Shulamith Gertel GROOME, Marjan HOČEVAR*

THE 'ORPHAN IMPLEMENTATIONS' MODALITY OF PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS FOR LAND RESOURCE DISTRIBUTIONS: AN ISRAELI CASE STUDY**

Abstract. *A case study of land distributions establishing spatial arrangements for "new towns" in Israel is used to explore policymaking in an atmosphere of ethnocultural diversity and contention. Comprised of communities predisposed to conflict, the deeply divided Israeli public interest tends to draw ambiguous political declarations lacking clear operative directives. Data analyses show that the absence of directives may be advantageous to policy processes because it encourages flexible deference of decision-making to intermediate meso and local micro administrative levels. Emphasising the utility of flexible deliberative implementations initiated at bottom-up levels, it is hoped that the Orphan implementations of public policy modality for conflict/ambiguity issues can present a reconceptualised policy instrument. The article focuses on the verification and development of the modality in its capacity to provide a useful contribution to practical policy decisions wherever political attempts to consolidate fragmented public consensuses might be leveraged toward productive implementation. As such, we suggest that the aggregate outcome of bottom-up implementation initiatives over time may also have an affirming effect on the social balance of national spatial policy.*
Keywords: *land distribution, spatial conflict, bottom-up decision-making, policy implementation, land-use planning.*

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INTRODUCTION

The classic conceptualisation of policy processes views implementation as a direct result of high-level macro policy goals (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Nakamura and Smallwood 1980; Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983). However, this top-down paradigm tends to overlook situations where a lack of public consensus makes it difficult for processes to identify definitive goals. As such, Matland's (1995) theoretical conflict/ambiguity model evaluates policy processes for issues of social conflict and political complexity that draw loosely defined abstract national decisions without clear directives. In the absence of such guidelines, he views implementation on local administrative levels as untenable. Under these conditions, few implementations would be realised, causing a potential breakdown of public services. Yet, some scholars posit that practical administrative initiatives can be implemented even if they are incongruous with or disassociated from some prevailing political ideologies (Hupe 2011; Hupe and Hill 2016; Sivamohan et al. 2019; Hall and Taylor 1996, 949, 954). In this sense, political (politicians) ambiguity is a reflection of social conflict, and may serve as an operative catalyst for intermediate meso or local micro implementations. Such implementations represent the initial stages of policy processes and may favour progressive public policies.

In relation to the distribution of scarce commodity resources such as land (physical space), this study supports the more pragmatic approach to the implementing of public policy within systems predisposed to conflict and ambiguity (Hupe and Hill 2016). The mitigation of land conflicts should consider the incentives and constraints of public interest by incorporating popular agendas and stakeholder participation (Ndidzulafhi et al. 2020; Brandt et al. 2018). Nevertheless, for communities underrepresented by prevailing ideological doctrines, or in circumstances defined by asymmetric power and influence among contending groups, conflict resolution strategies on higher policy levels are challenging (Sanderson 2009). In order to bridge the divides of conflict and non-consensus over scarce land resources, some national policymakers issue ambiguous political statements that include poorly defined common goals, with few policy directives. By so doing, they aim to avoid public accusations of discriminatory or exclusionary governance (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019).

Policy in the service of public interest holds the potential to both aggravate and remedy dilemmas of social justice (Barusch 2017). Distributional biases inherent to non-renewable commodities are difficult to reverse (Portugali 1980). Policies of the conflict/ambiguity type are subject to persistent ideological frameworks, yet also to complex and changeable politics that create and respond to competitive sociospatial relations. This is reflected in policy decisions favouring specific ethnocultural, socioeconomic or pro-environmental groups at the expense of other contenders (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019).

While Yanow (2000) and others suppose that top-down policies might be adapted or reinterpreted to suit the needs of target populations on local

implementation levels (Svara 2006), we argue that practical administrative implementations for fragile conflict/ambiguity issues call for flexible bottom-up decision-making processes. This is especially pertinent where land distributions are concerned. Accordingly, we have proposed the utility of the Orphan implementations of public policy modality for conflict/ambiguity issues (Gertel Groome 2021, 57). Here, bottom-up implementations on administrative levels become policy in and of themselves. As Howlett (2014, 286) suggests, the choice of policy instruments at implementation levels may constitute appropriate policymaking. These are not a direct product of any specific national political directives. Instead, ambiguous politicised declarations are leveraged to manifest flexible decentralised policy initiatives that provide practical implementations and hopefully progressive solutions to local problems. When aggregated, the integration of these various local solutions can serve the national public interest by balancing ideological and social constraints[1]. The Orphan modality maintains that, where combined local outputs achieve a national policy outcome (Mandl et al. 2008, 3), the solution becomes the goal.

We used the Israeli case study of land distributions for "new towns" to establish the Orphan implementations modality of policy process as a useful conceptual basis, applicable to the wider purpose of sustainable decision-making for issues of conflict against the backdrop of ambiguous political decisions. We set out to determine the extent to which policy decisions defer to original bottom-up land-use initiatives on operative intermediate meso or local micro implementation levels. Adopting a processual approach, our research aimed to identify stages of policy development occurring over time that show the advantages of flexible implementations for conflict/ambiguity issues.

As a case-in-point, most Israeli land resources are nationally owned (93%). Institutionalised as state property with a prescribed territorial organisation and regulated usage, lands are public in a figurative sense (Hočevar et al. 2005). Public lands are ideally meant to serve the needs of the population in all of its diversity[2]. The scarcity of land resources leads to conflict over how they are distributed. This can elicit acute demand and competition for them, weighing heavily on policy systems. Land distributions may become the currency of political incentive such that territorial homogeneity based on religious nationalist ideology is practically irreversible. Thus, policies for land distributions are acutely politicised. With a land area of approximately 20,300 km^2 for a population of over 9.5 million people and an annual population growth rate of 2%, the constantly expanding person-to-land ratio in Israel presently exceeds 400 persons

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[1]   Policy integration should be understood as a process entailing various elements that do not necessarily move in a concerted direction but may prove to be incongruous – developing at different paces or even in opposite directions (Candel and Biesbroek 2016).

[2]   The universal human right to adequate shelter in a suitable living environment necessitates the right to land resources (Wehrmann 2008).

per km² (CBS 2019)[3]. The ever-increasing population densities, perceptions of skewed land distributions, and zoning of state-owned and private properties can be viewed as sociospatial injustices. Where certain intra-societal economic, social or religious segments of society are concerned, unaddressed land conflicts could increase political instability, possibly accompanied by historical and cultural sensitivities and escalations of physical violence (Hočevar 2012; Szilard et al. 2012; Kingsley 2021). Recent occurrences have shown this to be true of Israeli spatial policy.

Major geopolitical events, occurring in Israel as we write, are a possible manifestation of land distribution policies that have purposefully created homogeneous communities defined by self-imposed segregation. The calculated establishment of new towns and other living spatial arrangements in Israel have generally been affiliated with specific ethnocultural target populations (secular, Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Jews, Arabs, Bedouin and others) (GOI 2022b; Cerna 2013). Policy decisions relating to the spatial dispersion of many unique and separate communities, in ways that satisfy the ideological and political priorities of the state (Orenstein and Hamburg 2009), have created land-use patterns that dictate Israeli sociospatial idiosyncrasies.

In these circumstances politicians and civil servants as policy- and decision-makers face ongoing challenges that question democratic and human rights values in terms defined by the conflicting land-use demands of a deeply divided public. Some politicians simply bend policy ideals to the demands of competing communities who wish to separate from other communities (Gertel Groome and Hocevar 2019). Some see land distributions as a tool of reverse discrimination, inclusion and equity (Zapata and Bates 2015). Some truly believe that separating ideologically opposed populations can bring peace and security and a better quality of life for all. This research did not judge the success of homogeneous vs. mixed communities[4]. Nor was its aim to measure levels of community benefit or dissatisfaction relating to land distributions or to assess the improvement of social equity. We instead hoped to address the gap in the literature referring to conflict-oriented policy process in terms of the Orphan implementations modality as it informs intermediate meso and local micro policy decisions with the potential to guide and protect the delicate fabric of the national public interest.

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[3]   References to Israel, Israeli public policy, spatial planning and new towns relate to the internationally recognised borders of Israel, excluding lands situated outside the pre-1967 "Green Line" (1949 Armistice border). Our study did not include "new territories" or their settlement.
[4]   Evidence suggests that mixed populations serve the need for social, economic and physical security (Koliou et al. 2020). Resilient communities in mixed towns can be based on common-interest activities.

A MODALITY OF POLICY PROCESS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND RESOURCES – AN ISSUE OF CONFLICT AND AMBIGUITY

Public policy literature is applicable to policy processes for the distribution of lands. Many processual models assume hierarchical top-down policymaking (Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983). They tend to predict failure or incongruity in meeting policy goals as the end-result of ambiguous national policy decisions (Matland 1995). We counter those dominant paradigms. Indeed, the benefits of operative implementation initiatives originating on intermediate meso and local micro levels are acknowledged within the policy process debate (Howlett et al. 2015, 298–210; Yanow 2000). Some hybrid models incorporate elements of bottom-up influence (Elmore 1985; Majone and Wildavsky 1978; Ripley and Franklin 1982; Sabatier 1986; Sharpf 1978; Svara 2006). Still, most of those relate to the adaptation or interpretation of national macro government decisions in ways that meet practical field-level administrative needs (Brodkin 2003; Gofen 2014; Levee et al. 2018), as shown in Figure 1. Such constructs use bottom-up adjustments to improve the quality of local public services on implementation levels. Varying implementations of top-down spatial policy offer compromise in order to achieve consensus in particular localities. Yet, in the absence of comprehensive awareness of the aggregate effect of local implementations on the large-scale national benefit (Mandl et al. 2008, 3), some publics (communities, groups) are likely to gain at the expense of others.

Figure 1: THE 'ORPHAN IMPLEMENTATIONS' MODALITY OF POLICY PROCESS FOR CONFLICT/AMBIGUITY TYPE ISSUES
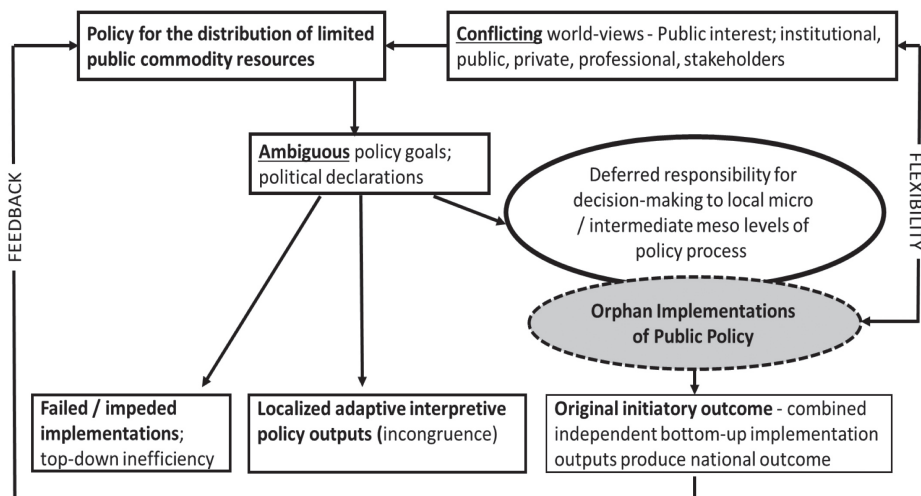
Source: Adapted from Gertel Groome 2021.

Figure 1 portrays the Orphan implementations modality of public policy process relating to conflict/ambiguity type issues – such as the distribution of limited public commodity resources. Here, conflict tends to arise from the complex make-up of the public interest, comprising various segments of society and stakeholders, institutional attitudes, professional experience, and personal world views. The three implementation level alternatives (starting from the lower-left side) are the results of top-down, hybrid and bottom-up policy processes. The first is somewhat inefficient because it is a progression of ambiguous policy goals that cloud directives for implementation. The second can be incongruous with high-level or other policies since it offers an adapted or interpreted implementation based on a local compromise respecting top-down, ambiguous political declarations. The third alternative is apparent where ambiguous political levels defer decisions-making to intermediate meso and local micro levels of policy processes, thereby creating Orphan implementations. These enjoy a flexible dialogue between conflicting policy views. The results are independent, bottom-up implementation initiatives capable of providing a balanced outcome as feedback in the design of national public policy.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The **Orphan implementations** modality policy for issues of conflict typically characterised by ambiguous noncommittal political leadership encourages flexible initial decision-making by deference to intermediate meso and local micro levels of a policy process. Original independent initiatives produce varied implementation outputs over time that carry an awareness of the national context, enabling their collaborative bottom-up influence on a national policy outcome. Combined, they become the national policy.

Narrowly defined local land-use planning implementations may provide output within policy processes, while lacking the flexibility to influence national spatial policy. Swayed by the conflicting agendas of public, private and institutional stakeholders, flexible spatial policy could achieve the adequate inclusive distribution of public resources. As such, we offer the Orphan implementations of public policy modality as a reconceptualisation of policy processes defined by original implementations for conflict/ambiguity type issues (Gertel Groome 2021). Decisions concerning the distribution of land as a public commodity resource accordingly depend on professional land-use planning initiatives on implementation levels. Together, varying Orphan local land-use plans initiated during specific ideological periods can combine to bring a coherent policy outcome capable of redefining national spatial policy (Hupe et al. 2014; Mandl et al 2008, 3). This redefinition should be dynamic given the constantly changing diversity of conflicting public interests. Simultaneously running Orphan implementation initiatives represent expedience, rather than policy failure, such that the lack of clear hierarchical policy directives and guidelines can facilitate creative decision-making on operative intermediate meso and local micro levels.

Evolutionary decisions taken at various points in space and time (Thelen 2003; Rayner and Howlett 2009) can also encompass ambiguous national declarations as retrospective 'parent' policies for valid original implementations.

The Orphan implementations modality of public policy process, employed as a conceptual basis for practical implementations in Israel, is applicable wherever conflicting sociospatial ideologies on land distribution dominate national agendas. The study employed this modality to analyse Israeli policy on land distributions for new towns within the dynamics of three major historical and contemporary periods. The correlation between conflict over distributions of public land resources and achieved policy implementations was explored within Israel's highly politicised democratic policy systems. To define how conflict/ambiguity type issues are decided, and at which stages of the process, we examined the contention that effective land resource management should defer to independently initiated implementation decisions, and be recognised as a legitimate first step in the policy process (Gertel Groome 2021).

In testing these ideas, our case study centred on layered analyses of policy processes relating to land distribution implementations within the Israeli statutory planning system. We considered the establishment of new towns in terms of the national historical and ideological evolution of spatial policy over time. The objective was to determine whether and how ambiguous political declarations concerning conflict/ambiguity type issues have provided flexibility in support of policy processes initiated on intermediate meso or local micro implementation levels. Our investigation also assessed the degree to which land distribution policy rested on the aggregate of varying local implementation outputs to provide the integration and social balance required for a national policy outcome.

We posed two main questions focusing on Israeli spatial policy and land-use planning decisions to establish new towns between 1950 and 2022:[5]

- To what extent do policy processes for the distribution of land resources promote deference to original, bottom-up, professional land-use planning initiatives on operative intermediate meso or local micro implementation levels?
- Are such professional land-use planning initiatives associated, over time, with a redefinition of national spatial policy and, if so, in which circumstances?

The overall premise was that numerous implementations for the distribution of land resources in Israel have been achieved despite intense levels of conflict and ambiguity inherent to the relevant policy processes. Our research looked at the independent implementation of administrative and professional land-use planning on the intermediate meso and local micro levels of policy processes. Policymaking was represented by the Orphan implementations modality

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[5] The study timeframe was set 2 years after Israel gained national independence, allowing for a period of spatial reorganisation focusing on the renewal and official recognition of existing towns.

measured in terms of independent, bottom-up initiatives that could provide enough flexibility to encourage varying implementation outputs. The aggregate of these was examined as a beneficial contribution to defining the national policy outcome. We also considered the possibility that multiple varying outputs initiated independently on implementation levels may have subsequently looped back to facilitate one or more existing, albeit loosely defined, politically declarative 'parent' policies.

The research incorporated primary and secondary documentation. Sources were cross-referenced with the practical stages of the spatial process outlined in Israel's 1965 Planning and Building Law (GOI 1965) together with other relevant government decisions and procedures[6]. Interviews with key government officials and professional land-use planners from the public and private sectors and lobby groups provided the study with empirical data relating to land distributions in Israel.

Our analyses differentiated between national spatial policy processes based on political or religious ideologies (associated with nationalism), and professional land-use planning conducted by planners and administrators on the intermediate meso and local micro levels. The data were helpful in exploring the roles of professional civil servants, planners and local administrators as implementers of spatial policy, operating in terms of conflicting national political and public interests (Gertel Groome 2024). We reasoned that professional land-use planners' implementations may facilitate policy processes that differ from, and may be incongruous with, spatial policymaking. Distinguished by its commitment to unbiased, rational and universal principles of 'good practice', professional planners should provide adequate solutions for housing, employment, recreation, mobility etc. Bearing in mind the professional commitment to statutory and methodological systems as well as a visionary perspective and attention physical detail, we conceptualised planners as unbeholden to any particular political or ideological narrative.

We also considered that the national political motivations of states have sometimes found common ground with generic categories of professional land-use planning goals which promote policies for the social organisation of physical space in the public interest. Yet, lying at the core of land-use planning practice is the balance between public interests, political ideologies, sociospatial necessity, and methodological foundations. Universally progressive principles of social justice and environmental awareness are expected to carry weight (Hananel 2010), especially from a professional point of view, yet they are hardly ever realised (Zapata and Bates 2015). This problem can be found to a greater or lesser extent in every country, although in Israel it is understandably pronounced. We believe that wherever conflict shapes the administrative distribution of land

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[6] Including position documents on significant spatial distribution issues (White Papers), statutory programmes, master/outline plans for long-term physical planning, and other support tools for decision-makers.

resources, research can offer a better understanding of policy mechanisms to promote valid and consistent planning initiatives on the part of those implementing policy.

'ORPHAN IMPLEMENTATIONS' OF PUBLIC POLICY FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND RESOURCES IN ISRAEL: A CASE STUDY
Statutory land-use planning as a mechanism for policy implementation

As an apparatus of the state, statutory planning brings legal validation to policy decisions, land administration and the protection of public land resources. The approval of a land-use plan presents a professional context that is crucial for the measure of policy effectiveness. The statutory process comprises rules and regulations essential to the operative distribution and management of land resources. Outlined on parliamentary and judicial policy levels, statutory systems are generic and do not provide direction or guidance relating to the nature of specific land-uses on intermediate meso and local micro administrative levels. Statutory planning is the main policy implementation tool of professional land-use planners.

In general, land-use planning systems and practices are methodologically similar to paradigms of policy process (Alexander 2022). In order to analyse empirical data concerned with Israeli spatial policy implementations, we examined the advantages of policy paradigms as they typically distinguish between the three hierarchical levels: high-level political (macro), intermediate centralised-administrative (meso) and local administrative (micro) (Svara 2006). It is the intermediate meso level that provokes operative dialogue between the other two. The local micro level devises operational paths using structures and instruments to optimally steer and control implementations that achieve top-down institutional goals. Hybrid processes allow for a flow of bottom-up adoption and adjustment, and bottom-up processes begin on intermediate or local levels. Further, we have added the more flexible Orphan implementations modality as a bottom-up option to help address conflict/ambiguity issues.

Policy implementation in statutory planning processes is viewed by classic hierarchical policy paradigms as a top-down extension of spatial policy, invested in the effective translation of policy decisions into practical output dictated by national goals (Imperial 2021; Pressman and Wildavsky 1984; Hupe 2011; Hupe and Hill 2016; Hupe et al. 2014). Within institutional and professional land-use planning norms, implementations culminate in the statutory approval of land distributions or zoning schemes[7]. The official approval of a plan endows it with a viable presence. Plans that may never achieve physical execution exist, in legal if not physical terms.

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[7]   A planning scheme usually consists of interdependent overlays of compatible land uses.

However, the top-down model may not achieve implementation where the public consensus is weak (Matland 1995). When land is largely a privately owned commodity, land policies relate to statutory land-use planning (e.g., zoning). Some land-uses entail greater considerations and rewards than others, which can be a source of conflict between 'winners' and 'losers', weighing issues of equality, equity and spatial inclusion. In this regard, planning policies promote the redistribution of lands' potential worth, but not of their ownership. In contrast, actual distributions of the lands themselves may also be conducted by statutory land-use planning, mostly predicated on state ownership. This is the case in Israel. Such land distributions are more complex and socially divisive in nature because they are based on national, political and ideological affiliations attached to specific geographic areas. This lies at the root of the ethnocultural spatial conflict.

Statutory spatial planning systems in Israel (King 1977; Bar-Cohen 2008; GOI 1965)[8] are characterised by a four-tier system. Each tier has its own assembly or committee so that responsibility for land distributions is shared by a combined cast of government and institutional representatives. Planning committee members represent various issues of conflict and consensus, reflecting a microcosm of public and institutional interests. The parliamentary level represents policy declarations with few implementation preferences (Alexander et al. 1983, 108; Linder and Peters 1988, 744; Howlett 2014, 294). The intermediate meso level does not often provide detailed practical policy frameworks or strategies for implementation (Schneider and Ingram 1994; Page 2010). Together with administrative decisions on local micro levels, these relate to specific and detailed land-use planning schemes. Schemes prepared on any level usually require the approval of the committee above it. Land conflicts in Israel are typically settled in statutory planning committees before being ratified or legislated in parliament.

In practice, the Israeli planning system sanctions procedures that allow intermediate or local micro level land-use plans to take on the status of higher-level outline plans (GOI 1965). It also enables amendments to higher-level plans in terms defined by local planning initiatives. Special statutory committees have been created to legitimately bypass ordinary stages of approval or to prioritise specific implementation initiatives[9]. These statutory aids provide an efficient platform for the flexible bottom-up flow of spatial policy. As in the Orphan implementations modality, land distribution policies originating as professional land-use planning initiatives on local implementation levels are equipped to remedy unresolved public demands, needs, or problems of equity (Hanberger 2001; Peters 2006, 131). Planning schemes are considered part of the policy formulation stage within implementation processes, becoming policies in their own right (Alexander et al. 1983, 108).

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[8]   Based on the British system.
[9]   Time-limited fast-track committees bypass stages within the planning system, e.g., Law for the Promotion of Construction in Preferred Complexes (Amendment) (GOI 2014) and the Planning and Construction Order (Special Planning Area Harish-Amendment) (GOI 2022a).

Spatial policy on the distribution of land for "new towns" in Israel over time

In order to identify implementation processes regarding land distributions for new towns, it was necessary to trace their evolution through the stages of policy development over time. The early Israeli nationalist narrative viewed new towns as urban service centres supporting patriotic agricultural efforts as the essence of an ideological doctrine. This was in keeping with classic theoretical and practical models of spatial organisation for human settlement (Capello 2014; Sharon 1951). Once the focus of land distribution policy, new towns today represent the inherent struggle between ideologies, communities and/or ethnic groups (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019). As a benchmark for equitable land distributions in situations of conflict, the establishment of new towns is central to Israeli spatial policy and an adequate indicator for the study of relevant policy processes. Within this framework, our case study defined new towns as urban entities with municipal status (GOI 1993) purposefully established at a certain point in space and time.

Israeli spatial planning policy is, as a whole, marked by distinct three distinct chronological periods:

The ideological period (1950s–1980s) had the most profound effect on Israeli land-use patterns. It was characterised by state endeavours to disperse populations according to political-demographic goals. The absorption of immigrants in new development towns aimed to populate the peripheral regions, avoid congestion in the primary city centres and preserve the fertile agricultural lands (Efrat 1994). This period saw low levels of conflict together with high levels of ambiguity (Matland 1995, 60). Active stakeholders broadly agreed on the terms of national policy ideals, but espoused varying points of view concerning their implementation. Alongside general policy directives, the treatment of land distribution issues was often incremental (Braybrooke and Lindblom 1963). Public consensus incorporated limited bottom-up adjustments, while conforming to top-down political parliamentary-level declarations.

The economic normalisation period (1990s) brought a response to costly urban sprawl while focusing on the commitment to fiscal responsibility. This extended to the realisation that the scarcity of lands calls for management and conservation[10]. Professional land-use plans centred on national economic and social advancement. The alliance of 'green' and 'economic' land-use supporters nurtured the conflict over new town developments. The intensification of built areas would now serve the growing populations and protect open spaces (IPA 1993; Lerman and Lerman 1992; Rachewski 1992). This meant a shift away from the earlier political ideology, which had designated Israel's

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[10] See a detailed perspective on the nature of conflict over land distribution linked to environmental issues in Ornestein and Hamburg (2009).

sociospatial order by propelling the strategic dispersal of populations to new towns and villages (Yiftachel 1998). Notably, the rigid professional rationale of this period failed to displace the lingering below-the-surface territorial tensions. Ethnocultural considerations led public policy for land distributions to adopt an acute sense of political ambiguity aimed at pleasing a maximum number of citizens.

The period of social and environmental justice (2000–2022) is associated with sharply conflicting views on the establishment of new towns. Further to the modernised progressive professional land-use planning ideals of the second period (Kipnis 1996), this third period saw the emergence of a bottom-up contemporary concern for social justice and community resilience. It accompanied the newly developing de rigueur political atmosphere of inclusive multiethnicity, heterogeneity, equity and prosperity for all citizens, regardless of race, creed or gender (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019; GOI 2016; GOI 2015; GOI 2003). Limited expansions of population centres were only barely tolerated. Still, a smaller degree of population dispersal to new towns was found necessary, if not acceptable, given the predictable saturation of existing living spaces and the cultural needs of certain homogeneous communities.

The turning point in the period of social and environmental justice was intensified by the growing involvement in social and environmental issues by independent non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Peled 2002). The construction of new towns appeared unviable, wasteful and only possible at great public expense (IPA 2018). By this time, the demand for new town housing chiefly emanated from the higher socioeconomic strata of communities (often secular and Orthodox Jews) seeking options for larger, more accessible living spaces at lower prices (CBS 1995–2020). Such planning proposals were prudently weighed against the need to preserve open spaces (Orenstein and Hamburg 2009). Land distribution policy was newly framed by normative professional and academic theories, and operated in disregard of Israeli ideological divisions.

In the period of social and environmental justice, land distributions for new towns had been curbed, but not forbidden. Ignoring social conflict over land-use did not make it go away. This prompted a separate statutory approval track for new towns and villages (GOI 2004) that operated alongside existing practices. The release of the official government Procedure for the Establishment of New Towns/Villages (GOI 2004) outlined a statutory decision-making process to balance the strict confluence of normative interests with opposing social, ethnocultural and political demands. Even though the planning and building of new towns had become an exception rather than a goal, these official procedures supported politically sanctioned new towns (GOI 2004). The infusion of contradictory decision-making offered a flexible 'loophole' for geopolitically based land distributions. This dichotomy of processes appeared to intensify the political ambiguity. We argue that the eventual post-ideological divergence of policy also

intensified the levels of conflict. Whether the ambiguity encouraged the deference of policy initiatives to the original bottom-up land-use planning operatives, on intermediate meso or local micro implementation levels, was a point of analysis for our case study. We used the Orphan implementations modality as an analytical framework to examine this policy process.

Documentation and empirical mapping of new town instances

The first part of the study employed primary and secondary documentation to map geographic land distributions for new towns by historical timeframes (periods) in terms of Israeli spatial management decisions. We gathered implementation instances from which to identify bottom-up independent land-use planning initiatives. Together with the indicators in Table 1 (described below), these were used to determine instances of outputs and/or national policy outcome supporting the Orphan implementations modality of public policy process.

The data in Table 1 list instances of land-use planning implementations for new towns. A minimal level of statutory approval was required as a main criterion to be included in the study. Another criterion for inclusion was that new towns held official urban status, as in provided a home to at least 4,999 residents (GOI 1993), or a planned capacity of that size[11]. In addition, the data incorporated large, semi-rural Bedouin municipal entities established after the year 2000. These sizable tracts of land comprised multiple villages which were expected to increase in population and living density, over time becoming towns. The empirical information in Table 1 defined the parameters of the case study, which consisted of 52 new town implementations since 1950[12].

Table 1 presents a compilation of the data analysis, detailing land distributions that were implemented despite the atmosphere of conflict and ambiguity regarding ethnocultural and socioeconomic issues. We organised the data for each new town implementation according to: doctrinal periods relevant to historic timeframes, planning objectives and/or reasons for establishment relating to targeted ethnocultural groups, dates of establishment, and any previous dates marking decisions for establishment.

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[11] This measure represents urban housing densities of at least ten housing units per 1,000 square metres, or less where minority populations are concerned [See National Outline Plan 35 (IPA, 1973–2020)].

[12] New towns established since 1950 were isolated from a larger set of statistics regarding all towns, and agricultural communities in Israel.

Table 1: IMPLEMENTATIONS OF NEW TOWNS IN ISRAEL: DATA SETS BASED ON PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DOCUMENTATION

Historical time frames	Planning objectives including wider target populations	Name of new town	Date of establishment (earlier establishment decision in brackets)	Achievement		
				IMPLEMEN-TATION (scale: 1–2)	REALISED PLANNED TARGET POPULA-TIONS (RPTPs) as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–4)	DOCTRINE as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–3)
	Doctrine: Ideological Period (1950s to 1980s) – Building a New Nation State, Population Dispersal, Service Centres, and Immigrant Absorption					
1950–1966	• *New Development towns to provide housing for immigrants to the new State* • *absorption of mostly North African immigrant Jews*	Kiryat Shemona	1950	2	3	3
		Yokne'am Ilit	1950	2	3	3
		Shelomi	1950	2	3	3
		Migdal Ha'emek	1952	2	3	3
		Hazor Haglilit	1953	2	3	3
		Ma'a lot (Tarshika) (now Joint Jewish-Arab)	1963 (1957) (1950)	2	2	2
		Nof Hagalil	1956	2	1	3
		Or Yehuda	1950	2	3	3
		Beit Shemesh (now Ultra-Orthodox)	1950	2	2	2
		Kiryat Malachi	1951	2	3	3
		Eilat	1951	2	3	3
		Yeruham	1951	2	3	3
		Kiryat Gat	1954	2	3	3
		Mizpe Ramon	1954	2	3	3
		Ofakim	1955	2	3	3
		Dimona	1955	2	3	3
		Netivot	1956	2	3	3
		Sderot	1957	2	3	3
	• *New Develop-ment towns* • *population dispersal* • *peripheral development* • *demographic balance*	Arad	1961	2	3	2
		Karmiel	1964	2	3	2
	• *Immigrant absorption*	Rosh Ha'ayin	1950	2	3	3
		Or Akiva	1951	2	3	3
		Bnei Aish	1957	2	3	3

Historical time frames	Planning objectives including wider target populations	Name of new town	Date of establishment (earlier establishment decision in brackets)	Achievement		
				IMPLEMEN-TATION (scale: 1–2)	REALISED PLANNED TARGET POPULA-TIONS (RPTPs) as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–4)	DOCTRINE as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–3)
	Doctrine: Ideological Period (1950s to 1980s) – Building a New Nation State, Population Dispersal, Service Centres, and Immigrant Absorption					
1950–1966	• *Regional immigrant housing*	Mevaseret Zion	1951	2	2	3
	• *New port town*	Ashdod	1956	2	4	2
	• *Immigrant soldiers veterans, special groups*	Rechasim (now ultra-Orthodox)	1957 (1952)	2	1	2
	• *Regional service centre for agricultural villages*	Zur Hadasah	1960	2	4	3
1967–1989 (post Six Day War)	• *Special groups – Orthodox*	Kiryat Ya'arim (Ultra-Orthodox)	1975	2	4	2
	• *Special groups – army veterans*	Kochav Yair	1981	2	4	2
	• *Special groups – army veterans* • *nationalism,* • *regional infill*	Makabim-Reut	1985	2	4	2
	• *Population dispersal* • *development of the Galilee*	Kfar Vradim	1984 (1979)	2	3	2
	• *population dispersal to the Negev* • *quality of life, large houses* • *special groups*	Metar	1984 (1980)	2	4	2
		Lehavim	1985 (1982)	2	4	2
	• *6/7 Bedouin towns*	Tel Sheva	1968	2	4	1
		Rahat	1972	2	4	1
		Segev Shalom	1979	2	4	1
		Ar'ara Banegev	1981	2	4	1
		Kseifeh	1982	2	4	1
		Hura	1989	2	4	1

Historical time frames	Planning objectives including wider target populations	Name of new town	Date of establishment (earlier establishment decision in brackets)	Achievement		
				IMPLEMEN-TATION (scale: 1–2)	REALISED PLANNED TARGET POPULA-TIONS (RPTPs) as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–4)	DOCTRINE as per Planning Objectives (scale: 1–3)
	Doctrine: Period of Economic Normalisation (1990s) – State-Among-Nations Committed to Fiscal Responsibility					
1990–2000	*1/7 Bedouin towns*	Lakia	1990 (1974)	2	4	1
	• Demographic balance *• special groups* *• regional infill* *• demand, upward mobility, central region*	Modi'in	1990 (1965,85)	2	4	2
		Bat Hefer	1990	2	4	1
		Elad (ultra-Orthodox)	1998 (1990)	2	4	2
		Shoham	1993 (1965) (1972)	2	4	2
	Doctrine: Period of Social and Environmental Justice (2000s)					
2001–2022	*• Special groups* *• demand, upward mobility*	Zur Yizhak	2002 (1998)	2	4	2
	• Bedouin towns *• meet Bedouin demand* *• demographic inclusion, anti-discrimination, equity, equality*	Um Batin	2005 (2003)	2	4	3
		Molada	2003	2	4	3
		Abu Tlul	2011 (2006)	2	4	3
		Makcol/Marit/Rabati	2003 (1999)	2	4	3
		Kasif	2022 (2007)	1		2
		Kazir - Harish (ultra-Orthodox intended)	2010 1995 (1992)	2	3	2
		Hasham Zana	2021	1	3	3

Original initiative:
▬ Popular local leadership / citizens
▬ Micro goverment
▬ Meso goverment
▬ Macro goverment

Sources: Primary and secondary research and interviews with government officials and professionals

Numerical scales and colour coding were allocated to each parameter of implementation:

- **Implementation** – 1 meant statutory planning approval only, and 2 the physically built implementation of a new town. Both confirmed an objective baseline degree of achievement.

  Among the 52 new town instances, 50 achieved full or statutory implementation, thereby confirming that the absence of consensus did not impede the implementations.

- **Original initiative** – Graduated shading of bottom-up intermediate meso or local micro initiatives represented a measure of independent, land-use planning implementation.

  This variable was time-related, representing half the instances in the second part of the first doctrinal period (1967–1989), and all instances in the third period of social and environmental justice (2001–2022).

- **Realised planned target populations (RPTP)** – On a rising scale of 1–4, this refers to the extent to which implementations realised their planned target populations (RPTP) according to the stated planning objectives. Based on the ethnocultural and religious character of present-day populations (CBS 2020)[13], this measure was intended to indicate the existence of a range of social, economic or political public interests that may (or may not) have been achieved by the implementations. Relatively strong scores of 3 or 4 potentially supported a viable national policy outcome, as in the Orphan implementations modality.

  Weakest scores represented less than 65% of instances, indicating that population demographics had changed over time. They were categorised as practical local implementation outputs of local land-use plans that did not necessarily contribute to the national spatial policy. They were referred to as nominally achieved resolutions of conflict. RPTP was strong for approximately 85% of instances and strengthened with the passing of time. This indicated the likelihood of a national outcome.

- **Doctrine** – A comprehensive measure of achievement, on a rising scale from 1–3, determined the extent to which planning objectives at the time of implementation corresponded to the accepted national spatial ideals (Doctrine) for the same chronological period – ideological, economic normalisation, or social and environmental justice. Weak correlations between the Doctrine and planning objectives indicated ambiguity as well as conflict resolution on local levels only, possibly at odds with elements of the national public interest. This highlighted the likelihood that various nominally achieved implementation outputs were incongruous with each other, as evident in the first two doctrinal periods. Conversely, a strong correlation between the Doctrine

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[13] Target populations of under 64% of the town's present demographic make-up scored 1, 65%–79% scored 2, 80%–96% scored 3 and over 97% scored 4.

and planning objectives, combined with indications of flexible, bottom-up intermediate meso or local micro initiatives, meant that varying policy implementation outputs had integrated to produce a viable functional national outcome supporting the Orphan implementations modality.

In the period of social and environmental justice (2001–2022), planning objectives correlated strongly with Doctrine, significantly linked to bottom-up original initiatives. This indicated the possibility of a workable national outcome, adding weight to the Orphan implementations modality as a suitable procedural approach.

Detailed empirical findings

Among the 52 implemented new town instances documented, 27 were established prior to 1967[14]. Of those, 20 were planned development towns. Of the 27 new town instances, all except five were designated by national planning objectives for the absorption of the over 1.25 million immigrants arriving at the time. This was in keeping with the ideological doctrinal period (1950–1989). In the absence of indications of bottom-up original initiative instances before 1967, a strong relationship between the two variables – RPTP and Doctrine – represented a majority-driven political and public consensus couched in top-down decision-making.

Between 1967 and 2022, 25 new towns were established, 16 of which were recorded as bottom-up intermediate meso and local micro original initiatives. The bottom-up variable was apparent in approximately half the instances corresponding to the second part of the first doctrinal period (1967–1989), and in all instances relating to the third period of social and environmental justice (2001–2022).

Relatively weak correlations between the planning objectives and Doctrine were apparent in the second half of the ideological period and in the period of economic normalisation (1967–2000). Between 1967 and 1990, six new towns and seven homogeneous Bedouin towns were created. This acknowledgement of diverse populations included minority groups. It seemed that the ideals of state-building and population dispersal were not discarded, but channelled toward homogeneous (exclusionary) new towns[15]. Such nominally achieved implementation outputs were sometimes incongruous with one another. Over the next 10-year period of economic normalisation, five additional new towns were established. They too represented land allocations to specified ethnocultural and socioeconomic groups. The philosophy of this period preferred the consolidation of built areas to sprawling new towns. Once again, there was a

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[14]   The post-1967 Six Day War was a time of ideological reflection and growth for the State of Israel (Gera 1992).

[15]   Given the implications of policy dilemmas posing various moral and social points of view within cultural contexts that comprise particular value systems, we made no ethical judgements on exclusionary attitudes prevalent in some periods of Israel's national development.

weak correlation between the planning objectives and the Doctrine, suggesting only nominal achievement.

The strong RPTP scores in the second half of the ideological period and in the period of economic normalisation (1967–2000) offset the atmosphere of conflict and ambiguity represented by the weak relationship between the planning objectives and the Doctrine. This indicated varying incongruent implementations, national-level ambivalence and the nominally achieved resolution of conflict by local implementation outputs.

In fact, the average RPTP score for all new towns was significantly strong for approximately 85% of the new town instances[16]. The overall relationship between the RPTPs and planning objectives for new towns was strengthened with the progression of time. As an indicator for nominally achieved implementation outputs and/or implementations promoting a national outcome, the strong average RPTP score in relation to planning objectives demonstrated that over the years most instances of new town establishment entailed some element of conflict resolution regarding the distribution of land.

In the period of social and environmental justice (2001–2022), planning objectives, involving distributions of land for ethnocultural minority or special population groups, correlated strongly with the Doctrine. These more recent new town instances also showed RPTP scores that were positively correlated with the scores for the Doctrine in relation to the planning objectives. In contrast to the first doctrinal period (1950–1966), this new positive relationship between planning objectives and Doctrine was significantly linked to bottom-up initiatives originating with the local leadership, citizenry and local government agencies. Reflecting a general sense of a workable national outcome, evidence of the Orphan implementations modality of public policy processes was strong. Instead of producing differing incongruous outputs, the prevailing Doctrine appeared to have created a procedural approach fed by bottom-up intentions for social justice, and the possibility of a retrospective alignment with some national 'parent' policy ideals.

Nearly all new towns had planned target populations. Some towns, such as Rechasim and Beit Shemesh, evolved over time toward adjusted target populations in order to satisfy changing ethnocultural demands. Approximately 27% of all 52 new towns were earmarked for minority or special groups (Bedouin or ultra-Orthodox Jews)[17]. These were established starting from the second half of the first ideological period after 1967, and have constituted 60% of all new towns established since. Planned ethnocultural target populations served as impetus

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[16]   RPTP scores could not be calculated for 2 of the 52 new towns which are not yet completely built.

[17]   Of the minority groups in Israel, Moslem Arabs and Bedouin tribes comprise one of the largest. Bedouin and ultra-Orthodox Jews are each experiencing the highest rate of population growth – and hence, the greatest need for housing. Note that many rural villages for other minorities, not included in the criteria for this study, have been allocated land in Israel.

for the establishing of approximately 61% of new towns in the second half of the first doctrinal period (after 1967), and 85.7% of those in the latest doctrinal period. Most of the remaining new town instances had socioeconomic planning objectives rooted in on the demand for centrally located housing options. This was not an identifiable urban trend before their latter periods, although it is fair to assume that towns situated at accessible locations drew demand for housing according to the needs and desires of the intended population groups.

After the year 2000, eight new town implementations were proposed and ratified at the highest parliamentary level, most targeting Bedouin and ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities. In the instances regarding Bedouin target populations, the inducement of specific geographical concentrations was expected to free up tracts of land for open spaces and other land-uses. The relatively high-density singular ultra-Orthodox new town instance was designed to conserve land. Some new towns established during the latest period were meant to serve the demand for centrally located housing, aimed at higher socioeconomic groups.

Overall, the new towns after 1967 targeted a broader scope of ethnocultural target populations, many of which were allocated to minority groups. This confirmed a range of conflicting social, ethnic, economic and political public interests concerning distribution of lands in Israel over the span of 55 years. The lengthy period of time documented between decisions to establish towns and their implementations, in some instances up to 25 years, is itself an indicator of conflicting ideologies and ambiguous decision-making. Some implementation delays may have simply been set aside until the occurrence of necessity, such as housing shortages in certain geographical areas. Even as the rising demand for housing presented circumstances of doctrinal conflict, homogeneous new towns were being implemented.

Interview data and results

The second part of the study consisted of 13 semi-structured interviews with government officials and professionals involved in land-use planning decisions related to the establishing of new towns[18]. The interviews were conducted in discussion format between 2021–2022 and used to augment the documentation data. Interviewees relevant to planning processes were selected according to their professional seniority and participation in at least three of the new town implementations included in the case study[19]. They were shown the list of 52 towns documented, the dates of their establishment or statutory acknowledgement, and the historical reasons for creating them. The interviews covered points of consultation regarding who and which agencies were involved in each implementation instance on all levels of the policy process. Specific points of discussion were dedicated to determining the level on which the new town land-use proposals

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[18]   The first three interviews served as a sample for the larger set.
[19]   Professional experience was verifiable by official protocols or documents.

had originated, and what administrative authority had leveraged the greatest support for implementing them. These variables were important for identifying positive indicators for bottom-up initiatives. Accordingly, retrospective national political support for new town establishment, subsequent to implementation approval on the intermediate meso or local micro levels, was explored.

The discussions then focused on opposition and conflict with respect to the new town land-use proposals. These were intended to gauge whether each implementation indicated flexible national spatial decision-making, ultimately producing a redefinition of national spatial policy outcome in keeping with **Orphan implementations**. This, as opposed to local conflict resolution outputs, was often incongruous with the extant national spatial policy (Doctrine).

The criteria for the interview data analysis corresponded to that of our previous documentation. They depended on combined indications pertaining to doctrinal time periods, incorporating planning objectives, and their association with three main variables: top-down/bottom-up initiatives, flexible/non-flexible (incongruous) flow of decision-making between policy levels, and capacity to influence the national policy outcome – as a function of implementation achievement or failure to realise planned target populations (RPTP). These corresponded to conditions defining the Orphan modality.

Among the 52 new town instances documented in Table 1, 22 were referred to by at least 2 of the 13 interviewees. These were recorded and coded according to the criteria for data analysis[20]. Responses were then sorted and divided into three data sets corresponding to the relevant doctrinal periods referenced in Table 1. The results (see Table 2) tended to relate to the second half of the ideological period, subsequent to the early years (before 1967) of relative national consensus on land distributions.

The interview data revealed that at least 81% of the 22 new towns discussed were initiated on the intermediate meso or local micro levels of policy processes, mostly relating to the period subsequent to 1989. From 2001, the figure rose to 100%. This finding corresponded to the information in Table 1. It confirmed that bottom-up, independent, original initiatives were probable determinants of achieved implementations in the circumstances of high conflict/high ambiguity that denoted the establishment of new towns (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019).

The combined interview and documentation data indicated that before the year 2000, during the ideological period and the period of economic normalisation, new town decisions were typified by the absence of national decision-making flexibility, even when initiated on the intermediate meso or local micro levels. Those new town instances were identified as local nominally achieved implementation outputs of individual land distribution processes rather than as

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[20] For discrepancies between varying responses to a single point, the majority response was included in the analysis. When only two among all interviewees discussed the same instance and exhibited discrepancies in their responses, the entire instance was discarded.

a national policy outcome. They served as one of many local resolution points for issues of intense conflict, inconsistency and high-level ambiguity. Within those time periods, bottom-up original initiatives that had realised their planned target populations were not generally accompanied by the flexibility needed to balance local conflict resolutions with the national doctrine, and some exhibited incongruity with one another or with related political declarations. Thus, interviewees perceived weak links between new town initiatives and retrospective policy directives. This atmosphere of contention and incongruity on all levels of policy processes was acknowledged in most interviews.

Table 2: ISRAELI NEW TOWN POLICY DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENTATIONS: DATA SETS FOR INTERVIEWS

New Towns / Criteria for analysis	Doctrinal time-period (after or before 2000) – yes, no	Number of referenced implement-ations recounted (in the data set)	Dominant involve-ment levels – meso/ micro, macro	Original initiative on micro/ meso level – yes, no	Flexible high-level attitude vs incongruity	Realised planned target population (RPTP) – yes, no	Capacity to influence or redefine national policy outcome – yes, no
1968–1989	**total**						
KIRYAT YEARIM	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
KOCHAV YAIR	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
METAR	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
LEHAVIM	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
BEDOUIN (6/7 TOWNS)	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
1990–2000	**total**						
BEDOUIN (1/7 TOWNS)	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
MODI'IN	0	2	1	1	1	1	0
ELAD	0	3	1	1	1	1	0
SHOHAM	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
BAT HEFER	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
2001–2021	**total**						
HARISH	1	4	1+0	1	1	0	0
ZUR YITZHAK	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
KASIF	1	3	1+0	1	1	.5	.5*
HASHAM ZANA	1	2	1+0	1	1	.5	.5*
UM BATIN	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
ABU TLUL	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
MAKCOL/MARIT	1	2	1+0	1	1	1	1

CODING:
Doctrinal time period after or before 2000 – yes, no (1,0); **Dominant involvement levels** – meso/micro, macro (1,0); **Original initiative** – yes, no (1,0); **Flexibility**, incongruity (1,0); **Realised planned target population** – yes, no (1,0); **Capacity to influence or redefine national policy outcome** – yes, no (1,0).
*not fully populated

Source: Interviews with government officials and professionals.

Conflict and ambiguity pertaining to land distributions often led to implementations that contradicted national political government declarations. Over 50% of the interviewees referenced at least one instance reliant on government resolutions under the terms of the Procedure for the Establishment of New Towns/Villages (GOI 2004). This resolution invites the parliamentary ratification of intermediate meso and local micro initiatives for the establishment of new towns, even if they negate certain national declarations. In fact, an official caveat to statutory protocols approving new towns and villages (IPA 2022), utilised regularly in the later doctrinal periods, states that while granting approval for the particular special case in question the planning committee does not support the establishment of new towns and villages. Hence, ratification of professional land-use plans amid contradictory political declarations and radical ideological shifts relied not only on favourable governing circumstances, but on flexible decision-making that bolstered the resilience of land distribution proposals over time. This indication was aligned with the Orphan modality.

Twelve of the thirteen interviewees suggested that the doctrinal period of social and environmental justice after the year 2000 presented a national attitude of conflict resolution favouring intended target populations. This was supported by top-down/bottom-up fluidity in the statutory planning processes. Eleven of the thirteen interviewees believed that initiatives rooted in local demands were capable of leading to national decisions. Interview references to new town instances originating on local policy levels during this period corresponded to the documentation in Table 1[21]. Over 70% of those instances had the capacity to influence or redefine the national spatial policy outcome. Focusing on the latest doctrinal period, but not exclusively, independent bottom-up original initiatives promoting a national policy outcome in the wider balance of public interest supported Orphan implementations as a viable modality of policy process.

The affirmation of the Orphan implementations modality, as distinct from nominally achieved local implementations, highlights its utility as an effective policy instrument for successful national decision-making regarding conflict/ambiguity issues. A positive correlation between indicators for original initiatives, a flexible flow of decision-making, and capacity to influence a national policy outcome added weight to the Orphan implementations concept as a salient procedure. This was especially apparent in relation to ethnocultural conflict between communities, as potential target populations, that elicited multiple ambiguous political declarations.

In addition, almost all interviewees were able to refer to at least one case where ambiguous political declarations had served as a 'parent' policy, supporting requests for statutory approval of intermediate meso or local micro implementation initiatives. Multiple outputs initiated independently on implementation

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[21]   Table 1 documented a total of eight new town instances originating at implementation levels. Of these, one was not included in the interview data.

levels subsequently 'looped back' to facilitate one or more loosely defined declarative policies. The emergence of this simultaneous retrospective adoption of 'parent' policies supported the capacity to influence or redefine national policy. For example, with respect to the establishment of Bedouin towns after 2001, two interviewees credited non-governmental social justice lobby groups, effective in their appeals to the High Court of Justice, with bringing about the implementation of bottom-up endeavours. In this way, lobbies may have succeeded in widening the flexibility of national government decision-making.

DISCUSSION

Based on decisions made throughout consecutive time periods (Thelen 2003), new town implementations have been instrumental in shaping the pattern of land-use and population distributions in Israel. Our case study referenced timeframes related to spatial policy processes within the context of historical and institutional progressions (Christensen et al. 2002), as well as the evolution of public attitudes. The earliest new towns were rooted in nationalistic designs for a spatial order, ascribed by the interviewees to the climate of public consensus in the ideological period (1950–1989). New towns promoted the strategic dispersal of populations (Efrat 1994; the interviews). The data relating to this period demonstrated that top-down policy models measured the effectiveness of the processes by the adaptation of vague ideological goals. One interviewee explained: "Even without detailed policy guidelines, the accepted procedure dictated that if a government representative (on any level) indicated the need for a (land-use) proposal, statutory committees were expected to grant approval"[22]. There was little allowance for incongruous land-use implementations as that would have resulted in policy failure. This corresponded to Matland's (1995) model of conflict and ambiguity, and served to explain the positive correlation between the planning objectives and the Doctrine prior to 1967[23].

In the relatively short and transitional period of economic normalisation (1990–2000), national outline plans created new ideals (IPA 1993), while the nationalist sociospatial order remained a point of reasoning for the establishment of new towns (Knesset 2010). Implementations in this period seemed most in tune with the principles of the previous one. Indications of a time-lag meant that planning objectives and implementations did not generally correspond with the prevailing Doctrine, which discouraged new towns. Implementation outputs were not identified as direct derivatives of any of the various conflicting national-level policies.

Spatial distributions in the latter doctrinal periods were increasingly rooted in socioeconomic and demand-driven pressures, emphasising intermediate meso

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[22]   Translated from Hebrew.
[23]   There is little evidence of new town implementations between 1967 and 1975, possibly due to the time-lag between the ideological shifts and spatial planning approval. The focus may also have shifted to geographical areas outside the pre-1967 borders (not covered by this study).

and local micro level initiatives. Asked to state whether (or not) the planned target populations for each implementation had been achieved and why, interviewees indicated the catalysts related to: public demand or need, the available finance, government or institutional policy, and cultural identity/reverse discrimination. These also emerged as points of reference for delayed implementations from past doctrinal periods grounded in earlier spatial ideals[24]. Some implementations had been expected to fulfil a public need for structured communities and centrally located affordable housing (Fialkoff 1992). To quote one interviewee: "New town proposals may not come to fruition whilst there is no public demand for housing solutions at the proposed location. Without public or institutional pressures demanding implementation, they do not merit budgetary backing". The new emphasis on upwardly mobile target groups, as opposed to immigrant populations, allowed the land-use planning proposals of former periods to linger on even after policy ideals had continued to evolve. By the time demand for new land distributions had become apparent, the previously proposed plans had carried over to the subsequent doctrinal periods. In this regard, we observed a reluctance by the interviewees to view unratified plans as failures.

The research documentation and interview responses revealed that a lack of public demand was one of a variety of reasons for the deferral of new town implementations. As time progressed, the growing scarcity of land resources clearly contributed to changing perceptions of space, especially in the latter doctrinal periods. Previously unimplemented land-use proposals were revisited, dependent on ever-changing political constellations and relevant to practical and ideological processes. Delayed implementations appeared to leverage greater flexibility in policymaking for conflict-oriented land distribution.

The period of social and environmental justice (2000–2022) brought meaningful change by institutionalising even greater flexibility of implementation. Typical circumstances for implementation retained elements of ambiguity and conflict, although minority and special populations were regularly preferred to majority groups. Corresponding to the Doctrine of this period, various implementation initiatives accentuated the interwoven parameters of exclusivity and inclusion. For example, decisions establishing Arab or Bedouin towns were sometimes directly opposed to parallel implementations for ultra-Orthodox or Jewish majority populations. The pivotal difference here was that the aggregate of independent initiatives could produce a more balanced policy outcome to improve the standard of social justice.

Data pertaining to the period of social and environmental justice indicated that Israel's practical policy framework for land distribution had advanced from the territorial ideologies that once dictated the national sociospatial order (Low

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[24] New towns often stemmed from earlier strategic plans for population distributions along Israeli borders, i.e., the "Stars Plan" (Dunsky 1991) and its forerunners: "Village fortress 1960", "Hills Axis 1978" (Dunsky and Golani 1992), the Sharon Plan (1951).

2017, 38, 40–42, 70). The progression from first period considerations implied an acknowledgment of contenders with multiple interests, carrying higher levels of conflict, previously overshadowed or ignored by the majority consensus. The equitability of land distributions was addressed in terms of a newly emerging 'politically correct' attitude contrived to avoid offending various sociocultural groups. Ambiguous political declarations to this effect served as a platform for the simultaneous promotion of disparate interests, including reverse discrimination (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019; High Court of Justice 1998, 2000; GOI 2011). Statutory and legal decisions worked at cross-purposes to defend a diversity of land-use plans, often backed by contradictory goals. This made implementation initiatives for new towns a salient conflict/ambiguity type policy issue.

Data for the doctrinal period representing social and environmental justice revealed a positive association between various isolated implementation outputs and large-scale national policy outcomes. Indicators for land-use implementations were in a significant state of alignment, creating the progressive outcome denoted by the Orphan implementations modality. They comprised: original initiatives on intermediate meso or local micro levels, a flexible flow of decision-making between policy levels, and the capacity to influence a national policy outcome. Documentation of the Doctrine, as a measure of planning objectives, tallied with the realised planned target populations (RPTPs). Bottom-up local original initiatives addressed the national public interest as a consolidation of integrated implementation outputs. The combined bottom-up implementations may also have latched on to existing abstract high-level decisions grounded in 'parent' policies[25].

CONCLUSIONS

New towns have been at the heart of Israeli ideological conflict within sociopolitical power structures. They have influenced spatial policy over time, perpetually threatening social and environmental cohesion. Within the context of scarce land resources, new town implementations have required a balance between ethnic, cultural and religious concerns with sociodemographic, economic and environmental principles. Research of Israeli processes has identified instances where politicised decisions were deliberately ambiguous so as not to undermine broad political support (Gertel Groome and Hočevar 2019)[26]. As such, policy decisions for conflict/ambiguity type issues were likely deferred to implementation levels.

The Israeli case study of the distribution of land as a public commodity resource referred to the achievement of new town implementation initiatives

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[25] Particularly relevant to the anti-discriminatory approach applied to the establishment of Bedouin towns after 2001.

[26] Especially salient where coalition governments were comprised of numerous political parties representing a deeply fragmented public, rife with social divisions.

within deliberative policy systems, typified by considerable public controversy and political ambiguity.

Our research revealed that circumstances of contention over conflict/ambiguity type policy issues favour paradigm change, affecting hierarchical and chronological mechanisms within decision-making apparatuses. In our understanding, the Orphan implementations modality represents a meaningful reconceptualisation of policy processes. Framed by historical and institutional progressions of spatial policy, Israeli spatial distributions have specified target populations, unlocking a range of competing political, institutional and public interests. While communities vie for scarce resources, abstract noncommittal political declarations lack coherent directives for implementation solutions. Attempting to secure a delicate popular consensus on spatial and demographic distribution issues, high-level decision-makers have espoused progressively vague and ambiguous attitudes (Winter 2006; 2015). The case study data showed that ambiguous politicised statements can mitigate conflict, even offering social integration through an ethnocultural diversity of homogenous enclaves. Arguably, this increased parity among opposing groups of contenders offered a remedy to favour a policy outcome promoting social equity and justice (Barusch 2017).

Abstract political declarations without political clarity and generally at odds with processual planning ideals have encouraged sustainable pragmatic land-use planning initiatives originating on intermediate meso and local micro levels. High-level deference to practical professional land-use planning implementation initiatives have offered an effective more flexible alternative to top-down inefficiencies. These processual outputs have been capable of affecting a national policy outcome (Mandl et al. 2008, 3), as varying independent implementations may expedite practical policy solutions to balance the national public interest.

The evolution of public and political perspectives over time seemed to have improved the flexibility of policy processes in their capacity to redefine Israeli national spatial policy (Gertel Groome 2021). Flexible decision-making, along with an attentiveness to the public's needs and demands, appeared as positive aspects of political ambiguity. For some decision-makers, the sum of multiple land distributions among a variety of homogeneous ethnocultural communities conveys a sense of fairness that can boost to public confidence in the institutions of governance. Policy relating to land conflicts may endorse exclusionary implementations, but can also provide an engine for developmental and social change that raises awareness of collective and personal rights and benefits reverse discrimination. Spatial policy holds the capacity to ameliorate quality of life for the various segments of society. This means it is imperative that distributions or redistributions of contended lands be implemented in the largely inclusive national public interest.

We are aware that the case studied is quite specific and therefore only tentatively applicable elsewhere. Nevertheless, we hope the research will contribute to the body of public policy literature with a view to strengthening the resilience

of progressive processes. Such progress should be ready and able to meet the political, sociocultural and ethical challenges posed by increasingly conflicting political ideals and values. Seen most generally, the case study addresses a complexity of mechanisms for managing social integration in conditions of considerable population diversity. Channelling the focus of processual discourse to the interactions of governance on intermediate meso and local micro levels stresses implementation initiatives as a hub of decision-making within policy processes. This underscores the relative autonomy of administrators on implementation levels as they influence, and are influenced by, local and national contentions within state institutions (Gertel Groome 2021; Yanow 2000). In our view, responsible decentralisation of bottom-up, professional decision-making can leverage the ambiguity of controversial political issues to inspire flexibility and, in turn, serve an integrated composite of the national public interest.

Planners and administrators on intermediate meso and local micro administrative levels can be empowered to initiate original implementation processes. This points to a fresh need to address sensitive issues relevant to moral dilemmas of public policy regarding the distribution of public commodity resources. Additional research should further develop theory and methodology that best fit with the field of professional 'good practice', the ideals of neutrality, fairness, equity and inclusion. The extent to which policy initiatives are significantly influenced by (or dependent on) institutional, professional and particular world views within sociocultural contexts is pertinent to the study of modalities of policy process as they relate to ideological conflict. Decision-making patterns relevant to policy processes for commodity resource distributions, in Israel and in similar deliberative systems, could also benefit from the study of the personal beliefs of actors and stakeholders.

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■ Shulamith Gertel GROOME, Marjan HOČEVAR

MODALNOST »SIROTNIŠKIH IMPLEMENTACIJ« V PROCESIH JAVNIH POLITIK PRI RAZPOREJANJU ZEMLJIŠKIH VIROV: IZRAELSKA ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA

Povzetek. *Študija primera razporejanja (deliver) zemljišč, ki določa prostorske ureditve za »nova mesta« v Izraelu, uporabimo za raziskovanje oblikovanja javnih politik v ozračju etnokulturne raznolikosti in sporov. Globoko razdeljen pogled na javni interes v Izraelu, sestavljen iz skupnosti, ki so nagnjene k konfliktom, se nagiba k dvoumnim političnim izjavam brez jasnih operativnih smernic. Analize podatkov kažejo, da je odsotnost direktiv lahko koristna za postopke javnih politik, ker spodbuja prožno prenašanje odločanja na vmesne (mezzo) in lokalne (mikro) upravne ravni. Ob poudarjanju uporabnosti prožnih deliberativnih implementacij, ki se začnejo na ravneh od spodaj navzgor, pričakujemo, da lahko modalnosti »sirotniških implementacij« javnih politik za vprašanja konfliktov/dvoumnosti pomenijo rekonceptualiziran instrument teh politik. Članek se osredini na preverjanje in razvoj te modalnosti v njeni zmožnosti zagotavljanja koristnega prispevka k praktičnim političnim odločitvam povsod, kjer bi se lahko politični poskusi utrjevanja razdrobljenih javnih soglasij uporabili za njihovo produktivno izvajanje. Zato predlagamo, da ima lahko skupni rezultat pobud za izvajanje od spodaj navzgor skozi čas tudi afirmativni učinek na socialno ravnovesje nacionalne prostorske politike.*

Ključni pojmi: *razporejanje zemljišč, prostorski konflikt, odločanje od spodaj navzgor, implementacija politik, načrtovanje rabe prostora.*