the construction of aggregate data sets that can paint a birds-eye, if incomplete, portrait of the operation of juvenile delinquency law. But the returns also give us small personal and intimate details about the participants in that system. Moreover, they illuminate the ways in which Palestinian childhood during the Mandate period was informed by the political and economic structures of colonialism, the enduring anxieties of colonial officials, gender, and considerations of ethnicity and race.

The arrest records are imperfect sources. They contain only the location of the court, the child's name and age, the charge against him or her, and the court's sentence. Other basic demographic information, such as gender and ethnicity, must be extrapolated, with room for error. Moreover, these records reveal nothing of the circumstances of the crime or even the process by which the court arrived at its judgment. As is always the case with administrative documents, the records tell us more about the logic and fallacies of the government than about the lived experiences of the legal regime. And yet, these police records are uniquely important sources in reconstructing the realities of the juvenile delinquency system for those who found themselves within it. So little of the lives of poor people in Mandate Palestine have been preserved in the historical record, both because of the historical erasure that impacts the poor and the ordinary throughout the globe and because of the specific structures of data collection under the colonial government of Palestine. Children are that much harder to find in archives, since they are not granted independent personhood by the state and their personal information is often kept confidential for their protection. Perhaps ironically, it is by becoming criminals that children are suddenly visible to the state and enter into the archival record. Even in terms of historical sources, delinquency moved children into a liminal space between childhood and adulthood.

For all of their faults, the records of juvenile offender arrests allow us to see the young people caught in Palestine's criminal justice system for the first time. Although the data is sparse, traces of narratives can be pulled out of the names, ages, and crimes. In 1932, for example, three young people – two girls and a boy – were arrested and charged by the District Court in Jerusalem. Sharing a surname, these youths were likely siblings. The boy, age seventeen, was charged with possessing firearms. The girls, ages fifteen and ten, were charged with "contradicting evidence."[38] It seems possible that these girls were

[37] Steven L. Schlossman, *Transforming Juvenile Justice: Reform Ideals and Institutional Realities, 1825-1920* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005), xii.
[38] Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, 1932, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11

arrested for interfering – or were seen to be interfering – with the case against their brother. The girls were released from the court on probation; the boy received twelve lashes, the maximum corporal punishment allowed under the Young Offenders Ordinance.[39]

In 1931 and 1932, according to the returns compiled by the Department of Police and Prisons, 1,779 children and adolescents throughout Palestine were arrested and brought before a district or magistrate court. Nearly twice as many children were brought before the courts in 1932 (1,118) as in 1931 (661), reflecting either a serious upswing in juvenile criminal behavior, or, more likely, an expansion of policing efforts targeting juveniles. The returns came from seventeen different cities throughout Palestine, and from both district courts and magistrate courts alike.[40] Higher density population and urban areas, unsurprisingly, yielded higher arrest rates. Jerusalem and Jaffa/Tel Aviv alone yielded 35% of all juvenile arrests.[41]

Age

In 1931 and 1932, the average age of young offenders brought before the courts was thirteen years and six months. As Figure 1 shows, arrests spiked between the ages of twelve and fifteen, constituting a full sixty percent of the total. More ten and eleven-year-olds were brought before the courts in those years than seventeen and eighteen-year-olds.

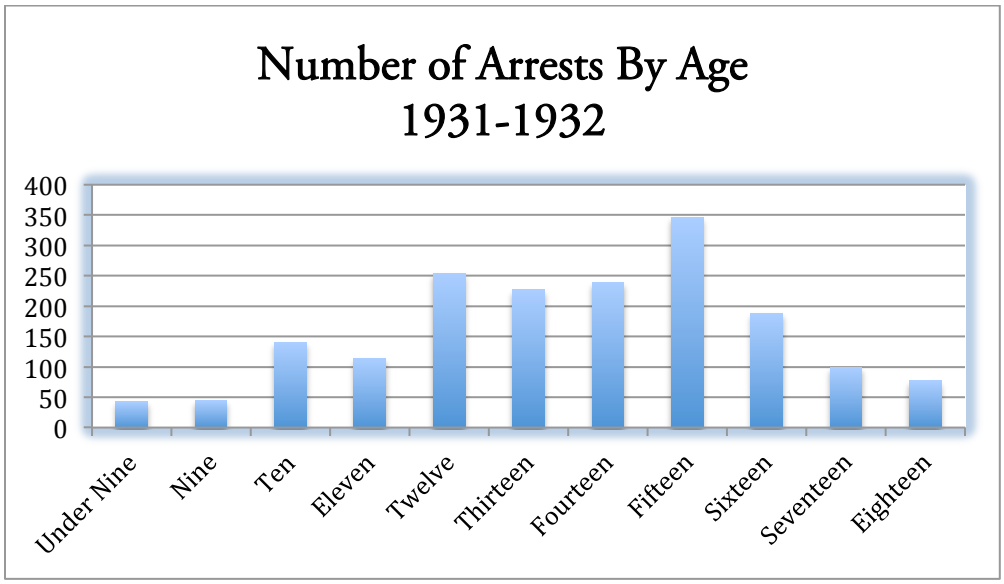

Figure 1

[39] Government of Palestine, Young Offenders Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1 of 1922), enacted 1922.
[40] The courts were as follows: Jerusalem (District Court), Jerusalem (Magistrate Court), Ramallah (MC), Bethlehem (MC), Hebron (MC), Jaffa (DC), Jaffa (MC), Tel Aviv (MC), Ramleh (MC), Majdal (MC), Gaza (MC), Haifa (DC), Haifa (MC), Acre (MC), Tiberias (MC), Nablus (DC), Nablus (MC), Tulkarm (MC), Jenin (MC), Nazareth (MC), Beisan (MC), Beersheba (MC).
[41] Jerusalem, 1931: 122 , Jaffa/Tel Aviv (combined), 1931: 110; Jerusalem, 1932: 166, Jaffa/Tel Aviv (combined), 1932: 237.

As Figure 1 also indicates, children below the law's minimum age of nine years were arrested and brought before the criminal court. The youngest of these children was four years old, far below the Government's stated age of criminal responsibility.[42] While many such cases were dismissed, the police returns show that several children below the law's minimum age of nine did receive punishments from the court, including at least a few instances of eight year olds sentenced to whipping. In 1931, the magistrate's court of Jerusalem sentenced a pair of eight-year-old boys to six lashes a piece as punishment for theft.[43] In the same year, the court in Majdal sentenced eight-year-old Muhammad Abu Irbaileh to two strokes with the lash for the crime of grazing crops.[44] Almost a decade after the 1922 Ordinance re-defined the parameters of childhood in the criminal law, the police records reflected continuing confusion over who counted as a young offender.

Memos between colonial officials in Palestine noted the confusion over criminal liability and sought clarity on how to delineate between criminal and non-criminal children. Noting the instances of young children appearing in the returns, an official asked the Attorney General whether children under the age of nine should simply be discharged from the court as not responsible or whether no charge could be brought against them in the first place. That is, did the 1922 Ordinance prohibit criminal charges against those under nine, or merely punishment? The Attorney General replied that the law stated that no punishment should be inflicted on those under nine. Courts, he wrote, have construed this to mean no one under nine can be charged with an offense, "but I have not verified this."[45] This confusion appears at first to be merely semantic; after all, everyone was in agreement that the court could punish no child under nine, even if the actions of courts did not always reflect this agreement. Insofar that legal personhood is entirely semantic, however, the distinction between the ability to charge and the ability to punish matters a great deal. The question that the Attorney General himself could not clearly answer was: at what point does a child become a criminal in the eyes of the law? The continuing confusion over the meaning of "the law-in-the-books" made the function of "the law-in-practice" that much more important. If a child of seven or eight could be arrested, brought before the court, made visible and individual to the force and violence of the state, receive sentencing, and, perhaps, punishment, then what was the meaning of a "law-in-the-books" that said that child could not be a criminal?

Crimes

For what crimes did these youths enter Palestine's criminal justice system? The most common charge was theft or attempted theft, accounting for over a third of the crimes listed.[46] In addition to those charged with theft or attempted theft, eighty-five young people were charged with possession of stolen property. Unsurprisingly, crimes of poverty, like theft, were the most prevalent reasons young people were arrested, especially in urban areas. While the criminal justice system as a whole targeted the poor,

[42]Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, 1931, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Memo from Attorney General, 23 May 1933, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11.
[46] 631 youths were charged with theft or attempted theft in 1931 and 1932, constituting 35% of all arrests.

as Maksudyan argues about the late Ottoman period, poor children invited particular attention both because of the government's perceived obligations of care and because they were seen to pose a threat to expanding urban public spaces.[47]

Even when children and adolescents were arrested for crimes against persons, rather than property, these tended to be issues of social disturbance, rather than truly threatening behavior. The most common charge in the police returns after theft was beating, which constituted just under a quarter of arrests.[48] Again, the limits of the source material present a challenge in determining the circumstances of each arrest; however, patterns of arrests for beating indicate that it was a catchall category for fights between children. Beating was also distinguished from the separate charge of "beating and wounding," of which there were only twenty cases in 1931 and 1932. Of the serious violent crimes, there were very few arrests. Twenty-four young people were arrested for assault, three for attempted murder, and one for murder.

Sexual crimes made up a small, but persistent, portion of arrests. In the two-year span of the arrest records there was only one charge of rape and one charge of attempted rape. Far more prevalent was sodomy or attempted sodomy, of which the arrest records show thirty-five charges, and the generalized "indecent acts," of which there were ten instances.[49]

Young people were also regularly arrested for crimes relating to the use of land. 109 youths were arrested for "grazing of crops" or "grazing vegetables." There were arrests for theft of "zifzif" (sand) and for setting fields on fire.[50] In 1932, four Palestinian Arab boys, ages ten to fourteen, were brought before the Magistrate's Court in Tel Aviv on charges of "taking leeks from the sea-shore."[51] Each was given one lash as punishment. These charges unveil a complex colonial legal structure that shaped, not only power relationships between different constituencies in Palestine, but also the relationships of Palestinians to their geography. First, although all the above charges concern the legal use of the land and its products, each contains distinct claims of the criminal law. The charges of theft of zifzif and leeks reveal the criminal law as a tool to regulate public space and protect the resources of the state, as well as corporate industry.[52] The charges of illegal grazing and burning are familiar uses of criminal law to constrict uses of land under a colonial regime. In these charges, we can see EP Thompson's argument in *Whigs and Hunters* that, by making criminal traditional (or

[47] Maksudyan, 19.
[48] Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Fifty-two and thirteen instances, respectively.
[51] Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11. The boys were Muhammad Ahmad Shalabiyeh (10), Ahmad Ibrahim al-Shami (10), Khamis Ibn al-Dib 'Uthmani (14), and Khalil Ibrahim Dahdah (12).
[52] Starting in the 1920s, cement became an increasingly important product for domestic use and export through Jewish businesses. The Silicate Brick Factory, founded by Joseph Ziedner (friend of Theodor Herzl), opened in 1922 The Nesher Cement Factory in Haifa, which began as "The Palestine Portland Cement Syndicate" in London in 1919, opened for production in 1925. Both of these companies were conceived of prior to their founders' arrivals in Palestine.

perhaps in the colonial case, local) practices of land use, the law works to legitimize class power.[53] Scholarship on the land laws of Mandate Palestine has shown that, although the colonial regime claimed that it was merely enforcing existing Ottoman land tenure systems, the Mandate regime transformed the law to systematically wrest control of the land from indigenous communities, often to the benefit of Zionist land colonization and settlement projects.[54] Analyzes of the Mandate legal regime's relationship to land use have focused on the work of the land courts and, in particular, the government's efforts to restrict the traditional use-rights of the Bedouin populations.[55] The juvenile arrest records, however, show that, as in Thompson's work, the criminal law was also used to transform Palestine's relationships of the state and indigenous population to the land.

Punishment

The available punishments that the court could employ in 1931 and 1932 included corporal punishment (lashes), internment in a reformatory school, fines, binding the child over to parent or guardian on guarantee, and imprisonment (for those fourteen and older). Beginning in 1932, with the appointment of a Probation Officer, courts were also able to put juvenile offenders on probation. Of the 1,779 juveniles arrested in those years, 328 were acquitted of the charges against them. Girls and young women, who made up only four percent of the juveniles brought before the court, were acquitted of the charges against them at a higher rate than the boys and young men. Of the girls arrested and brought before the court, over half were acquitted or had their cases dismissed, compared with just seventeen percent of boys.[56]

By far, the most common sentence in these years was corporal punishment. Over 50% of the 1,779 cases involved corporal punishment in the sentence.[57] In some cases, a sentence of whipping was accompanied by a fine, binding over, or internment in a reformatory institution; in most instances, however, whipping was the sole punishment. Different courts employed corporal punishment to varying degrees. In 1931, whipping was the only sentence prescribed by the magistrate courts in both Jaffa and Nablus, whereas other courts were more likely to order fines or release juvenile offenders on bonds and guarantees of good behavior. Under the 1922 Ordinance, whipping could only be prescribed for boys, had to be done in private and could only be done using a "birch or pliable cane."[58] The legal maximum number of lashes that the court was permitted to inflict was twelve, and only six if the charge was a contravention. If as many as twelve

[53] E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).
[54] Geremy Forman and Alexandre Kedar, "Colonialism, Colonization, and Land Law in Mandate Palestine: The Zor al-Zarqa and Barrat Qisarya Land Disputes in Historical Perspective," *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 4.2 (2003): 491-539.
[55] Martin Bunton, "Inventing the Status Quo: Land-Law During the Palestine Mandate, 1917-1936," *The International History Review* Vol. 21, No. 1 (Mar., 1999): 28-56; Seth Frantzman and Ruth Kark, "Bedouin Settlement in Late Ottoman and British Mandatory Palestine: Influence on the Cultural and Environmental Landscape, 1870-1948," *New Middle Eastern Studies* 1, (2011): 1-22.
[56] Girls were acquitted at a rate of 54%. Those that were convicted and sentenced were either bound over and released on guarantee (26%), put on probation (8%), warned by the court (6%), given a fine (4%), or sent to a reformatory school (1%).
[57] 976/1779 or 54%.
[58] Government of Palestine, Young Offenders Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1 of 1922), enacted 1922.

lashes were to be given, the ordinance required that a medical officer be present to oversee the punishment.[59] In reformatory institutions, where whipping was used as a punishment for rules infractions, a medical officer had to examine a prisoner to declare him physically fit if he was to receive six or more lashes.

In 1930, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court published new parameters for corporal punishment, mandating that the gaoler keep a juvenile sentenced to corporal punishment separate from other prisoners while awaiting his sentence and that the gaoler remove "superfluous" clothing from the juvenile prior to the whipping "without actually baring the buttocks."[60] At no moment during the course of the punishment, the notice stated, were the youth's buttocks to be exposed. Sentences of whipping appeared to be somewhat less prevalent when the defendant was a Jewish child. A 1934 report on the probation service reveals that Jewish honorary probation officers attempted to persuade magistrates not to inflict corporal punishment on Jewish children, much to the chagrin of the Chief Justice of the Palestine Supreme Court.[61] He wrote of the value of corporal punishment in preventing juvenile delinquency; higher rates of corporal punishment for Jewish boys, he claimed, would have a beneficial effect in lowering the high crime rates of Tel Aviv.[62]

The Chief Justice's remarks indicate the complexity of the ethnic dynamics of the juvenile delinquency system during the Mandate period. Unlike other arenas of governance, in which the government ceded authority over the Jewish community to the Jewish Agency, criminal justice was, nominally, administered to all constituencies directly. The juvenile delinquency system, therefore, was a rare instance of explicit communal integration for young people. Despite employing a heavily racialized framework in understanding criminality in Palestine, the Mandate government did not explicitly ascribe increased criminality to Palestinian Arab children over Jewish children. Indeed, as the Chief Justice implied in his report, many in the government held deep concerns about the high prevalence of crime in Jewish areas, such as Tel Aviv. However, even without any evidence indicating that ideas about race and ethnicity influenced the punishments meted out to young offenders, it is clear that unequal socio-political structures did shape the ways in which Jewish and Palestinian Arab children interfaced with the courts. If racialized and Orientalist notions of appropriate punishment did not stay the violent hand of the state for Jewish offenders, then a more robustly developed advocacy structure certainly did. As was frequently noted in reports on juvenile welfare, the Jewish community, due to the funding and political independence of the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council), had extensive and well-organized social services for young persons, including social workers, educational institutions, and youth services.[63] Although the government recognized no official segregation in the administration of the

[59] Ibid.
[60] Rules made by the Chief Justice in consultation with the Commandant of Police and with the approval of the High Commissioner under Section 16 of the Young Offenders Ordinance, 1922, *Official Gazette of the Government of Palestine* (16 January 1930), 48.
[61] Report on Probation Work, ISA/RG 2/M 272/19
[62] Ibid.
[63] Sir Harold MacMichael to C.J. Jeffries, 24 April 1944, ISA/RG 2/M 553/35.

criminal law between Jewish and Palestinian Arab children, Jewish young offenders were supported by a more integrated, institutionalized, and autonomous system of advocacy.

While whipping remained the most prevalent punishment, the view of its utility in preventing juvenile crime faltered over the course of the decade. In the later 1930s, some sentences of corporal punishment appeared to be replaced by sentences of probation and internment in reformatory institutions. For example, in 1931, a year before the government appointed a full-time Probation Officer, 455 juveniles received sentences of whipping, twenty-nine were sent to a reformatory institution, and none were placed under probation.[64] By contrast, five years later, in 1936, 280 juveniles were sentenced to whipping, ninety-three were sent to reformatory schools, and ninety-one placed on probation. The 1944 report from the recently-established Department of Social Welfare noted the inverse relationship between the use of corporal punishment and probation. Calling corporal punishment "a doubtful practice," the report claimed its use as a punishment in juvenile court had declined by half in the four years prior and was most prevalent in areas in which the probation service was least adquately developed.[65]

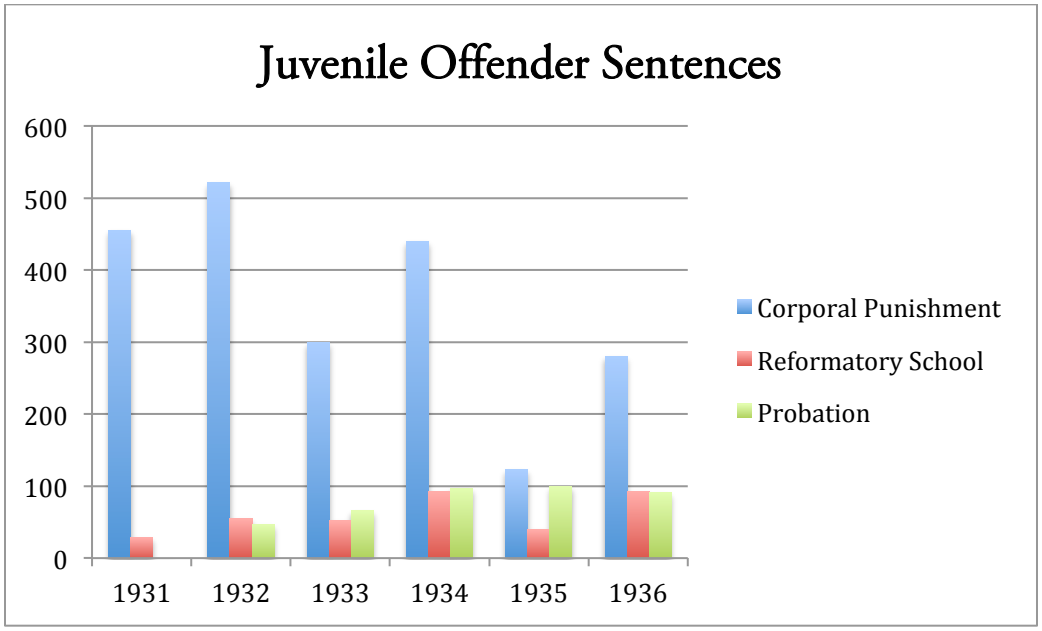

Figure 2

The institutional limits of the reformatory schools and the probation service meant that those systems were never able to assume responsibility for the totality of juvenile offenders during the Mandate period. Yet, as the juvenile justice system expanded and changed over the 1930s and 1940s, its instituions were clearly moving toward the long-term rehabilitative model embedded in the reformatory and probation systems. The reformatory schools and the probation service embodied the logic that criminality, especially juvenile criminality, resulted from environment and circumstance, rather than

[64] Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11.
[65] 1944 Annual Social Welfare Report, ISA/RG 2/M 130/66.

individual defect. Curing or combating that behavior thus necessitated removing the juvenile delinquent from that environment or, as became the case with the development of the probation system in the 1930s, employing an officer to monitor that environment.

Of the youths that were neither sent to the reformatory schools, put on probation, nor sentenced to whipping, most were released to their parents or guardians on a guarantee of good behavior, and, usually, a bond. Other young men and women were issued fines, ranging from 200 mils to £P20. In some cases, for older teenagers, the court gave an option of paying a fine or spending a period of time in prison. In the Nablus District Court in 1932, a fourteen-year-old boy, Aref Hussein Hamad al-Muslah, was sentenced to either a £P10 fine or three months imprisonment when he was found guilty of possessing a firearm.[66] In 1931-1932, seventy-eight young men were sentenced to serve time in prison. Although there were cases of children as young as thirteen sentenced to prison, nearly three quarters of those sent to prison were seventeen or eighteen years old.[67] Prison sentences ranged widely, from as short as twenty-four or forty-eight hours to eighteen months. The crimes that landed juveniles in prison also ranged widely, from trespassing to theft to possession of stolen property to beating and insulting and arson. All prison sentences of a year or more, however, were given only for the charge of sodomy or attempted sodomy.

Institutions

Over the 1920s and 1930s, the colonial government and its interlocutors developed a variety of institutions to govern young offenders. These institutions – represented here in the juvenile court, the reformatory schools, and the probation service – created punitive and rehabilitative spaces that produced particular visions of childhood and criminality within the juvenile delinquency system. The network of institutions was small and intimate, dependent on individual actors, and in constant flux. The institutional landscape of juvenile delinquency grew at a rapid pace in the 1930s against the background of heightening political tensions, the Great Revolt of 1936-1939, and the increased militarization of the colonial government. The changing political environment of the 1930s was rarely directly acknowledged in the establishment and evolution of the institutions, but it formed an omnipresent background throughout the decade. The spaces that juvenile offenders passed through were thus built by the unique colonial environment and Palestine's socio-political conditions.

Until 1937, the regular district and magistrate courts processed young offender arrestees. In 1937, the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance No. 2 formally established the juvenile court as a novel legal space in Palestine. The establishment of the juvenile court was part of a larger overhaul of the criminal code, which was itself in part response to the political uprisings and violence of the late 1920s and early 1930s.[68] Although the juvenile court stressed the its social welfare function, it was established at the same time that the colonial state expanded its punitive legal reach, through military tribunals and the like, in

[66] Returns of Juvenile Offenders Vol. 1, ISA/RG 2/M 268/11.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Bentwich, "The New Criminal Code for Palestine," 72.

the wake of the Great Revolt. According to the new ordinance, any court, if hearing charges against "children or young persons or female juvenile adults," was considered a juvenile court, unless the young offender was charged jointly with an adult offender.[69] The regulations governing the juvenile court emphasized its physical and ideological separation from the regular adult court. The ordinance held that, when possible, the juvenile court should sit in a different building or room than that in which the ordinary court sat. If that was not possible, the juvenile court should sit on different days or at different times than the ordinary court.[70] These regulations created the juvenile court as distinct from the regular court, by separating the courts spatially and temporally from each other. Furthermore, the ordinance gave strict instructions to prevent contact between the young offenders and adult criminals when transporting the young offenders to the court or while they waited for their trials.[71]

The exact role of the juvenile court was complicated by the fact that not all the young people who came before the court were accused of crimes. The court also empowered probation officers and the Government Welfare Inspector to bring in front of the judge "any person apparently under the age of sixteen" who was: begging in the street, wandering without a home or subsistence, destitute, under the care of a criminal or drunken parent or guardian, frequenting the company of prostitutes (unless the prostitute was his/her mother and she was able to take proper care), residing in a house that was used for prostitution.[72] The judge could then decide to commit him/her to the care of a "fit person," commit him/her to a government institution (such as a remand home), or place him/her under the supervision of a probation officer.[73] Because of this stipulation, the Inspector General of Police and the Principal Probation Officer advocated for the construction of three remand homes (in Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem) to serve as accommodation for "children and young persons in need of care and protection."[74]

The capacity of the juvenile court to deal with and treat non-criminal, but supposedly vulnerable, youths performed two seemingly opposing functions simultaneously. On the one hand, using the juvenile court in this way transformed the court space into a site of social welfare intervention, rather than punitive discipline. On the other hand, bringing these cases to the juvenile court also suggested an ideological, if not legal, criminalization of these behaviors, which, given the contexts of most of the cases, meant a criminalization of poverty. These tensions between the impulses of welfare and of penalization were difficult to reconcile within the parameters of one physical and legal space. One official commenting on the drafting of Juvenile Offenders Ordinance No. 2, wrote, "It is all very well to talk of "correction and guidance," but the juvenile court can sentence them all (provided they are 14 or older) to imprisonment: to say nothing of their power to order corporal punishment, detention, fine, etc."[75] No matter how much the juvenile court strove to be a benign space of paternalist guidance,

[69] Juvenile Offenders Ordinance No. 2 (1937), TNA CO 323/1508/12.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] J. Hall to W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, 1937, TNA CO 733/350/1.
[75] Juvenile Offenders, Treatment in Colonial Courts: Palestine, TNA CO 323/1508/12.

the power of the court –especially its power to enact violence – was too near the surface to be denied.

After passing through the courts, convicted juvenile offenders encountered a growing institutional landscape designed to oversee and rehabilitate them. That institutional system, manifested in the reformatory schools and probation service, was vital in negotiating both the parameters of childhood and of criminality. The reformatory school system predated the legal revision of the criminal code and was another pet project of Norman Bentwich. In 1918, when he was serving as the legal secretary to the British military administration in Palestine, Bentwich, along with Captain Asa Edward Kelsey of the Ramallah Friends Society and the American Red Cross, opened a reformatory home for boys. Called the Howard Home, the reformatory operated privately until 1928 when it was integrated into the Department of Police and Prisons.

Bentwich's wife, Helen, was herself involved in the development of reformatory institutions for girls and young women. Soon after Norman and Helen arrived in Palestine after the end of the war, Helen organized a vegetable patch in which to employ wayward girls pulled off the streets of Jerusalem and "rescued" from the post-war prostitution industry. In letters to her mother in England, Helen described the girls' circumstances and appealed for English donations, writing,

> Out of my 60 girls, a large number have been prostitutes from sheer starvation. Little girls of 13 & 14, even – such nice children, too and they all jumped at the idea of good healthy work as a means of earning their living, instead of being on the streets . . . there is the other side of the question -- what about the soldiers? They aren't going to have a healthy life of it here with all these girls simply earning their living out of their immorality. For that reason alone if nobody cares for the girls and their lives, the people of England might to send us money. Do try them again . . .[76]

Within a few months, however, Helen was more disillusioned by the project: "This naughty girl business is a very tough job. You see, as an employer, I can't keep bad girls who won't work. So I sack them. They go to the streets – there is no other work – and then I have to rescue them."[77] Helen also joined the Ladies Committee (a precursor to the Social Service Association), which opened a Girls Home to house and rehabilitate young prostitutes and juvenile delinquents. The Girls Home would serve as the government-recognized reformatory school for girls for the remainder of the British Mandate.

Both the Howard Home and Girls Home functioned as public-private hybrids for the decade of the 1920s. Sub-contracted to provide care for juvenile delinquents as the Mandate's system of juvenile justice was articulated over the 1920s, these reformatory institutions exemplified the amalgamations of private philanthropy, international aid, and colonial statecraft that characterized many aspects of child welfare under the Mandate

[76] Helen Bentwich to Caroline Franklin, 3 May 1919, London School of Economics Women's Library, 7HBE/2/3.
[77] Helen Bentwich to Caroline Franklin, 2 August 1919, 7HBE/2/3.

regime. Funds for the homes were initially provided by the American Red Cross society and private donations raised inside and outside of Palestine, which gave way to government subsidies as the civil administration took over. The Howard Home became a public institution, under the direct control of government departments. The Girls Home remained private, though it was supervised by the Government Welfare Officer, herself a Mandate administration employee. The Bentwich family, too, represented a mixture of public and private interests. As a government official, Norman Bentwich crafted the legal and theoretical edifice of the Mandate's juvenile justice system. As private philanthropists connected to local and international welfare organizations, both he and Helen were integral figures in the on-the-ground implementation of that system.

Over the course of the 1930s, the boys' reformatory system grew from the single building of the Howard Home for Boys in Jerusalem to occupy a number of physical sites across Palestine. In 1929, the Government of Palestine moved the boys' reformatory from Jerusalem to converted gendarme barracks in Tulkarm. Part of the motivation behind the move – aside from expanding the size of the reformatory in general – was to have space to accommodate boys remanded or committed for trial in addition to those already convicted and sentenced. The plan, as arranged between the Government of Palestine and the Colonial Office, was to house the boys remanded for trial in a separate space in the barracks than the boys sentenced to the reformatory.[78] The separation of those awaiting trial from the general population of convicted young offenders was important to the ideology of the reformatory schools – those who were presumed to be innocent should not be exposed to the moral corruption of convicted criminals.[79]

The expansion and entrenchment of the physical locations of the reformatory system in the 1930s included the creation of a summer camp in Acre for the young offenders. In 1931, the first year of the camp, fifty-eight boys spent six weeks at the shore of the Mediterranean, where they attended classes in the morning and "had football matches and excursions" in the afternoon.[80] The camp, which in its first year served as a way of getting the boys out of Tulkarm while buildings were renovated, functioned as both a reward and a mechanism for good behavior. On the one hand, in certain years, only boys with good behavior marks were allowed to go to the summer camp as a reward for their good conduct during the year (and presumably, as an incentive for continued obedience).[81] On the other hand, the summer camp itself was supposed to promote and encourage good behavior and moral and physical uplift. According to the Inspector-General of Prisons, the "open air life and sea bathing" was beneficial to the boys' health, which in turn influenced their moral conduct.[82] Once again, the physical and natural

[78] Despatch No. 115, Reference No. 17974/28, TNA CO 733/1476.
[79] Note on the Young Offenders Ordinance, TNA CO 733/147/6
[80] Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1931, TNA CO 814/5
[81] Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1935, TNA CO 814/10; Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1936,TNA CO 814/11.
[82] Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1933, TNA CO 814/8.

environment of the space of the camp was thought to be a direct component of the educational and moral rehabilitation component of the process of reform.[83]

In 1935, the Police and Prisons Department opened a second reformatory site at a government stock farm in Acre with the intention of transferring the older boys from the school at Tulkarm. This move was made partly for the logistical reasons of over-crowding at the original reformatory school site, but was also part of the Government of Palestine's larger vision of a multi-level reformatory system. The Police and Prisons administration report from 1935 stated that the move to Acre was necessary "in order to relieve congestion in the [Tulkarm] school and also to give the older boys a better opportunity of training."[84] Their training at Acre was in practical farm work, which the Department hoped would "stand them in good stead after they leave the school."[85] The farming that the young offenders undertook at Acre, however, also directly benefited the Government of Palestine. Because the farm at which they worked was a government stock farm, they were working in government employ in, as the administration reports put it, "useful agricultural pursuits."[86] The stock farm at Acre thus operated both as a practical training school so that the young offenders might be rehabilitated into productive members of society and as a site of prison labor.[87]

By 1935, Acre was the site of three different prison-like institutions in addition to the city's central prison. Aside from the newly erected stock farm camp, there was an Adolescent Prisoners Camp, which was designed for convicts above the legal age of the young offenders but who were "worthy of a special effort on the part of Government to prevent them from association in gaol with hardened criminals."[88] Finally, a third camp at Acre was established for the segregation of prisoners undergoing their first sentence.[89] Different types of prisoners required different physical spaces and most importantly, had to be separated from each other. The Adolescent Prisoners Camp is an especially interesting example of this philosophy. Even though the textual changes the British government in Palestine made in the process of reforming the Ottoman penal code

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[83] Teaching agriculture (theoretical and practical) was an educational priority for the government throughout the Mandate period. As the next chapter will discuss, agricultural education also became an important component of Palestinian-led social welfare initiatives in the late 1930s and 1940s.
[84] Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1935, TNA CO 814/10.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to he Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the year 1935 in *Palestine and TransJordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 5,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[87] In its emphasis on technical education, we can see the reformatory school system as embodying the idea of the social productive potential of the young offenders, much like in the last two chapters. This was also the case with the education in the girls' reformatory, which aimed to produce marriageable young women (or domestic workers) with a focus on domestic skills training. That the reformatory was still a punitive space and the "students" within it were involuntarily held did cause problems for the practical education curriculum. Concerns were raised among members of the Colonial Office about whether apprenticing the juvenile delinquents to local craftsmen violated International Labor Organization restrictions on forced labor. Forced Labor Convention: Question of Certain Aspects of Reformatory School System in Relation Thereto, TNA CO 323/1169/14; Employment of Boys from Reformatory Schools, TNA CO 323/1244/16.
[88] Ibid, 545-546.
[89] Ibid.

created the separate legal category of "young offender", the establishment of the Adolescent Prisoners Camp effectively created another legal category of criminal, somewhere in between young and adult offender. The rationale behind this in-between category was that the older adolescent boys, who were over eighteen and thus did not qualify to attend the reformatory school or the farm labor camp, were still young enough to alter their criminal behavior if put in the appropriate environment.

Age became the basis on which young offenders were organized and separated into different physical spaces. Not only were age groups supposed to be separated from each other so that the older offenders could not corrupt their younger, more morally malleable peers, but different physical sites were thought to be appropriate for different age groups. This theory was embodied most explicitly in the High Commissioner's plans to develop a three-level reformatory system, which he laid out in 1936. After consulting with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Palestine, the Inspector General of Police, and the Probation Officer, High Commissioner Arthur Wauchope wrote in favor of separating the young offenders into three reformatory sites: a cottage home for boys ages nine to twelve; the reformatory school at Tulkarm for boys ages twelve to fifteen, and the farm labor camp in Acre for boys ages fifteen to eighteen.[90] Wauchope's plan was to begin with one cottage that would accommodate twenty-five young boys, but to eventually expand to four cottages with one hundred inmates between the ages of nine and twelve. The cottages, which would consist of dormitories, dining facilities, staff quarters, recreation rooms and a central kitchen, were provisionally planned for the village of Arrub.[91] The High Commissioner also planned for a central schoolroom once the cottage system was more developed, although in 1936 he wrote, tellingly, that he was "not concerned with that at the moment."[92] The selection of Arrub as the site for the cottage system was made with a specific purpose. Wauchope wrote that the site he had in mind was advantageous because it adjoined the Government's Agricultural Experiment Station. He stated his intention that the boys at the cottage home benefit from this proximity to the Station "by learning agriculture and working the land, thus benefiting both in body and mind."[93] This mode of behavioral reform through practical training and the emphasis on the connection between the mind and the body (and thus the importance of the natural environment) was a constant theme across the different reformatory sites. Even with the common program for behavioral reform that governed the three different sites of the High Commissioner's scheme, the separation of the young offenders into distinct age categories was seen as essential to their welfare and the process of reform. Wauchope wrote to the Colonial Office in justifying the creation of the cottage system and the transfer of the older boys from Tulkarm to Acre, "It is also essential for ideal reformative treatment to segregate the younger boys from the older."[94]

Just as the juvenile delinquency system writ large was a space of nominal communal integration, the reformatory schools were unique mixed educational spaces for

[90] A. Wauchope to W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, 1936, TNA CO 733/317/9.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.

Jewish and Palestinian Arab young and adolescent boys.[95] The Government of Palestine recorded the religious demographic make-up of the reformatory school population only beginning in the mid-1930s. As was the case with the government's infant mortality data, these categories reveal the way in which the colonial state understood and organized the population. They also reveal particular anxieties of the administration; it is likely no coincidence that communal affiliation became a category of note in the years of intensifying Jewish immigration and political conflict. For the years when those records were kept, the inmate population was, on average, 85% Muslim, 11% Jewish, and 4% Christian.[96] These numbers do not precisely parallel the population demographics in Mandate Palestine at large at the time, with fewer Jews and more Palestinian Arabs represented in the government reformatory school.[97] The integration of Jewish and Palestinian Arab boys in a single institution faced objections from representatives of the Palestine Zionist Executive. As early as 1933, members of the Zionist Executive's Social Welfare Council petitioned the Government for a separate reformatory institution for Jewish boys, saying that while the conditions of the current reformatory school were adequate for Arab children, they were not suited for Jewish children.[98] While the government approved this request in the year's budget, the institution was not built at the time. In 1945, however, the Government, the municipality of Tel Aviv, and the Vaad Leumi entered a joint agreement to establish a Jewish section of the boys reformatory school to be overseen by the Vaad Leumi at Tel-Mond.[99] The school was administered by a board comprised of representatives from all three institutions, but funded by the Vaad Leumi and given almost complete autonomy.[100] Just as the structural inequality in resources between the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities influenced the application of corporal punishment in the juvenile delinquency system, so too did it determine the parameters of rehabilitation.

The institutional landscape of juvenile rehabilitation and confinement was not only segregated by age, and to some extent by ethnicity, but also by gender. While the boys' reformatory school moved from the private, philanthropic space of the Howard Home to full governmental oversight at the end of the 1920s, the girls' reformatory remained a non-governmental institution for the whole of the Mandate period. Originally intended as a rescue home to get young women off the streets and train them to earn "honorable" livings, by the end of the 1920s, the Girls Home was a multi-use institution

[95] The reformatory was far from a utopian space of co-existence. During the Great Revolt, when the reformatory school at Tulkarm was evacuated, Jewish and Palestinian Arab boys were segregated from each other in separate temporary accommodations.
[96] Information taken from Palestine Department Administration Reports 1935-1937, CO 814/10; CO 814/11; CO 814/12. In 1937, there was a slight increase in Palestinian Arab inmates and slight decrease in Jewish inmates, likely a result of the Great Revolt.
[97] The last official census was taken in 1931 (73% Muslim, 17% Jewish, 8.5% Christian), but estimates, based on immigration flow into Palestine and statistics from the mid-1940s, have the Jewish population of Palestine approaching 30% in the mid-late 1930s.
[98] Marcella Simoni, "A Dangerous Legacy: Welfare in British Palestine, 1930-1939," *Jewish History* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall, 1999), 100.
[99] Memorandum Regarding Agreements Concluded Between the Director of Social Welfare (For the Government of Palestine) and the Chairman of the General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Vaad Leumi), ISA/RG 2/M 130/64.
[100] Ibid.

that housed juvenile offenders as well as non-criminal girls in dire circumstances. As the officially sanctioned reformatory for girls, the Home received occasional government grants to help defray operation costs. The government also paid a per capita fee (around 70 mils/day) for each girl sent to the Home by the court system.[101] The costs to maintain girls and young women taken in by the Home outside of the juvenile justice system, as well as the other general needs of running the home were met through local and international donations to the Social Service Association.[102]

Not everyone thought that handing off the responsibility of overseeing delinquent girls to a voluntary aid society was a good idea. In 1936, the Chief Secretary wrote, "It seems to me that Government is under just as real an obligation to look after female as male delinquents," and suggested that the Government take over the reformatory school and allow the Social Service Association to pay a per capita fee for the admission of its non-delinquent cases.[103] The delineation between the government and the non-governmental in the operation of the Girls Home were not so clear cut, however. Although, as the Chief Secretary pointed out, the Social Service Association bore almost the total administrative and financial responsibilities for the institution, the SSA had a liaison to the government in the form of member Margaret Nixon, Governmental Welfare Inspector. As an employee with the Mandate administration, Nixon was responsible for overseeing the conditions of women who were in custody. She was also the superintendent of the Girls Home and the primary advocate to the government for support and funding for the Home. The relationship of the Girls Home, and the Social Service Association, to the Mandate administration was more complicated than merely an agreement with a private institution to contract out some functions of the government. Many of the women who made up the leadership of the Social Service Association were married to top officials in the Mandate administration. This particular colonial structure, and the ad-hoc nature of the juvenile delinquency system, lent a certain intimacy to the relationship between the government and the voluntary aid association that provided services in its stead. Margaret Nixon saw this intimacy – also borne from the small size of the female juvenile delinquent population – as a benefit in meeting the ideals of contemporary notions of criminal rehabilitation. "Every woman and girl is a *person*, not a *case,*" Nixon wrote in a 1935 article for *The Howard Journal*. "In the large prisons in England and elsewhere, this individual treatment is very difficult, if not impossible." The methods in place in Palestine, Nixon continued, would likely compare favorably to those employed in England.[104]

While the reformatory schools functioned as laboratories for the government and voluntary associations in which the ideals of rehabilitation could be tested and practiced, it was the probation service that actually handled the majority of juvenile offenders who remained within the institutional landscape of the juvenile justice system. The rise of the probation service, which was founded in the late 1920s in Palestine, served in many ways to move the location of rehabilitation and oversight back into local communities. The

[101] Girls Home, ISA/RG 2/M 488/17
[102] American Colony Archive (ACA), Social Service Association Reports, Box 03-94
[103] Girls Home, ISA/RG 2/M 488/17
[104] Margaret Nixon, "Palestine: Women and Girl Offenders," *The Howard Journal* (1935), 138.

system of probation was initially introduced in 1928 with the Probation of Young Offenders Ordinance, which was directly modeled on the English Probation Act of 1907.[105] The ordinance enabled magistrates to release offenders on probation in lieu of sentencing them to imprisonment or detention if probation seemed more expedient given the offender's "age, health, or mental condition . . . or the trivial nature of the offense."[106] At first, Norman Bentwich, who drafted the ordinance, assumed that police officers would have to supervise those on probation and that in the villages "it [would] seldom be possible to obtain any other responsible person to act as a Probation Officer."[107] An official Probation Officer, on the government's payroll, was appointed for the first time in 1932. In 1935, plans were made to appoint Palestinian probation officers in the major cities and by the 1938 report from the Chief Probation Officer, H.W. Chinn, there were eight salaried full-time and part-time probation officers working in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Nablus, and Haifa.[108] Of the salaried officers, the two ranking members were British, four were Arab and two were Jewish. Two of the Arab probation officers (one in Jerusalem and one in Haifa) were women.[109]

In theory, probation officers were meant to be specialists in social work. A 1940 advertisement for an open probation officer position required a university degree in social study or social work and practical experience with juvenile courts. The job listing noted that preference would be given to applicants who had completed a specialized training scheme in probation work.[110] In a post-war environment in which colonial officials were increasingly specialized in particular fields, the probation officers were expected to have education and experience in the new discipline of social work. Unsurprisingly, however, much as was the case with the infant welfare system of the previous chapter, the reality on the ground was more ad-hoc. As the probation service developed in the early 1930s, most positions were part-time or honorary. While the service did employ several trained social workers, many of the officers, especially among the Palestinian Arab population, were teachers from government and private schools. [111] These realities of the probation service might indicate, as others have argued, that Mandate Palestine's government simply could not and did not have the capacity or ability to support a true rule of experts. Yet, the story of the probation service in Palestine, just like the story of infant welfare nurses, also urges an expansion of the notion of expertise. A 1934 report on the probation service praised the appointment of Jerusalem probation officer, Miss. H. Hababo. According to the report, Miss Hababo's experience working in social welfare services during the First World War and her "knowledge of the city and Arab life generally, has rendered her indispensible." [112] Unlike the realms of civil service work that sought to govern solely in the aggregate, juvenile delinquency work necessarily functioned on both scientific, generalizable principles and interpersonal interaction. Expertise in the juvenile

[105] Probation of Offenders Ordinance (1928), TNA CO 733/147/6.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Explanatory Note, TNA CO 733/147/6.
[108] Report on the Probation Service, TNA CO 733/376/9.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Particulars of the Office of Senior Probation Officer Now Vacant in the Government of Palestine, TNA CO 733/422/3.
[111] Annual Report of the Probation Officer For Palestine, 1934, ISA/RG 2/M 272/19.
[112] Ibid.

offender system, and child welfare more generally, likewise had to operate on both levels. Understanding this point importantly broadens the categories of "experts" to include actors such as Miss Hababo, who have been previously excluded from narratives of governance by expertise.

The praise of Miss Hababo is likewise important because of what it says about the role of gender in this system of expertise. While the majority of probation officers were men, the government emphasized the need for women within the service as well. Most historical narratives of professionalization and a move to scientific and technocratic expertise assume a trend toward male-dominated fields of authority. While such a trend is visible in Palestine's juvenile delinquency system, it was complicated by the notion at the time that women, by virtue of their gender, possessed certain expertise about children. Women, like Miss Hababo and other probation officers and social workers, were incorporated into the expert regime on juvenile delinquency both on the basis of their professional or semi-professional training and on the basis of their gender.

The probation officers' duties entailed a strict surveillance of the young offenders in their community environments. After the police referred a juvenile offender to the probation officer, the officer conducted an investigation into "the social and environmental conditions of the offender."[113] The young offender was required to report to his/her probation officer weekly and the officer visited the offender in his/her home once a month. Additionally, the probation officer was responsible for finding the young offender appropriate employment and organizing activities for his/her spare time.[114] The probation officers, therefore, developed institutional relationships not only with the reformatory schools and the farm labor camp, but also with local social organizations, such as the YMCA, the American Colony Playground, and the Community Service Committee of the Jerusalem Rotary Club.[115] The purpose of constructing this network between the probation service and the voluntary social organizations was the prevention of juvenile crime. In his report, Chinn commented,

> It is realised that juvenile delinquency is largely due to social and environmental conditions which are capable of change and the probation Staff is working in close co-operation with existing social agencies and is doing its best to foster and develop local social organizations. The lack of educational and social services is a serious handicap in the treatment of juvenile delinquency.[116]

By deploying government probation officers into the boys' villages, towns, and homes and by integrating the institution of the probation service with local social organizations, the development of the probation system over the 1930s brought the juvenile court and its rationale of moral and social reform directly into the communities themselves. The reformatory school and its offshoots were seen as solutions to the problem of juvenile delinquency because they removed the young offenders from the "social and

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Palestine Administration Reports (Prisons), 1937, TNA CO 814/12
[116] Report on the Probation Service, TNA CO 733/376/9.

environmental conditions" that were thought to have encouraged criminal behavior and put them instead in a controlled, morally regulated space where they could reform themselves. The probation service, therefore, re-integrated those rehabilitative conditions back into the local communities. The physical location of moral and social reform still mattered, but instead of needing to separate the boys into an autonomous space to achieve rehabilitation, the probation service allowed the government to attempt to change the environment of the communities from within. Although the probation service was intended to take some of the burden off the reformatory institutions – probation was a less expensive sentence for the government – the two co-existed throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The reformatory system, and the impulses of disciplinary power and paternalist rehabilitation embedded within it, was simultaneously entrenched within the government administration and relocated into local communities.

The institutional landscape of the juvenile justice regime – "the law-in-practice" – shaped the legal parameters of childhood, delinquency, and criminality as much as "the law-in-the-books." Although called into being by the 1922 Young Offenders Ordinance and the series of regulations that followed over the next twenty years, the institutions and personnel of the system – the court, the reformatory institutions, the magistrates, police, and probation officers – took on their own momentum. Palestinian youth and the Palestinian young offender were created as much by the process of passing through these institutions as by their enshrinement in a legal code. The system traversed by these young people embodied both the global ideals of juvenile delinquency theories of the time and the particular structures and circumstances of the Mandate and twentieth century colonial rule. Palestine's juvenile delinquency regime was in many ways a laboratory, but not one whose results could necessarily be universalized. Its network of institutions comprised a small, intimate system in which individual actors had a great deal of influence. While those actors could attempt to implement the supposed best practices of the day, they were also bound by their individual social and political relationships. In certain moments, Palestine's juvenile delinquency regime was held up as an example for the British Empire at large or even England itself. At the same time, the system was uneven and malleable. Its very logic was predicated on categories that were open to negotiation and remolding.

Childhood in the Making: Parents and Families Petition the System

The theories of the juvenile delinquency system were articulated and debated by academics and lawyers. The institutions of the system were built and operated by the experts of the governmental administration. And the very logic of the system was questioned, used, and transformed by the family members of its young defendants. The juvenile delinquency system in Palestine defined and re-defined the meanings of childhood, not only in the words of the law, but also in society at large. The parents, families, and community members of the young people targeted by the law were active participants in those definitions. The question that overhung the system at large was: who counts as a child? By making a precise definition of childhood foundational to the operation of the criminal code, juvenile delinquency laws, and their incumbent

institutions, opened spaces for local families to claim authority in answering that question.

There is a long literature that advocates for the value of legal records as sources of social history, particularly the social history of places and eras in which large swathes of the population existed outside of formal institutions. Court records and other legal sources allow us to access otherwise marginalized stories. These works understand the people in those stories to be participants, rather than objects, in the construction of the law.[117] In this sense, "the law-in-practice" depends not only on the actions of those who embodied legal institutions, but also on the reactions and responses of those whom the law nominally aimed to govern. Works by Leslie Peirce, Iris Agmon and Judith Tucker have shown that courts and court records in the early modern and modern Middle East were not merely static spaces, but dynamic social and political arenas in which individuals negotiated relationships with their local communities and the state.[118] Importantly, in those works, the individuals at the center of those negotiations were those who were otherwise often left out of the archive – women, the poor, the socially marginalized.

Literature on modern colonialism has likewise turned to legal arenas as sites of social and political negotiation to show how colonized persons used legal spaces to answer, resist, or manipulate colonial authority. Scholars are often sharply divided over whether colonial law was simply a tool of colonialism or whether it could be a space for negotiating or resisting colonial power. On the one hand, historians like Martin Wiener and Lorena Rizzo argue that courts were spaces in which the colonized could challenge and expose the hypocrisy of the colonial project.[119] On the other hand, scholars like Sally Merry Engle, argue that in engaging colonial law as the plane of resistance or negotiation, colonized persons re-entrenched the institutionalization of that law necessarily by making their claims from within it.[120]

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[117] There are clear limitations to the social historical recovery that can be done with court records, or any other type of legal documentation. While court cases and petitions enable us to tell stories from marginalized communities that may otherwise remain obscured, the voices, desires, and ambitions of the subjects themselves are filtered through legal formulas and the perspectives of lawyers and government officials. The parental petitions included in this chapter were rarely directly written by the parents themselves and were often translated through advocates and/or scribes.

[118] Judith Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998)*;* Iris Agmon, *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005)*;* Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

[119] Martin Wiener, *An Empire on Trial: Race, Murder, and Justice under British Rule, 1870-1935* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)*;* Lorena Rizzo, "The Elephant Shooting: Colonial Law and Indirect Rule in Kaoko, Northwestern Namibia in the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of African History* Vol. 48 (July 2007): 245-266.

[120] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

As Saba Mahmood shows us, however, agency does not necessarily equate with resistance.[121] Interacting with, even challenging the logics of the law, does not mean a person can exist outside of it. The Palestinian parents and families that responded to the colonial juvenile delinquency regime with their own understandings of criminality and childhood could simultaneously contest the logic of the criminal law system and reify the colonial rule of law. In using records of family interactions with the penal system, I am positioning the parents, siblings, and community members of the young offenders as participants, and not just subjects, in the evolving regime of juvenile justice. Their engagement on behalf of (or against) these young people was part of the creation of this system and its logics. Families, who encountered juvenile delinquency institutions from positions of embeddedness within multiple socio-political contexts, participated in delineating the boundaries of childhood, criminality, and justice.

Parents and families encountered the juvenile delinquency system in several ways following a child's arrest. They could be required to pay fines as part of their child's sentence or called to act as guarantors of their children's behavior upon their release. Parents also engaged with the juvenile justice system by directly petitioning the government on their child's behalf. The petitions, which appear in individual juvenile offenders' prisoner files, shared certain patterns. They were usually sent annually to the High Commissioner. Unsurprisingly, given the low rate of literacy in Palestine in the interwar period, many were written by local lawyers or official scribes; a few were clearly written in the parent's own hand. The petitions tended to appeal to the High Commissioner's sense of mercy, often highlighting the economic hardship of having an adolescent son taken from the home or village. Although most petitions followed this formula and dutifully appealed to the generosity of the High Commissioner, rather than any sense of legal or civil rights of the parents or prisoners, many petitions also engaged the very logic of the juvenile delinquency system, subtly challenging its understandings of childhood.

In some instances, the very question of the defendant's age left openings for parents to respond to the courts. As in any system predicated on knowable age categories, legal documentation of age was essential to the operation of Palestine's juvenile delinquency regime. When the distinction between seventeen and eighteen years could mean the difference between life and death, the documentary edifice had to be precise. While birth certificates and the registration of births were mandatory under the British government in Palestine, births were not consistently documented, especially in more rural municipalities. Moreover, for those defendants born in the Ottoman period, prior to the British Mandate, birth certificates were not always available or accessible to the current government. The original text of the 1922 Young Offenders Ordinance acknowledged the precarious nature of structuring a system around a potentially unknowable category. In cases in which the age of the defendant is unknown or uncertain, the ordinance stated, "the age shall be determined by the court."[122] When a determination had to be made by the court, age was transformed from a static biological

[121] Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
[122] Government of Palestine, Young Offenders Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1 of 1922), enacted 1922.

category to a rhetorical construction that could be contested as any other piece of legal evidence.

The presence or absence of a birth certificate could work in favor or against a defendant, depending on the situation, and parents and families did their best to use this to their advantage. After Ahmad Naif al-Zir'ini was convicted of rape and sentenced to hard labor, his father submitted a petition to the High Commissioner claiming that, under the Young Offender's Ordinance, al-Zir'ini should be sent to the Boys Reformatory School as he was under sixteen.[123] Furthermore, the father wrote, he had provided his son's birth certificate to the police as proof of his age, but the police had neglected to give it to the court.[124] "Your Excellency," the petition concluded, "the imprisonment of a child is neither in accordance with the law nor with conscience."[125] Al-Zir'ini's appeal was granted and he was transferred to the reformatory school to complete his sentence. In the view of Al-Zir'ini's father, sixteen years old still counted as a child and he used the birth certificate to demand that the court treat his son as such.

On the other hand, it could be useful for accused juvenile delinquents to lack official documentation of their ages. When Muhammad Suleiman Ahmad al-'Ābid was convicted of murder, he was not sentenced to death as the court found him to be under eighteen years old. Instead, he served a sentence in the Central Prison in Jerusalem. His case file includes several petitions for clemency from his father, but also includes a letter from the son of the victim. The son's letter contested the claim that al-'Ābid was under eighteen at the time of the murder and included al-'Ābid's official birth certificate as proof.[126] The limits of the source material make it unclear what happened to this claim. In the same moment, the prison medical examiner estimated the prisoner to be seventeen.[127] This file is particularly valuable in understanding how age was understood and constructed under this particular legal regime. In al-'Ābid's case, two supposedly decisive expert tools of the legal regime – vital records documentation and forensic medicine – were not in agreement. As al-'Ābid's case demonstrates, even with the veneer of scientific expertise, age and childhood were constructed and contestable categories in the juvenile delinquency system.

As in al-'Ābid d's case, medical examination often complemented the use of birth certificates to determine age in the juvenile court. When a birth certificate was not easily located or not thought to be reliable, physicians would be called into the court proceedings to perform forensic medical examinations. Such was the situation in the case of 'Abd al-Hay 'Abd al-Jalil al-Zamîr in 1940. Because al-Zamîr's birth year was unknown at the time of his arrest and trial, the court ordered a doctor to perform x-rays as a way of determining his age, and thus his criminal status. The x-rays showed al- Zamîr to be between sixteen and seventeen years old, which meant that he was tried under the Young Offenders Ordinance, but deemed old enough to be sent to prison rather than to

[123] Naif Ahmad al-Zir'ini to High Commissioner, 1 October 1947, ISA/RG 17/M 352/34.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Naji 'Ali Abdul Fattah Naji to High Commissioner, ISA/RG 17/M 346/6.
[127] Ibid.

the reformatory school.[128] In 1947, al- Zamîr's attorney used the fact of al- Zamîr's minority in an appeal to the High Commissioner for clemency. Writing that his client was suffering chronic health problems in prison, he asked for the High Commissioner's mercy since al- Zamîr was only a teenager at the time of his crime.[129] This letter played to the prevailing attitudes among sociologists, psychologists and physicians that internment in prison, rather than a rehabilitative institution, was particularly damaging to the physical and moral health of a juvenile.

The use of x-ray technology to determine age was similarly at the center of the legal appeal in the Supreme Court case Muhammad El Ghazâwî v. Attorney General in 1934. El Ghazâwî and a co-defendant were convicted of murder and sentenced to death. El Ghazâwî appealed the sentence on the grounds that he was under eighteen years old when the crime took place and therefore not eligible for capital punishment.[130] In its decision, the Supreme Court noted that the initial trial court had not been able to determine El Ghazâwî's age and had ordered x-rays for that purpose. The Supreme Court ruled that "in the view of the medical evidence this Court is not prepared to find that the accused Muhammad Abdullah El Ghazâwî has completed his 18th year," and overturned the death sentence.[131] In this case, the very need to call in forensic medicine to determine the defendant's age proved to the court that there existed enough uncertainty that they were not willing to uphold a sentence of capital punishment.

X-ray technology also determined the sentencing of 'Abd al-Karim Fayyad 'Abd al-Qader. The Criminal Court in Nablus had convicted 'Abd al-Qader of murder and originally ordered his detention in the government reformatory school.[132] Subsequent medical examination determined 'Abd al-Qader's precise age to be seventeen years and three months and so the police inspector recommended his transfer to the Central Prison in Jerusalem since he was deemed old enough for internment in a regular prison setting.[133] 'Abd al-Qader's file contains a veritable flurry of petitions from his family as well as the family of the victim. His brother wrote to the High Commissioner annually, explaining the extenuating circumstances of the murder, promising to take responsibility for his brother if released, and continually emphasizing the fact of his brother's minority as a mitigating circumstance for the severity of the crime.[134] 'Abd al-Qader's file also includes a letter from his mother. In her letter, Hamdeh Deeb Qa'adan wrote that at the time of the crime, her son "was yet a juvenile adult and [thought] not of the consequences of such murderous acts."[135] Qa'adan went on to write, "You know Your Excellency that everybody commits wrongs in his infancy" and argued that the seven years that her son had already served in prison was, in her view, "an adequate deterrent for my son,

[128] Shafic Asal to High Commissioner, 8 September 1947, ISA/RG 17/M 346/48.
[129] Ibid.
[130] El Ghazâwî v. Attorney General, in *The Law Reports of Palestine, Vol. II*: 1934 & 1935, Sir Michael McDonnell, ed., London: Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1937.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Inspector General of Palestine Police Force to Chief Secretary, 28 March 1941, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Abduallah Haj Fayyad Khadr to High Commissioner, 28 August 1943, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.
[135] Hamdeh Deeb Qa'adan to High Commissioner, 10 August 1947, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.

especially when Your Excellency knows that his health was much affected."[136] By touching on the health consequences of imprisonment and her son's adolescent lack of foresight, Qa'adan wittingly or unwittingly appealed to the contemporary psychological and sociological theories that undergirded the entirety of the juvenile delinquency system.

In 'Abd al-Qader's case, the difference between being sent to the reformatory school, for education and training, or to the prison, with the adult inmate population, depended on the distinction of mere months – had he been found to be under seventeen, he might have remained in the reformatory school as a young enough adolescent to be deemed worthy of rehabilitation. In such circumstances, the notion that an x-ray examination could be precise enough to make such a distinction seems preposterous. It was, in fact, the unreliability of these scientific tools of interwar colonial governance – thought to be unassailable – that opened the way for actors, such as 'Abd al-Qader's mother, to argue for their own understandings of age and childhood and to hold the government accountable to its own professed standards of the treatment of criminal youths.

In addition to pressing the government to adhere to its own standards, some parents protested the very logic of the juvenile delinquency regime itself. After thirteen-year-old Abdallah Deeb al-Eweiwy of Hebron was sentenced to a year in the Boys Reformatory School for the crime of receiving stolen carpets, his father petitioned for his release on the grounds of insufficient evidence. In the petition, al-Eweiwy argued that since the Young Offenders Ordinance prohibited advocates in the Juvenile Court (for fear of creating too adversarial an atmosphere), his son was not able to challenge the lack of evidence in the case. The very fact of his son's minority rendered him unable to defend himself before the court.[137]

Abdul Hamdan Thalji, a resident of Ajjur village near Hebron, leveled a similar complaint to High Commissioner about his son's case. His son had been sentenced to a year's imprisonment at the Boys Reformatory School for the crime of damaging a neighbor's fig trees. Thalji's petition challenged the procedure that led to his son's conviction on two points. First, he claimed that the police inspector and village mukhtar had beaten his son and elicited a false confession. Second, as in al-Eweiwy's petition, Thalji stated that he had engaged a lawyer to represent his son, but the lawyer was barred from the courtroom under the terms of the juvenile court.[138]

Both of these fathers' petitions questioned the justice of the system's logic. Al-Eweiwy's petition concluded, "my said son is innocent, and his mother is awfully sorry for his absence from home, and the sentence is very serious and for a very long time," before asking the High Commissioner to release his son on bail or guarantee.[139] As with all of the parents' petitions, al-Eweiwy's letter was couched in the language of a humble appeal for mercy, emphasizing the emotional pain of a mother separated from her child,

[136] Ibid.
[137] Deeb al-Eweiwy to High Commissioner, 1944, ISA/RG 17/M 337/38.
[138] Summary of petition by Abdul Mun'em Hamdan Thalji, ISA/RG 17/M 377/42.
[139] Deeb al-Eweiwy to High Commissioner, 1944, ISA/RG 17/M 337/38.

offering to pay bail or become the guarantor for his son's behavior. Yet, embedded within this plea for clemency, is a commentary on the perceived justice or injustice of the juvenile delinquency system and the father's own understanding of how childhood should be constituted and treated by the court.

Whether or not family petitions were successful depended in large part on two factors: the particular circumstances of the family and the broader social relations existing in the local community. The conditions of the families were cited both in the parents' petitions as reasons their children should be released and in government documents as reasons to continue the youths' imprisonment. Parents often used the challenging conditions of their home lives to argue that their sons were desperately needed at home. Age was central in these petitions, but equally so the ages of the parents. In numerous petitions to the High Commissioner to secure the release of 'Ali 'Atallah 'Ali, his father and other relatives cited the age and infirmity of 'Ali's parents. "I am an old man, seventy-five years of age, and almost blind," 'Ali's father's first petition began.[140] Referencing his large family, of which 'Ali was the eldest son, the father appealed to the High Commissioner's mercy for clemency. 'Ali's father's age was a constant theme in subsequent petitions, although the exact age appeared to change. In his petition the following year, the father identified himself as "an old man of seventy,"[141] and stated that his son would be the sole breadwinner for the family as the father was unable to find work for himself. A community leader, appealing on 'Ali's behalf, wrote the High Commissioner, supporting the claims of 'Ali's father, but differing with him on his exact age. The petition read, "The father of the convict is nearly sixty years of age and has a large family and life for him and his family is difficult . . . and everyday the father is closer and closer to the grave."[142]

Ahmad Zir'ini's father likewise cited his own age and family condition to secure the release of his son. In addition to critiquing the procedures that barred Zir'ini's attorney from the courtroom (as discussed above), the father argued for the family's great need for Zir'ini to be at home. Explaining his decision to engage a lawyer, the father wrote:

> When I saw what had happened to him, my only son, who is the focus of my hope, who supports me and my large family of seven people because I am an old man of more than sixty years and unable to work, I went and requested a lawyer.[143]

'Abdul Ra'uf Hassan 'Ali al-Aksham's father told the High Commissioner that he was blind, and that his son was the only means of support for his large family, which included his elderly mother. In a later letter al-Aksham's father wrote that the "sole reason" for his

[140] 'Atallah 'Ali to High Commissioner, 4 May 1944, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.
[141] 'Atallah 'Ali to High Commissioner, 1 June 1946, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.
[142] Mohammad Ahmad Hammad to High Commissioner, 4 June 1946, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.
[143] Naif Ahmad al-Zir'ini to High Commissioner, 1 October 1947, ISA/RG 17/M 352/34.

petition for his son's release was to gain another helper to support the family.[144] Fatima al-Haj Ibrahim al-Haj 'Abd al-Rahman begged for amnesty for her runaway son on the basis of her need for her son to support and comfort her in her old age.[145] In these petitions, parents emphasized social and economic meanings of youth and childhood in ways that conflicted with the criminal law's understanding of age. Whereas the government saw youth as danger and innocence in equal measures, the parents' petitions identified youth with vitality, family labor and the maintenance of social structures.

The governmental departments involved with overseeing the imprisoned young offenders were quite concerned with the conditions of the family at home, although more for the potential impact of the family on the reforming delinquent than the benefits the returned child could provide for his family. Clemency for young offenders was routinely denied when a probation officer or other official determined that a parent was unable to control his or her child's behavior. The judgment of the parents was made either from a probation officer's own observations or, more likely, from the gossip around the community. Toma Khoury petitioned for his son's release from the reformatory school, where he was being held for repeated incidences of theft.[146] When Khoury cited his advanced age and need for help in supporting his large family as reasons for his son's release, government officials used their own sources to refute his plea. The Superintendent of Police for Jaffa admitted that Khoury was indeed poor and himself worked very hard, but was of the opinion that "he has no control over the boy."[147] The Director of Social Welfare cited probation officers' reports that the boy's home conditions would be detrimental to his hoped for reform. Khoury's son was denied clemency.

Talab Muhammad al-Haltam's petition for his son's release from the reformatory school was dismissed on the same grounds as Khoury's. Al-Haltam's son was arrested and charged with housebreaking and theft and sentenced to serve three years in the Boys Reformatory School in Acre. In his petition, al-Haltam pointed to his son's good behavior at the reformatory school, claimed that he was led into crime by bad companions, and offered to pay a bail bond for his son's release.[148] The Director of Social Welfare opposed early release for this boy in part because local probation officers reported that the whole village had complained about the boy and his father exercised no control over him and "allowed him to run wild for years."[149] Al-Haltam's son was released seven months after his father's petition, almost a year and half before the end of his original sentence.

As al-Haltam's case suggests, the climate of the local community mattered a great deal in whether young offenders were allowed to return home. Government officials were

[144] Hassan 'Ali Ibrahim Miqdad el Akhsham to High Commissioner, 6 October 1945, ISA/RG 17/M 344/50.
[145] Fatima al-Haj Ibrahim al-Haj 'Abd al-Rahman to High Commissioner, 24 June 1945, ISA/RG 17/M 344/25.
[146] Toma Khoury to High Commissioner, 29th June 1946, ISA/RG 17/M 348/27.
[147] W.E. Debens to District Commissioner, 29 August 1946, ISA/RG 17/M 348/27.
[148] Talab Muhammad Abu Haltam to High Commissioner, 11 September 1946, ISA/RG 17/M 350/3.
[149] W. Chinn to District Commissioner, 11 December 1946, ISA/RG 17/M 350/3.

reluctant to release young offenders from prison or the reformatory schools if they thought that enmity still existed in the community because of the crime, especially if the incident had been violent. In annual prisoner reports and responses to parents' petitions, government officials regularly cited continuing community tensions as reasons to deny clemency and release. When the crime in question was murder, government officials did not approve release unless an official peace had been concluded between the family of the convicted and the family of the victim. In the case of 'Abd al-Karim Fayyad 'Abd al-Qader, referenced earlier, the prisoner's annual reports by the inspector of prisons noted that the feelings of the persons affected by 'Abd al-Qader's crime (which was murder) were dormant.[150] In a petition to the High Commissioner, 'Abd al-Qader's brother also wrote that the "fasad"[151] between the families was quiet and that he, as a leader, would work to keep it so. 'Abd al-Qader's brother appealed for his release not only on behalf of his family, but also on behalf of the village at large. Unlike many of the petitioners, 'Abd al-Qader's brother cited his family's financial security as landowners, rather than their poverty and need for the young man's labor, as reasons he should be released.[152]

Despite the assessments from the inspector of prisons and the brother, the government was reluctant to release 'Abd al-Qader without a formal peace agreement in the community. Following the brother's petition, the District Commissioner wrote to the Chief Secretary that no peace had been concluded and that local opinion held that an attempt on 'Abd al-Qader's life might be made were he to be released.[153] This "local opinion" seemed to originate from the son of the victim who himself wrote the High Commissioner that 'Abd al-Qader's release might cause a new crisis that would lead to more deaths. He asked the High Commissioner not to pardon 'Abd al-Qader, for the sake of "peace and order in [the] village."[154]

Early petitions by 'Ali Atallah 'Ali's family for his release were also dismissed on the grounds that enmity still existed between his family and the family of the murder victim. Although he acknowledged that 'Ali was unlikely to re-engage in crime, on one annual prisoner report, the inspector simply wrote, "Peace not concluded between families. Release might have serious consequences."[155] Unlike in 'Abd al-Qader's case, however, peace negotiations began quickly and were held as a pre-requisite to the offender's release: "When peace has been concluded," a probation officer wrote, "the prisoner's release should be considered."[156] The parents of 'Ali Atallah 'Ali paid *diyet* (financial compensation for the murder) to the victim's family and a formal ceremony of reconciliation took place, attended by the brothers of the victim, the mukhtar of al-Bireh village, and the District Commissioner.[157] After an official peace was concluded, 'Ali's father cited the reconciliation in his petitions as reasons for his son's release, even including the official document of reconciliation in his appeals. The District

[150] Report on Prisoner, 10 March 1943, ISA/RG 17/M 346/66.
[151] Literally, "corruption," here fasad refers the creation of division or dissension.
[152] Abduallah Haj Fayyad Khadr to High Commissioner, 28 August 1943, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.
[153] D.C. MacGillivary to Chief Secretary, 24 April 1945, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.
[154] Salih 'Abd al-Jabar al-'Umar to High Commissioner, 26 June 1944, ISA/RG 17/M 1346/66.
[155] Report on a Prisoner, 28 June 1942, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.
[156] Arthur Shields to Inspector-General of Police and Prisons, 7 July 1943, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.
[157] Waiver of the right against the accused (Reconciliation Document), ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.

Commissioner also recommended clemency on the grounds that peace was made and an early release would not threaten public security. Although the High Commissioner was wary of establishing a precedent in which reconciliation would guarantee an early release for the crime of murder, three years after peace was made, 'Ali was granted clemency and released.[158]

The focus on community relations and their impact on a prisoner's release was a colonial particularity of Palestine's juvenile delinquency system. First, it demonstrated a hyper concern with public security that was specific to the colonial setting. Following the Great Revolt of 1936-1939, a massive anti-colonial uprising against British policy and continued Zionist immigration, British police and military officials were especially concerned with any signs of local unrest. In this light, juvenile offenders were seen not only as causing local disruptions and disturbances, but also as potential threats to the larger political and social order. Second, the focus on "official peace" agreements between families reflected the colonial government's orientalist assumptions about the particularities of the Palestinian Arab population under its rule. Not only did British officials ascribe to Palestinian Arabs a greater sense of communalism (and correspondingly, less of a sense of individualism), but they were also highly concerned with what they saw as a propensity among Arabs for revenge killings. Despite the overarching attempts to Anglicize the criminal law, the Mandate criminal justice regime also enshrined into the law's function practices such as the *diyet*, which colonial officials assumed to be traditional and immutable features of Arab society.[159]

The parents' petitions on behalf of their children were more likely to fail than to succeed. The inspector of prisons, probation officers and High Commissioner relied more on their own metrics to determine the future of a young offender than on his families' pleas. Yet, the petitions were far more than futile attempts to protest the removal of a child from the family. Although, in many ways, the juvenile delinquency system wrested authority over children away from parents, relatives, and local community members, it also deeply depended on their participation in it. As the case files show, parents, and other local actors, participated in governing their delinquent children in ways that both challenged a growing regime of expertise on young offenders and helped create it.

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[158] Warrant of release, 9 May 1947, ISA/RG 17/M/483/42.

[159] Scholars of colonial law might refer to this as a "dual legal system" or "legal pluralism." Those terms do not quite fit the case of Palestine, which, at least in terms of the criminal law, had a unified criminal code. However, in the *practice* of the law, colonial officials strove to shape a system that was seen as suitable for the particular traditions and constitutions of their Palestinian constituency. This urge, as in other instances of colonial legal systems, had the effect of reifying practices that colonial officials assumed to be "traditional" and essential to local society and culture. For discussions of legal pluralism and its historiography, see Sally Engle Merry, "Legal Pluralism," *Law & Society Review* Vol. 22, No. 5 (1988): 869-896; Lauren Benton, "Empires of Exception: History, Law, and the Problem of Imperial Sovereignty," *Quaderni di Relazioni Internaxionali* (December 2007), 595-620; Lauren Benton and Richard Ross, eds., *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1800* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013). For discussion of dual legal systems, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Conclusion

In late 2017, sixteen-year-old Ahed Tamimi, a teenager from the town of Nabi Salih in the West Bank, was arrested by Israeli forces and charged with assault and incitement by an Israeli military court for the alleged crime of hitting an Israeli soldier. Tamimi's arrest sparked international condemnation, at least in part due to the use of a military court in a case against a minor. In the global conversation about her case, a whispered rumor began circulating on right-wing, conservative websites that Tamimi was not sixteen, as her family maintained, but eighteen.[160] The implication of those trading in this rumor was clear: if Tamimi was eighteen, there need not be sympathy for her plight or international outrage over the harsh treatment of a child. If Tamimi was eighteen, she deserved whatever punishment came her way.

The boundaries of childhood, informed as they are by particular historical constructions of race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and gender, often demarcate political boundaries as well. Despite the universalist intentions of the advocates for global juvenile delinquency reform in the early twentieth century, we are no closer to an accepted definition of global childhood some one hundred years later. In Mandate Palestine, the juvenile delinquency system was built with an eye to emerging global conversations about the appropriate treatment of young people. At the same time, what childhood and adolescence meant for the purposes of defining juvenile delinquency, who could be included within those categories, and what should be done with them was an arena of negotiation and contestation embedded in local socio-political structures.

Who counts as a child? Does Ahed Tamimi? Did ʻAbd al-Karim Fayyad ʻAbd al-Qader? Who deserves rehabilitation, who imprisonment? Whose youth represents productive potential to the colonial regime and whose represents danger, unsociability, unrest? These questions were at the heart of the Mandate government's juvenile delinquency law, as it developed over the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. The legal regime that created juvenile delinquents in Mandate Palestine was not coherent or static. Like the systems of child welfare writ large, it was fragmented between the desires and fears of the colonial state, the institutional structures of society, and the agency of those whom it purported to govern.

[160] This rumor appears to have originated with the website *IsraellyCool* in a post, "'Shirley Temple' and Ahed Tamimi's Real Age Revisited," *IsraellyCool*, 19 December 2017, http://www.israellycool.com/2017/12/19/shirley-temper-ahed-tamimis-real-age-revisited/.

Chapter Four

Governing the Children of the Nakba:
Local and International Humanitarian Aid, 1939-1950

In 1948, Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi's intake register recorded the admission of sixty-seven children– fifty-two girls and fifteen boys – to the orphanage. Next to each name was a simple headshot showing the child dressed in a neatly pressed sailor-style uniform. The girls' hair were plaited or secured with bows. Many of the sixty-seven children came from the infamous village of Deir Yassin, but others hailed from the Old City of Jerusalem, Lifta, Silwan, and Jaffa.[1] Aside from one boy who was born in the institution, the youngest children were two and three years old when they came to the orphanage; the oldest was seventeen. Eleven-year-old Fatima and her three younger sisters were brought to Dar al-Tifl by the orphanage's committee following their father's death in the massacre at Deir Yassin. Five-year-old Farida, and her three siblings, ages four, three, and two, came to Dar al-Tifl from the village of Qalunya, where their father was also killed in 1948.[2] In 1949, more children entered the orphanage and still more in the following years, so that by the mid-1950s, hundreds of Palestinian children were living in or had passed through the halls of Dar al-Tifl. Like the young girls of the Christian Herald Orphanage a generation earlier, these were the children of a war.

This chapter explores what happened to the children of the Nakba as they passed through different systems of welfare and relief care in the years directly following 1948. The networks of child welfare governance that arose in the aftermath of 1948 shared many characteristics with child welfare under the Mandate, as articulated in previous chapters: as in the Mandate period, child welfare governance was refracted among various organizations and quasi-governmental entities; funding came from disparate networks of local and foreign capital; and the focus of welfare projects reflected emerging global ideas about childhood health, education, and development. At the same time, the Nakba, and the ensuing Palestinian refugee crisis, ushered in a new era of governance, which permanently altered the provision and structure of social welfare. In a historical moment defined by displacement and refugees, child welfare projects simultaneously became more locally embedded and more internationally oriented. With the expansion of both a Palestinian Arab social welfare network and international mechanisms of refugee relief, and without the mediation of a national or colonial state, local and international child welfare became more visible and more closely tied together.

In this chapter, I focus on three chronological snapshots of relief efforts as case studies for the types of child welfare that emerged out of the 1948 war. First, I look at the network of local, Palestinian-organized orphanages and schools that arose in the late 1930s and early 1940s, specifically to care for children orphaned by violence. I argue that this network, which emerged amidst the violence and unrest of the late Mandate period, marked a new form of Palestinian Arab social welfare that prefigured the relief efforts

[1] Dar al-Tifl al-'Arabi, Register of Orphans, 1948-1958, viewed with permission from Mahira Dajani.
[2] Ibid.

that would arise in the wake of 1948. Second, I look at two Palestinian-led orphanages – Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad – that emerged as local responses to the Nakba. I argue that these institutions both represent a continuation of the social welfare network of the early 1940s and a connection to the emerging transnational system of care of the post-1948 moment. Finally, I look at the transitional years of 1948-1950, when humanitarian organizations became the official providers of social welfare care to Palestinian refugee populations. I focus specifically on the case of refugees in Gaza, where the American Friends Service Committee administered relief, in much the same way the Red Cross did in the years of the British military administration after the First World War. While the Gaza relief program continued many of the priorities and projects of child welfare from the Mandate period, the administration of care became internationalized in new ways.

In certain ways, the story of the children of 1948 mirrors the stories of Palestinian children in the immediate period following the First World War that were explored in Chapter One. Like the First World War, the 1948 war disrupted economic and social life, left children orphaned, and families unemployed and homeless. The years following the 1948 war, like 1917-1920, were marked by a period of transition to new systems of governance and governing powers. And as in the aftermath of the First World War, the provision of social welfare and relief fell to ad-hoc networks of voluntary organizations. Any comparison between the two post-war moments, however, must acknowledge the fundamentally unparalleled and unique violence of the war and the creation of a permanent refugee population. 1948 is held in Palestinian historiography as a moment of profound rupture. The very structures of the archives encourage scholars to treat 1948 as an impenetrable barrier, separating two irreconcilable historical moments. This chapter seeks to simultaneously affirm the singularity and trauma of the 1948 war and its consequences while also tracing the institutional and ideological continuities of child welfare care across this historical chasm.

For this reason, although the chapter is oriented toward the networks of care that arose in response to the Nakba, I begin its chronology at the end of the 1930s. It has become commonplace for scholars to link the Great Revolt of 1936-1939 to the 1948 war, arguing that the British repression of the revolt and the condition of Palestinian society by its end greatly affected the outcome of the war a decade later. In examining child welfare institutions of the late 1930s and early 1940s that emerged in direct response to the effects of the Great Revolt, I make a similar chronological move. The rupture of the Nakba began years before the outbreak of the war; so too did the networks of welfare, care, and aid that responded to it.

Local Welfare Networks, 1939-1947

In her book, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine*, Sherene Seikaly notes, "there is so much more to learn about Palestinian charities, their institutions, their practices."[3] Although the disparity in social services between the Yishuv and the Palestinian Arab community is well documented in histories of Mandate

[3] Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital*: *Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), 212-213.

Palestine, little work has been done to sketch out the charitable and aid networks that did exist among Palestinian communities. Mahmoud Yazbak's work on orphans in the late Ottoman period shows that, while the state began to take on more of a role in providing care for orphans following the administrative reforms of the 1870s, aid to orphans remained primarily in the form of cash assistance, while responsibility for their physical welfare was taken on by extended family and volunteer guardians.[4]

In the early Mandate period, orphanages were typically connected to religious institutions, either local or foreign. From the mid-nineteenth century, a wide array of Christian missionary organizations established orphanages and schools, mostly in the areas of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[5] The most famous of them was Schneller Orphanage (also known as the Syrian Orphanage), a German Lutheran institution, which operated in Jerusalem from 1860 to the outbreak of the Second World War. The institution's founder was Johann Ludwig Schneller, a German educator, pedagogue, and missionary. Like many of the missionary orphanages of the time, the Syrian Orphanage provided both academic and vocational education to its charges. In addition to schooling, the orphanage also ran a printing press, which published many Jerusalemite writers and scholars, including several works of Dr. Tawfiq Canaan.[6]

The Supreme Muslim Council established its own orphanage and industrial school for boys in the early 1920s. The Muslim Orphanage, as it was called, worked closely with the Mandate government to provide relief to poor and orphaned children in the administration's stead. In one instance in 1922 (recorded in the archival record under the category of "Waifs, Foundlings, and Strays"), the Governor of Haifa appealed to the Director of the Muslim Orphanage to accept a ten-year-old orphan boy. The boy was under the care of his brother, who worked as a servant in Haifa.[7] The Muslim Orphanage agreed to take in the orphan with his brother providing P.T. 30 a month for his care. The final correspondence in the file on this boy is a note from the director of the orphanage asking which train the boy will take to Jerusalem.[8] This episode reveals the collaboration that existed between the colonial government and private, religious institutions in the realm of social welfare. The Mandate government entirely depended on charitable institutions to provide relief for orphans and abandoned children, and, in the early part of the Mandate period when there were no established legal parameters for dealing with foundling children, that dependence manifested in informal networks between the two sectors.

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[4] Mahmoud Yazbak, "Muslim Orphans and the Shari'a in Ottoman Palestine According to the Sijill Records," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 44 (2001): 123-40.

[5] French Catholic monasteries and convents ran several orphanages, including St. Pierre de Sion, the orphanage of Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Sion in Jerusalem and St. Vincent de Paul, operated by French nuns in Bethlehem. The British missions, including the London Jews Society in Jerusalem, also had schools and orphanages for local children. The Jewish communities of Palestine established several orphanages, starting in the 1880s, including the well-known Diskin Orphanage for boys in Jerusalem.

[6] See Tawfiq Canaan, *The Palestine Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore* (Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1933) and Tawfiq Canaan, *Conflict in the Land of Peace* (Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1936). Canaan was also a graduate of the Schneller School.

[7] Governor of Haifa to Director of Health, 8 May 1922, ISA/RG 10/M/6614/16.

[8] A. Budeiri to Director of Health, 29 June 1922, ISA/RG 10/M/6614/16.

Twenty years later, new legal codes formalized the government's response to orphaned, destitute, and foundling children, but it continued to depend on the cooperation of charitable, religious institutions, such as the Muslim Orphanage. As discussed in the previous chapter, the 1937 Juvenile Offenders Ordinance No. 2 gave welfare and probation officers the authority to bring children who were found on the streets or in the care of incapable parents in front of the Juvenile Court. While the new ordinance granted the judge the ability to decide where and to whom to commit the child, it did not establish or designate any institutions to assume the responsibility for the child. A juvenile court case from 1945 illuminates the complex and ad-hoc web of governmental and charitable institutions that governed the care of such children. Three siblings, Maryam (12), Maisarah (8), and Sami (3) were brought before the Juvenile Court by the Department of Social Welfare. Their father, a former policeman in the Palestine Police Force, had sustained an injury on the job and the family fell into destitution. The welfare officers brought the children to court on considerations of neglect and with the insinuation of inappropriate conduct by the father.[9] Initially, the court placed the children in a reformatory institution and then moved them to the German-run Talitha Kumi School. Their grandfather, Muhammad Hassan Ka'akour, petitioned the government to have them released to his care on the basis of the religious affiliation of the school. Claiming that it was inappropriate for his Muslim grandchildren to be in a Christian missionary school, he argued that he was in position to support the children and give them an Islamic education.[10] Following this claim, The Supreme Muslim Council interceded on behalf of the grandfather and compromise was eventually reached – the two older girls would be transferred to the care of the Muslim orphanage and the young boy would be released to his grandfather and uncle.[11]

The case of Maryam, Maisarah, and Sami illuminates how confessional categorization continued to structure the parameters of child welfare and the Mandate government's assumptions about the provision of care. Ka'akour won his grandchildren's release from Talitha Kumi on the argument that it was disruptive to the children's religious upbringing and with the intercession of the SMC, which was designated by the government as the representative body for all Muslims in Palestine. In the same moment of the 1940s, however, a new system of orphanages was emerging that moved care from a strictly religious to a national or community framework. Elite, philanthropic Palestinian leaders, rather than religious institutions, founded and promoted these orphanage schemes and they arose in direct response to the increasingly dire situation of the Palestinian community in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

In 1939, in reaction to the devastation of the violent repression of Great Revolt, prominent Jerusalemite educator and social reformer, Ahmad Samih Khalidi, founded the General Arab Committee for Orphans (*Lajnat al-Yatim al-'Arabiya al-'Ama*). Khalidi's most well known endeavors were in the realm of education. He headed The Arab College in Jerusalem, a famous secondary and teacher training institution, wrote treatises on education (including *Anzimat al-ta'lim* or *Systems of Education*), and became assistant

[9] Director of Social Welfare to Chief Secretary, 26 January 1946, ISA/RG 17/M/345/1.
[10] Muhammad Hassan Ka'akour to Chief Secretary, 12 January 1946, ISA/RG 17/M/345/1.
[11] Amin Abdul Hadi to Chief Secretary, 10 June 1946, ISA/RG 17/M/345/1.

director of the Department of Education in 1941.[12] Towards the end of the Mandate period, Khalidi turned his attention to the plight of orphaned and destitute Palestinian children. The question of orphans would occupy Khalidi for the remainder of his life.

When Khalidi founded the General Arab Committee for Orphans, its concrete goal was to found an agricultural school-orphanage for boys orphaned by the Great Revolt.[13] The Committee defined "orphan" as any child (boy or girl) up to age fourteen whose father was dead, who had no means of subsistence, and who needed care.[14] More broadly, the Committee sought to unify and regularize relief and child welfare efforts throughout Palestine by joining such projects under a single umbrella organization. The Committee focused on the question of orphans as a shared social issue that impacted the Palestinian Arab population across the country. A report on the Committee's first year of work affirmed the Committee's belief that "the problem of orphans in Palestine is among the most dangerous societal problems."[15] The Committee's call was to see orphan-hood not as an issue of individuals or only one of religious obligation, but as an endemic problem of *society*, whose solution could bring together communities in cities across Palestine.

The Committee's members hailed from the elite families of Jerusalem and Jaffa society and represented several professional sectors. Aside from Khalidi himself, the Committee's leadership was comprised of Dr. Yusuf Haykal, the last mayor of pre-1948 Jaffa, as secretary; educator and playwright, Wadi' Tarazi, as assistant secretary; Arab Higher Committee member, Rajai Husseini, as treasurer, and Dr. Mahmoud Taher Dajani, member of the Arab Medical Association.[16] Several of these men would go on to found educational and relief organizations for refugee children in the post-1948 period.[17]

The Committee immediately engaged a trans-local and trans-regional network for support of its project. In addition to publishing announcements in newspapers, in both English and Arabic, the Committee members sent requests for subscriptions across Palestine and the Middle East. In their fifth meeting, the committee made plans to send announcements and subscription requests to Beirut, Damascus, Iraq, Egypt, Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre.[18] One such appeal began with a call to "our Arab brothers and sisters." It went on to describe the "woe [in this country] of our sons and daughters who are deprived of parentage" and depended upon aid to ensure their "studies, lives, morals, and futures."[19] The project of caring for Palestinian orphans, the appeal continued, relied on

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[12] Michael R. Fischbach, "Ahmad Samih Khalidi," in *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, ed. Philip Mattar (New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc., 2000), 224.
[13] Chief Secretary Interview of Ahmad Khalidi, 15 February 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Bayan lajnat al-yatim al-'arabiya al-'ama fi filastin (Report of the General Arab Committee for Orphans in Palestine),* 1939-1941, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[16] Chief Secretary Interview of Ahmad Khalidi, 15 February 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[17] Wadi' Tarazi would found the Gaza College, a private high school. After the 1948 war, Khalidi founded another school for orphans in Hinniya, Lebanon.
[18] "al-Jilsa al-Khamisa," ("The Fifth Meeting"), 27 January 1940, ISA/RG 65/P989/12.
[19] *Bayan ila ikhwanina wa-akhawatina al-'arab (Declaration to Our Arab Brothers and Sisters),* ISA/RG 65/P/989/13.

"the support of their brothers and the kindness of Arabs and Muslims within Palestine and outside it," (*'ataf al-arab wa al-muslimin fi filastin wa kharajiha*).[20] The appeal highlighted the Committee's goal of unifying charitable efforts to assist Palestinian orphans and needy children. The writers acknowledged that there were already groups in Palestine who had "taken the responsibility of helping orphans," but proposed that an organized and unified effort could expand this work in a systematic manner.[21]

The language and the intentions of the appeal confound simple political categorizations. On the one hand, the shift the Committee represented, from religiously-based charity to unified welfare across Palestinian constituencies, suggests that this child welfare initiative was part of the project of Palestinian nationalism and nation-building. Indeed, the role of social welfare, especially for children, has long been a feature of studies of twentieth century nationalism, particularly in the case of the Zionist movement.[22] Children feature heavily as symbols of the nation's future and thus a project of organizing and unifying across confessional lines to care for the vulnerable children of the nation can be read as a straightforward nationalist narrative. Moreover, the men of the Committee represented the educated elite population that tended to comprise anti-colonial nationalist movements; many of them were already in positions of local or governmental authority and several were part of the national leadership of the Arab Higher Committee during the Great Revolt. Viewing the Committee solely through the lens of nationalism, however, ignores how deeply the effort was simultaneously embedded in transnational, Pan-Arab, and Pan-Islamic networks. The call for funding and support went as far as the Arab immigrant community in Michigan, where the US-based Arab National League raised money to aid the orphans of Palestine.[23] Nor did the Committee receive money solely from individuals or community organizations. The governments of both Egypt and Iraq offered Khalidi and the Committee donations to assist in setting up an orphanage. The government of Egypt offered £25,000 and the government of Iraq offered £6,000.[24] The eclectic array of funders and supporters thus included Palestinian individuals and families, Arab and Muslim populations across the Middle East, quasi-independent Arab governments, and a transnational emigrant community. The nationalist vision of the Committee was intertwined with broader regional, ethno-linguistic, and religious affiliations. The appeal certainly highlighted the unique plight of children in Palestine – the words "this country" appear several times throughout the notice – but it rested on a call to aid these children, not only as Palestinians, but as fellow Arabs and Muslims.

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] See Tammi Razi, *Forsaken Children: The Backyard of Mandate Tel Aviv/Yalde ha-hefker: he-hatser ha-ahorit shel Tel-Aviv ha-mandatrorit* (Tel Aviv: Hotsaʾat ʿAm ʿoved ; [Śederot] : ha-Mikhlalah ha-aḳademit Sapir, 2009). Razi also wrote an article on psychological treatment of Jewish children during the Mandate: Tammi Razi, "Immigration and Its Discontents: Treating Children in the Psycho-Hygiene Clinic in Mandate Tel Aviv," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 11:3 (2012): 339. See also, Shifra Shvarts, "The Development of Mother and Infant Welfare Centers in Israel, 1854-1954," *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* Vol. 55, Number 4, (October 2000): 398-425.
[23] Hani Bawardi, *The Making of Arab Americans: From Syrian Nationalism to U.S. Citizenship* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014), 201.
[24] Chief Secretary Interview of Ahmad Khalidi, 15 February 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.

The Mandate Administration was rather ambivalent about the Committee and its proposed projects. Annual administration reports praised the novelty and scope of the Committee's undertaking as being "a significant development in the organisation of Arab welfare services."[25] In theory, the Mandate government encouraged such services; as discussed previously, the government sought to delegate to voluntary organizations the burdens of social welfare care. While the Jewish Agency had long provided such services for the Jewish community of Palestine, the Palestinian Arab population, denied a coherent fundraising or representative body equivalent to the Jewish Agency, had to rely on ad-hoc charities and government support for social welfare. As the administration reports themselves stated, the Committee represented a new structure of child welfare for the Palestinian Arab population: "It is the first independent attempt at coordinated, constructive service in recent years and its continued success opens much wider prospects in the field of Arab welfare work than have hitherto been apparent."[26]

Despite the Committee's apparent alignment with Mandate government ideas about social welfare provision, members of the government were initially skeptical, or even dismissive, of the project. In files and memos about the Committee and its first orphanage, government officials of all levels expressed hesitation, wariness, and even annoyance towards Khalidi and his compatriots. Memos between government officials reveal their frustration with the fundraising efforts of the Committee. One note said that the official had discovered from reading Arabic newspapers that collection bins were being placed in schools to raise money for the Committee's projects. Immediately, the Director of Education, Jerome Farrell, issued a statement that no such boxes could be used in government schools.[27] The donations from foreign governments also caused friction for some officials. The money from Egypt immediately brought the Mandate administration into a role of regulation of the Committee as the government had to approve the release of foreign funds. The government withheld the funds until the Committee satisfied the government's questions about their orphanage project. After an initial meeting with Khalidi, the Chief Secretary reported his doubts that the Committee's plans would bear fruit, remarking that, in his view, the money from Egypt would be of more use supplementing the general disbursements for welfare given by the Government of Palestine than by a direct donation to the Committee's project.[28] The government turned the ultimate approval of the project to the District Commissioner of the Jerusalem area. Debates over when and whether to release the Egyptian funds lasted well into 1941.

In addition to their skepticism about the viability of the Committee, government officials also were reluctant to aid the Committee in setting up the first orphanage. In 1940, Khalidi asked District Officers to help the Committee in compiling a register of Arab orphans throughout Palestine. Only the District Commissioner of Haifa responded in the affirmative. The District Commissioner of Jerusalem wrote that such a registry

[25] "Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1946," in *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, Volume 12: 1925-1928,* Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Handwritten note to Chief Secretary, 21 March 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[28] Chief Secretary Interview of Ahmad Khalidi, 15 February 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.

would not serve any useful purpose and could be used by "an unofficial body for the propaganda purposes."[29] The District Commissioner of Samaria District registered his opposition on two counts: 1) a government officer taking time to compile such a registry would falsely imply the government's intention in undertaking welfare relief and 2) it was a waste of time.[30] The District Commissioner of Lydda District went a step further and wrote that "rightly or wrongly this committee is viewed with suspicion by the general public, who believe it to be political in intention and propagandist organ on behalf of Haj Amin al-Husseini."[31] The Acting District Commissioner of Galilee District summarized the prevailing attitude of the government towards the project: "The Government's interest in the work of the Arab orphanage should be limited to sympathy."[32] The government's nominal support of non-official social welfare work, but reluctance to commit any of its own resources and general suspicion of the ability of the Committee to succeed typified the official attitude toward Arab-led social welfare throughout the Mandate.

Despite the government's skepticism, the project spread quite quickly beyond Jerusalem to other cities in Palestine. Within months of its founding, the Committee had ancillary groups in most of the country's major cities. Newspaper clippings collected by the government revealed the rapidity with which the project was spreading. A headline in *al-Dif'a* in March of 1940 read, "Success of the Orphans' Committee" in Haifa. The article detailed the efforts of the Haifa committee to collect funds from local businesses.[33] *Filastin* covered the same story the following day. Two days later, *al-Dif'a* ran a short piece announcing the representatives of the Orphans' Committee in Nazareth.[34] The newspaper coverage upset Mandate officials, who once again worried that the press implied the relief effort was a government, rather than private, endeavor. Further complicating the stark division between the government's policies and the charitable works of the Committee was the fact that many members of the Committee and its ancillary bodies were government employees. Ahmad Khalidi became the Assistant Director of Education two years after he founded the Committee; the chairman of the Haifa committee worked for the District Court and a named member of the Nazareth committee was the Financial District Officer for Galilee. As was true for child welfare projects throughout the Mandate period, the political and social structures of the Mandate government made strict delineations of public and private difficult to maintain.

The keystone project of the Committee in Jerusalem was the establishment of an orphanage for boys at Deir 'Amr. The Committee leased 2,800 dunums of land from the Department of Awqaf that had been previously set aside for an orphanage that had not been built. Khalidi and the Committee intended the orphanage at Deir 'Amr to take the form of an agricultural school, where the boys would gain a three- to four-year practical education in agriculture, horticulture, poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, and dairy farming.[35]

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[29] District Commissioner, Jerusalem to Chief Secretary, 9 March 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[30] District Commissioner, Samaria to Chief Secretary, 12 March 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[31] District Commissioner, Lydda to Chief Secretary, 15 March 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[32] Acting District Commissioner, Galilee to Chief Secretary, 20 March 1940, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[33] "Najah lajnat al-yatim fi a'maltiha" (Success of the Orphans Committee in its Work), *al-Dif'a*, 8 March 1940.
[34] Press clippings, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.
[35] Ahmad Khalidi to Chief Secretary, 4 April 1941, ISA/RG 2/M/397/13.

Although the students would also receive instruction in religion, arithmetic, and English, as Khalidi wrote to the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, "theoretical instruction will take a secondary place."[36] The orphanage initially accommodated around thirty children – all boys, between the ages of thirteen and fourteen, who were not already in school. Khalidi planned to add ten students each year beginning in 1942.

The decision to focus on practical education, and on agriculture in particular, reflected educational priorities of the historical moment and the specific education and social structures of Mandate Palestine. By the late 1930s, agricultural education was a globally embraced vocational training that was seen as a way to cultivate a labor force. In colonial contexts, like Mandate Palestine, agricultural education had several purposes for the colonial authorities: it was a means through which colonial land cultivation practices could be transmitted and local cultivation practices could be suppressed; it was a way of encouraging the productivity – and thus the economic output – of colonies; and it was an alternative to academic education, which colonial officials saw as an avenue for fomenting anti-colonial resistance. For the British in Palestine, officials also saw agricultural education and modernization as part of their charge to develop Palestine under the terms of the League of Nations Mandate charter. Agricultural instruction was included in all levels of government education in Mandate Palestine. Village schools introduced regular agricultural instruction in elementary school and town school teachers, although not required to incorporate such training, were encouraged to cultivate school gardens and gardening competitions.[37] In 1931, the government opened two agricultural training colleges – one for Palestinian Arabs and one for Jews – with a grant from Sir Ellis Kadoorie, an Iraqi Jew. The Palestinian Arab college, located in Tulkarm, consisted of a two-year course in theoretical and practical instruction in modern farming techniques.[38] The government's intention was for graduates to return to their home villages to transmit knowledge about improved agricultural practices.[39] In writing about agricultural education in the Mandates for Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan, Hilary Falb Kalisman observes that agricultural schools were intended to expand education to colonial subjects without disrupting the political status quo.[40]

The Orphans Committee's farm school embraced both the liberating and constraining aspects of agricultural education. Although government-sponsored agricultural education had critics among Palestinian Arab educators,[41] no doubt Khalidi and his compatriots believed that agricultural training was a way of improving the quality

[36] Deir 'Amr Farm School Registration Application, ISA/RG 10/M/6580/31.
[37] Hilary Falb Kalisman, "'The next generation of cultivators': Teaching agriculture in Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan, 1920-1960," Accepted for publication, *History of Education / Histoire de l'éducation,* 2018. Falb Kalisman has shown that, while the intention of agricultural training was to prevent urbanization and keep the *fellahin* in their villages, agricultural instruction unintentionally provided a path for high-achieving rural children to higher education and government employment.
[38] Roza El-Eini, "British Agricultural-Educational Institutions in Mandate Palestine and Their Impress on the Rural Landscape," *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan., 1999), 104.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Falb Kalisman, "'The next generation of cultivators'."
[41] As El-Eini writes, educator Abdul Latif al-Tibawi criticized agricultural training as having little impact on young boys who already hailed from farming families and communities. El-Eini, 102.

of life of poorer, rural Palestinians.[42] Moreover, in Palestine in particular, agricultural training and innovation was deeply important in claiming rights to land. Farming schools and research stations were integral in the Yishuv's claims that agricultural development and technology entitled the Jewish community to the lands of Palestine. The Zionist land settlement project depended on both an ideological reclamation of land – the argument that they "made the deserts bloom" – and technological claims of superiority in land development. In this light, the farm school at Deir 'Amr was a nationalist counterclaim to Zionist land settlement. Finally, by focusing on agricultural, rather than academic, education, the Committee may have appeased an already suspicious Mandate government, which greatly feared potential disturbances created by an overeducated colonized population.

The activities of the Committee reflected the initial presupposition that the orphanage and school at Deir 'Amr was intended as an inclusive project of social uplift. In the 1943 report to subscribers, the Committee described the extensive construction and agricultural projects undertaken in the course of the year. One such project was the establishment of a health and child care center. The health center, the report stated, treated not only the sick among the orphan students, but also workers and farmers from nearby Arab villages.[43] "This is a step toward social reform [*al-islah al-ijtima'i*]," the report read, "that we hope will be a model for the rest of the Arab villages throughout Palestine."[44] As in other cases of child welfare projects in Mandate Palestine, the orphanage was to be the foundation of a broader reform effort that would transform the whole of Palestinian society. Far from an individual charity that removed orphans from broader society, Deir 'Amr was embedded in the local social structures of the surrounding community. The Committee's hope that Deir 'Amr would serve as a replicable model shows that their vision was one of integrated social welfare for Palestinians throughout their lives. Like the Committee itself, with its branches in cities across the country, Deir 'Amr was meant to be one in a network of like institutions.

Just as the institutions of Deir 'Amr contributed to a broader social reform, so too did the agricultural projects of the school contribute to the reclamation and redemption of the land. The 1943 annual report enumerated the multitude of crops under cultivation at the farm, including tobacco, tomatoes, olives, and grapes.[45] Vegetable crops were planted on 265 dunums and cereals on 129 dunums. The school planted over two thousand trees and built a nursery for young saplings.[46] In addition to fruits, vegetables, and grains, the report listed one hundred birds, seventy rabbits, and fourteen beehives on the farm. Furthermore, the report highlighted the improvements the school made to the land [*islah al-ard*] by digging and installing walls in the ground to prevent soil erosion.[47]

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[42] Following the economic catastrophe on the Palestinian community of the Great Revolt, it is also possible that Khalidi thought that agricultural education might be key to stimulating the Palestinian economy.
[43] Lajnat al-yatim al-'arabiya al-'ama fi filastin: bayan mawjuz 'an sir a'amaliha fi sana 1943, (The General Committee for Arab Orphans in Palestine: a brief statement of its work in the year 1943), ISA/RG 65/P/989/13.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

Three years later, the 1946 annual report showed the continuation and expansion of the agricultural and infrastructure projects begun in the early days of Deir ʻAmr. More land was prepared for tree planting; the Committee built a dairy house, made improvement in the poultry sectors, and erected a structure specifically for cattle.[48] The Committee also constructed a building for small children and expanded its health facilities and practices. The tone of the 1946 annual report increasingly looked to the future, and, specifically, the future of Palestine as a nation. In the introductory note to subscribers, the report's authors wrote that the Committee worked in the service of youth "who are the sons of this nation" and who are deprived of their fathers and mothers. These youth, the report continued, go to Deir ʻAmr "where they find a father's care and a mother's kindness" and where, just as importantly, "they receive a national education that prepares them for a better life."[49] In discussing the program of Deir ʻAmr, the report's authors wrote that they considered agricultural work an essential tool in the education of young people because such work "cherishes the land, which is the heritage of the ancestors and it increases [young people's] interest in keeping [the land]."[50] References to "the nation," and "national" appear over and over again, in phrases such as "national education" [*tarbiya qawmiyya*] and "national duty" [*wajib watani*]. Terms like "the sons of the nation" and allusions to the martyrs who died in the Great Revolt also occurred with high frequency. The references to "the nation" and the reiteration of the importance of the land and its heritage once again suggest that we can read the story of the Orphans Committee and Deir ʻAmr through a conventional lens of Palestinian nationalism and nation-building. While we can be certain that the political aspirations of the Committee and their fears about the increasingly tense and fragmenting political structure of the moment animated their work, the report continued to intertwine national, regional, and transnational identifications.

In the same year that Khalidi and his collaborators founded the Orphans Committee and Deir ʻAmr, other elite Jerusalemites set up a complementary child welfare organization, called Dar al-Awlad. Dar al-Awlad was a hostel for homeless young men established by "a mixed group of Arabs".[51] The hostel accommodated between fifteen and thirty young men at a time, depending on the fluctuations in costs of living during the war years and the size of the current premises. The boys and young men were mostly destitute, some of them orphans, and some sent to the hostel by probation officers. Dar al-Awlad was meant to provide temporary housing, food, and care until permanent arrangements could be made for the young men and at first, most of its charges stayed at the hostel for between three months and one year.[52] In a letter to the Government of Palestine, applying for a grant-in-aid, the Committee of Dar al-Awlad explicitly distinguished their institution from that of Deir ʻAmr, saying, "it has never

[48] Lajnat al-yatim al-ʻarabiya al-ʻama fi filastin: Taqrir al-sanawi l'am 1946 (The General Committee for Arab Orphans in Palestine: Annual Report for the Year 1946).
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Dar al-Awlad Committee to High Commissioner, April 1946, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18. Here "mixed" likely refers to the fact that the committee consisted of both Muslim and Christian Palestinians.
[52] Ibid.

been intended to make the Dar an orphanage along the lines of Deir 'Amr."[53] In spite of this distinction, the Committee went on to say that the fact that Dar al-Awlad was a hostel, and not a permanent orphanage, "should not preclude a boy from staying for more than a short period, and that so long as he is at Dar al-Awlad, [he is] to be given some training and some education."[54] While the Committee aimed to differentiate between the two institutions, they shared similar philosophies. Dar al-Awlad also sought to educate its charges – either by sponsorship to attend a private school or in-house instruction – in order to improve their futures. In an annual report to subscribers, the author wrote that the goal of the institution was to turn a destitute orphan into "a disciplined, trained, and trustworthy young man."[55]

Dar al-Awlad worked in relation to Palestinian Arab social welfare institutions, like Deir 'Amr, and to the Social Welfare Department of the Government of Palestine. As a temporary hostel, Dar al-Awlad was, at times, a way station for boys who were awaiting a spot in Deir 'Amr as was the case for eight-year-old Shams 'Abdul Mun'em Khatib. Khatib's widowed mother had died in 1945, leaving seven children. It was the Director of Social Welfare who wrote to Dar al-Awlad, asking them to take in Khatib on a temporary basis until he could be transferred to Deir 'Amr.[56] Dar al-Awlad became one of several institutions that the government relied on to place children picked up by the Department of Social Welfare or the Department of Police. In 1947, to secure money for the rental of a larger house, the Dar al-Awlad committee offered the Department of Social Welfare the permanent use of ten beds in exchange for a payment of £P.120 per bed per year.[57] The letter noted that the Department of Social Welfare had sent them several boys over the years and the Dar was currently housing two such charges. In this request, we can read the committee's awareness of the government's dependence on the use and cooperation of their institution.

Like Deir 'Amr, Dar al-Awlad's funding came from a combination of annual subscribers, donations, and government grants. Donations came from private individuals as well as corporations. Banks, including Barclays, the Ottoman Bank, and Arab Bank, were regular contributors.[58] The Supreme Muslim Council also made occasional donations to Dar al-Awlad.[59] The administrative committee also regularly applied for government grants-in-aid, which they received from both the Government of Palestine and the Jerusalem municipality.[60] These government grants were ad hoc, rather than regularized, contributions, and the committee pointed to the help Dar al-Awlad offered the government in taking in children. Finally, Dar al-Awlad raised money through sales of handicrafts produced by its charges and through hosting parties and concerts. The

[53] Secretary of Dar al-Awlad (Nassib Bulos) to Director of Social Welfare (W.H. Chinn), 8 April 1947, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Dar al-Awlad Annual Appeal for 1942, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[56] J.M Thompson to Miss Mukhar (Superintendent Dar al-Awlad), 15 January 1946, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[57] Secretary of Dar al-Awlad (Nassib Bulos) to Director of Social Welfare (W.H. Chinn), 8 April 1947, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[58] Nassib Bulos to District Commissioner for Jerusalem, 1946, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[59] "Statement of Estimated Income for the Year Ending December 31st 1943," ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[60] Ibid.

entertainment events charged admission and often staged small auctions to raise further funds.

Both Deir ‘Amr and Dar al-Awlad looked at their charges as symbols of a generalized future for Palestinian society. In Dar al-Awlad’s 1942 annual appeal, its committee argued for donors to see the youths of the hostel as an investment in the next generation, writing “His future usefulness will compensate for his present upkeep,” and “An effort was made to awaken his national consciousness.”[61] Rather than focusing on any specific vision of Palestinian nationalism or nationhood, the 1946 Deir ‘Amr report spoke of a more generic and open-ended future represented by the youth of the orphanage. The report contained a series of photographs of everyday life and activities of the farm school. The photographs included pictures of Ahmad Khalidi observing the construction of the new dairy house and a view of the new buildings, framed by a large carob tree.[62] The series also included pictures of the young men of Deir ‘Amr. One photograph showed seven boys, with their teacher in the background, gathered around a radio. The caption read, “Connection to abroad by way of the radio,” [*al-itasal bil-kharij ‘an tariq al-radiu*].[63] The next photograph showed a classroom of young boys, sitting two to a desk, reading from schoolbooks. The caption read, “Knowledge and Work, the motto of the rising generation,” [*‘ilm wa-‘aml, sh’ar al-jil an-nahid*].[64] Two other photographs showed the students at work on the farm. In one, a young boy in shorts and sandals feeds chickens, roosters, pigeons, and turkeys (“Poultry of all kinds, nurtured by the students with care and precision”). In the second, a group of boys clear brush, with the caption, “Students work to salvage the land.”[65] Together, these photographs illuminate the future that the students of Deir ‘Amr were meant to represent: commitment to the land, care and skill, connection to the broader world, and the values of education, both theoretical and practical. This was an optimistic vision that saw these orphan children (and the organization that cared for them) as the hope that could literally build and cultivate a positive and progressive future for the Palestinian Arab community. It was a vision that the events of the Nakba would radically change. The catastrophe of 1948 would dramatically alter the course of these children’s lives, the nascent national relief network of the Orphans Committee, and the parameters of child welfare relief itself.

Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad, 1948

The violence, destruction, and displacement of the 1948 war, epitomized in the massacre of the village of Deir Yassin, created a child welfare crisis on an unprecedented scale in Palestine. Hundreds of children were immediately orphaned, separated from their families, or suddenly found themselves homeless and living in destitution. From Deir Yassin alone, an estimated fifty-five children lost their parents. In the midst of the war

[61] Dar al-Awlad Annual Appeal for 1942, ISA/RG 65/P/342/18.
[62] “Lajnat al-yatim al-‘arabiya al-‘ama fi filastin: Taqrir al-sanawi l’am 1946” (The General Committee for Arab Orphans in Palestine: Annual Report for the Year 1946).
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

itself, several Palestinian-led social welfare institutions emerged or expanded to care for these orphaned and abandoned children. Scholars have noted these orphanages and welfare relief institutions were "part of a growing network of Palestinian social services meant to help children whose parents had been killed or uprooted in the 1948 war."[66] This network is, in part, what this chapter is attempting to trace. But my argument is also that this network was not sui generis in the circumstances of the 1948 war; it had a longer genealogy rooted in the later years of the Mandate. The war, and the ensuing refugee crisis, greatly affected the needs and structures of social relief. Moreover, measures and schemes that were meant as temporary humanitarian assistance were made permanent as the realities of the war's end and the extent of Palestinian displacement became clear. But the child welfare efforts that formed in the face of war were not merely reactions to tragedy, but also part of the longer story of the building of a Palestinian Arab social welfare system.

I focus here on two of the most well-known child welfare institutions to respond to the crisis of the 1948 war – Dar al-Tifl al-'Arabi and Dar al-Awlad.[67] Both institutions, located in East Jerusalem, began as refuges for orphans of the war, became schools, and still exist today in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of East Jerusalem. The two institutions shared another feature – unlike the Orphans Committee and Deir 'Amr, Dar al-Tifl al-'Arabi and Dar al-Awlad were founded and run by prominent Jerusalemite women. Dar al-Tifl was the project of thirty-one year old Hind al-Husayni, member of the powerful Husayni family, educator, and coordinator in the Arab Women's Union. Dar al-Awlad was founded by Katy Antonius, widow of author George Antonius, and socialite of the Arab intelligentsia in the interwar years. Elite Palestinian women were long involved in movements for social reform, especially as concerned young people. Women, including unmarried women, of means became central in the construction of Palestinian welfare relief responding to the devastation of the war.

The circumstances of 1948 were novel, but Husayni and Antonius' work in social welfare was not. They were part of the emerging Palestinian Arab social welfare network of the late 1930s and 1940s. In 1945, Hind Husayni joined the Women Social Solidarity Society, which sought to provide aid to women and children by way of establishing kindergartens, sewing classes, and literacy centers. In the immediate outbreak of the war, Husayni opened a nursery, which had to be closed as the fighting intensified.[68] Katy Antonius was the treasurer for the original Dar al-Awlad in the 1940s and active in the oversight and fundraising for that organization.

Hind Husayni and Katy Antonius had roots in the growing network of Palestinian Arab welfare relief of the late Mandate era, which positioned them well as the founders and organizers of child welfare projects in the wake of 1948. According to the organizations' own origin stories, both Dar al-Tifl and (the new) Dar al-Awlad came about as unplanned responses to scenes of immediate need. Nearly all the promotional

[66] Mary Elizabeth King, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance* (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2007), 128.
[67] This Dar al-Awlad was a different organization than the Dar al-Awlad of the Mandate period.
[68] Bashir Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi: Past and Present* (Jerusalem, 2012), 27.

literature from Dar al-Tifl recounts the story of Hind al-Husayni walking through the Old City of Jerusalem in 1948 and stumbling upon two groups of child refugees from Deir Yassin. She took them in, and, as the story goes, within two weeks, there were fifty children from Deir Yassin living in a temporary space in Souq al-Husor.[69] When a lull in the fighting allowed, al-Husayni moved the children into an uncle's residence in Sheikh Jarrah. By the fall of 1948, over a hundred children resided in Dar al-Tifl.[70]

Although both projects began as rescue houses of sorts, they became permanent educational institutions, with integrated and holistic educational programs similar to those of Deir 'Amr. In addition to academic education, Dar al-Tifl emphasized vocational training, including basket-weaving, cooking, and training for employment in government social welfare work.[71] In its early years, Dar al-Tifl emphasized sewing as the most popular vocation for its young women charges. Husayni established a sewing department in the school in 1949. In 1950, a specialized sewing teacher joined Dar al-Tifl's staff, and a year later, the administration of the school closed down select academic classrooms in order to expand trainings in sewing, both theoretical and practical.[72] Although the sewing department continued its work through the 1960s, Dar al-Tifl also added secretarial vocational training to its curriculum to prepare students for work in professional sectors.[73]

Both Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad emphasized physical, social, and cultural activities in their curricula. Husayni founded the "Women Cultural and Sports Club" in the early 1960s. The Club was divided into four sports teams: table tennis, basketball, tennis, and volleyball.[74] The boys at Dar al-Awlad had a daily physical education program that included football and boxing. Their sports teams competed within the municipality of East Jerusalem. Dar al-Awlad's social activities also included scouting, which had become a popular activity among social welfare groups during the Mandate period.[75]

As Deir 'Amr and Dar al-Awlad did in the early 1940s, the post-1948 institutions explicitly articulated their work in terms of the rebuilding of Palestinian society. Although both began as humanitarian rescue efforts in response to war, the organizations saw themselves as important institutions in the permanent future of Palestine. Dar al-Awlad's annual report from 1960 recounted the founding of the organization. Although it began by saying that the organization was founded "in the wake of the events of 1948 to provide housing for children who had lost their homes and were denied the kindness and care of parents," the preface quickly shifted into a more expansive view of the

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[69] Ibid, 6-7.
[70] Ibid, 9.
[71] Ibid, 142.
[72] Register of Dar al-Tifl Employees 1948-1960, courtesy of Mahira Dajani and Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi,*135.
[73] Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*, 140. Both the sewing department and typing department were eventually replaced with computer labs in the 1990s.
[74] Ibid, 151.
[75] *Dar al-Awlad: muasasat wataniyat tasa'aa likhalq al-muatin al-salah* (Dar al-Awlad: National Foundation Seeking to Create Good Citizens), Annual Report, 1960.

organization's role.[76] The report's authors wrote that Dar al-Awlad was "inspired by the feelings of patriotism and the urgent need to build a healthy Arab society comprised of righteous citizens."[77] Its mission, therefore, was to create opportunities for disadvantaged children that would "plant seeds" in them and turn them into "successful men and good citizens" [*rijalan najihin wa-muwatinin salihin]*.[78]

The aim of transforming orphans and disadvantaged children into moral, educated, and productive citizens was common among child welfare endeavors throughout the twentieth century. The work of the American Red Cross in Palestine after the First World War discussed in the first chapter had similar goals, as did the American Colony, the YMCA, the scouting movement, and other voluntary associations of the Mandate period. In the context of the Nakba, however, the efforts of Dar al-Awlad and Dar al-Tifl to "make good citizens" took on more urgent and specific meaning. The idea of "building society" or "building a future" was omnipresent in the organizations' description of their works and aims. A banner from Dar al-Tifl's Social Activities Field Day read, "271 young women qualified to participate in building an Arab homeland."[79] In 1949, Mahmoud Al-Khaimi, chief executive of the Arab News Agency, wrote in Dar al-Tifl's guestbook, "It was my pleasure to visit Dar al-Tifl, the institution that is truly regarded as the fruitful core to resurrect Palestine anew."[80] In 1952, Issam Shawwa, the governor of Gaza and member of the Arab Homeless Infant Committee in Gaza, also visited Dar al-Tifl and wrote that the institution showed that "the Arab people still put their national duties first and before all else. It is certain that the new generation of nationalists would thus arise with the task of winning back lost lands."[81] These institutions, and the children housed within them, simultaneously represented the trauma of the Nakba and the potential rebirth of Palestinian society.

At the same time that the philosophies and missions of the organizations focused on the specific circumstances of the Palestinian community, administratively, Dar al-Awlad and Dar al-Tifl were deeply connected with a regional and international post-war relief network. In addition to donations from individuals, Dar al-Awlad received funding from local relief organizations, such as the Arab Orphans Committee in Amman, government agencies, such as the Jordanian Ministry for Social Affairs and Ministry of Education, and international religious charities, such as the International Christian Committee, the American Friend Committee, and the Islamic Conference.[82] Dar al-Awlad was also funded by corporations and business, such as the Arab Bank.[83]

Dar al-Tifl's funding came from similar sources. Palestinian groups and local governments contributed significant aid early on, and funders included the Arab Higher

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*, 150.
[80] Quoted in Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*, 58.
[81] Quoted in Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*, 51.
[82] *Dar al-Awlad: muasasat wataniyat tasa'aa likhalq al-muwatin al-salah* (Dar al-Awlad: National Foundation Seeking to Create Good Citizens), Annual Report, 1960.
[83] Ibid.

Committee, Hebron Municipality, the Arab Women Solidarity Society, and the Jerusalem Military Governor.[84] Donations also came to Dar al-Tifl from around the Middle East, from the royal families of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as well as from the Arab League.[85] Dar al-Tifl also raised funds from Arab immigrant populations in Europe and the United States, much as the Arab Orphans Committee had done in the 1940s.[86] The donations from outside of the Middle East comprised a significant funding source in the early days of Dar al-Tifl, but also connected the organization to an Arab diaspora network.

In addition to receiving simple donations, Dar al-Tifl developed working relationships with the plethora of refugee and relief organizations operating in the area. In 1949, before it even began its own operations, UNRWA became a funder of Dar al-Tifl. Over the years of the 1950s and 1960s, Dar al-Tifl formed financial and assistance relationships with international organizations such as the International Red Cross Society, the Red Crescent, Oxfam, Save the Children, and Near East Relief.[87] The orphanage worked closely with the American Colony, located down the street, and the two organizations formed a symbiotic relationship of sorts, in which young children from the American Colony's nursery moved to Dar al-Tifl upon reaching school age.

Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad model the type of local relief efforts that emerged from the particular circumstances of the Nakba. Part rescue missions, part educational institutions, they exemplify the hybridity of a post-war humanitarianism that was simultaneously emergency relief and permanent social welfare governance. The stories of these organizations have often centered on the philanthropy, selflessness, and tireless efforts of their well-known founders. These institutions are known as individual entities, but less well understood as nodes in a larger network of child welfare and relief aid. Placing the "Dars" in both a chronological narrative of Palestinian Arab child welfare efforts and in a contemporary landscape of post-1948 relief organizations illuminates a longer and larger story of local welfare relief and its regional and transnational relationships. The work, structure, and philosophies of Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad had their genealogies in the welfare efforts of the late Mandate period, even as they confronted a new political, social, and demographic landscape after the Nakba. Simultaneously, these organizations existed within broader networks of regional and international aid that, while not entirely new in the post-World War II moment, would take on novel roles as transnational child welfare relief became framed by questions of refugees and international obligations.

The AFSC in Gaza, 1948-1950

The Nakba and ensuing Palestinian refugee crisis coincided with an emerging international aid and governance system in the form of the nascent United Nations. The circumstances of the aftermath of 1948 and the new configuration of transnational welfare aid worked in symbiosis, shaping each other in the late 1940s and early 1950s. At

[84] Barakat, *Dar al-Tifl al-Arabi*, 60.
[85] Ibid, 69.
[86] Ibid, 87.
[87] Ibid.

the same time, the new system, headed by the United Nations, inherited structures, philosophies, and personnel from previous iterations of relief and care during the interwar years. This period defined the institutional and political parameters of welfare to Palestinian children for decades to come.

The biggest change to the international humanitarian landscape in this period was, of course, the formation of the United Nations and its associated organizations. Many of the humanitarian and welfare-oriented UN auxiliary bodies, such as UNICEF, originated specifically to address the post-war crisis in Europe and provide aid and assistance to victims of the Second World War. With the outbreak of the 1948 war, those organizations, regardless of their original missions, became embedded in the Palestinian refugee crisis. In 1951, the formation of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees formally delineated between the refugees under the purview of the UNHCR (assumed to be stateless and displaced persons in Europe) and the Palestinian refugees who were, by that time, cared for under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The remainder of this chapter examines the short span of time before this distinction solidified. The years directly following the 1948 war, before UNRWA began operations and the UNHCR was founded, was a time of ambiguity and fluidity as an emerging international system responded to and was shaped by the continuing crisis. Who counted as a refugee, who could be a subject of humanitarian welfare care, and what would be their relationship with the new United Nations were questions that were forged and contested in this moment. And as much as the post-war humanitarian landscape influenced the structures and practices of aid to Palestinian refugees, the unexpected circumstances of the 1948 war and its aftermath equally influenced the direction of this new system. Structures and organizations that emerged in the shadow of the Second World War suddenly found themselves responding to a novel and unprecedented crisis in ways that shaped the nature of humanitarian relief work going forward.

Although the United Nations immediately assumed responsibility for the Palestinian refugee population following 1948, it had to rely on pre-existing humanitarian organizations to deliver and run the relief efforts. Initially, Palestinian refugees from the 1948 war fell under the auspices of the resource-strapped UN Disaster Relief Program. In November 1948, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution to create the UN Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) program to coordinate temporary relief efforts. Within eighteen months, the UNRPR and its coordinated system of relief was replaced by UNRWA, which became the permanent structure of welfare governance for Palestinian refugees for the ensuing six decades. The role of the UNRPR was to fund and coordinate temporary relief efforts in the areas in which there were Palestinian refugee populations. To do so, the program depended upon existing organizations to carry out the on-the-ground work. In December 1948, the newly established UNRPR tapped three organizations to act as contractors for the provision of refugee relief – the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the American Friends Service Committee. All three organizations had long histories of relief work and prior connections to the Middle East. Refugee populations were divided between the three organizations by geography – the ICRC administered relief to refugees within the

new state of Israel, the League of Red Cross Societies worked with refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and the AFSC took the responsibility for refugees in the area of Gaza, eventually under the political rule of Egypt. The initial contracts between the UNRPR and the aid organizations were for a period of six months, but they were quickly extended. Ultimately, the three organizations provided refugee assistance and aid for over sixteen months, laying the foundations for the permanent refugee governance of UNRWA.

The tripartite system of care recalled the role of the American Red Cross during the transition years after the First World War. Like the ARC in 1917-1919, the three agencies were in a contract relationship with the temporary governing power, which in this case, was the United Nations. Like the ARC, the agencies were endowed with the authority to provide humanitarian services only – medical aid, education, food and shelter supplies, and direct relief. Unlike the ARC in the post-WWI moment, however, the three agencies interfaced with multiple national governments, mediated through the UN. Although their missions were physically discrete from one another's, the three organizations did cooperate, meet, and share information. Representatives from the agencies met several times over the course of 1949, in Cairo, Beirut, and Geneva, oftentimes with a representative from UNRPR and/or another UN agency. The meetings tended to focus on coordination between the three relief agencies in two regards: 1) negotiating with the UNRPR about the quantity of food rations and 2) deciding whether or not to extend the contracts for their services.[88] Although the three agencies ultimately had autonomy over their respective geographic regions, they nonetheless to some degree operated in tandem, at least as far as it concerned interfacing with the United Nations.

The UNRPR tapped these organizations for this work on the basis of their institutional experience in "disaster relief."[89] The histories of the ICRC and League of Red Cross societies in providing aid in the wake of natural disasters and violent conflict are well known. The AFSC began working in humanitarian aid with its relief programs in France after the First World War, operated projects to assist refugees in Germany and Eastern Europe in the interwar period, and served both sides of the Spanish Civil War. At the time of its Gaza mission, the AFSC had recently been working in the site of another infamous post-colonial partition – India. The initial assumption on the part of the UNRPR and the aid organizations was that the missions would be short-lived. In discussing whether or not to accept the UNRPR commission, members of the AFSC sought assurance that their mission would solely be one of "emergency relief," limited to "attempting to preserve life and health and provide shelter for those whose destitution arises from the present troubles . . ."[90]

In the beginning, the division of labor between the three organizations and their relationships to UN bodies and other voluntary associations lacked clarity. Although they eventually operated in discrete geographies, initially both the AFSC and the ICRC intended to work within the boundaries of the new state of Israel. The borders of the

[88] AFSC #75 FS Sect Palestine, Notes of a Meeting Held in Cairo, May 14.
[89] AFSC #5 FS Sect Palestine, Organisation of UNRPR.
[90] AFSC #174 FS Sect Palestine, Minutes Foreign Service Executive Committee, 17 November 1948.

organizations' work was further complicated by the fragility of national borders themselves during the fighting. The AFSC was originally commissioned for "Southern Palestine," which then was narrowed to Gaza, as fighting pushed refugees south into the territory. Not until 1949, when the armistices were concluded, were the geographic parameters of relief more firmly delineated. Even then, the organizations overlapped in personnel and territory of operations. Prior to the AFSC's arrival in Gaza, the ICRC had maintained operations in the region. When they handed over the refugee camp to the AFSC, they also left the AFSC one of their agents to help the AFSC set up an office in Port Said. The ICRC continued to pay his salary and the AFSC covered the cost of maintenance. The AFSC was also "loaned" staff members by the World Health Organization (WHO).[91]

At the time that the AFSC took its post in Gaza, it already had small, ongoing operations within the boundaries of Israel. Notes in AFSC files mention the need to make a "courtesy call" to the ICRC in order to smooth over any issues of territorial competition.[92] The border fluidity of the war raised further concerns of organizational overlap and conflict. The contract between the ICRC and the UNRPR stated that the ICRC was responsible for refugee relief within the Mandatory borders of Palestine; however, the AFSC operated in and around the edges of those boundaries. Furthermore, members of the AFSC warned of "a delicate situation" if the State of Israel expanded its territory south to Gaza in the course of the fighting. "I am not sure," one AFSC member wrote, "if the UN/IRC agreement fixes their geographical limits of responsibility at the time of the agreement, or whether it implies that IRC will be responsible for all refugees under Israeli control."[93] In either case, the writer continued, the AFSC would need to pursue "tactful discussion" and a "new basis of understanding" with the ICRC.[94]

In addition to managing a constellation of relationships with UN and other international organizations, the AFSC had to contend with local relief agencies in Egypt. Characterized as "one of our most delicate relationships," AFSC reports from initial trips to Egypt encouraged the mission to involve local agencies as much as possible, let them take the "glory" of relief efforts, but to keep them out of the actual exchange of supplies and funds.[95] The two local organizations that were already working (in a limited fashion) in the Gaza area when the AFSC arrived were the Egyptian Red Crescent Society and the Mehmet Ali Society. AFSC reports described these agencies in less than flattering terms, calling them jealous, highly political, ineffectual, and reportedly corrupt.[96] Interestingly, amidst ideas about how to manage these local agencies, the report notes that the Red Crescent and Mehmet Ali societies "patently hope" for UN funds themselves and would likely resent "foreign intrusion."[97] Here we see the potential tensions between local and international mechanisms of relief, but also the ongoing landscape of social welfare and

[91] AFSC #92 FS Sect Palestine, Notes on AFSC Participation in UNRPR.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

humanitarian aid in which the AFSC and the UNRPR found themselves in the wake of 1948.

Indeed the Society of Friends, represented by the AFSC, had long-standing relationships in Palestine and the AFSC had already been in discussion with local actors soliciting aid before the UNRPR tapped them for relief work. In February of 1948, the American Friends Mission sent $1000 for medical relief in Palestine, received by the Arab Medical Association. In response, the president of the Arab Medical Association, Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, asked the American Friends Mission for a portable x-ray machine to use in aid of war victims.[98] The AFSC's primary connection to Palestine was through the Ramallah Friends Mission and its two schools. In addition to receiving updates on current conditions from the schools, which, during the fighting, housed refugees, the Red Cross, and an Egyptian-run hospital, the organization also received petitions for aid from former students. Writing from Gaza to former Ramallah Friends School teacher Mildred White, one alumnus and former teacher begged the American Friends Mission to take up the cause of Palestinian refugees. Identifying himself as a "son" of Palestine, the alumnus wrote that he was certain that "the honorable lady [White] who has given her whole life career to the youth of the Holy Land will not hesitate now to listen to a new call to her for help from the wretched Palestine, in these dark days."[99] He proposed a Quaker center at Gaza to supplement the efforts already underway by charitable individuals (such as himself) and the Egyptian government, whose relief work he described as "miraculous."[100] He hoped that a Quaker mission could add assistance to the many basic needs of the refugees, and in particular, of the infant and child refugees, whose conditions he called "miserable" and "shocking."[101]

It should be clear, then, that when the AFSC arrived in Gaza in early 1949, they did not encounter a barren landscape. First, the AFSC joined a medley of relief efforts already afoot, from the quasi-official projects of the Egyptian government to the local voluntary associations, like the Red Crescent, to individuals such as Faraj Sarraf. At the same time, the AFSC's work in Gaza continued the American Friends Mission's long history of engagement in Palestine, albeit in a radically new context. And, as we will see in what follows, ideas and personnel from the child welfare projects of the Mandate period were enfolded into the refugee relief programs of the AFSC under the United Nations.

Once established, the AFSC engaged in a range of projects in Gaza. In the beginning, as indicated in the early conversations about the commission, the AFSC's work was limited to "emergency aid" – distribution of food rations, milk, blankets, tents, soap, etc.[102] As time passed and the organization integrated itself within Gaza's landscape of relief, it began to develop more long-term, generalized services, such as medical

[98] AFSC #184 FS Sect Palestine, Dr. Tawfiq Canaan to James Reid, 21 February 1948.
[99] AFSC #184 FS Sect Palestine, Faraj Sarraf to Mildred White, 11 November 1948.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] AFSC #151 FS Sect Palestine, Summary Statement of the American Friends Service Committee Operation for the Period 1 August 1949 to 30 April 1950.

operations, sanitation, and education programs. The transition from emergency aid to a more permanent provision of care followed the realization that the refugee crisis would not be easily resolved. With the knowledge that "the emergency nature of the [AFSC's] program must give place to a more permanent and formal organization," the AFSC began building longer lasting programs that could be handed over to the United Nations.[103]

The AFSC held responsibility for all persons of refugee status in Gaza, but special attention, in rhetoric and programming, was placed on the child refugees. As Tara Zahra writes, in the course of the early and mid-twentieth century, "children were cast into the international spotlight as the quintessential victims of war."[104] Zahra has identified the origins of this in the First World War and specifically, the Armenian genocide, when charitable and religious organizations mobilized to confront the humanitarian crises of the war and "ease the suffering of children." [105] The primacy of children in humanitarian war relief was further crystallized in the League of Nations' efforts to rescue "lost" Armenian children who had been purportedly taken into Turkish Muslim families and institutions during the Genocide.[106] As Zahra points out, the League positioned its work with Armenian children as simultaneously on behalf of the Armenian national community and as an international humanitarian cause.[107]

Zahra's historical narrative pairs the rising concern with children as "quintessential victims of war" with the emergence of the novel international legal category of the refugee. Not only were these two movements contemporaneous, they clearly overlapped, as many child war victims were also refugees. Zahra argues that, after the Second World War, humanitarian aid and social welfare workers became increasingly concerned with the disruption of family ties caused by refugee status. The disruption of the family was threatening for both nationalist and psychological reasons. Children, seen as helpless and innocent, came to be understood as the primary victims of familial disruption and dispersion. In addition to this, however, I posit that orphaned children and refugees were often paired together because they represented a similar threat to order in nationally-based societies. Orphan children were dislocated from parental authority in much the same way that refugees were dislocated from state authority. Both existed outside of the normal hierarchies of social authority – familial or national – and thus caused similar anxieties for nation-state governmental systems that were predicated upon an idea of the family as the basic unit of society and governance.

In the landscape of humanitarian governance that followed the Nakba, the connections and overlap between refugee and non-refugee children became even more complex and confusing as that governance system attempted to divide Palestinians by refugee status. The AFSC and its partner organizations were only given authority to aid Palestinians of refugee status, as defined by the United Nations. The Palestinians who

[103] Ibid.
[104] Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families After World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 27.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

had lived in Gaza prior to the Nakba were to be provided for by the governing state of Egypt. This blanket delineation between refugee and non-refugee did not always reflect realities on the ground in Gaza, where both displaced persons and "civilian non-combatants" suffered the privations of war and upheaval. An early report from a visiting member of the AFSC noted that many refugees were staying with friends or family in the Gaza area and thus were at risk of not receiving relief rations as it was difficult for authorities to distinguish between refugees and residents.[108] Nor was the distinction between refugee and non-refugee children always clear. One report on a school milk distribution program in Gaza noted that around 2,500 non-refugee children would receive milk aid since the refugee and non-refugee children were all in school together and it was impossible to sort out who was who.[109]

The children taken into the orphanages discussed earlier in the chapter were also refugees of a kind. Forced to move from their hometowns and villages either by direct violence or by the fact of losing their parents, they were internally displaced, but did not always meet the definition of refugee.[110] The division of care between local organizations, like Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad, and the new international humanitarian regime at times hinged on this legal categorization of child victims. Two interrelated but distinct systems of child welfare developed in the immediate aftermath 1948 – one that served refugee children and one that served non-refugee children, displaced or not. One system was run by an organized international humanitarian community and one by local, non-governmental agencies. *Who* the subjects of care were (refugee or not) defined the organizations that governed them and vice versa.

Reflecting the trajectory of the relief work overall, the AFSC's child welfare projects began by addressing the dire physical needs of the refugee children and developed to form more permanent structures of care that incorporated the "best practices" of the immediate post-war period. When the AFSC entered Gaza, infant and child health and nutrition immediately became the prime issues of concern. As was the case in the villages and cities of Palestine following the First World War, rates of infant mortality were high in the refugee camps and became an initial point of crisis around which relief efforts coalesced. Describing the "extremely precarious" conditions of the refugees in Gaza-area camps in November of 1948, an AFSC representative recounted an ICRC doctor's estimate of a minimum of ten child deaths per day from starvation. A note in the report also highlighted the lack of milk available to the children.[111]

The provision of safe milk and adequate calories to children obsessed relief workers in Gaza. This focus was a product of both knowledge about child health from the

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[108] AFSC #84 FS Sect Palestine, John Devine to Ambassador Griffis, 13 December 1948.
[109] AFSC #45 FS Sect Palestine, Howard Wriggins to Emmett Gulley, 30 May 1949.
[110] At the time of the AFSC's work in Gaza, there was no single definition of "refugee." A 1949 meeting of the three operating agencies raised the question of how to define "refugee" for the purposes of relief work and the UN Legal Department decided that it would be "unwise" to pin down a definition for fear of causing trouble in the future. It was decided to allow the individual agencies to use their own parameters for deciding who was a refugee and who was not. AFSC #75 FS Sect Palestine, Informal Agency Meeting at the United Nations, 3 March 1949.
[111] AFSC #84 FS Sect Palestine, Report of Visit by Dr. Descoedres to Southern Palestine, November 11-12 1948.

earlier interwar years and emerging international consensuses on nutrition science. Access to clean milk, as we saw in Chapter Two, had been a foundational component of infant welfare schemes, corporate advertising, and local social welfare organizing in Palestine throughout the Mandate years. The emphasis on milk connected welfare workers, doctors, voluntary associations, and mothers in Palestine to broader campaigns for milk safety and access around the globe in the interwar years. Attention to the provision of milk for infants and children continued in the post-1948 period and was underscored by the harsh realities of life in refugee camps. Even before the relief agencies began their work, milk was a focal point of international aid to Palestinians. On October 12, 1948, UNICEF and the United Nations carried out the first ever "air-milk-run," delivering by plane two thousand pounds of powdered milk to Palestinian refugees in the Jerusalem and Ramallah areas.[112] Only months after the Berlin Airlift, this delivery was the first UN humanitarian airlift of its kind and represented a technology that would become critical to the apparatus of humanitarian aid in the second half of the twentieth century.

Milk distribution became one of the central projects of the refugee relief program in Gaza. When AFSC workers arrived in Gaza in January of 1949, they found that local women, organized by the mayor's wife, had already begun to distribute milk and food to six hundred refugee children a day.[113] Similarly, members of the Association of Progressive Women, helped prepare and distribute milk to children under fifteen years and pregnant women.[114] Although the circumstances of the refugee children propelled the formations of these efforts, charitable milk distribution was not new to Palestinian women's groups. In the 1940s, milk funds and feeding schemes to supply additional nutrition to Palestinian children formed among the well-to-do women of Palestinian society.[115] In post-1948 Gaza, however, the women's groups did not raise their own money to purchase milk, but rather formed distribution centers for the supplies coming in from the ICRC and the United Nations. The majority of the powdered milk for these centers was provided by UNICEF. Founded only two years prior, at the end of the 1946, UNICEF's original mission was to provide emergency services to children who had been affected by the war in Europe. By 1950, the organization's mission had broadened to include long-term projects of assistance for children (and women) in developing countries in general. As was the case with the UN's refugee services writ large, UNICEF's involvement with the 1948 Palestinian refugees expanded the organization's mandate prior to the official geographic restructuring of the UN's humanitarian aid.

Once its program was underway, the AFSC distributed milk rations to around 80,000 children and pregnant and nursing women.[116] Each eligible person received one

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[112] United Nations Department of Public Information, "Air Delivery of Powdered Milk for Palestine Refugees," 12 October 1948.
[113] Nancy Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism* (Cairo: The American University Press, 2007), 72.
[114] Ibid.
[115] For example, from 1943-1947, the YWCA in Jerusalem had a milk fund committee that raised money to distribute milk to schoolchildren.
[116] American Friends Service Committee, *Quaker Work Among Arab Refugees Undertaken for the United Nations*, 12.

third of a liter of milk per day.[117] The milk program entailed a more extensive infrastructure-building project than most of the other ration distribution work. To avoid contamination when mixing the powdered milk, the AFSC needed stone-floored milk centers and extensive boiling and cleaning equipment. For sanitary reasons, milk distribution had to be kept separate from the distribution of other food rations.

The AFSC ran six milk mixing centers, five of which doubled as milk distribution centers. In Gaza city, there were an additional six sub-stations to handle distribution.[118] Each milk-mixing center necessitated a staff of twenty to thirty people, including a center supervisor, cooks, mixers, distributors, guards, and porters. These jobs were filled by the refugees themselves. An initial program schema proposed paying the mixing center supervisor in cash and compensating all other employees in extra flour rations, ranging from three to five kilos per day, depending on the person's duties.[119] By June of 1949, the AFSC employed 220 local people to work in the milk centers and the UNRPR paid their salaries at a total rate of $3,200 per month.[120]

Who could receive milk rations? In defining the parameters of eligibility, the AFSC and UNICEF revealed the messiness and fluidity of categorizing not only the child, but also the refugee and the welfare subject. For the purposes of milk distribution, a "child" was defined as a person fourteen years old or younger.[121] This chronological span corresponded to the ages of children attending schools, which enabled the AFSC to distribute milk in schools without contradiction of their policy. However, as previously noted, distributing milk in schools meant that milk rations inevitably went to non-refugee, resident children in addition to refugees. Additionally, pregnant and nursing women were eligible for milk rations, rendering them the subjects of UNICEF and child welfare schemes. And while pregnancy was clearly chronologically defined, the period of breastfeeding opened room for ambiguity. One AFSC worker queried, "Since it is the custom here to nurse infants up to two or three years . . . what mothers would be excluded [from milk distribution]?"[122] Were all mothers then eligible for milk rations? Throughout the twentieth century, milk was associated with children, child development, and child welfare. As the AFSC and UNICEF's milk program in Gaza makes clear, this association structured parameters of child welfare aid in the refugee relief programs. But *who* counted as a subject of that aid was a question continually up for negotiation.

Alongside milk, relief workers concerned themselves with issues of general nutrition, and specifically, the amount of food rations that were getting to refugee children. Like movements for clean milk, nutritional science was an increasingly essential component of child health campaigns since the discovery of the calorie and identification of malnutrition in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. By the postwar period, nutrition science had become more specific, with a focus on macronutrients, and

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[117] Ibid.
[118] AFSC #83 FS Sect Palestine, Cordelia Trimble to Emmett Gulley, Requirements – Milk Distributions Program, 7 March 1949.
[119] Ibid.
[120] AFSC #45 Sect Palestine, Howard Wriggins to Emmett Gulley, 30 May 1949.
[121] American Friends Service Committee, *Quaker Work Among Arab Refugees*, 12.
[122] AFSC #45 Sect Palestine, Howard Wriggins to Emmett Gulley, 30 May 1949.

more embedded in international structures of governance with the advent of the FAO, WHO, and UNICEF. In 1949, the FAO published its first reports on international nutritional standards, including caloric requirements and food composition tables. Nutritional science was not new in the post-war period, but attention to calories and macronutrients had intensified during the war years, in large part due to the necessity of rationing.[123] In her work, Sherene Seikaly discusses the Mandate government's wartime food policy as Palestine's "nutritional economy."[124] Both Seikaly and James Vernon have shown how nutritional science was tested and developed in colonial settings in the interwar years and became "central to twentieth-century colonial development."[125] As Seikaly points out, however, that notion of development was still focused on the development of resources and not people: "Nutrition was a way to bolster the productivity of imperial resources. It was not yet linked to the well-being of the colonized."[126] With the onset of the Second World War, nutrition became a tool of imperial defense with the introduction of rationing to Palestine in 1941. Seikaly's point is that the Great Revolt and then the Second World War forced the hand of the British government to "calculate and measure goods, people, exchanges and economies" in the creation of a nutritional economy. Doing so, Seikaly argues, led not to development, but to the exposure of "the depths of two decades of apathetic rule" and the starkness of the inequities between the British and Yishuv's structures of welfare governance.[127] Similarly, if nutritional science set a minimum standard of welfare that states were obligated to meet, that standard was not universal in practice.

The relief organizations were caught between the new international certainty about the nutritional standards required to achieve healthy childhood and the structural limitations of the systems of aid. The AFSC faced two quantitative problems in providing appropriate nutritional relief to refugees in Gaza – getting the right amount of food and determining the correct number of refugees. The first matter was an area of negotiation with the United Nations and its auxiliary agencies, which provided funds for the food purchases. The initial food program allocated 1,800 calories per refugee per day, consisting of flours, pulses, oils/fats, sugar, and skim milk or animal protein.[128] The UNRPR and UNICEF jointly provided these food rations. In March of 1949, Dr. Mohamed Abbasy, the FAO nutrition representative for the Near East, wrote a memorandum to Dr. Jerome Peterson, the World Health Organization physician in charge of medical services in Gaza, with concerns about the nutritional contents of the food rations. While the rations distributed in February amounted to 1,987 calories per person per day, Abbasy wrote that the actual distribution of food in March would not conform to

[123] In *Hunger: A Modern History,* James Vernon argues that the First World War "changed the nutritional equation by making the issue of Britain's depleted civilian food supply as urgent as that of military rations." Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History,* 91. Similarly, as the Government of Palestine was forced to introduce rationing during the Second World War, the need to calculate caloric and nutritional requirements became a matter of military and imperial defense.
[124] Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, chapter 3.
[125] Ibid, 88.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid, 100.
[128] AFCS #83 FS Sect Palestine, Dr. Mohamed A. Abbasy to Dr. Jerome Peterson, March 1949.

the proposed nutritional table.[129] Due to low stores, dates would be eliminated from the rations and flour disbursements reduced by one third. Abbasy calculated the resulting nutritional profile to be 944 calories per person with only 35.9 grams of protein. Abbasy was alarmed by the deficiency in calories, which fell far below his proposed minimum of 2,200, and by the lack of nutrients.[130]

Abbasy's recommended rations totaled 2,200 calories per person per day, including 79.5 grams of protein and 30.4 grams of fat. Underneath his nutrition table, he listed recommendations of inexpensive seasonal fruits and vegetables that could supplement the dry goods in the rations: oranges through March, then apricots and plums, guavas and prickly-pears in the summer, and green vegetables when cheap fruits could not be found. Acknowledging the difficulty in procuring and distributing green vegetables in the camps, he proposed cultivating small gardens near each camp by purchasing seeds in Egypt and utilizing the expertise of refugee farmers.[131] Abbasy's insistence on fruits and vegetables was part of his larger concern with vitamin deficiencies. The fresh fruits and vegetables would add much needed Vitamin C to the refugee diet. He was also concerned that the camp clinics did not have food available for treatment of diseases, especially for nutrient deficiencies in children.[132] In addition to assessing food rations, Abbasy also took inventories of hospital, clinic, and school drug stores, which he found seriously lacking in vitamin supplements. His assessment of refugee children's health concluded that many children suffered from riboflavin deficiencies, anemia, and pellagra – all of which stemmed from lack of essential vitamins and nutrients.

The continual problem of determining and securing adequate rations (in quantity and quality) was exacerbated by the AFSC's struggle to obtain accurate counts of the number of refugees in the camps. Refugees were issued ration cards to obtain food, but the AFSC found that the number of ration cards issued exceeded their estimates of the size of the refugee population as calculated from the AFSC refugee census as well as smallpox vaccination registration lists.[133] To eliminate what they assumed were fraudulent ration cards, AFSC members enlisted the help of village mukhtars and sheikhs under threat of imprisonment. When the ration distribution still exceeded their estimates of the refugee population, the AFSC members directed the village leaders to compare the ration list with the British Mandate Food Census of 1946-1948. If false registrations continued to be found, the AFSC decreed that rations would be withheld or cut from the entire village until the lists were corrected.[134] In some cases, the AFSC's report admitted, rations were indeed withheld from entire villages and "honest refugees were made to suffer along with the dishonest ones."[135]

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] AFSC #83 FS Sect Palestine, "Measures Employed by the American Friends Service Committee to Reduce the Number of Rations Issued Refugees in the Gaza Strip."
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.

The AFSC's techniques for culling the ration distribution lists were certainly harsh,[136] but more significantly, they depended on practices, knowledge, and infrastructures from the Mandate period. The organization of the refugees into villages and particularly the recruitment (willingly or unwillingly) of village leaders to act as intermediaries, were emblematic of the British Mandate government's social and political organization of the Palestinian Arab population. That the AFSC explicitly depended on the knowledge created by the Mandate Food Census demonstrates that the nutritional economy described in Seikaly's work continued to structure the provision of welfare and relief after the 1948 war. Finally, the punitive measure of withholding or reducing rations when discrepancies in the lists were found recalls the Mandate government's use of collective punishment of villages, particularly during the Great Revolt.

Nutritional aid epitomized the hybridity of emergency relief and permanent social welfare that typified child welfare efforts in these years. The initial focus was on meeting basic vital needs – the prevention of starvation – but that also included concerns about the nutritional profile of food aid. The goal could not be just to keep refugees alive, but to create the conditions that produced healthy development, as identified by international standards. The emphasis on nutrition became part of a larger and more permanent project of public health management. Control of infectious diseases (primarily measles and influenza) and the construction of sanitation infrastructure were priorities among the medical staff. In addition to building latrines and carrying out vaccination programs, however, AFSC workers saw the education of children as key in maintaining sanitary conditions. One report noted that "from the educational and moral point of view" it was necessary that children be taught "the utility of a more hygienic way of life."[137] Pursuing this form of public health education, the report continued, would add to the mission of the AFSC's work: "In aiding the native to pull himself out of his ignorance, the mission would not only have accomplished humanitarian work, but would also have opened to this primitive population the road towards progress."[138] Much like in the Red Cross literature from the post-World War I period, or Dr. Tawfiq Canaan's writings about village life during the Mandate years, in this report, the AFSC worker absented the structural conditions of hygiene and sanitation (omnipresent though those challenges were in the refugee camps) and once again, attributed health and hygiene to knowledge and enlightenment. In this construction, the AFSC's mission was not merely to provide relief, but education and progress of which children would be the ambassadors.

As with their relief efforts overall, when the AFSC arrived in Gaza, they did not, as one AFSC worker put it, enter "an area devoid of medical and health services, but rather one in which several agencies were interested and were giving considerable

[136] In addition to punitive measures, municipal officials stationed guards at the cemetery in order to ensure that refugee deaths were reported and the deceased could be struck from the ration list. Rations cards were given to newborn infants if the head of the family could report two false or duplicate names on the registration lists and refugee women who married Gaza residents were removed from the lists.
[137] AFSC #85 FS Sect Palestine, Summary Translation of Medical Report Prepared by Dr. A. Vannotti, 30 December 1948.
[138] Ibid.

service."[139] The agencies on the ground included those with long histories in the area, freshly arrived humanitarian groups, foreign governments, and recently organized local associations. One of the oldest medical organizations in Gaza was the Church Missionary Society, which had first opened its Gaza hospital in the years before the First World War. The AFSC quickly made us of the hospital, working in collaboration with long-time CMS doctors and missionaries. The District's Public Health Department was a continuation of the Mandate Health Department, operating after the war under the auspices of the local government, which was under the control of the Egyptian army.[140] The Arab Medical Association in Gaza had recently erected another hospital, which was put under the direction of a local doctor appointed by the Red Crescent Society, but received medicine and supplies from the UNRPR.[141] Local Gazans, in cooperation with the Egyptian authorities, opened a third hospital in 1949.[142] In addition to UNRPR and UNICEF funding, the United States Navy funded a diagnostic laboratory in the area.[143] The post-1948 medical landscape in Gaza looked much as it had under the Palestine Mandate, with an amalgamation of public and private, local, foreign and transnational entities creating a patchwork system of care.

And if the hospital services looked much as they had during the Mandate, so did the day-to-day interactions between the population and the medical professionals. As had been the case under the Mandate public health system, much of the daily provision of medical care occurred in clinics and welfare centers, staffed by nurses and midwives. Within six months of their arrival in Gaza, the AFSC had antenatal and infant welfare clinics in operation in each of the refugee camps with monthly attendance in the thousands.[144] The goals and programs of these clinics did not differ much from the infant welfare centers operating during the Mandate period. Pregnant women visited the clinics to undergo blood testing for syphilis and to receive education on mothering young infants. New babies were weighed and examined monthly and clinic workers gave out milk and cod liver oil to young children. Nurses and midwives conducted home visits to new mothers to assess cleanliness, feeding, and overall health. And, as was the case throughout the 1920s and 1930s in Palestine, a related public health program sent nurses and doctors into refugee schools to do eye examinations of the students in hopes of stemming the tide of trachoma.

The infant welfare program was not entirely of the AFSC's making, but it did expand once they took over relief operations. Clinics were already running in Gaza and Khan Yunis, under the auspices of the Egyptian Public Health Department. However, these pre-existing clinics served mostly local residents and not the refugee population. When the AFSC expanded the work of the Khan Yunis clinic, they not only brought refugees into the system, but they also instituted separate days for local and refugee patients. Once again, the structures of relief segregated refugee and non-refugee

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[139] AFSC #105 FS Sect Palestine, Report on Medical and Health Program for Palestine Refugees in Southern Palestine Area.
[140] AFSC #105 FS Sect Palestine, Report Medical Division, May 1949.
[141] *Quaker Work Among the Refugees,* 15.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] AFSC #104 FS Sect Palestine, Report of Medical Division, August 1949.

Palestinians as different subjects of welfare care. Within six months of the AFSC's arrival, infant welfare and maternity clinics existed in each refugee camp, serving pregnant women and children multiple times a week.

Similar to the infant welfare system under the Mandate, the AFSC's programs relied heavily on nurses and midwives to carry out its operations. And like the Mandate system, the AFSC worked with both local and foreign medical professionals. However, whereas the Mandate's public health structure reflected the coloniality of its governance, with British doctors and nurses supervising local practitioners, the AFSC workers reflected a newly internationalized structure of public health care. The medical team was led by experts from newly established international organizations, such as Dr. Jerome Peterson (WHO) and Dr. Mohamed Abbasy (FAO). American doctors and nurses from the Society of Friends also moved to Gaza to work in the hospitals and camp clinics. Nurses also came to Gaza from Europe. Pat Staley, an English nurse who had served in the Second World War and worked as a nursing sister in post-war Cairo, came to Gaza in 1950. Although she went to Gaza under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, her work was primarily with the refugee population and her passage was funded by the Society of Friends. In her memoirs, Staley recalled that, at one point, she had "seventeen different nationalities working for me."[145]

Despite the diversity of nationalities represented in the AFSC's medical work, it was local and regional doctors, nurses, and midwives, recruited from Beirut, Jerusalem, and among the refugee populations themselves, who performed most of the day-to-day medical care. The AFSC recruited and employed Arab nurses and midwives in two ways. Most valuable to the program were trained and/or certified nurses and midwives, who could be enfolded directly into the medical operation. For this, the AFSC utilized nurse networks similar to those that the Mandate government and voluntary associations had used to fill clinics in the interwar period. Some of the nurses employed by the AFSC came straight out of the Mandate's medical landscape. Marian Butros and Mary Shehadeh, stationed at clinics in Rafah and Bureij, respectively, had both worked as nurse-midwives in Palestine prior to 1948.[146] Butros was the nurse-midwife of the infant welfare clinic in Beit Jala in the mid-1940s; Shehadeh was licensed as a midwife in Nablus in 1944. The AFSC also recruited women from Beirut, which had long been a source of nurses for Palestine because of the Nurse Training School at the American University of Beirut.

In addition to recruiting nurses, the AFSC also had to rely on local, "traditional" midwives, or *dayas,* to share the burden of direct medical services. The Mandate government had spent considerable energy in its attempts to curb the practices of *dayas* by regulating midwifery through governmental licensing legislation. This regulatory regime was meant to standardize the practice of maternity care and bring it under the oversight of colonial officials and experts. By contrast, the AFSC had few hopes of curtailing the *dayas* and instead attempted to incorporate their practice into the refugee

[145] Cadbury Research Library, ACC 925 F3_Pat Staley.
[146] AFSC #63 FS Sect Palestine, Report on Rafah Camp, March 1949; AFSC #102 FS Sect Palestine, Monthly Report on Braij Camp for March 1949.

public health schemes through a financial arrangement. Recognizing that "control over the local dayat is almost impossible," Dr. Peterson proposed paying each *daya* a small fee for every delivery that conformed to certain medical standards.[147] Doing this, he argued, would "considerably raise" the level of maternity care.[148] To handle the approximately 1,000 refugee births a months, Peterson wrote, the AFSC had already recruited 76 *dayas*, who represented "the more competent of their group."[149]

For sixteen months, the AFSC administered relief, managed welfare, and constructed health and educational programs for the children of the nearly 300,000 Palestinian refugees who found themselves in the area of Gaza after 1948. What began as a temporary six-month mission to provide immediate disaster relief, transformed into a longer-term project of constructing the parameters of welfare that would continue after their withdrawal. Some of these welfare relief programs took directly from projects underway during the British Mandate, relying on previous knowledge, and personnel, and utilizing Mandate-era techniques and technologies. In other ways, however, the structure of refugee relief signaled a newly, more fully internationalized system of welfare care.

Conclusion: Enter UNRWA

On May 1, 1950 the AFSC, along with the International Red Cross and League of Red Cross Societies, formally turned over refugee relief operations to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The shift of welfare governance to UNRWA had two effects: 1) it formally separated Palestinian refugees as subjects of care from other refugees under the oversight of the United Nations, and 2) it laid the foundations of a permanent governing structure for Palestinian refugees. To this day, UNRWA continues to provide social welfare to Palestinian youth, in the forms of health care, education, and social services. The inauguration of UNRWA's operations built on, rather than supplanted, the structures and work of the AFSC. UNRWA continued many of the public health, medical, and educational programs that had been established during the transitional years of 1948-1950. Many members of the AFSC staff also stayed in Gaza and became employees of UNRWA, at least temporarily. In addition to the local employees who remained after the AFSC's withdrawal, some twenty-three foreign personnel stayed on board as UNRWA staff.[150] In form, programming, and personnel, UNRWA was comprised of the humanitarian structures that preceded it, less a totally new agency than a reconstituted one.

Throughout the Mandate period, child welfare was a joint project between the colonial government and local and transnational, non-state entities. After 1948, and heading into the era of formal decolonization, the location of this type of welfare shifted, even as the underlying ideas, technologies, and, at times, personnel, continued. International and transnational humanitarian organizations, which had originated to assist the children of Europe, began to take on permanent roles in the governance of the

[147] AFSC #105 FS Sect Palestine, Dr. Jerome Peterson to J.D. Cottrell, 21 May 1949.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] AFSC #263 FS Sect Palestine, Personnel Report AFSC Gaza Unit, 26 April 1950.

children of the Global South. The 1948 war and the ensuing Palestinian refugee phenomenon was not the sole origin or only explanatory factor of this new structure of international welfare. At the same time, profound changes in the relationship of international organizations to the poor and dispossessed children of the Global South can be found in the crisis of the Nakba and the structures of welfare and relief that came out of it.

As the stories of Dar al-Tifl and Dar al-Awlad, and the legacy of Deir ‘Amr, remind us, however, the internationalization of child welfare did not eradicate local social welfare networks. Welfare governance did not simply shift to the international following 1948; rather, the local and international became more tightly bound together. Absent a nationally-defined state, relationships between local and international welfare governance, which existed throughout the Mandate era, became more central, more profound, and more visible.

Conclusion

On 6 November 1964, the Office of Public Information at the United Nations distributed a press release on the annual report on Palestinian refugees. The report highlighted the refugees' need for "continued assistance from the international community."[1] UNRWA's mandate was up for renewal in the General Assembly the following year and the Commissioner-General used the occasion of the report to suggest that if an extension was granted it should be "for a reasonably long period, such as five years."[2] Short-term extensions, he argued, caused financial and administrative difficulties. Fourteen years into its tenure, UNRWA was there to stay.

UNRWA's work in 1964 covered multiple areas of relief, but emphasized programs aimed at young refugees. Education services were expanded and in cooperation with UNESCO, the agency created the Institute of Education to improve teacher training and instructional quality. UNRWA opened its tenth vocational training center and increased its number of university scholarships. A full 42% of the UNRWA expenditures were in the realm of education and training for youth.[3]

By the mid-1960s, UNRWA had inaugurated a new era of welfare governance and child aid. The humanitarian governance that Keith Watenpaugh argued became more permanent following the First World War was, decades later, entrenched in international law as the legitimate form of governance for over a million people. The post-war, post-Nakba era of child welfare assumed forms and structures from the Mandate period, even as it was motivated by new questions of refugees, global decolonization, and discourses of human rights. The story of the 1950s and 1960s, of UNRWA and its aid programs in those early years, is yet another chapter in the history of Palestinian childhood and welfare.

By the mid-1960s, the global child itself was changing. As the Second World War and its displaced persons camps began to fade from immediate international discussions, the idea of the global child relocated from Europe to the Global South. As I showed in the preceding chapter, Palestine was an early and unintentional site of this relocation, but by the end of the 1960s, events like the Biafran and Vietnam wars imprinted images of starving and brutalized Asian and African children on the global consciousness.[4] And the structures of relief that had arisen to aid the European child in distress became integral in the governance of children from the colonized and decolonizing world. Part of the aim of my study has been to try to account for this shift, to understand both how the Global

[1] United Nations Archive (UNA) S-0373-9-3, Annual Report of Palestine Refugees Issued, 6 November 1964.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] As Tehila Sasson writes in her study of global humanitarianism, famines in the 1960s, combined with new television technologies, connected Western viewers to the suffering of Global South children in new ways: "The images of suffering children in places like Biafra and Bangladesh evoked, among Western viewers, the feeling they belonged to a global community and compassion for people they do not know." Tehila Sasson, "In the Name of Humanity: Britain the Rise of Global Humanitarianism," PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2015, 23.

South participated in the globalization of the child and how that child became a child of the Global South. To continue to tell this story, particularly in the post-war era of decolonization, human rights, and the Cold War, we need to integrate local and regional histories not only with the globe, but also with each other. What does the history of child welfare in post-1948 Palestine look like in light of the partition of India or the Korean War or Biafra? In studying the era of the decolonizing and post-colonial child, there are certainly many South-South stories yet to be told.

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The structures of child welfare that arose in Palestine during the Mandate years illuminate a system of colonial governance that was specific to the century following the First World War. That system was predicated upon a mixed economy of care, in which governing power was simultaneously refracted and diffuse, and built from the intersections of local socio-political conditions and emergent global movements. In Palestine, child welfare projects existed as joint ventures between sectors of the colonial government, religious missions, voluntary societies, municipal and local leaders, regional philanthropic networks, and Palestinian families. As I have shown, these projects were oriented to contemporary global ideas about childhood and transnational movements for welfare care, but deeply embedded in the particular contingent conditions of Palestine in its historical moment.

The eclectic array of actors that have led us through this story – the nurses, missionaries, delinquents, probation officers, doctors, aid workers, parents, district officers, philanthropists – flesh out a more complete picture of life in interwar Palestine and the constellations of power that structured it. Their perspectives take us out of the strict structures of the colonial administration and away from the framework of nationalism to reveal the ways in which governing power was negotiated in the arenas of everyday life. My intention in this work is not to absent the idea of the state from histories of Palestine. As many scholars who work on the intersections of global and local histories recognize, the emergence of what we now call the transnational turn does not negate the importance of more conventional state structures. Nor should we be under the illusion that a globalizing world has meant the erasure of the nation-state as the primary form of political organization.

Instead, far from absenting the state, I suggest that the types of actors and stories that I have chosen to examine here help us to understand the state more fully. The narrative of child welfare in Palestine is not a turn away from the questions of state and statecraft, but a re-evaluation of the location of the state and who comprised it. Although child welfare in Mandate Palestine was replete with the ideas of governmentality, this story is less concerned with the inescapable diffusion of state power and more interested in the diffuse and uneven structure of the state itself. As I hope I have demonstrated, governing power, and its corollary, expertise, was deeply fragmented in Mandate Palestine. By viewing the operation of governing power from the perspectives of the social realm and its constituents, I am challenging the cohesion of the state and arguing

for understanding state power as inextricably entangled with that which we might call society.

With this study, I have tried to make the case for seeing Palestine as a historically and historiographically generative space. The contemporary nature of child welfare and the globalization of the child as a socio-political subject were made in and by Palestine in the twentieth century. Palestine has long loomed large in global history as a place that has been claimed, traversed, documented, and imagined by peoples and communities around the world. More often seen as a stage for global historical dramas or an object of geo-political aims, Palestine is much more rarely portrayed as productive, even of its own history. One perspective on the history I have recounted would hold that movements for child welfare filtered into Palestine from places like London and Geneva and then manifested in particular ways due to Palestine's circumstances. My point is that this was a dynamic and dialectical process, in which local manifestation simultaneously translated, changed, and remade the very nature of those movements.

My study has methodological implications for the need to interpret Palestinian and Middle East history in the context of both global and regional studies. In recent years, new works have challenged the geographic insularity of Middle East history that resulted from its Cold War-era area studies heritage. Scholars are now more willing to see the Middle East within a number of alternative geographic frameworks. Just as the turns to focus on economic or commodity networks allowed scholars to evaluate the Middle East within Mediterranean or Indian Ocean orientations, an embrace of welfare, aid, and humanitarian networks enable us to put the Middle East in conversation with other regional, as well as global, histories.

This story also has methodological lessons for the future study of global and transnational history. Palestine is and is not unique. I have argued in this study for the importance of understanding local specificity and its inseparable entanglement with global phenomena. But to say that Palestine was a generative space for the emergence of a novel form of global social welfare governance in the twentieth century is not to say that Palestine was the sole generator of this type of governance. The methodological implications of this study can and should be expanded for the Middle East and Global South as a whole. Global and transnational histories still too often see the world from the vantage point of Europe and the United States. It is for this reason that I, as a scholar of the Middle East invested in the implications of transnational history, must continually answer "why Palestine?" in a way that we would never ask "Why Britain?" "Why the United States?" Rooting global and transnational histories in the particular conditions of Global South contexts, claiming them as generative sites, will help to destabilize Europe and the United States as the producers of global history. Studying global phenomena from the ground up also challenges the dichotomous understandings of globalness and localness. Seeing the ways in which the Global South made the modern world dismantles the notion that the globe belongs to the colonial powers and locality belongs to the colonized.

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Jerusalem and the East Mission Collection, GB165-0161:
Medical (Palestine), Box 58-59
Political (Palestine), Box 63, 67
Refugees, Box 72-73
Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund Annual Reports, 1889-1969, Box 75
Bible Lands, 1899-2006, Box 126A-C

National Archives, Kew, London
Colonial Office Records (CO)
Colonies, General, Original Correspondence (CO 323)
Palestine, Original Correspondence, 1919-1965 (CO 733)
Palestine Government Gazettes, 1919-1948 (CO 742)
Palestine Sessional Papers, 1921-1948 (CO 814)
Palestine, Miscellania (CO 821)
Palestine, Original Correspondence, 1932-1952 (CO 850)
Social Service Department and Successors, 1939-1966 (CO 859)

Foreign Office Records (FO)
Political Departments, General Correspondence, 1906-1966 (FO 371)

War Office Records (WO)
Royal Army Medical Corps, World War I and Army of Occupation War Diaries (WO 95)

Home Office Records (HO)
Internment, General Files, 1940-1951 (HO 215)

New York Public Library
John H. Finley Collection:
Series I, Correspondence, 1892-1940

Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College
Daniel and Emily Oliver Papers, Ms. Collection 1134
Khalil A. Totah and Eva Marshall Totah Papers, 1896-1955, HC.Coll.1210
Friends School Newsletters, 1930-1937

United Nations Archives and Records Management Sector, New York
Series S-0440: UNRWA Code Cables

Women's Library, London School of Economics
Papers of Helen Bentwich, 7HBE
Records of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 3AMS
Records of the Fawcett Society and its Predecessors, 2LSW
Records of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons, 4IBS

Periodicals/Journals

Al-Dif'a
Al-Huquq, Jaffa
Al-Karmil, Haifa
Filastin, Jaffa
The Red Cross Magazine, New York
The Palestine Government Gazette, Jerusalem
The Palestine News, Cairo
The Lancet, London
The Vigilance Record, London
Bible Lands Magazine, London

Government Legislation and Publications

Government of Palestine

Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 1: 1918-1924. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995
Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 2: 1925-1928. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 3: 1929-1931. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 4: 1932-1933. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
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Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 9: 1940-1941/2. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
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Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 11: 1944-1945. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
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Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948, Volume 14: 1945/6-1946. Great Britain: Archive Editions, 1995.
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Government of Palestine, *Department of Health Annual Report, 1939.*
Government of Palestine. Young Offenders Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1 of 1922). Enacted 1922.

Government of Palestine. Probation of Young Offenders Ordinance. Enacted 1928.
Government of Palestine. Juvenile Offenders Ordinance No. 2. Enacted 1937.

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