

פרחי מחקר

The 15th International Graduate Conference

**In Political Science, International Relations, and
Public Policy**

In Memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin

Conference Program

הכנס הבינלאומי החמישה עשר

**לתלמידי מחקר במדע המדינה, יחסים בינלאומיים ומדיניות
ציבורית**

על שם יצחק רבין ז"ל

11-12 December 2019

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

<http://gradcon.huji.ac.il>

The 15th International Graduate Conference in Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy, in Memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin (“Rabin Conference”)

Beit-Maiersdorf, Mount Scopus Campus, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, December 11-12, 2019

Sponsors

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University

The Federmann School of Public Policy and Government, Hebrew University

The Department of Political Science, Hebrew University

The Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

The European Forum, Hebrew University

The International Conference Committee, the Authority for Research and Development, Hebrew University

Academic Committee

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Academic Convener, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Department of Communications, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Liat Raz, School of Public Policy, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Conference Organizing Committee and Staff

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Mr. Chanoch Wolpe, Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

Ms. Michal Barak Ben-Arush, Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

Best Paper Award Committee

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Dr. Devorah Manekin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Nahshon Perez, Bar-Ilan University

Dr. Maoz Rosenthal, IDC Herzliya

A special thank you and gratitude goes to our workshop leaders and guests from Israel and overseas. We would also like to thank the dozens of Faculty members from the Hebrew University and other universities all over the country who have volunteered to serve as chairs, discussants, and advisers in this Conference over the last thirteen years.

Wednesday, December 11, 2019

Maiersdorf Faculty Club

0930-1000: Informal gathering/registration [Maiersdorf 4th Floor Lobby]

1000-1230: Methodological workshops (morning session)

1230-1400: Lunch and roundtable discussion with Faculty guests: *“Tips about How to Survive an Academic Career”* [Maiersdorf 405]

Participants: Arie M. Kacowicz (Chair); Roundtable panelists: Dr. Javier Gil Guerrero; Prof. Ron Krebs; Prof. T.V., Paul; and Prof. Janice Stein.

1400-1800: Methodological workshops (afternoon session)

1930: Dinner at Ima Restaurant, Schmuel Baruch 55 St., Jerusalem [by invitation only]

Thursday, December 12, 2019

0900-0920: Gathering/Registration [Maiersdorf 4th Floor Lobby]

0920-0945: Formal opening of the Conference and welcome remarks: Prof. Tamir Shaefer, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem ; Prof. Dan Miodownik, Director, Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University; Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Academic Convenor [Maiersdorf 405]

1000-1230: Research workshops (morning session)

1000-1115: Prof. T.V. Paul, McGill University, *“Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era”*, Maiersdorf 501.

1230-1400: Lunch [by invitation only] [Maiersdorf Main Restaurant, second floor]

1400-1730: Research workshops (afternoon session)

1800-1930: Best paper award ceremony and roundtable on *“Coping with Multiple Crises: From Climate Change to Democratic Erosion to the Future of China-U.S. Relations”* [Maiersdorf 405]

Participants: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz (Chair); Prof. Ron Krebs, Prof. Janice Stein, Prof. Sandra Destradi, Dr. Galia Bar-Nathan, Prof. T.V. Paul, and Prof. Miranda Schreurs (tbc)

1930-2100: Reception for the Conference participants [Maiersdorf 4th Floor Lobby]

Detailed List of Workshops/Abstracts and Bios of Faculty

The 15th International Graduate Conference in Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy, in memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus Campus, 11-12 December 2019

Wednesday, December 11, 2019

Methodological Workshops

WM1: “Politics and Language: How to Study Political Talk and Text and What It Does”

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Prof. Ron Krebs, University of Minnesota; and Prof. Shaul Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Much of what we observe in the world of politics involves language. Political actors seek to communicate and to manipulate. They hope to persuade some to join their cause and to box others in. They aim to set agendas, to define issues and the terms of debate, or just to distract. In order to do all this, they perforce use language—spoken or written, in talk or in text. They are creatures of discourse, embodying and reproducing dominant narratives, but they are also makers of discourse, strategically seeking to effect change in linguistic repertoires.

Therefore, analysts of politics are surrounded by texts—and by nearly as many ways of studying them and their consequences. Doing so requires a deeply interdisciplinary vision, a pluralistic approach to method, and diverse analytical tools. Actual manifestations of talk and text need to be contextualized in time and space, related to political functions, and they are also evaluated in light of critical theory.

Drawing on key texts and cutting-edge research, this workshop aims to expose students to different conceptual and theoretical frameworks through which scholars have explored the origins and effects of political language. In the first half of the workshop, we outline traditionally recognized and newly identified links between language and politics, and we explore conceptual ambiguities and the historical roots of political language research. The workshop introduces students to a range of techniques for studying different forms of political language and explores both their possibilities and their limits. The second part of the workshop is dedicated to instructors and students working together to critically analyze examples of theoretically-driven and informed empirical research on talk and text in politics. These examples may also include political narratives, interviews, speech acts, and other materials suggested by the participants.

Prof. Zohar Kampf (Ph.D., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Communication and Journalism, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and an associate editor of *Journal of Pragmatics*. His main research interest lies in the multifaceted ties between media, language and politics. These linkages appear in his studies of public speech acts, mediated political interactions, and in his works in the field of language of peace and conflict. He is the author of two books and of more than fifty chapters and articles in leading communication and discourse journals.

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Prof. Ronald R. Krebs (Ph.D., Columbia University) is Beverly and Richard Fink Professor in the Liberal Arts and Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota. He is the author most recently of *Narrative and the Making of US National Security* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), which won the 2016 Robert L. Jervis and Paul W. Schroeder Best Book Award in International History and Politics and the 2016 Giovanni Sartori Book Award, for the best book developing or applying qualitative methods, from the American Political Science Association. Ron Krebs is also co-editor, with Thierry Balzacq (Sciences Po, Paris), of *The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy* (forthcoming); co-editor, with Stacie Goddard (Wellesley College), of “Rhetoric & Grand Strategy,” a special issue of *Security Studies* (2015); and co-editor, with Elizabeth Kier (University of Washington), of *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). Finally, he is the author of *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship* (Cornell University Press, 2006). Ron Krebs has been named a Fulbright Senior Scholar to Israel (2012), as well as Scholar of the College of Liberal Arts (2017-2020) and a McKnight Land-Grant Professor (2006-2008) at the University of Minnesota. He currently sits on the editorial boards of *Security Studies* and the *Journal of Global Security Studies*.

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Prof. Shaul Shenhav (Ph.D., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the director of the Levi Eshkol Institute for Economic, Social and Political Research in Israel. His research interests include political narratives, political discourse, rhetoric, public diplomacy, and Israeli politics. Among his publications are articles for peer-reviewed journals like *Comparative Political Studies*, *Discourse and Society*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Narrative Inquiry*, *Political Psychology*, and *Political Communication*. His book, *Analyzing Social Narratives*, was published in 2015.

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WM2: “Handling Causation via Propensity Scoring”

Alberto Stefanelli, KU Leuven, Belgium; in cooperation with Prof. Sharon Gilad, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (who facilitated the workshop).

The contemporary social science community, including political science, public policy and public administration, are increasingly focused on - if not fixated with - concerns over causal identification. In other words, providing a persuasive answer to the question whether and how X causes Y, as opposed to providing good prediction of Y on the basis of multi-variate statistical associations. These concerns stimulated the proliferation of experimental research, which was previously confined to psychology, whether in the lab, on-line, or in the field. The value and strength of experimental research notwithstanding, its drawbacks, most notably in terms of external validity, are also well acknowledged. Thus, the significance of studying

naturalistic behavior in the real world and make use of observational data are as important as they always were. To overcome

e the limitations that come with non-experimental data, different statistical procedures such as propensity scoring and entropy weighting have been proposed. Following these changes, this workshop will cover the basic theoretical concerns of causation (counterfactual, manipulation, confounders, and selection bias), and provide a hands-on guide to one popular method for balancing observational data in cases where the random treatment allocation is theoretically or ethically unfeasible. The empirical analysis will be implemented using R. While example data sets and full syntax codes will be provided, basic knowledge of R is expected. More advanced knowledge of statistical computing, such as writing functions and loops, is helpful but not required.

Prof. Sharon Gilad is Associate Professor in the Federmann School of Public Policy and Government and the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is also Associate Editor of *Public Administration*. Her research is predominantly within the field of Public Administration. Methodologically, she specializes in mixed-methods designs, combining quantitative and qualitative tools within the same projects.

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Alberto Stefanelli is a PhD candidate at the Institute for Social and Political Opinion Research (ISPO), KU Leuven, Belgium. His PhD is on Political Radicalization in Ethnic Minorities, Views on Western Society, Liberal Values, and Politics. His research interests are mostly within the field of voting behavior, party finance, and political communication. In methodological terms, he is interested in graphical causal models, machine learning algorithms, text analysis, and big data.

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WM3: “Introduction to Big Data”

Prof. Alon Peled, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

What is big data? How do we harvest important insights from the very troves of datasets that public, private, and non-profit organizations create? How do we discover and employ successfully a big data analytical technique that is suitable to the scholarly challenge we are facing? These are the key questions our workshop will address. We will use concrete examples to define some of the key concepts and analytical research techniques within the domain of big data. Students will learn where and how to gain quickly critical big data, business intelligence, machine learning, and programming techniques that are helpful to their research projects. The specific goal and purpose of this workshop is to ignite the passion of students to continue studying big data topics on their own and to apply their new skills to

their personal research projects. Technical knowledge of any kind is not required in order to attend and enjoy this workshop.

Prof. Alon Peled is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Professor Peled has published two books and numerous articles explaining why large-scale computer projects frequently fail and narrating how organizations can deploy big data successfully and improve information sharing within and without the organization. His most recent scholarly and start-up work focuses on improving big data information sharing in government and empowering citizens, entrepreneurs, and corporations to discover and use the massive amounts of open government data that local and national governments worldwide release. In addition to his scholarly work, Professor Peled has served as the big data analyst and senior data modeler of enterprise-wide data warehouse projects in very large corporations such as Fidelity Investments, PepsiCo, IBM Healthcare and Verisign as well as in several innovative start-up companies. As the former Chairperson of the Authority of Computers, Communication, and Information of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he also supervised all the work to acquire, build, integrate and deploy the university's next-generation technologies.

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WM4: “Archival Research in the Information Age”

Dr. Jonathan Grossmann, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Not long ago, qualitatively-oriented political scientists predominantly relied on the work of historians. Today, more and more of us prefer to collect our own data in physical and digital archives. This direct contact with primary documents has the potential to substantially improve the accuracy and impact of our scholarship. However, it also poses serious challenges to our work. These include, but are not limited to, the information overload caused by the exponential growth of data in the world; the changing nature of archival material – from paper to digital documents and from “small” to big data sources; and the new skills and technologies required to collect, organize, and analyze these data. Researchers and archivists have yet to address these challenges satisfactorily. As a result, archival research methodology is still lagging far behind other research methods in the information age. Fortunately, the digital era has provided us with a variety of possible solutions to these problems.

This workshop is intended for political scientists, historians, and other scholars interested in finding, accessing, gathering, storing, organizing, and retrieving unstructured sources in real-life and online contexts (and living to tell about it). We will discuss the different types of archives and archival data in the information age, the old and new challenges for archival researchers, and how we can overcome or mitigate them. We will especially focus on intuitive, affordable, and cost-efficient digital tools that can facilitate our research process. However, we will also pay due respect to some time-honored low-tech traditions and accessories. Participants are highly encouraged to share their own insights, experiences, and hardships related to archival work and to recommend (or denounce) particular methodologies, techniques, and digital or analog tools for this kind of research. No previous knowledge or computer skills are required.

Dr. Jonathan Grossman is a post-doctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he had also earned his

PhD. In the past two years, he was a visiting lecturer and post-doctoral fellow at the University of Texas at Austin, where he worked at the Department of Government, the Institute for Israel Studies, and the Schusterman Center for Jewish Studies. His research interests include diaspora politics, digital tools, the use of big data in political research, the qualitative foundations of quantitative analysis, and diplomatic history. Jonathan has been reproached, reprimanded, admonished, reproved, lambasted, and frowned upon by countless archivists in three different continents. He thinks that microfilm is the work of the devil and that archives are both awesome and terrifying, as he hopes to show in the workshop.

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WM5: “Research Design for Ph.D. Students: Sharing Experiences and Tips”

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In this interactive workshop, Ph.D. students are invited to briefly address their peers and refer in no more than five minutes to the following research design components in their dissertation (whether a monography or a compilation of papers). First, what is your research question, your puzzle and problematique? Why did you choose your subject? ; 2) What is the appropriate research method (methodology) you will be using and why?; 3) What are some of the problems, obstacles, and pitfalls you would like to share with us? Prospective participants are invited to submit a one-page memo with the outlines referring to the possible answers to these questions. The workshop is open only to graduate students who are actively involved in writing a dissertation prospectus or writing their dissertations. I will be offering examples from my own experience being a graduate student about thirty-years ago, as well as supervising several Ph.D. students over the last three decades.

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz is Professor of International Relations and the Chaim Weizmann Chair in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his PhD from Princeton University in 1992 and has been a Visiting Professor at Georgetown University, Universidad Salvador (Buenos Aires), Alfonso X (Madrid), and the University of Notre Dame. He is the author, editor and co-editor of nine books, including *Globalization and the Distribution of Wealth: The Latin American Experience* (Cambridge, 2013); co-editor with David Mares of *The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* (Routledge, 2016); and co-editor with Galia Press-Barnathan and Ruth Fine of *The Relevance of Regions in a Globalized World: Bridging the Social Sciences – Humanities Gap* (Routledge 2019). His areas of interest include globalization and global governance, peace studies, and international relations of Latin America.

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WM7: “Survey Experiments”

Dr. D.J. Flynn, IE University, Madrid

This workshop will introduce participants to survey experimental methods for causal inference. After providing an overview of the essential aspects of survey experiments, the workshop will focus primarily on common threats to inference that arise in survey experimental settings and how to avoid them. Selected topics will include theory testing, treatment design, estimation of heterogeneous treatment effects, convenience sampling, and

generalizability. The workshop will include an applied session in which participants design survey experiments using Qualtrics and peer review others' designs.

Dr. D. J. Flynn is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the School of Global and Public Affairs and affiliated Faculty at the Center for the Governance of Change at IE University in Madrid. Before coming to IE, Dr. Flynn was a Postdoctoral Fellow with the Program in Quantitative Social Science at Dartmouth College and received his PHD in Political Science from Northwestern University. His research focuses on misinformation, public opinion, and survey and experimental methodology. Most of his ongoing research uses survey and field experiments to study how misinformation distorts important aspects of democratic politics, including public opinion, representation, and accountability.

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Thursday, December 12, 2019

Research Workshops

TP1: “Political Participation and Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective: Is There a Crisis of Democratic Legitimacy?”

Prof. Marc Hooghe, University of Leuven, Belgium; Dr. Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University; and Dr. Noam Gidron, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Across liberal democracies, there is a growing concern about the legitimacy of democracy institutions and procedures. Challenger political parties have become successful in elections and hostility across party lines has become a major source of concern, while street protest routinely challenges the basic functioning of the political system. In some countries the basic liberal values are even contested by both challengers and ruling politicians. These rapid changes pose a challenge for the study of both mass participation and electoral behavior. In the literature it is assumed that citizens use both electoral as non-electoral political participation as a way to have an impact on political decision-making. We know far less, however, about what happens when citizen use their participation repertoire to challenge the basic institutions of democracy itself. In an era of rapid social change, traditional insights into political participation clearly need to be updated. Important trends that are relevant for contemporary research include new online opportunities for political behavior, the rise of multilevel governance, protest voting, the rise of populist parties and the challenge to fundamental liberal principles, the internationalization of protest movements, and the changing role of the media as mobilization agents.

These changes lead to new and exciting research questions. For example, from a normative perspective, what exactly is the democratic potential of participation? Do voters of protest parties really want these parties to govern? What happens when anti-system parties obtain a majority in Parliament? What happens when citizens are actually confronted with polarized political systems that no longer adhere to fundamental liberal principles? From an empirical perspective, what are new forms of data collection and analysis that can adequately investigate the fluidity of changing forms of participation in a variety of contexts? Further, is there evidence whether these changing forms of mass mobilization have policy impacts?

The goal of this workshop is to bring new perspectives to these theoretical and empirical questions. Along with graduate students, we welcome postdoctoral and early stage researchers to submit papers on a wide range of topics related to these themes, including mobilization, electoral behavior, vote choice, participation, inequality, social movements, policy outcomes, media campaigns and various forms of online participation.

Prof. Marc Hooghe is a Full Professor of political science at the University of Leuven (Belgium). He has published mainly on participation and political attitudes, and he held a European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grant from 2012-2017 to investigate the democratic linkage between citizens and the state.

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Dr. Jennifer Oser is a Senior Lecturer of politics and government at Ben-Gurion University (Israel), and conducted research on inequality and political participation as a visiting scholar

at Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania. She has published mainly on topics of political behavior and public policy.

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Dr. Noam Gidron is a Lecturer in the political science department and the joint program in politics, philosophy and economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel). He completed his Ph.D. at Harvard University and postdoctoral research at Princeton University, and he has published mainly on topics related to political economy, political behavior, and political sociology.

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TP3: *Peaceful Change in International Relations*

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and Prof. T.V. Paul, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

With the rise of China and the attempted resurgence of Russia, power transition has returned as a crucial issue in international relations. However, much of the international relations scholarship on power transitions deal with war as the main mechanism for shifts in the international order. In addition to the prospect of a return of great power rivalries, we also live in an area of major changes in world politics, brought about by the rise of new powers, deepened economic globalization, and the emergence of violent transnational forces, including armed non-state actors.

In this workshop, we suggest to focus upon the concept, theory, and realities of peaceful change and its relevance to international relations. First, at the global/systemic level, peaceful change might relate to power transitions and to the peaceful status accommodation of rising powers. Second, at the regional level, we might refer to changes in regional orders from conflict to cooperation and the possible emergence of security communities. Third, at the domestic level, peaceful change might seem to flow from improvement to state capacities and democratic orders.

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz [see WM5]

Prof. T.V. Paul is James McGill Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, Canada and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He served as President of International Studies Association (ISA) during 2016-17. Paul is the author or editor of twenty books and over seventy-five scholarly articles/book chapters in the fields of International Relations, International Security, and South Asia. He is the author of the books: *Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era* (Yale, 2018); *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World* (Oxford, 2013); *Globalization and the National Security State* (with N. Ripsman, Oxford, 2010); *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford, 2009); *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status* (with B.R. Nayar Cambridge, 2002); *Power versus*

Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons (McGill-Queen's, 2000); and *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge, 1994). A former Vice-president of the International Studies Association (ISA), Paul currently serves as the editor of the Georgetown University Press book series: *South Asia in World Affairs*.

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TP4: “Emerging/Disruptive Technologies and International Relations”

Dr. Ori Rabinowitz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Dr. Amit Sheniak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto.

Rapid developments in fields such as information infrastructure, cybersecurity technology, artificial intelligence, unmanned machines, autonomous vehicles, 5G technologies, and space-related technology and nuclear weapons is having a major impact on the geo-economics, the geopolitics, and the security of the world. What are these impacts and how are they helping to reconfigure economic, political, and security spaces? As the practices and products of technology become ever more central in international relations, security policy and military doctrine, and the global economy, understanding the impacts of these technologies becomes more important. This workshop will explore broad themes as well as particular practices related to ‘Technology and International Relations.’

Dr. Or (Ori) Rabinowitz is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her research interests include nuclear proliferation, nuclear history, and Israeli-U.S. relations. Her book, *Bargaining on Nuclear Tests*, was published in April 2014 by Oxford University Press. She has since published articles in *International Security*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *International History Review*, *Statecraft and Diplomacy*, and the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. She has also published op-eds and analysis pieces in *The Washington Post* and *Haaretz*. She holds a PhD degree awarded by the War Studies Department of Kings' College London, an MA degree in Security Studies, and an LLB degree in Law, both from Tel-Aviv University.

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Dr. Amit Sheniak is the Cybersecurity policy coordinator of the Israeli Ministry of Defense (MoD) Policy and political-military bureau. He is also a post-doctoral research fellow at the Davis Institute for International Relations, the Harry S Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, and at the Federmann Cyber Security Research Center, all located at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He holds a MA and PhD in Political Science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a post-doc fellowship from Harvard University Kennedy School of Government program for Science, Technology, and Society (STS). His research interest includes the social and political context of state-sponsored innovation and disruptive

technologies, specifically with regards to cybersecurity conflicts, cyber-policy and expertise formation and their effect upon the international order, sovereignty and legitimacy in the United States, the Middle East, and China.

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Prof. Janice Gross Stein is the Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management in the Department of Political Science and the Founding Director of the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and an Honorary Foreign Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She was awarded the Moslon Prize by the Canada Council for an outstanding contribution by a social scientist to public debate. She has received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and is a member of the Order of Canada and the Order of Ontario. Most recently she published “The Micro-Foundations of International Politics” in *International Organization*.

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TP5: “Grand Strategies in International Politics: Characteristics, Sources, Influences, and Consequences.”

Prof. Ron Krebs, University of Minnesota; and Dr. Amir Lupovici, Tel-Aviv University

Grand strategy is a state’s ‘theory of victory,’ explaining how the state will use its diverse means to advance and achieve national ends. A clearly articulated, well-defined, and relatively stable grand strategy is supposed to allow the ship of state to steer a steady course through the roiling seas of global politics. However, the obstacles to formulating and implementing grand strategy are imposing. Grand strategy should be the center of gravity of states’ relations with the outside world; yet, in practice, grand strategy often seems an unattainable ideal. While the concept of grand strategy has attracted much scholarly attention and interest in recent decades, numerous research questions remain unanswered. These include clearer elucidation of the basic concept itself, which often strikes critics as murky and vague. We still know surprisingly little about the theory of practice of grand strategy beyond the West. While the geostrategic sources of grand strategy are well-established, it is less well understood how these intersect with a larger constellation of material and ideational elements, including identity and culture as well as domestic politics, which facilitate or hinder the articulation and implementation of grand strategy. The literature on grand strategy has explored persuasively the use of military instruments, but has a long way to go in exploring the full toolbox, and the many combinations of tools, that states can employ to further their national ends. Another promising direction concerns the grand strategies of different categories of international actors—rising powers and declining powers, but also small states and non-state actors: how have the challenges, impediments, and impetuses to grand strategy changed over time for these different categories of international actors? Finally, numerous developments—technological, demographic, economic, and political, among others—are

posing new challenges to grand strategy. Well-informed by the past, forward-thinking scholars can speculate productively about the future of grand strategy.

This research workshop on grand strategy is guided by a spirit of methodological and intellectual pluralism and of interdisciplinary inquiry. We are eager to bring together both mainstream/realist and interpretative/critical perspectives. We are eager to diversify research beyond the U.S. (and Israeli) cases and beyond the present and recent past. This research workshop values diversity—of theoretical approaches, epistemology, and empirical materials.

Prof. Ron Krebs [see WM1]

Dr. Amir Lupovici is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Political Science, Government and International Affairs at Tel Aviv University and a research fellow in the Blavatnik Interdisciplinary Cyber Research Center. In recent years, he was also a faculty fellow in the School of International Service at American University and a visiting scholar in the Centre for Resolution of International Conflicts at the University of Copenhagen. His research interests include Identity, Securitization, Cyberspace and Deterrence. Dr. Lupovici is the author of *The Power of Deterrence: Emotions, Identity and American and Israeli Wars of Resolve* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

TP6+TP9: “The Global Rise of Populism and Challenges to the Liberal Order: Effects on Democracy and World Politics”

Prof. Dr. Sandra Destradi, Helmut Schmidt University and GIGA and Daniel F. Wajner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Contemporary politics is entering an era of global populism. From the United States to Italy, Hungary, and Poland, to a broad range of countries in the Global South, including Brazil, Bolivia, India, and Turkey - populist parties and leaders have formed governments all over the world. Besides a renewed interest in the domestic drivers of populists' success and its consequences for democracy and its institutions, the academic community has recently started addressing the international implications of populism. Observers and scholars have noted a crisis of the 'liberal international order'. Yet, we still lack a more substantive and systematic understanding of the international implications of this new wave of populism. The goal of this workshop is to contribute to the growing debate about the patterns and drivers of contemporary global populism and its potential implications for the international order established after World War II. The workshop seeks to fill the theoretical and empirical vacuum existing in the theorization of populism in the field of International Relations by building bridges to the field of Comparative Politics, but potentially also to other disciplines, from History to Communications Studies. It takes an ideational approach to populism, understood as a 'thin-centred' ideology entailing the core elements of anti-elitism and anti-pluralism. Through the exploration of similarities and differences between populist regimes all over the world, the workshop seeks to address the following sets of questions:

- a) How do populist governments conduct foreign policy? Why and under what conditions do they use populist discourse on the global scene? How does the erosion of domestic democratic institutions reverberate on their foreign policy?
- b) What are the broader international implications of the global rise of populism? How do populists affect established political and institutional dynamics in world politics?

This workshop invites young scholars and graduate students to discuss different approaches, methods, and case studies that can offer critical insights for a better understanding of the rise of populist phenomena in contemporary global politics. The workshop will be composed of an introductory presentation that will address basic conceptual background and multiple challenges in the current research agenda. The workshop leaves plenty of room for participants to present their papers or work-in progress projects, while each presentation will be followed by group discussion and feedback. Given the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, we welcome the participation of researchers and students from fields beyond International Relations and Political Science.

Prof. Dr. Sandra Destradi is a Professor of International Relations and Regional Governance at the Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg, and since 2017 the Head of the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies Research Program 4 “Power and Ideas.” She studied International Relations and Diplomacy at the University of Trieste, Italy, and was awarded a PhD from the University of Hamburg in 2009. Her research interests include regional security and regional conflict management, with a particular focus on South Asia.

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Daniel F. Wajner is a Post-doctoral student at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His articles have been published in the journals *International Studies Quarterly*; *Diplomacy and Statecraft*; *Foreign Policy Analysis*; *Regional and Federal Studies*; and *Latin American Research Review*. His main areas of research and teaching are international legitimacy, conflict resolution, populist foreign policies, and regional integration, particularly focusing on their interplay in the realm of Middle East and Latin American politics.

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TP7: “Political Islam, Populism, and Politics in the Middle East”

Dr. Javier Gil Guerrero, Universidad Francisco de Vitoria, Madrid, Spain; and Prof. Alberto Priego Moreno, Universidad Comillas, Madrid, Spain

The collapse of the Arab nationalist movement, the Iranian revolution, and the rise of militant Islam, the chaos that unfolded with the Arab Spring and the brutality of jihadi Salafism have all shattered the credibility of the pan-Arab and pan-Islamic mirages that had long captured the imagination of many in the Middle East. With the collapse of these ideological facades, societies in the Middle East have been left with the spectacle of empty fundamentalism and naked struggles for power within countries and for regional hegemony.

Terrorism, social unrest and civil wars (that are also proxy wars) have laid bare the weak political and institutional foundations of different countries in the region. From the ruins of past illusions and ambitions, new responses and options are needed to replace decades-old worn out projects. At present, Islamic populism and technocratic authoritarianism, both of which feed on social discontent, seem to be gaining strength.

Yet, we can find traces of these two alternatives in past rulers like Atatürk, Nasser, Gaddafi, Khomeini or Ahmadinejad. Is thus the Middle East coming full circle by going back to the phenomenon of populism and authoritarianism that has been the norm in most countries during the post-colonial era? Has the Iraqi war and the conflicts that followed the Arab Spring been a futile exercise of “changing things so everything stays the same,” as in di Lampedusa's famous novel? Alternatively, are we witnessing a fundamental reorganization of the region that alters not only the alliance system but the political and religious outlook of its citizens?

Dr. Javier Gil Guerrero teaches at the Institute of International Politics at the Universidad Francisco de Vitoria (UV) in Madrid. He has a PhD in History from the University of Navarra and is the author of *The Carter Administration and the Fall of Iran's Pahlavi Dynasty: US-Iran Relations on the Brink of the 1979 Revolution* (Palgrave MacMillan 2016). He was a research fellow at Columbia University and at the American University in Beirut. He has published numerous academic articles in journals such as *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*; *Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*; and *Middle East Critique*.

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Prof. Dr. Alberto Priego Moreno is an Associate Professor of International Relations at the Universidad Pontificia Comillas in Madrid. He has been a visiting professor and research fellow in East West, University of Reading, Coimbra, and he was a post-doctoral fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies. His areas of interest include diplomacy, Islam, and the Greater Middle East. He has published numerous academic articles on the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the impact of the Arab Spring.

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TP8: “*International Political Economy*”

Prof. Yoram Haftel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The international trade, monetary, and financial systems have been going through significant transformations in recent decades. Originating in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Bretton Woods System was a Western liberal states' international economic order. The demise of the Soviet bloc, the rise of globalization, and growing international economic crises and imbalances—in both frequency and magnitude—triggered ongoing gradual shifts towards isolation, unilateralism, and regionalism. At the same time, previous economic and political structures are challenged by the rise of new state and non-state actors, governance frameworks, and complex interdependencies. This workshop examines these international political economic trends from theoretical, empirical, and historical perspectives. Papers in this workshop will engage with issues such as trade, monetary policy, foreign investment, global financial markets, globalization, development, foreign aid, and international institutions and cooperation (though other topics are also welcome). Papers are not restricted to specific approaches or methodologies.

Prof. Yoram Haftel is an Associate Professor and the Giancarlo Elia Valori Chair in the Study of Peace and Regional Cooperation in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his Ph.D. from the Ohio State University and had taught at the University of Illinois-Chicago. His research agenda touches on the sources, design, and effects of regional economic organizations and international investment agreements (IIAs). His recent work examines the relationships between international investment arbitration and state regulatory space in IIAs worldwide. He has published a book and numerous articles on this and other topics.

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Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan (PhD, Columbia University) is Senior Lecturer in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her work deals with regional cooperation, links between economics and security, and with the role of popular culture in world politics. She has published two books, *Organizing the World: The U.S. and Regional Cooperation in Asia and Europe* (Routledge, 2003), and *The Political Economy of Transitions to Peace: A Comparative Perspective* (Pittsburgh University Press, 2009). Her articles appeared in journals such as *Security Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *International Studies Review*, and *International Relations of Asia-Pacific*.

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TP10: “Politics and Society in Latin America: Past and Present”

Prof. Jorge P. Gordin, Universidad Diego Portales, Chile; and Dr. Claudia Kedar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

How has research on Latin American politics and society contributed to wider disciplinary agendas in area studies? Since the 1970s, scholars working on Latin America have shaped key intellectual debates in social sciences echoing theoretical blueprints such as Dependency Theory, Bureaucratic Authoritarianism, and Transitions to Democracy. Over thirty years later, scholarship on Latin American politics and society still generates cutting-edge research on central themes such as ethno-politics, economic and structural reforms, poverty and inequality, local democracy and decentralization, and populism and neopopulism, to cite only a few. Inspired on these scholarly approaches and trends, this workshop seeks to bring together participants addressing a wide range of topics related to Latin America’s politics and society from a theoretical and/or empirical perspective.

We invite applications from graduate students and recent PhDs from the areas of Political Science, International Relations, History, Sociology, Law, Political Economy, and Political Philosophy. Proposals should focus on issues and methodological approaches that can contribute to a better understanding of Latin America’s politics and society, past and present. These issues include, among others, political processes and institutions, quality of democracy, civil society and protest, clientelism and corruption, the rule of law and violence, constitutional reform, the political economy of inequality, emigration, and more.

Prof. Jorge P. Gordin is Associate Professor of Political Science at Universidad Diego Portales and Executive (founding) Editor of the *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. Previously, he was Senior Research Fellow at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg and held visiting positions at Universität Hamburg, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, and the Fundação Getulio Vargas, Sao Paulo. He has published numerous peer-reviewed articles in the fields of comparative political economy, institutional design and federalism in journals such as *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Publius*, *Policy Studies*, *Regional and Federal Studies*, among others. He is the co-editor (with Lucio Renno) of *Institutional Innovation and the Steering of Conflicts in Latin America*, ECPR Press, 2017 and he was the Principal Investigator of the research project, *The Architecture of Diversity: Institutional Design and Conflict Management in the Americas*, funded by the International Development Research Centre, Canada.

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Dr. Claudia Kedar is a historian and former Head of Iberian and Latin American Studies, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her research interests include the IMF, the World Bank and their relations with Latin America; the Cold War in Latin America, and contemporary Argentina and Chile. Her book, *"The International Monetary Fund and Latin America. The Argentine Puzzle in Context"* (Temple University Press, 2013), received an honorable mention from the 2014 Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Book Award (LASA). She has published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *International History Review*, *Journal of Contemporary History and Cold War History*. Her new project, "Latin America and the 'Washington Consensuses' in Historical Perspective, 1944-2000" is supported by the *Israeli Science Foundation* (Grant 631/19).

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TP11: "Climate Change, Sustainability Transitions, and Energy Geopolitics"

Prof. Miranda Schreurs, Technical University of Munich; and Dr. Lior Herman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This workshop will examine several intertwined developments and consider how these might influence national and international politics. Climate change is increasingly strongly recognized as a problem of immense global proportions and is having more and more influence on both national and international politics. Sea level rise, extreme storms, droughts, floods, water shortages, and desertification tied to climate change are likely to intensify, straining the capacity of many states to cope. Sustainability transitions are being called for in fields ranging from energy systems to transportation systems and agricultural systems. States vary in how they are responding. At the international level, there is some progress, but also many obstacles, including non-participating states (e.g. the United States in the Paris Agreement). The shift away from fossil fuels in various world regions will also impact global energy politics and with them inter-state relations.

Miranda A. Schreurs (PhD, University of Michigan) is Professor of Environment and Climate Policy in the School of Governance, Technical University of Munich. Her research focuses on the governance of climate change, low carbon energy transitions, and sustainable development from comparative and international perspectives. She is currently Vice Chair of the European Environment and Sustainable Development Advisory Councils (and was formerly Chair), International Director of the Board of the Institute of Global Environmental Strategies (Japan), member of the Advisory Board of the Swiss National Foundation's NSF Research Program 71 on the Swiss Energy Transition, and co-chair of the National Committee to Monitor the Nuclear Waste Management Site Location Search in Germany. She has served on numerous governmental advisory bodies in Asia, including the China Council for Environment and Development, and Europe advising on energy transition, climate governance, and sustainable development. She has published widely on environmental and energy matters in leading academic presses, for policy makers, and more general audiences. She is currently also member of the Advisory Council for the Sustainable Development of Catalonia (CADS).

Lior Herman is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the Chair of the International Political Economy Graduate Program, and Chair of the Energy and Geopolitics Research Group. His research focuses on international political economy and the intersection of politics, economics and philosophy. His main research areas include international trade and trade in services, energy politics and political economy, European Union studies, international governance and the integration of markets and polities.

TP12: “Public Policy and Regulatory Governance: Theories and New Empirical Research”

Prof. Cary Coglianese, University of Pennsylvania, and Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

We invite papers and submissions from all discipline as long as they advance theory and empirical research in public policy and regulatory governance across countries, regions, and level of policy making. Authors will submit their work at least a week in advance. Participants are expected to read all the papers in advance and prepare their comments for the workshop presentation. We welcome questions on format and content. Acceptance is on a competitive basis.

Cary Coglianese is the Edward B. Shils Professor of Law and Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, where he currently serves as the founding director of the Penn Program on Regulation and has previously served as the law school's Deputy Dean for Academic Affairs. He specializes in the study of administrative law and regulatory processes, with an emphasis on the empirical evaluation of alternative processes and strategies and the role of public participation, technology, and business-government relations in policy-making. At Penn, he teaches courses in administrative law, environmental law, regulatory law and policy, and policy analysis. The chair of Penn Law's Government Service and Public Affairs Initiative, he is a faculty affiliate of the Fels Institute of Government, the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, and the Wharton Risk Center. In addition, he serves as the faculty director for Penn Law's executive education program on regulatory analysis and decision-making and

teaches regularly in the Wharton School's executive education program. The author of more than 150 articles, book chapters, and essays on administrative law and regulatory policy, Coglianesi's most recent books include: *Achieving Regulatory Excellence*; *Does Regulation Kill Jobs?*; *Regulatory Breakdown: The Crisis of Confidence in U.S. Regulation*; *Import Safety: Regulatory Governance in the Global Economy*; and *Regulation and Regulatory Processes*.

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David Levi-Faur is professor of regulatory governance and policy in the Department of Political Science and the School of Public Policy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Governance* (OUP, 2012) and the *Handbook of the Politics of Regulation* (Edward Elgar, 2011). He is currently working on a book project and an Oxford Handbook on the Regulation of Emerging Technologies. Levi-Faur's book manuscript in progress covers the regulatory implications of Big Financial Data and asserts the social innovations potential of the use of big financial data for welfare governance. In doing so, the manuscript deals with the trends, purposes and dilemmas of governance in the 21st century. Levi-Faur is the founding editor of *Regulation & Governance*, an interdisciplinary top journal that serves as the leading platform for the study of regulation and governance in the social sciences. He holds a Ph.D. and MA degrees in Political Science from the University of Haifa and a Social Science undergraduate degree from the Open University of Israel.

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List of Participants/Abstracts

WM1: “Politics and Language: How to Study Political Talk and Text and What It Does”

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Prof. Ron Krebs, and Prof. Shaul Shenhav

[Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1600] [Room 405]

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Dr. Andrea Zielinski, Ph.D. Postdoctoral Studies, University of London, Germany,
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WM2: “Handling Causation via Propensity Scoring”

Alberto Sefanelli and Prof. Sharon Gilad

[Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1800] [Room 403]

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WM3: “Introduction to Big Data”

Prof. Alon Peled

[Hours: 1400-1800; Room 404]

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WM4: “Archival Research in the Information Age”

Dr. Jonathan Grossmann

Hours: 1000-1230; Room 505

Naama Barak, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, baraknaama@gmail.com, “*How did the European Community Formulate its Policy on the Arab-Israeli Conflict from 1970 to 1980?*”

The Arab-Israeli conflict is noted as one of the more prominent conflicts playing out on the world stage, and as such has the dubious distinction of being a rather rehashed research subject. Fortunately, it does make for fascinating research.

The European integration project and the Arab-Israeli conflict first crossed paths in 1970, and it is this formation of a relationship that my upcoming PhD research aims to explore, namely the way in which the European Community formed its policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1970 to its seminal declaration on Palestinian self-determination in 1980.

The research aims to fill in two lacunae on the topic. The first is empirical – to date, the EC’s policy formation on the conflict has yet to be determined through extensive archive-based work, a situation this project will rectify through thorough archival research of the topic. The second lacuna is theoretical. The Normative Power Europe theory, while commonly used to evaluate European foreign policy, has yet to be applied to the earliest stages of European policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict. This research project intends to do just that.

The expected contributions of the research are threefold. First, its archival methodology intends to shed light on how the EC formed its policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Second, the subjection of historical analysis to the NPE theory aims to provide a fresh perspective of the EC’s policy and, lastly, it seeks to determine the applicability of NPE to early European foreign policy in the Middle East.

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WM5: “Research Design for Ph.D. Students: Sharing Experiences and Tips”

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz

Hours: 1400-1730; Room 505

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WM7: “Survey Experiments”

Dr. D. J. Flynn

Hours: 1000-1230; Room 504

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Clareta Treger, Ph.D. Candidate, Tel-Aviv University, claretatreger88@gmail.com

TPI: “Political Participation and Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective: Is There a Crisis of Democratic Legitimacy?”

Prof. Marc Hooghe, Dr. Jennifer Oser, and Dr. Noam Gidron

Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1730; Room 405

Yair Amitai, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, yair.amitai@mail.huji.ac.il; “*Party Activists as a Cause for Ideological Incongruence and Polarization*”

This study theoretically links two important bodies of literature: representation and polarization. Breaking the concept of ideological gap to magnitude (ideological incongruence) and direction (elite polarization) enables the creation of a common platform for the two phenomena. It is contended that a joint factor underlying both trends is the influence of party activists on the candidate selection process within parties. Of the four players typically involved in intra-party politics – elites, activists, members, and voters – activists have been shown to hold the most extreme ideological stance. When a party allocates to activists a substantial power over the candidate selection process, the elites are drawn towards extreme positions as well, thus increasing the ideological incongruence between parties and their constituencies, on the one hand, and elite polarization, on the other. The research hypotheses are supported by the findings based on a comparative analysis of twelve democracies and nineteen parties, utilizing data from the well-established CSES survey and the relatively new Political Party Database Project (PPDP).

Dr. Michael Freedman, Postdoctoral Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, and Elizabeth Dekeyser, mrfreed@mit.edu, “*Toxic Elections: Elections and Attitudes toward Immigration in Europe*”

Recent elections across the West have highlighted the potential of elections to polarize individual preferences on divisive issues. Exploiting as-if random assignment in individual interview dates for the European Social Survey, we examine how proximity to elections affects individual policy preferences on immigration. We find that attitudes toward immigration become more polarized, and on average more negative, closer to elections. We examine the mechanisms through which this occurs, specifically testing the influence of racial othering, issue salience, and party platforms, and find that party preferences appear to play an important role. We examine the influence of elections on other issue areas, and find that elections appear to be particularly polarizing on individual attitudes toward marginalized groups. Overall, these results suggest that even within the Western context, elections can have negative externalities, and that party rhetoric plays an important role in the formation of individual attitudes and opinions.

Talia Goren, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa, taliagoren@gmail.com, and Itai Beeri, “*Social Media-Expressed Public Opinion in Policy Maker’s Agendas: Evidence and Conditions*”

Though past and current research has extensively examined the practical aspects of social media usage patterns by governments, elected officials, and the public, there is a theoretical

gap regarding the actual link between public opinion that is expressed on social media and the policy making process. This study examines this relationship by exploring the conditions under which public-generated social media content is present in policy makers' agendas. A quantitative timeline-based text analysis was conducted on Facebook pages and city council meetings protocols of Israeli politicians. Findings indicate significant correlations between the presence of public-generated content in social media in the agendas of politicians and personal and structural characteristics of politicians and municipalities. Results demonstrate the conditionally effective involvement of the public in the policy-making process in the era of the digital wisdom of the crowd.

Yael Sade, Ph.D. Candidate, Ariel University, Israel, yael.sade@gmail.com, Ariel University
“*Exploring a Community, Preserving and Developing It: A Model for an Internal Governance Study: The Renewal Kibbutz Case*”

The kibbutz is alive and well despite many significant changes in the world in general and in Israel in particular. Even if there are permutations, the essence of the kibbutz is preserved and creates a community with resilience and continuity. The common kibbutz research focuses on components that characterize the kibbutz and which have been lost over the years, such as cooperation and equality, joint education, budgetary rewards, and mutual means of production, as well as the privatization processes and models of renewable kibbutzim. In contrast, this study raises the question, how kibbutzim have maintained their identities for so many decades. Moreover, what are the mechanisms that have allowed this unique social framework to remain relevant for its members, and in recent years to be a preferred way of life for many young people?

This research hypothesizes that the kibbutz has an effective mechanism that enable it to maintain its uniqueness, parallel to leading development and adaptation processes to change reality. The internal governance expresses the conceptual, organizational, and cultural infrastructure as well as the local norms. These norms constitute an agreement between the individual and the group; thus, they serve as an anchor for community preservation and development.

Given that internal governance research is an accepted method for researching companies and corporations, we examined dozens of statutes from dozens of different kibbutzim, comparing and examining the various sections and their social implications. The findings revealed that the use of the statute is not optimal. However, internal governance gives authentic expression to the desire to regenerate alongside the desire to maintain autonomy and a unique identity.

This study is the first attempt of its kind to deepen our understanding of social phenomena through internal governance; it reveals the contribution to the community. Beyond the academic aspect, there is also a practical angle to this study, as kibbutzim, as any other community, may be able to help develop their resilience through institutionalizing internal governance that will effectively address their needs and contribute to their continued existence as a social autonomous entity.

Samuel Stern, MA, Ruprecht-Karls-University Heidelberg, Germany, samueljakob@hotmail.com, “*At the Bottom: Classism and Political Participation – How Social Class Affiliation Influences Political Participation*”

Let us think of a single mother who tries to give her child a better future with her three jobs - can we assume that she finds time to deal with party programmes? Not to mention to buy ecologically conscious, when her biggest concern is the next month's rent? Regarding this example and the SES/Civic Voluntarism models we can assume negative effects of low income/education on political participation. But it's just low income or bad education? Or it's even more? – Classism? “*How social class affiliations influence political participation?*”

Four hypotheses follow on from this question: **H1:** Higher classes participate more frequently; **H2:** Lower classes participate less; **H3:** Higher classes participate more unconventionally; **H4:** Lower classes participate less unconventionally.

Thus, the combination of Economic/Cultural Factors, Educational Level and Employment Status describe the social class in a index („*Lower Class*“, „*Working Class*“, „*Middle Class*“, „*Owning Class*“, „*Ruling Class*“) based on the concepts of Kemper/Weinbach and Oesch. Also the political participation was coded in a index of the result for conventional/unconventional forms. Using the data record ESS08DE (2849 Observations) I run a linear regression in three models. The first model – dependent variable political participation – shows a significant increase for „*Middle Class*“ and „*Owning Class*“. In the second model – dependent variable conventional political participation – we can certify a significance for „*Middle Class*“, „*Owning Class*“ and „*Ruling Class*“. In the third model – dependent variable unconventional political participation – draws a significance for „*Middle Class*“ and „*Owning Class*“. Also if we split the „*Middle Class*“ into „*Lower-Middle-Class*“ and „*Upper-Middle-Class*“ they show significance in all three models. As a result, the social class affiliations influence at least the level of political participation for a wide „*Middle Class*“ and the „*Owning Class*“.

In conclusion, for a more equal society, serious consideration should be given to compulsory voting to correct influences of classism.

Clareta Treger, Ph.D. Candidate, Tel-Aviv University, claretatreger88@gmail.com, “*When Does the Public welcome the ‘Parental’ State? Evidence from a Survey Experiment*”

Nudges, also known as “Libertarian Paternalism,” have gained popularity over the past decade and captured the attention of scholars and policy-makers alike. As non-coercive interventions, they are presented as governmental policy tools superior to the ‘classic’ paternalistic interventions, which coerce individuals for their self-benefit. Against this backdrop, this paper examines whether people categorically reject ‘classic’ government paternalism or whether their support is contingent on specific contextual and intervention-related features.

To test my main hypotheses that support for paternalism is contingent on the interaction of policy domain and level of coercion, I employ an online survey experiment using the conjoint experimental design. My designated survey tool enables to examine the extent and conditions under which individuals tolerate and even prefer classic paternalistic interventions in comparison to ‘mere’ nudges.

The advantage of a survey experiment is that it captures both observational data on attitudes and causal relationships, which can be later generalized to the population because they were elicited from a representative sample. The conjoint design is unique in that it enables to test several causal hypotheses simultaneously using the same survey tool. Moreover, it enables to estimate the effects of multiple treatment components on a single behavioral outcome and therefore allows to evaluate the relative explanatory power of different variables. Using this method, I aim to show that in certain theoretically-predictable contexts, the mass public is willing to embrace classic paternalism over nudge-like interventions. The survey is currently in the field, running on a representative sample of the U.S. population (N=1,400). In a month, I am expected to run the same survey on a representative sample of the Israeli population.

Albert Veksler, Ph.D. Candidate, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland,
albert.veksler@gmail.com, “*Balancing the Strength of the Rich in the Lobbying Field*,”

Many scholars claim that lobbying regulations offer increased accountability to the voters and transparency of the decision-making processes, as well as diminishing gaps in the system, which allows for corrupt behavior. The declared goals of the initiators of the Israeli Lobbyist Law (2008), were transparency, public interest, and order. According to one of the initiators of the law, the goal was to make the work of the lobbyists transparent to the public, so that the public would be aware of the interests, and how the decisions were made.

Another goal was to balance the strength of the rich in the lobbying field. Surprisingly, the word ‘transparency’ did not even appear in the law, which is valid only in the Knesset building. Comparing the goals and the results of the legislation, a new phenomenon, distinct from the transparency that was declared, has been observed. Most of the Knesset Members (MKs) perceive their ability to identify the lobbyists in the Knesset as transparency. The law did not regulate lobbying the cabinet or other government institutions, or the work of the in-house lobbyists. The Ministerial Committee for Legislation, which decides whether any bill submitted to the Knesset will pass or not, does not even publish any of its protocols and is not transparent, being left out of the legislation. Thus, paradoxically, the law resulted in legitimizing the lobbyists in the Knesset and the Israeli legislators agreed with a particular policy design, which did not correspond to their declared goals.

Itamar Yakir, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
itamar.yakir@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Identity-Based Voting or Just Group-Voting? Evidence from Israeli Elections*”

Very high electoral volatility may generate, or reflect, significant social challenges, while a very low electoral volatility may point to a political environment that is not competitive enough, and to citizens that are too sleepy and passive. However, electoral rigidity (or: *stability*) may originate in very different and distinct reasons, of which some are more ‘worrying’ while others are not – hence the importance of pinpointing the main explanation(s). On this background, I examine whether, and how, high electoral stability can be maintained alongside significant socio-demographic changes. I focus on voters of right-wing parties in Israel. For a few decades it has been argued that the tendency of Israeli Jews

originating in Asia and Africa (sometimes called *Mizrahi Jews*) to vote for right-wing parties stands in contrast to their immediate socioeconomic interests. Thus, this tendency was explained by the possibility that this social group gives higher priority to issues of social identity; specifically, nationalism, which is central for right-wing parties. A complementary explanation that has been raised is that economic policy was never a main (separate) issue in Israeli elections. I seek to examine an alternative explanation, focusing on the relative change in the economic situation of Mizrahi Jews. For this purpose, I study the relation between socio-demographic attributes and voting patterns at the local and area levels. Assuming that educational achievements in governmental-based national tests may be a reasonable proxy for the success of future generations, and hence also to the socioeconomic improvement of households, I expect that for a large share of right-wing voters the positioning of children in the educational achievements' distribution would be higher relative to the corresponding position of their parents (neighborhood) in the income distribution. I find preliminary indications that this is indeed the case. I further develop this results to differentiate between identity-based voting and a more general notion of group-voting that in turn can in fact reflect issue-based, economic, or ideological voting; or some combination of the different electoral motivations.

Alon Zoizner, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
alon.zoizner@mail.huji.ac.il, "*The Effects of Strategy Coverage on Affective Polarization*,"

U.S. citizens nowadays show increasing levels of hostility and distrust toward members of the opposite party. This paper examines the media's role in explaining this phenomenon—usually referred to as affective polarization—by focusing on the effects of political news content. We ask how individual's exposure to strategic news coverage—the media's tendency to focus on politicians' strategic motivations behind their behavior and their campaign performance—influences affective polarization. We examine this question empirically in the U.S. context by using two complementary research designs: (1) a cross-sectional analysis that links survey data with a computational content analysis of 415,604 news articles; (2) and a randomized survey experiment. Our findings show that strategy coverage decreases hostility toward political opponents. In contrast, political coverage that focuses on substance (policies and issue positions) increases inter-party hostility. These results stress a crucial tension in democracies: on the one hand, it is widely expected that journalists will focus more on substance rather than on strategies to win elections, as it enables voters making rational decisions. On the other hand, such focus on substance has a price: it fuels hatred between political opponents.

TP3: “Peaceful Change in International Relations”

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz and Prof. T.V. Paul

Hours: 1000-1230 and 1400-1730; Room 501

Ilana Huseynova, MA, University of Tartu, Estonia (Azerbaijan), i.hsynva@gmail.com,
“*Georgia’s Memory Politics towards Turkey: The Case of the Centennial Anniversary in Georgia*”

The paper presents an analytical framework for assessing how memory politics works in the context of a strategic partnership between countries that had once undergone a sophisticated historical past. In Georgian historical narratives back in 1918, Turkey is represented as a “Significant Other”, whereas after a peaceful change over time reached the strategic partnership and strengthen their relations in various dimensions. The paper attempts to explore (non-)existence of transformation of historical narratives with reference to the centennial anniversary (2018) of Georgian independence. Applying the literature developed by scholars of memory studies and social constructivism, the paper argues that the political interest, national/collective memory, and national/collective identity are all interlinked and that foreign policy derives from the political interest. Hence, the theoretical framework suggests that the political situation within the country shapes the way the historical narratives are constructed. Comparing new historical narratives with the primary historical narratives written by historians, the paper tries to find out the altered (concealed or highlighted) narratives.

In this research, narrative analysis is used as a technique of qualitative method and Bal’s narrative analysis strategy is employed. Narratives are taken primarily from the three state-run media sources following Hansen’s set of criteria of being a formal authority, clearly articulated and widely read. Taking into account language limitations, international aspects of memory politics are mentioned. The initial results show that the existent political situation influences the way the narratives towards Turkey are represented, though not in a very significant way.

Cody Levine, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
cody.levine@mail.mcgil.ca, “*Choosing Peace: Bilateral Negotiations, Third-Party Mediation, and Procedural Choice by Decision-Makers in Ending Civil and International Conflicts*”

Understanding the causes of peace in international and civil conflicts has long been the focus of conflict resolution scholars, but scant attention has been paid to the conditions under which decision-makers choose a procedure to facilitate peace negotiations. How and why do decision-makers develop a preference for bilateral negotiations or third-party mediation when seeking to peacefully resolve a civil or international conflict? Additionally, what factors help explain a shift or maintenance of preference for third-party mediation or bilateral negotiation by decision-makers in the course of their conflict? In studies that do focus on procedural choice, the attention has been narrow and highly specific to either a single conflict type or condition to help explain procedural choice by decision-makers. Drawing from a historical sample of one hundred international, civil, and mixed inter-intrastate cases of conflict

between 1918 to 2018 with intervals or phases of peace processes, in addition to an in-depth and in-breadth structured focused comparison of four case studies (Israel-Palestinians, DR Congo, Colombia and India-Pakistan), I argue that five primary contextual conditions help a decision-maker's preference for bilateral negotiation or third-party mediation. These conditions are (1) the distribution of power between parties, (2) the degree of concern over legitimacy, (3) the nature of the parties (socio-religious and ethnic fragmentation), (4) the nature of the conflict, and (5) shared ideologies, norms, and political/legal structures between the parties. This research project aims to cut across various existing debates amongst political leaders and academics regarding the merits of bilateral negotiations and third-party mediation and its effects on different conflict types. Ultimately, I aim to develop a comprehensive theoretical model explaining procedural choice that can help inform decision-makers on the risks and rewards of different procedures, whether bilateral negotiation or mediation, depending on the context of their conflict.

Inbar Noy, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
inbar.noy@mail.huji.ac.il, "*Peace is the Words: The Social Construction of the Israeli Peace*"

The existing scholarship in peace studies offers many conceptualizations and definitions of peaceful relations among states – from the basic definition of lack of war to security communities. However, only few scholars addressed the issue of peace as a socially constructed phenomenon. This paper examines the discursive Israeli representation of peace during the peace process with Egypt (1978) and Jordan (1994). Namely, it aims to answer why peace is attributed to different meanings among one state. By examining speeches and official statements that reflect the Israeli perception of peace, this paper shows that the representation of peace changed from a narrow 'lack of war' perception with Egypt to a wish to establish friendly relations with Jordan. Thus, it focuses on three explanatory factors that shape state's perception of peace – domestic and international norms of the meaning of peace, the perception of the actor which the state wishes to establish peaceful relations with, and changes in the states strategic culture. By doing so, it aims to contribute to the understanding of peace as a socially constructed phenomenon, by examining the domestic and external factors that shapes the perception of peace among different actors.

Ariadna Anamaria Petri, Ph.D. Candidate, Complutense University Madrid, Spain,
anpetri@ucm.es; "*Taking Second Track Negotiations Personally*"

Many types of conflict resolution mechanisms have been tried, but seventy-one years in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have showed that the results are disappointing. Some of the peace seekers decided to contribute directly to the process of creating innovative solutions, often in bilateral settings. Second Track negotiations involve a great degree of agency and personal motivation of the participants, as well as complex identity-related dimensions.

The major schools of thought in political analysis and international relations research do not correlate the explanation of significant processes and events to the individuals contributing to the making of history – policy and decision makers, negotiators, and peace entrepreneurs. Factors such as personal circumstances, motivations and achievements of the negotiators are

variables in non-official negotiations which can be directly controlled by organizers, mediators or even participants.

This analysis is based on 21 individual semi-structured qualitative interviews, designed to amplify the space offered to interviewees for drawing a detailed picture of how Second Track negotiations can and ought to be approached, designed and undertaken. These, as well as personal characteristics of the negotiators interact in the background of second track negotiation exercises and can be controlled in order to provide the most successful version of Second Track negotiations and contribute to the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Hila Pikali, Ph.D./Postdoctoral Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel, hilapikali@gmail.com, “*Transitional Justice and Sexual Violence during War: The Bosnian War as a Case-Study*”

Transitional justice addresses the treatment of substantial and extensive damage to human rights that have occurred either during a violent conflict or under a former, oppressive regime undergoing a change of administration. This paper examines the matter of prosecution of those accountable for gender-sexual violence during warfare, after the establishment of a new international political order, by analyzing the phenomenon of the mass rape during the Bosnian-Herzegovinian war (1992-1995). Whether to prosecute those responsible is a complicated dilemma which constitutes a focal point of tension in the attempt to establish a stable democracy following a regime change.

The current research seeks to illuminate a blind spot in the respective literature in Transitional Justice which does not include detailed discussions of sex crimes. Elucidating the main lessons of our examination of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian war as a case study is that the considerations of stability and social benefit within the framework of transitional justice processes are not convincingly applicable to sexual violence during warfare. In the specific severe subject matter of sexual violence, the parties have to be prosecuted and punished so that this injustice would better belong to the public sphere and to achieve a change in the legal classification of the crime, so that rape warfare may be recognized as a unique, prosecutable felony.

Yaron Schneider, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, yaron.schneider@mail.huji.ac.il, “*The Triangular Relationship of States, Non-State Actors, and Peacekeeping Forces in the Borderland,*”

Limited statehood in Southern Lebanon, the Sinai Peninsula and Indian-controlled Kashmir is exploited by non-state actors that contest the authority of the state, including through the use of force. This precarious situation in each of these borderlands has ramifications on security not only within the borderland, but also across the border: many of the non-state actors that challenge the state are engaged in cross-border activities, including terrorist attacks, illicit trade and arms smuggling. Thus, the mission of peacekeeping forces that are deployed in these borderlands, in support of inter-state stability, is also endangered by this type of security challenge.

Yet the intersection of domestic and international (intermestic) challenges to security and stability in the borderland and its impact on the interplay of the state, non-state actors and peacekeeping forces have received scant attention in the literature of International Relations. Hence, this research strives to fill the lacuna by focusing on the triangular relationship of

state, non-state actors and peacekeeping forces, as a possible framework of security enhancement in the borderland.

As this study underscores, the triangular relationship in the borderland could become relevant for security provision in the borderland if actors engage in the enhancement of domestic security governance through collective efforts to avoid confrontation and conflict escalation in the borderland. Accordingly, the research question is: Under which conditions might the triangular relationship promote or undermine domestic security governance in the borderland?

The empirical analysis reveals that increased communication and information sharing are an effective means of building trust and establishing mutual expectations in the triangular relationship, thereby enabling better coordination of security-related activities, as a rudimentary form of domestic security governance. Moreover, cooperation on socio-economic development projects and the embedment of state-building norms are likely to achieve a much more consolidated form of domestic security governance.

Daniel Segal, MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, daniel.karrie@gmail.com,
“*Violence Spillover: How Conflicts Reshape Individuals’ Norms and Identities, an Analysis of the Film ‘Watchmen’*”

Recent studies on prolonged conflicts, such as the War on Terror, focus on processes of national identity reshaping following conflicts, while others examine normative differences between, and reciprocal influences of, the international and domestic spheres in regard to conflictual behaviors. Though these phenomena are interwoven, scholars have yet to develop them into a single integrated process. This paper aims to establish such a process. The ‘Violence Spillover’ process suggests that international norms, permitting (or encouraging) the use of force in conflicts, permeate states via state leadership, who domestically institutionalizes these norms. Processes such as militarism and militarization reshape national and societal identity in the conflict’s image, consequently fostering the use of force in civil society. Borrowing the concept, a societal ‘cascade’ favoring individuals’ use of force emerges, attracting additional individuals to violence. Viewing popular culture as capable of mirroring and reshaping societal norms and identities, this paper analyses the film “*Watchmen*” (2009). The film demonstrates the ‘Violence Spillover’ process, but more importantly, mirrors (and somewhat bolsters) several of the process’s pathologies in real-world U.S. society, following the War on Terror.

Nao Shimamoto, Ph.D. Candidate, Osaka University, Japan, chamomile199367@gmail.com,
“*Reconstruction of Collective Rights for Minorities*”

This research aims to build a general theory of the collective rights for minorities. As the first step toward that goal, the paper reviews the history of the collective rights and presents the case for a general theory of the collective rights in the context of conflict resolution. Before World War I, the collective rights for minorities were recognized as they were incorporated into some bilateral or multilateral treaties. The dispute of Åland Islands was a prominent case, in which the newly born League of Nations offered an autonomy system, one form of the collective rights, to the people of the islands as a solution. But unfortunately, minorities’ collective rights then became a taboo after Nazi Germany used the pretext of protecting

German minorities when it invaded Czechoslovakia in 1939. After World War II, the right to self-determination as a collective right made a dramatic come-back to the stage of international relations but it was not for protecting minorities but only within the limited context of decolonization. Beyond that context, self-determination has been considered as an individual right, largely because it was feared that otherwise it might encourage secession. Scholars criticize it as the 'taming of self-determination'. This is because self-determination has no meaning without the aspect of collective rights. In the post-Cold War period, regional documents and state practices of collective rights for minorities were accumulated in Europe, and they also have spread beyond Europe. Collective rights such as the right to effective participation or the right to autonomy have been individually studied both theoretically and empirically, but few attempts have been made to build a general theory of collective rights. Although collective rights are used primarily in order to protect ethnic minority, it is also closely related to conflict resolution.

Jason Silverman, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
jasonsilverman@gmail.com, *“The Dis(honest) Broker: Perceptions of U.S. Mediation in Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations”*

The nature of U.S. mediation in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations—whether they have performed as an honest broker or not—has been discussed widely from international media to academic works of history and international relations. The special relationship between the U.S. and Israel, seen by some as having become ‘cemented’ officially following the Six-Day War, has often been described as having prevented an evenhanded mediation approach towards both sides of the conflict. However, less prevalent are direct examinations of the perceptions of the negotiators regarding the honesty or fairness of the U.S. role as mediator. Thus, in this exploratory study I ask when do the perceptions of negotiators affect their negotiating behavior and how? How do these perceptions ultimately affect the outcome of peace negotiations? This study employs a research design consisting of semi-structured elite interviews, both face-to-face and via telephone, with negotiators that participated directly in the peace negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. The interviewees include the different positions involved in the peace process ranging from a former prime minister to members of the negotiating team. In addition, process tracing was also employed drawing from sources that include the memoirs of key individuals that participated in the various rounds of negotiations both from the Israeli and American perspectives. The results of the research indicated that the impact of a disputant's perception of fairness on the outcome of negotiations varies depending on the level of involvement the mediator performs and that a facilitating mediation strategy reduces the likelihood of impact bias perceptions will have on the outcome of negotiations. A facilitating mediation role is both the most preferred by the interviewees and the one that most limits the negative impacts mediation bias.

TP4: “Emerging/Disruptive Technologies and International Relations”

Dr. Ori Rabinowitz, Dr. Amt Sheniak, and Prof. Janice Stein

Hours: 1000-1230 and 1400-1730; Room 502

Tariq Akash, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
tariq.akash@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Accessing the Enemy’s Mind*”

In today’s world, huge quantities of data on individuals are owned by data companies, social media platforms, security agencies, governments, and other actors who can acquire, buy, or hack information from other data sources. Moreover, big data science and artificial intelligence technologies continue to develop in a direction that enables easier processing, understanding, and summarizing useful knowledge from this large and scattered information.

Concerns about the individuals’ rights of privacy were among the first to rise in media and among scholars. But in recent years, especially following the reports about the Russian efforts to intervene in elections in the USA and Europe, and following the Cambridge Analytica- Facebook case, many people started to worry that the cyberspace is not only used to acquire *knowledge* about people, but could also be used to *affect the ideas and behavior* of people, most importantly, their political ideas and behavior. SCL group, the parent company of Cambridge Analytica, used to boast of its method as a way to achieve ‘behavior change’ of masses.

While most of the research in the field perceive these technologies as a threat when used by authoritarian regimes against democracies, or by sub-state entities and hacking groups against states, my research takes a different perspective. I argue that these technologies are perceived as a source of tempting power, they amplify the political capabilities of their owners, and give them new types of influence on their targets. The temptation could lure even actors from within the democratic system, it could introduce new actors to the political game (for example technology and data companies), and enable new types of control, even manipulation, by the strong on the weak. The paper reviews how IR and Political Science research have been addressing this issue, while examining which questions and directions of research still need particular attention.

Gal Dor, MA, IDC Herzliya, Israel, Ggaldor@gmail.com, “*Revenge in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Case of Democracies and Non-Democracies*”

This paper suggests a cutting-edge approach for understanding the role of revenge in foreign policy decision making through a computerized experiment via the ‘Decision-Board’ platform. This paper presents a unique quantitative analysis that deepens the knowledge regarding the holistic nature of the information process of decision-making and the way it is influenced by revenge. Moreover, this study examines the decision to use force in particular, and the way the process led to it might be, as well, influenced by revenge. Based on Mintz and Geva’s (1993) paper, the students who participated in the experiment were given different scenarios (Mintz & Geva, 1993); leaders of democratic or non-democratic states, and revengeful or non-revengeful. A 2X2 between factorial analysis was conducted through a two-way ANOVA. The results suggest that democratic leaders are significantly more likely

to follow a holistic decision-making pattern than non-democratic leaders. Furthermore, the results imply that when revenge is triggered in a non-democratic state, the tendency is to consider less information as compared to when revenge is not triggered.

This pioneering research forms the doorway for utilizing technological developments in the field of the impact of emotions on foreign policy decision making. Thus, the ‘Decision Board’ platform is a unique example of the use of technological tools in social sciences and political science in particular.

Daniëlle Flonk, Ph.D. Candidate, Hertie School, Germany, flonk@hertie-school.org,
“*Brokers or Brakers? Emerging Powers in Global Internet Governance*”

In global internet governance, we often identify two coalitions of countries; authoritarian regimes that promote internet censorship and democratic countries that promote a freer flow of information. However, there is a third group of countries that the literature hardly pays attention to: the emerging powers India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA). These countries sometimes support more liberal internet governance principles and coalitions, and sometimes more illiberal ones, and are therefore termed swing states or digital deciders. As emerging powers, they have the power to tip the scale in internet governance debates and to function as brokers between the two coalitions.

I explore two alternative explanations for the variation in IBSA countries’ preferences over time. First, emerging powers as IBSA countries can try to counterbalance US dominance over the internet by encouraging a multilateral model of internet governance or developing regional coalitions to provide alternative governance structures. Second, the quality of democracy plays an important role in their behavior, for instance when domestic actors succeed in framing internet governance debates as human rights issues. In order to test these explanations, I select specific cases throughout which I trace the variation of support. I assess and triangulate different sources, such as government publications, press releases, statements during high-level meetings, and interviews with policy makers and civil society actors.

Initial findings suggest that a combination of motivations explains the changing behavior of emerging powers. IBSA countries can have a significant influence by either supporting a coalition in a specific situation or functioning as brokers between the two sides. However, IBSA countries are at the same time constrained by domestic political institutions, which is why their behavior varies amongst each other. Hence, the interplay between international counterhegemonic behavior and domestic political constraints explains the changing behavior of rising powers in global internet governance.

Habtom Ghebrezghiabhner, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel (Eritrea), habtomehari@gmail.com, “*Paltalk, Archival Platform for Preserving Human Rights Testimonies*”

Bearing witness used to be institutionalized, today; it could happen in the digital media, without any governmental institutions. The new media information technologies, which are affordable, spreadable and effective, allow activists, artists, regular citizens around the world to gain visibility and voice, present alternative or marginal views, and engage in

everyday discourse through common digital media platforms. The Paltalk, launched in 1998, is social media platforms that provides Chatrooms, where geographically distant people interact with each other using voice, video and text chats in real-time. Citizens or activists from non-democratic third world countries where political activities are restricted uses Paltalk. Paltalk provides Eritreans a platform through which they can claim, challenge and contest human rights, the dominant ideology of our time. Digital platforms are important zones for engagement with human rights. Alternative narratives via the new virtual archival platform could assist communities of survivors in local activism; enable vulnerable and often marginalized groups to tell their own stories about their personal experience of war atrocities, such as death, rape, torture, and displacement, as well as to “connect with other survivors and sympathetic audience. Eritreans publicly discussed human rights issues extensively in Paltalk. The Break the Silence “Medeb Tezareb” program on the “Smerr” Chatroom was dedicated to exposing human rights abuses in Eritrea. The public space where the testimonial labor of Eritreans occurs in and through Paltalk. The selection of Paltalk as a research sites to explore human rights discourse within Eritrean diaspora was an essential process in my PhD research. The data are available for public use in internet archive. The paper seeks to investigate the ways in which archival platforms such as the Paltalk can be used for preserving human rights testimonies, and allow individuals or community to present human rights narratives as alternatives to exclusive, dominant national narratives.

Anna Lichinitzer, MA, Ben-Gurion University, Israel, Annalic@post.bgu.ac.il, “*Hybrid Governmentality Logics: Hura CCTV Project: A Case-Study*”

The seven planed Bedouins cities that has been established in the Negev thirty years ago were the subject of many geo-political studies. The issue of society and space in forced sedentary contexts have shed light on theoretical paradigms of private- public spheres, municipal decision process and city planning. Also, the political-historical line that gave birth to this special settlement have been the focus for some of the researchers of the Israeli- Palestinian conflict and the dispute over land.

This work aspires to implement the Panoptic Analysis model invented by Michel Foucault (1975) on the CCTV project in Hura. Stating the year 2013 as a starting point for the project, this research analyses the rudimentary steps that have been taken before and after the establishment of the city control center and the implementation of over 600 CCTV cameras across Hura municipality roads and institutions.

The projections and aspirations held by both municipality figures and residents are the emphasis of this research, in order to add tier to the paradigms of surveillance theory and neo-colonial studies. By researching the layout of the cameras, but also their presence in the forced sedentary Bedouin space, this work wishes to examine their multi-layered roll as a tool intended not only to achieve legal governmentality and development. In addition to this formal role, the fieldwork findings indicate a desire for cultural determination of the global-local fight that is being held in Hura, where the cameras are expected to replace human roles, such as protecting the lives of the residents, and the boundaries of the society there.

In the meantime, the study seeks to uncover the opposite ideologies that apply in this space, with one side acting to exert liberal, universal and individual values, and the other side fighting for the preservation of the tribe and its long-standing traditions.

Mayuri Mukherjee, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, Mukherjee.mayuri@gmail.com, *“Regulating Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems: Norms-Building by the United States, Israel, and India”*

As private technology companies emerge at the frontiers of national security in the coming age of artificial intelligence, it is important to ask: where do these commercial, non-state entities fit in the international norms-building process around lethal autonomous weapon systems (LAWS)?

The current process is heavily state-centric, which is problematic given that development in the various fields of robotics, artificial intelligence, and technology are being and will continue to be spurred by private, commercial actors, not the government that has traditionally controlled the development of military technology. This then complicates global efforts to regulate the use of LAWS--especially with regard to enforcing arms control measures and ensuring accountability within the framework of international humanitarian law. In some cases, states have sought to get around this problem by turning to domestic regulation, such as the US Department of Defence’s 2012 directive on autonomous weapons. In other cases, technology companies have taken the lead in establishing new norms. For example, after the Project Maven fiasco, Google developed a code for AI research, while Microsoft chief Brad Smith has called for a Digital Geneva Convention to protect citizens in cyberspace.

To understand how these trends may unravel, a two-pronged approach is proposed. First, a survey of current LAWS-related norms building efforts by three different types of states--the United States (a Great Power and AI leader), Israel (a regional power and tech leader), and India (a middle power but not a tech leader)--and their interactions with non-state, tech players. Second, a historical analysis of how states, their militaries, and corporations responded to similar wide-ranging, dual-use technological advances in the past, such as the development of electricity or the steam engine, to understand how society at large may respond to the proliferation of autonomous weapons in the age of artificial intelligence.

Amir Segal, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, sglamir@gmail.com, *“The Encounter of Transnational Immigrants and the Workplace: The Case of Jewish Migrants from North America to Israel”*

This research examines the definition of transnationalism and aimed at developing the theory of transnational migration by studying the transnational community of migrants from North America in Israel. This community shows numerous aspects of transnational activity and identity such as keeping their original language (English), keeping their culture, creating migrant's community, keeping the connection with their origin country, community, and family. Some are working in the origin country – either flying to and from or working from Israel as employees or freelancers for North American companies. To the very list they use the English language or their connection and knowledge of the North American culture and society. The connection of Jewish migrants from North America to Israel is being enabled by direct flight to North America, by phone and internet connection – meaning by technological advances that weren't available until few years ago – advances that makes the direct and constant connection a possibility.

The absorption and integration processes that migrants from North America undergo are unique and interesting, because of the English language in Israel, because of the possibilities

that this knowledge enables and because of modern means of communication that enable communication in English within Israel and between Israel and the US or other countries. Because of the significant connection of many American Jews to Israel, and of Jewish immigrants from North America to their country of origin, shows us a transnational community – one that's shed light on current global migration because of its uniqueness.

Dr. Lev Topor, Post-Doctoral Studies, University of Haifa, Israel, lev-topor@hotmail.com,
“Dark and Deep Webs: Liberty or Abuse”

While the Dark Web is the safest internet platform, it is also the most dangerous platform at the same time. While users can stay secure and almost totally anonymously, they can also be exploited by other users, hackers, cyber-criminals, and even foreign governments. The purpose of this paper is to explore and discuss the tremendous benefits of anonymous networks while comparing them to the hazards and risks that are also found on those platforms. In order to open this dark portal and contribute to the discussion of cyber and politics, a comparative analysis of the dark and deep web to the commonly familiar surface web (World Wide Web) is made, aiming to find and describe both the advantages and disadvantages of the platforms.

TP5: “Grand Strategies in International Politics: Characteristics, Sources, Influences, and Consequences”

Prof. Ron Krebs and Dr. Amir Lupovici

Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1730; Room 503

Lee Amram-Eilat, MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, lee.amram-eilat@mail.huji.ac.il, “It is the Economy, Not Isolationism”

When President Trump was elected in 2016, many concerns were raised, claiming that he might turn the U.S. foreign policy back to the days of isolationism. After three years in the Oval Office, a review of his international actions can suggest that he is not a pure isolationist.

In this paper, I argue that Trump does not want to pull out from the worldwide game, but instead wants to reshape it to reap US economic benefits. Assessing his approach towards written or unwritten agreements, deals, and alliances lead us to conclude that he sees them all through economic glasses: without a proper economic gain, Trump will pull out.

My paper examines Trump's approach towards agreements of economic essence, such as NAFTA and the TPP; and agreements or alliances of a different essence, such as the Paris Agreement; NATO; the US-Cuba deal; the military drills of the US and South Korea; and the recent withdrawal from Syria. My conclusion is that Trump pulled out from them because of what one might call ‘American Economy First’.

There are only two cases that differ from the rest of Trump's withdrawals: when he pulled out from the INF Treaty, and when he pulled out from the Iranian nuclear deal. Hence, it seems that if even Trump prioritizes economic interests, in the cases of nuclear threats security interests come first. Moreover, I find his threat perception of terrorism similar to his nuclear perception. After all, if Trump believes U.S. forces should stay in Syria to fight ISIS, they do so; economic considerations are not a factor. In other words, Trump is not a pure isolationist, but a good businessman. He prioritizes security interests over economy considerations only when it comes to what is perceived as a direct threat to the US, like nuclear and terrorist attacks.

Raphael BenLevi, Ph.D. Candidate, Bar-Ilan University, Israel, rafbenlev@gmail.com, “*Strategic Culture and Nuclear Nonproliferation: The Evolution of US Policy toward the Iranian Nuclear Program from 2002 to 2015*”

What explains the evolution of US policy toward Iran’s nuclear program between 2002 and 2015? What began with a coercive negotiating posture and an implied threat of regime change evolved, over this period, into a more conciliatory stance with an eye toward improved bilateral relations alongside a greater acceptance of Iran’s nuclear infrastructure.

I argue that because nuclear nonproliferation policy is a response to a potential threat that *has not yet materialized*, it constitutes a problem of grand strategy that is particularly open to cultural influences. Nonproliferation policymaking requires an assessment of the intentions and future behavior of the proliferator and competing strategic subcultures will provide divergent answers to its critical questions and prefer differing strategies.

Using a neoclassical realist framework, I argue that while material factors preclude the adoption of the more extreme policies - military strikes or outright acceptance –there remains a range of feasible policies in between, which, I argue, are determined by ideational factors rooted in strategic subcultures. Within the United States, these subcultures compete for dominance while holding conflicting views on fundamental questions of grand strategy including the nature of world order, the proper role of idealism, of international institutions, and of the use of force. While the fundamental material constraints acting on the United States, such as its place in the global balance of power, were constant over this period, the strategic subculture dominant in the executive branch changed, leading to changes in policy. Drawing on material from the memoirs of the principal policymakers involved, supplemented with interviews with former officials from each administration, I outline the evolution of the various elements of policy in the Bush and Obama administrations while disentangling the ideational from the material influences, showing where the strategic cultural assumptions best explain the eventual shifts in policy.

Mevorach Cohen, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, mevo1@walla.co.il; *“The Dispute over the IDF’s Retaliation Operations on the Jordanian Border between 1953 and 1956”*

By the end of the War of Independence, Israel found itself coping with a new phenomenon of Palestinian infiltration. The young state was forced to develop tools to cope with the challenge it faced: first in the form of defensive actions; and at the same time, through the formulation and implementation of an aggressive policy of reprisal operations. The policy of retaliation was conducted in the shadow of deep disagreements between the defense establishment, led by Prime Minister and Minister of Defense David Ben-Gurion, and Foreign Ministry officials led by Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett. The reason for that - in addition to their central purpose for punishment and deterrence (and for other purposes on the domestic and military level), these actions had a real potential for inflicting substantial and profound damage to Israel.

This paper seeks to present the development of Israel's policy of punishment and retaliation vis-à-vis the Jordanian arena in the years 1953-1956, in an attempt to answer the question: How can the decision to adopt the policy of retaliation be explained and persisted despite the prices and challenges it posed?

The main conclusion that emerges from the analysis is that Ben-Gurion and Sharett's approach that determined their response to every terrorist incident that occurred was dictated, first and foremost, by their retaliation policy derived from their worldviews. However, in some cases, they can also be identified with alternative explanations, such as a rational response regarding external threats in the case of Ben-Gurion, or the impact of domestic politics in the case of Sharett.

Yuval Peleg, MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, Yuval.Peleg2@mail.huji.ac.il, *“Strategic Competition between the United States and China in the Middle East”*

In recent years, the relationship between the U.S. and China is considered by many U.S. officials as a ‘strategic competition’, a competition between a current hegemonic power and a

rising challenger, poised to change the international order to its benefit. This is evident in U.S. government published National Security Strategy and Defense Strategy documents of 2017 and 2018. This paper examines the relationship from the viewpoint of the U.S., focusing in the Middle East. Once considered a region traditionally influenced by the U.S. lately becoming a center for growing Chinese activity, at times at the expense of the U.S., this study aims to answer how the expanding Chinese presence in the Middle East affects U.S. policy in the region regarding U.S. view on its competition with China. Based on previous research done in the theoretical field of strategic competition, I suggest a set of options that the U.S. can pursue upon. Using three case studies, I demonstrate which of these options the U.S. might choose to follow. The conclusion states that the U.S. is actively pursuing increasing relevance towards allies while working to minimize China's leverage in the region in specific fields that the U.S. has a specific advantage. By doing so, this paper aims to enrich upon the understanding of the way the U.S. considers the competitive aspect of its relationship with China and the importance of the Middle East in it. Another possible contribution of this paper is to offer a perspective about the different ways a hegemonic power can handle the rise of a strategic competitor.

Inbar Pincu, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
Inbar.Pincu@mail.huji.ac.il, "*Biomimicry and 'the State of Nature' in International Relations*"

In Thomas Hobbes' book, *Leviathan*, the predisposed existence of "the State of Nature" is described as an insecure existence, in which humans live in constant fear of violence. Yet, the institution of the state is not as ancient as the human species itself – and more importantly, nature itself. How did humans manage to prosper in this unstable environment? Or perhaps, nature isn't as unsafe as it appears?@mail

Biomimicry (or Biomimetics) is a method used to identify existing models that were crafted by nature over billions of years, then translate those into applicable solutions for a variety of problems. Its employment had already been successful in many domains, mostly of the physical variety – technology, architecture, and engineering.

The paper demonstrates biomimicry's applicability in IR by examining the mechanisms of signaling, deterrence, power projection, and credible threats in nature. Different methods are employed by the actors to avoid unnecessary conflict, such as the peacock's tail. The tail demonstrates 'the handicap principle', in which the actor purposefully puts themselves at a disadvantage, to create a costly credible signal so potential aggressors would consider the actor too powerful to pursue conflict against. The paper concludes by suggesting biomimicry is a worthwhile path to explore in IR.

Ofek Riemer, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
ofek.riemer@gmail.com, "*The 'Word Lords': Explaining Public Intelligence Disclosure through the Israeli Case-Study*"

Why do states publicly disclose their hard-earned secret intelligence data? While intelligence politicization constitutes the predominant framework in the existent scholarly literature for understanding public use of intelligence information, this study seeks to provide alternative explanations. The recent turn in Israel's policy towards systematic public disclosure of intelligence presents a challenging example for current explanations and a worthy case for

generating new ones. Based on in-depth interviews with senior government and security officials, legislators, journalists, and security analysts, the following study explores three possible outlooks on this prevalent phenomenon. First, it offers to look at intelligence disclosure as a performative act meant to prop up state advocacy and affect international agenda-setting in the information age. Second, it offers to perceive it as the weaponization of secret information against adversaries that deploys secrecy for survival and operation, primarily non-state actors. Third, it suggests a different political outlook on intelligence publicization, which parts with rational choice, and instead argues that intelligence disclosure is immersed in a social context, pertaining to cultural and psychological idiosyncrasies of both policymakers and intelligence organizations. The public use of intelligence draws the attention from both scholars and practitioners, since it contributes to our understanding of the new roles and applications of intelligence, especially for security and diplomatic purposes in an information-laded, media-saturated world.

Nathaniel Shils, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Pennsylvania, United States,
nshils@sas.upenn.edu, “*Strategy and Grand Strategy in the Study of Protracted Conflicts*,”

How can we study the selection mechanisms for the strategies of conflict and cooperation that antagonists pursue in protracted territorial conflicts? More generally, what can the study of strategy and grand strategy contribute to the understanding of the causes and patterns of change in protracted conflicts between state and nonstate actors? Is there anything distinctive about the strategies actors pursue in conflicts located in anomalous spaces of the modern Westphalian system, such as the West Bank and Gaza, Kashmir, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Kosovo, where contested territory is weakly institutionalized, actors are multiple and divided, and there are forces pushing simultaneously towards both separatism and unification?

This paper presents part of the theoretical and conceptual apparatus of my dissertation, which examines the selection mechanisms for the strategies of conflict and cooperation in Israeli-Palestinian relations since Oslo. In this context, but in comparative perspective, I develop a typology of strategies that the core antagonists might pursue and ask what mechanisms govern their selection. I draw on organization theory, complexity theory, evolutionary game theory, historical institutionalism, and strategic studies. The substance of this paper is threefold. First, a conceptualization and operationalization of ‘strategy’, which is located somewhere between that of evolutionary game theory and approaches to grand strategy in strategic studies. Second, theorization of the relationship between internal (domestic) and external (international or geopolitical) variables in the selection mechanisms of interest. Third, preliminary theorization of how the interaction of multiple actors and their selected strategies shapes conflict processes. The project’s broad aim is to develop analytic traction on the forms of conflict transformation underway and impending in the local context, absent the possibility of conflict resolution.

TP6 + TP9: “The Global Rise of Populism and the Challenges to the International Liberal Order: Effects on Democracy and World Politics”

Prof. Dr. Sandra Destradi, Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, and Daniel F. Wajner

Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1730; Room 403

Shai Agmon, Ph.D. Candidate, Oxford University, United Kingdom (Israel), shai.agmon@politics.ox.ac.uk, “*Bankers, Suicide Bombers, and the ‘Real People’: What Israeli Right-Wing Populism Can Teach Us About its European Counterparts*”

The past decade has witnessed a populist takeover of Israeli politics: rhetoric, ideas, and policy positions that until recently had been confined to the radical fringes, now dominate the country’s political mainstream. Despite the existence of a vast literature concerned with the evolution of right-wing extremism in Israel, scholars have yet to provide an explanation for this dramatic shift.

This paper addresses the issue by presenting an up-to-date comparative ideological analysis of Israeli and European right-wing populism. It argues that the two variants share fundamental structural similarities in terms of the systemic conditions that enabled their rise – an ideological convergence between left and right – as well as the kind of politics they promote. But beyond these structural similarities lies a crucial difference of content: while European populists capitalize on cultural and economic grievances, their Israeli equivalents exploit anxieties related to national security.

The paper’s contribution is threefold. First, it provides a novel framework for understanding recent developments in Israeli politics. Second, it focuses on a country that has barely been influenced by the 2008 financial crisis or the migration crisis, but nevertheless exhibits typical populist characteristics –thereby deepening our insight into the structural foundations of populism. Lastly, it lays the groundwork for a new taxonomy of populism based not on region or era but on political content: economic, cultural, and security-related.

Avishay Ben Sasson-Gordis, Ph.D. Candidate, Harvard University, United States, bensassongordis@g.harvard.edu, “*Rethinking the Freedom of the Press: From Rights to Institutional Roles*”

The rise of populist candidates and parties in liberal democracies across the world is accompanied by discussion of the role of news media and other media sources in enabling this trend, and their supposed failure in adjusting to it. Public, scholarly, and legal discussion of the press in democracies usually invokes risks to and the importance of the freedom of the press.

In this paper I argue that the focus on ‘freedom’ is conceptually vague and potentially detrimental to achieving what should be goal of liberal-democrats in this area – a well-functioning press. I propose we place the role and function of the press in enabling healthy

democracy and robust citizenship at the center of our normative commitment regarding this institution.

After explaining and justifying this conceptual shift in how we think about the press, I discuss practical implications for politics and policy. These implications include: a discussion of how press freedom does or does not apply to media sources other than the traditional news media, such as online bloggers and partisan media outlets; an account of the place of non-commercial information producers in the democratic landscape; an account of what is wrong with rhetorical appeals to the freedom of the press by those who wish to undermine democratic institutions; and a call for incorporating media literacy into our education system and rewarding those who contribute to a well-functioning press.

Reut Fingher Dasberg, Ph.D. Candidate, Tel-Aviv University, reutfingher@gmail.com, “*The Role of the Court in Mediating the Relationship between ‘Citizenship’ and ‘National Sovereignty’*”

It is commonly accepted that in most democratic nation-states there exists an inherent structural tension between the state’s ‘national sovereignty’ needs and its citizens’ individual rights. This tension is expressed in different spheres (from political resource allocation to popular culture) and the existing literature identifies and assesses several methods in which various state institutions either exacerbate or mediate it. Building on existing research, this study argues that the inherent tension between the state’s sovereignty prerogatives and minorities’ equal rights is stronger and more significant in illiberal democracies, particularly those with significantly large national minorities (such as the State of Israel). While this tension presents itself in many spheres of public and social life, it is normally the Supreme Court (as the primary arbiter between state institutions and civilians in democracies) that is forced to confront and mediate it.

Given this reality it is important to ask: How does the Supreme Court perform this task of mediating this tension between national sovereignty and citizenship rights? For example, to what extent do judges exhibit a consistent approach over time in considering competing imperatives (e.g., national security versus equality)? Moreover, how are Supreme Court decisions in this matter influenced by deeper socio-political changes in their countries? Finally, what short and long-term effects do these institutions’ efforts have on society at large and on other state institutions? Surprisingly, and contrary to what one might expect, these basic questions have not yet been adequately answered in the legal or political literatures.

This study seeks to empirically explore how the Israeli Supreme Court has gone about mediating the Israeli democracy’s basic tensions between national sovereignty (mainly, ethnic-related security-related prerogatives) and the universal norm of civil equality. It does so via a long-term and cross-sectional (time-series) analysis of more than 250 Supreme Court rulings dealing with the civil rights of the Arab minority in Israel since the time of independence to this day (1948-2019). It combines quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis (discourse and narrative analysis) in order to uncover existing patterns in the Supreme Court’s attitude towards the relative importance of national sovereignty and civil rights. It thus allows us to trace changes in the way in which the Supreme Court views both

its constitutional role as a safeguard for universal democratic values as well as its level of commitment to protect minority rights in a divided ethnic democracy.

This study has several important theoretical and practical implications: First, there is a theoretical contribution to understanding the tension between "equal citizenship" and "national sovereignty" in non-liberal states. Second, through empirical research on Supreme Court judgments, it is possible to draw conclusions about the court's true level of commitment to minorities and civil rights under different strategic conditions. Third and finally, as part of the data collection and analysis this research has produced a first-of-its-kind dataset of Supreme Court rulings which has already allowed me to identify three distinct phases in the Court's attitude of its constitutional role which challenges existing conceptions.

Laura Valeria Gheorghiu, Ph.D. Candidate, Karl Franzens University Graz, Austria, lauravgheorghiu@yahoo.com , "*Liquid Identities in a Melting Political World*"

Metaphoric as my title may seem, it mirrors the present state of art as described by outstanding scholars like Zygmund Baumann, Leonidas Donskis, Stefano Bianchini, or Jiri Priban. By and large, liquidity means a complete relativization and blending of ideas, identities, rules and rejections, actually a breaking free from any cultural mindset. It is altogether the sign that a majority of population cannot cope any longer with the established rules and constraints. Liquidity annuls and disarticulates all what happens to disturb: states and personal friendship, ideologies, histories and hopes.

While liberalism meant a set of rules allowing for freedom and competition, liquidity washes all up to recreate some sort of anarchic state of mind, easy to cope with. Economic growth and sustainability used to be the "glue of liberal democracy" (Edward Luce) but have already lost ground as confronted to global crises as well as to an unprecedented societal liquefaction. Therefore, elections and political participation bring together 'liquid' voters for 'liquid' candidates delivering slippery discourses on issues few persons really care about. We got fragmented parliaments and incoherent policies only to enhance the feeling of meaningless. Populism is just one face of this phenomenon, the downgrade of the entire game to a common denominator where the majority may feel safe.

My essay brings together concepts like liquidity, modernization, liberal democracy, nationalism, economic crises, and populism to show how they play together and how they explain the way in which the liberal framework turned classic and melts under the pressure of frustrations, mass politics, loss of sense for values, hierarchies and rules. Atomization, loneliness and hurry to get back to safety also erode the pillars of the democratic scenario only to push humankind to face its dissolution and to search for some more credible procedures to live with.

Leah Levy, MA, University of Haifa, Israel, leahlevy242@gmail.com [no paper presentation]

Lavi Melman, MA, Oxford University, United Kingdom, lavimelman@gmail.com, “*Political Education in Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Political Lessons in Lower-Secondary Education, 1945-2019*”

This thesis explores the institutional development of political education policy in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and 2019. Following Roberts’ (2002) analysis of political education in lower-secondary schools across the Federal Republic of Germany, the institutional arrangement was recreated by the Allied forces at the end of World War II, and further changed based on education trends such as the 1968 movement and an international comparative stage at the late 1990’s. Conflicting accounts appear in the literature about the contribution of the Allied forces (Hahn, 1998; Robinsohn and Kulmann, 1967), however new data on the individual efforts of the U.S., British, and French forces during the occupation period (Gehrz, 2002) serve as a basis to evaluate these accounts through a comparative historical analysis across member states.

Using an actor-centred functionalist account of historical institutionalism literature, three hypotheses are considered: (1) the institutional arrangement persisted until today (path dependence, Capoccia, 2015); (2) the institutional arrangement was changed based on political affiliation modifications to the institutional coalition (gradual institutional change, Mahoney and Thelen, 2010); and (3) the institutional arrangement was changed based on normative modifications of the institutional coalition (ideational institutional change, Blyth, 2002).

Tracing the curricular development of political lessons during the occupation period and the policy changes until today, this paper finds that the political education policy created by the Western allies persisted until the end of the 1960’s, and further developed due to an ideational institutional change. The 1968 movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, and the international comparative stage at the late 1990s were central to the curricular development

Vered Porzycki, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, vered.porzycki@mail.huji.ac.il; “*European Women, Immigrant Women: Women’s Representation in Populist and Mainstream Parties’ Discourse in the European Parliament*”

How does gender play out in the discourse of right-wing populist parties? Right-wing populist parties are known as men’s parties (*Männerparteien*) either for their male charismatic leadership or because they draw their support mainly from male voters. Yet it remains unclear how women are represented and discussed by these parties.

Who are the discussed women? What issues are being associated with women? What is the scope of issues associated with the discourse on women? These questions are the focus of this paper. My empirical case consists of 529 speeches given by members of the European Parliament (MEPs) between 2009 and 2019. Speeches by MEPs from three populist parties are juxtaposed with and compared to speeches by mainstream right parliamentarians. This analytical strategy allows me to systematically measure how populist parties construct the image of women and what are the ways by which women are being represented by parties that claim to represent the voice of the People.

My findings show that right-wing populist parties (RRPs) focus mainly on the issue of immigrant and refugee women, as persons who aim to seize the European culture and as persons who undermine the European economic market, while using liberal discourse to

justify their claims, in contrast to mainstream parties. Additionally, it is revealed that RRP's construct European women as persons who are already equal to men, thus presenting a different and traditional voice about European women.

Assaf Shmuel, Ph.D. Candidate, Tel-Aviv University, Israel, assafshmuel91@gmail.com,
“*The Beauty of Elections: Assessing the Diversionary War Theory in Pre-election Periods Using Attractiveness as an Instrument for Popularity*”

Proponents of the diversionary war theory claim unpopular leaders initiate wars in order to divert the public's attention from domestic issues and improve their public standing. Despite its wide acknowledgement, the theory lacks support of empirical evidence and remains highly controversial. In this paper, I claim that the lack of empirical evidence can be attributed to the interaction effect between incumbent popularity and the election cycle, which has consistently been overlooked by scholars. Since the rally-around-the-flag effect is short-lived, unpopular incumbents are only incentivized to wage diversionary wars in pre-election periods. Conversely, popular incumbents seek to avoid conflict in pre-election periods as their electoral prospects are already promising. The elections therefore have an opposite effect on the incentives of popular and unpopular incumbents. Using a novel dataset that ties public opinion data to MIDs in different phases of the election cycle, I find support for the theory's key predictions. In order to establish causality, I apply an instrumental variable method, using leader attractiveness as an instrument for popularity. The findings highlight the important role of domestic electoral considerations in shaping foreign policy.

Alberto Stefanelli, Ph.D. Candidate, KU Leuven, Belgium;
alberto.stefanelli.main@gmail.com, “*From Ideological Convergence to Affective Hostility: Resolving the Populist Polarization Paradox*”

The existence of polarization in the electorate has been recently linked to the success of populist parties. Most of the scholarship on “populist polarization” argues that the Manichean character of populism is inherently incompatible with a pluralist and non-polarized political competition. However, at the individual level, the causal link between polarization and mass attitudes remains both unclear and untested. Even the handful of empirical studies on this topic pay little attention to the attitudinal characteristics and individual predispositions that lead citizens to polarize. Furthermore, the assumed centrifugal dynamics embedded in populist ideology clash with recent empirical evidence of convergence towards the center of populist formations. On the one hand, populist parties seem nowadays to hold moderate or ambiguous positions, combining protectionism and welfare chauvinism with demands for privatizations and deregulations. The inconsistency of populist policy agendas has been linked to a lower salience of the traditional L-R dimension and, in turn, to lower levels of ideological polarization. On the other hand, the strong differentiation between ‘we’ as ‘us’ and ‘them’ as ‘others’ and the high levels of animosity characteristic of populist discourse are often deemed responsible for the creation of symbolic and social demarcations related to higher levels of interparty hostility and polarization. This work aims to resolve this paradox by exploring the impact of populist attitudes on polarizing dynamics at the individual level. Using data from the 2016 American National Electoral Study (ANES), I develop two new indices that allow me to distinguish between ideological and affective polarization and relate them to individual affinity with populism. Results from Structural Equation Modelling

(SEM) analysis show that individual affinity with populism is a strong predictor of both ideological and affective polarization. This finding contradicts the hypothesis of a lower salience of traditional issues stances and suggests that populist attitudes have effects that go beyond partisan identities and hostilities. The fact that populist individuals are far more polarized compared to the general public calls for further research on the psychological mechanisms behind the activation of populist attitudes and their impact on democratic governance and representation mechanisms.

Liam Tamano, MA, University of Haifa, liam.tamano@gmail.com [no paper presentation]

Gil Thompson, Ph.D. Candidate, Free University of Berlin, Germany, gil.thompson@fu-berlin.de, “*The Effect of Emotional Intensity on European Socialization: A Case Study of National Officials Seconded to Frontex and EASO at the Lesvos Migration Hotspot*”

The socializing effect of European Union institutions has been a source of research and debate in European Studies since the 1970s. Previous work has generally considered Brussels, and the European Commission in particular, a most-likely case (Hooghe, 2005, p. 862) for socializing national officials, a least-likely population (Johns, 2007; Suvarierol and van den Berg, 2008). The notion is of Brussels as the capital city of the European project and that contact with its institutions will lead officials to internalize its scripts, including “roles and norms” (Beyers, 2010, p. 911). However, a job in Brussels is not so different from one in a national capital. The experience socializes some people, as research has shown, but it should not be surprising that results have been described as “modest” (Hooghe, 2005, p. 876), “halting” (Scheinman and Feld, 1972, p. 134), “lacking” (Juncos and Pomorska, 2006, p. 3), or “partial” (Murdoch and Geys, 2012, p. 1368).

The Lesvos migration hotspot is a very different setting. It is not a shining example of European administrative excellence; it is a humanitarian disaster (Franck, 2018). It is a beautiful island as well as a place of horror. For this study, I interviewed national police officials deployed to Frontex, who may spend a day playing volleyball on the beach and the next one registering asylum seekers who have just arrived in their dinghies, perhaps following a fatal wreck. I also interviewed national asylum officers, who may have a grand dinner at a waterfront taverna one evening and spend the following morning conducting hours-long interviews with victims of indescribable acts of torture and brutality.

This novel context of a faraway, Janus-faced island provides for an emotional intensity that facilitates socialization. On the basis of 28 recorded interviews and additional unrecorded ones, as well as ethnographic fieldwork conducted over two stays in Lesvos, I show how the emotional intensity of deployments to the hotspot facilitates socialization of national officials. The demonstrated effect of this mechanism suggests that Lesvos and other highly emotionally intense contexts are, *ceteris paribus*, more effective at promoting socialization than less-emotionally intense contexts, such as Brussels, wherein most secondments to EU institutions take place.

Naama Weiss-Yaniv, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
naama.weiss@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Populist and Pessimistic? The Role of Populist Attitudes in Election Projections*”

The paper explores the relationship between election projections and populist attitudes. Populist attitudes are regarded as beliefs that the general will of the virtuous people, and not the corrupted elite, should guide politics. Those attitudes were found to be related to low trust in institutions – and media in particular– as well as to high levels of societal pessimism. However, less is known about whether and how such negative perceptions also play a role in projections regarding elections. As events that potentially can bring about a change in the political system, elections may raise hopes among those with populist views. We focus on two key aspects of elections projections: reliance on poll predictions, and affective forecasting (i.e., projected feelings regarding expected elections outcomes).

We draw on a survey conducted prior to the second round of Israeli 2019 national elections (N= 771), focusing on people’s predictions regarding the election outcomes and their feelings toward the predicted results. First, we examined reliance on polls by comparing respondents’ predictions regarding election outcomes with the predictions of the polls to which they were exposed on the media. The results indicate a moderation effect of populist attitudes on the compliance between the polls’ prediction and respondents’ own prediction. That is, respondents with low levels of populist attitudes predicted election results in accordance with the results of the polls to which they were exposed to. However, respondents with high levels of populist attitudes predicted the opposite of what the polls to which they were exposed to predicted. Second, considering affective forecasting, people with populist attitudes tended to express negative feelings regarding elections results, regardless of whether the outcome they expected corresponded with their vote intention. The results thus indicate that people with populist attitudes are more pessimistic and distrustful – even when encountering an event that potentially can lead to a change.

TP7: “Political Islam, Populism, and Politics in the Middle East”

Dr. Javier Gil Guerrero and Prof. Alberto Priego Moreno

Hours: 1000-1230; Room 404

Jony Esa, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, jony.essa@mail.huji.ac.il, “*What Explains Different Military Behavior? Jordan, Syria, and Egypt in a Comparative Perspective*”

Arab countries, are usually described as military based regimes, where the armed forces are often at the core of the political system. However, the status and role of the military as an independent institution varies. The armed forces’ response to public unrest and the way it engages on behalf of the leader or against him is usually crucial in determining the outcome of popular uprisings; namely, if authoritarian regimes are eventually overthrown or manage to stay in power. Despite this variance, the casual process leading the armed forces to become an independent actor has not been studied thoroughly.

This paper aims to explain differences in the armed forces’ response to crisis with reference to its different ethnic representation and loyalty strategies. Three case studies have been selected for this purpose: Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, all Arab States that spurred into internal conflict in 1970 (for the Jordanian case) and 2011, (respectively for Syria and Egypt). Despite being analyzed in the past as individual case studies; none of the existing analysis has systematically attempted to compare them by exhibiting the differences and similarities in the ethnic makeup strategies of their armed forces and the way its institutions attempts to balance different religious sects.

Abraham Gertz, MA, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel, aamgertz@gmail.com, “*Intrastate Religious Conflicts and the Internationalization of Civil Wars*”

Around the world, civil wars – defined here as conflict dyads resulting in 1,000+ battle-related deaths per year – have dramatically proliferated over recent decades while interstate wars have significantly declined in frequency. These intrastate wars have increasingly become internationalized in nature – i.e. foreign states and militaries have increasingly lent troops and aid in support of one, or more, actors involved in these domestic disputes. Instances of terrorism have also dramatically risen in frequency over recent decades, often correlated with the pre-existence of civil wars within states. These acts of terror are increasingly being carried out by groups that have managed to instrumentalize religious identities and ideologies for the sake of mobilizing supporters and legitimizing their acts of political violence. Similarly, intrastate armed conflicts – i.e. conflict dyads resulting 25 to 999 battle-related deaths per years – have become more religious in nature over recent years. Considering the perceived link between terrorism and civil war, the fact that terrorism and intrastate conflicts have adopted a more religious nature in recent years, and the seemingly correlated rise of both religious and internationalized intrastate conflicts around the world, this paper will address the following question: What, if any, statistical relationship exists between the proliferation of religious intrastate conflicts and internationalized civil wars?

Using the Uppsala Conflict Data Project's data set on armed conflict and the Religion and Armed Conflict data set, this paper employs correlational and logarithmic methods to examine whether the rise of religious intrastate conflicts is, in fact, related to the growing internationalization of civil wars. Preliminary findings indicate that armed conflicts with a religious dimension possess a strong positive correlation with internationalized civil wars. In terms of causation, it seems that there is a significant relationship between the emergence of religious intrastate conflicts and the internationalization of civil wars.

Dr. Michael Reimer, Postdoctoral studies, Rutgers University, United States, mjresq@gmail.com, "*The Palestine Papers: Using Words as Data*"

The more than 1,500 documents which constitute *The Palestine Papers* have been analyzed and placed in a database. *The Palestine Papers* were the internal documents of the Palestinian Authority for the negotiations which primarily took place during 2000 and 2009. These documents include support for the actual negotiators from the NSU (Negotiating Support Unit) as well as Meeting Minutes and Meeting Summaries and Maps used in the Olmert-Abbas round of negotiations and the aftermath thereof.

While the parties do not admit to the authenticity of the papers, no person has ever suggested that these papers are fabrications. The documents are the best recollections of a person who attended the negotiations. They are clearly the recollections recorded nearly contemporaneously.

Each document was separately analyzed and placed into an off-the-shelf database. That makes the entirety of the documents searchable by single words or combination of words or phrases. This makes it easy to see patterns in both the words and the policy that they represent.

This paper will address just a few of these patterns which present themselves upon analysis, using words as data. Many such patterns seem obvious and are confirmed by the data. Some patterns only emerge from a thorough reading and understanding of the data.

This is particularly true of the Meeting Minutes and Meeting Summaries. The fact that these meetings were not actually recorded means that these transcripts are, *ipso facto*, the recollections and impressions of a scrivener who was working from either his/her memory or notes or both. While many of these documents are in the form of a transcript, with specific words attributed to specific speakers, they must, nevertheless, be treated as subject to the memory, perception and bias of the scrivener.

It is hoped that the paper will provide some clearer understanding of what is likely the most detailed and comprehensive of the four rounds of post-Oslo negotiations.

Ilan Zelayat, MA, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel, ilanz3@gmail.com, "*Fighting for Soft Power: Iran's Religious Campaign in Syria*"

Iran's involvement in the civil war in Syria since 2011, spearheaded by its proxy Shiite militias, not only salvaged its ally, the Syrian regime, in the battlefield, but also appears to instill Iran's desired political influence in post-war Syrian society. This endeavor is perceived in this study as the search for identity-derived soft power within reintegrating society.

Accordingly, the paper discusses how the theory of soft power in International Relations – and particularly, its approaches to religion – is compatible with the political thought of Shi'a Islam that guides Iran's regional agenda. The implementation in practice of this nexus is analysed through tracing the social and spiritual aspects of the complicity of the Shiite militias in Syria. The study finds a string of Iranian-backed schemes – from welfare services and reconstruction of war-racked areas, amid propaganda and educational indoctrination to conversion to Shi'a – aiming to cultivate ideological support of Iran's interest in Syria among its population. Thus, it presents an intriguing model of soft power promotion, which utilizes both religious sources and the geopolitical situation for meeting the unique characteristics of its targeted audience.

TP8: “International Political Economy”

Prof. Yoram Haftel and Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan

Hours: 1400-1730; Room 505

Jonathan Ariel, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
jonathan.ariel@mail.huji.ac.il, “*An Invisible Global Player? The EU’s Overlooked Role in International Security*”

The role attributed in research to the European Union in the post-World-War II liberal order is mostly relegated to diplomacy and advancing norms. However, in the past three decades the EU created a contractual framework that advances security issues with over a hundred countries around the world using trade agreements. These issues range from fighting terrorism to proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction that are linked to the fulfilment of the agreements with the EU. The subject-areas and scope of this foreign policy tool that is employed and monitored by the EU regularly poses a puzzle: What does this framework mean for international security regimes? Is the EU just supporting existing obligations and norms already found in treaties and UN institutions? Or, does the EU expand upon existing security regimes either in depth of obligations or in number of participating countries? By comparing international instruments to the obligations, participating countries, and timeline of security issues embedded in EU trade agreements this paper tries to answer these questions. Examining these variables leads to the conclusion that the EU makes a distinct contribution both in upholding existing security regimes and expanding them. In-light of this contribution, the EU’s role in the international arena needs to be re-evaluated as it would seem to be more substantial than previously thought.

Yulia Arport, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
yulia.arport@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Risky Business: The Term of Political Risk and Factors Shaping its Influence on FDI Inflows*”

Political risk is one of the factors that can potentially impact foreign direct investments (FDI) inflows into a state. Despite numerous studies on the issue, there is no consensus on whether and what kind of political risk has a negative influence on FDI. One of the possible reasons for this inconsistency is a significant discrepancy in the definition of political risk used in various studies. This paper provides clarification of political risk term by explaining how political risk in a host state is perceived by investors themselves and which factors influence its effect on their decision - making. The study is based on interviews with officials of two government agencies working with foreign investors in Israel and Israeli investors abroad. The paper shows that political risk is an important factor in investment considerations and has three dimensions: security issues, government regulatory policies and instability, and political view of third parties. The impact of political risk on the decision to invest in a foreign economy is mediated by a number of factors including investors’ previous experience and source of information about the risk; personality and type of investor; level of risks; and relations between the home and the host state.

Yonatan Brander, MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, ybrander@gmail.com,
“*What the Free Enterprise System is All About’: Donald Kendall, Pepsi, and the U.S.-Soviet Relations during the Nixon-Ford Years*”

This paper uses archival documents, Nixon-era White House recordings, and other historical materials to examine the role that Donald Kendall, Nixon’s close confidante and the CEO of PepsiCo, played in efforts to expand economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Nixon-Ford Administration. It traces how, in late 1971, the Nixon Administration promoted Kendall's business interests in the Soviet Union. Instantly, talks between Pepsi and the USSR became intertwined with economic negotiations that culminated in the Moscow Summit (especially on the topic of MFN) and the US-Soviet Trade Agreement of 1972. Throughout the process, Nixon was sensitive to Kendall’s interests and the Soviets knew it.

In late November 1972, a month after the trade agreement was signed and weeks after Nixon’s re-election, Kendall announced a deal to bring Pepsi to the Soviet Union in exchange for Russian-made vodka. The deal, which became extremely lucrative for the company, made Pepsi the first U.S. consumer product to be produced and sold in the USSR. Kendall immediately denied (in the press and testimony to Congress) that he received any assistance from the Nixon Administration in making the arrangement.

By late 1973, Kendall was an influential champion of expanded trade between the superpowers, the most important business emissary between Moscow, Washington, and Wall Street, and the gatekeeper to doing business in the USSR. He marginalized other influential economic actors and became the founding chairman of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council. He earned even greater status in Moscow, when he organized the political campaign against Congress’s efforts to prevent the White House from granting the Soviets MFN-status and generous Export-Import credits.

Ultimately, Kendall’s influence declined prodigiously when he failed to defeat those laws, the Soviet intervention in Angola eroded support for détente, and Ford was defeated in 1976. In all, this paper offers interesting insights into the role that personal relationships, domestic politics, and business interests can fulfil in shaping international relations and global economic realities.

Hila Levi, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
hila.levi1@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Narratives of the Eurozone Crisis and Crisis Response*”

The global financial crisis, which began in the United States, and peaked in mid-September 2009 (when Lehman Brothers collapsed), spread rapidly throughout the world and hit Europe's financial system particularly hard. A decade after the beginning of the Eurozone crisis, much disagreement and confusion remain about the development of the crisis and its origins. While the conventional narrative has been that the Eurozone crisis is a sovereign debt crisis resulted from irresponsible behavior by some EU governments, other narratives attribute the Eurozone crisis to the loss of competitiveness following euro adoption or to banking fragilities.

This paper therefore aims to provide an overview of the evolution of the Eurozone crisis and to present different narratives of the crisis' causes and development. By doing so, it aims to demonstrate the power of a narrative. Different narratives imply different coping strategies with the crisis. Perceptions and conceptions had profound implications in terms of the policies applied by financial institutions in order to tackle the crisis and the decisions these have made regarding the crisis countries and their citizens.

Iddan Sonsino, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, Iddan.sonsino@mail.huji.ac.il, “*How Wealth Gaps Ruin Markets: Some Economic-Philosophical Implications of Inequality*”

In the attempt to articulate what is wrong with economic inequality, scholars pointed toward various desirable social goals or values it hinders or conflicts with, like democracy or utility. This paper explores a novel focus whose value I argue to be harmed by economic inequality: markets. Three positive attributes of markets are argued to be violated when high levels of economic inequality between consumers exist: 1. That markets allocate scarce goods to the people who derive the highest value from them. 2. That markets incentivize entrepreneurs to solve social problems. 3. That markets advance pluralistic and democratic world-building. The argument against inequality that amounts from those violations can be particularly interesting because it may resonate with libertarian worldviews that do not currently view inequality as a problem that has to be addressed. Furthermore, I argue that the type of economic transactions occurring in markets with great inequality demonstrates and exacerbates a weakness in a traditional right-wing argument that points to profit-maximization as a reliable indicator for the good deed in the market, and shows the need for alternative general theories regarding the relationship between economic value and (moral) value. I suggest one such theory – Sen's Capability Approach, claiming we should *prima facie* consider market transactions that create capabilities as morally better than such that satisfy other preferences.

Hanan Yonah, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, hanan.yonah@mail.huji.ac.il; “*Immigration, Assimilation, and Philanthropy: A Longitudinal Study*”

The heterogeneity of the Israeli population and the special characteristics and diversity of its society, which include migration from both wealthy and poor countries, allow for a unique opportunity to study the relationship between immigration and philanthropic behaviour. Using a unique panel dataset of all tax itemizer donors between 1999 and 2011, the study's results show that recent immigrant philanthropists contribute significantly higher amounts than their native-born counterparts and veteran immigrants. However, with each year residing in Israel, assimilating and integrating into its society, their giving patterns decrease, converging to the level of native-born donors.

Immigrant donors originating from the United States contribute on average significant higher amount than donors originating from any other country, and they are found to be the most generous and consistent donors.

TP10: “Politics and Society in Latin America: Past and Present”

Prof. Jorge P. Gordin and Dr. Claudia Kedar

Hours: 1430-1730; Room 404

Sergio Campos, Ph.D. Candidate, CIDE, Mexico, Sergio.campos@mail.huji.ac.il

Everaldo Antonio de Oliveira, MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, Everaldo.DeOliveira@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Poverty Reduction in World Bank Lending: The Brazilian Case*”

The World Bank is the leading development institution in the global sphere. Since the beginning of its lending activities in Latin America, its role in the region has become controversial. In today’s lecture, which is part of my MA dissertation still in progress, I will focus on the World Bank lending to Brazil, one of the biggest economies in Latin America and one of the most unequal countries in the globe. As I suggest, the study of the role played by the World Bank, especially from the late 1960s onwards, can help us reach a better understanding of the social changes that have been taking place in Latin America in general and in Brazil in particular, including increasing internal migration and poverty.

Brazil is among the biggest and most active borrowers of the World Bank. The number of World Bank loans to Brazil have increased from the time that Robert McNamara (the previous U.S. Secretary of Defense) became president of the Bank in 1968, with around 6,5 loans per year. It was also under McNamara that social concerns became the top priority in the Bank agenda, first and foremost the fight against poverty. I will emphasize the Bank’s strategy to fight poverty in Brazil as it was reflected in the large number of loans that it granted the country from 1968 until 1981. This period is particularly illuminating because, despite its reference as the Brazilian ‘economic miracle’ (when Brazil’s economy grew 6 percent per year), it also was characterized by increases in social inequality and by the rural exodus. Evidence seems to indicate that the situation of the poor in the rural areas hardly changed despite the granting of a large number of World Bank loans to Brazil that were aimed precisely at reducing the poverty rates and secure what the World Bank itself perceived as ‘basic needs’.

Pedro Goldfarb, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, pedroadom@gmail.com, “*Participation of Young Argentine Jews in the Guerrilla, 1966-1983: Dilemmas of Ethnic and National Identity*” [presentation in Hebrew]

This presentation refers to the joining, activities and integration of young Argentine Jews into the local Argentine politics, through the populist Peronist movement during the years 1966-1983. The reference is to youth that joined the revolutionary factions within Peronism, leading to an armed struggle and guerrilla. The focus is upon a population of native Argentine Jews born to a second or third-generation of Jews that moved from Eastern Europe and the Middle East, mostly to Buenos Aires.

The presentation centers on two major guerrilla organizations, the *Montoneros* and the *FAR*, with less reference to the ‘Popular Revolutionary Army’ (*ERP*), which had a Marxist and Guevarist ideology, far away from Peronism.

The analytical discussion refers to the main factors and explanations that led Argentine Jews to join the guerrilla that fought the authoritarian and military dictatorships of 1966-1973 and 1976-1983. Why did they choose the armed struggle instead of continuing their normal lives? Did they have a political alternative to joining the Peronist movement? What were the dilemmas of the Jewish minority as an ethnic group that wanted to be integrated into the political life of the country? Why did they choose the revolutionary way over the Zionist alternative?

Moran Shechnick, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa, moranshechnick@gmail.com,
“*Does Corruption Corrupt?*”

Incentives for corruption are influenced by many factors. Rose-Ackerman suggests that among these factors are costs and benefits under administrative discretion, laws on corruption and the credibility of law enforcement, incentive systems in the civil service, amount of government auditing and monitoring, willingness of the government to allow citizens to file complaints, freedom of the press and freedom of NGOs, and a strong, active opposition. Others have suggested that the more public servants act corruptly more often, the more people tend to replicate these acts and lose incentives to be honest. Some have even claimed that the best explanation of people’s propensity to corruption is how they think their colleagues perceive corruption, how society perceives corruption, and the perceived opportunity to commit corruption. In a series of experiments, I am trying to find the link between political corruption and civilian corruption: four groups of one hundred subjects from Israel and the United States (and more from Latin American at a later time), will watch four short similar newscasts, with one difference: 1) the first newscast talks about a local politician who was arrested on corruption, 2) the same politician was convicted, 3) the same politician was acquitted, 4) the same politician signed a huge contract with Intel to found a new high tech center in town. Then, I will test all the participants in a very clever and unique way. Who is more likely to act corruptly? Stay tuned.

TP11: “Climate Change, Sustainability Transitions, and Energy Geopolitics”

Prof. Miranda Schreurs and Dr. Lior Herman

Hours: 1000-1230; Room 505

Jozsef Kadar, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa, Israel, jkadar@campus.haifa.ac.il,
“Energiewende as a German Soft Power Tool Towards Israel”

Germany is undergoing a massive energy transition to denuclearize and decarbonize its energy system by 2022 and 2032. The country is seeking global leadership in this regard and promoting know-how and policies concerning the energy transition in other countries. However, the ways in which this export is taking place and the barriers it is facing in recipient countries are under-researched. This paper asks why transferring the energy transition to developed economies might be an unsuccessful process. Considering the influence Germany’s energy transition has, or may have, on other countries, we find it valuable to understand these processes and their consequences.

To bridge these gaps and enrich our understanding of transferring and adopting the German energy transition, the paper applies the policy-transfer framework to analyze soft power mechanisms with which Germany exports its energy transition to Israel, and the barriers they face there. Israel provides a case-study because it is an energy-intensive, developed economy that is undergoing an energy transition of its own. The country has special relations with Germany that provide good conditions for such a transfer. Qualitative research methods of semi-structured interviews and literature review are used to gain an in-depth understanding of the processes and barriers at hand.

Preliminary findings indicate that elements of the German energy transition are transferred to Israel indirectly via learning initiatives, expert exchanges, and on-site visits, but with few concrete policies. Despite favorable conditions for transfer and adoption of the German energy transition, prevailing political and economic conditions in Israel hinder transfer. A confined and centralized approach to planning and implementing energy policies, competing national discourses of security and development, the weak political position of actors that could present alternatives, and the lack of experience of the Israeli environmental movement all constitute significant barriers.

Yonat Rein Sapir, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
yonataly@gmail.com, *“The Role of Local Initiatives in the Environmental Field: What Influences Local Environmental Policy Initiatives, and How Do They Impact Different Governmental Scales?”*

Think Globally Act Locally. This phrase expresses the role of local actions as part of the international scale efforts to preserve and to protect the environment. My research is located in the field of policy initiatives. It focuses on environmental policy initiatives at the local level (LEPIs). The research first aim is to understand LEPIs in their broad context; that is, to recognize the policy framework within which LEPIs arise while comparing different policy contexts. The second aim of this study is to observe in what way LEPIs resonate beyond the

local level; that is, how environmental policy initiated in one locality affects different places and scales?

The research seeks to develop a model about the influences on and of LEPIs. Firstly, what are the dynamics between various scales of action, different levels of government, and other relevant actors? Those include the effect of international organizations and transnational movements, the policy-chain through national, sub-national, and local levels of government, learning and inspiration from other places, relation with external actors (NGOs, industrial stakeholders, and epistemic communities) and grassroots influences of citizens. Secondly, how different variables of the policy settings affect LEPIs in different places? This question will be assessed by comparing different institutional structures (comparing Switzerland and Israel, as two countries with distinct political systems), the implication of various environmental issues, and the attributes of the local authorities. All of these properties may affect the policy initiative direction, from top-down or from the bottom up.

Finally, I will examine the external influences of LEPIs. I will try to understand which LEPIs have the potential to influence other places and from what scales. Does it become a national policy, as a bottom-up process? Otherwise, does it have a downward impact on the behavior and initiatives of citizens? And does the policy in one place have a side effect on parallel local scale, adopting similar or even identical policies, as a diffusion or transformation of policy? All of this might be affected by the different outcomes of the different policies. Thus, the more effect it has on the ground, the more likely the policy will influence the various levels. A relevant question remains how the fulfilment of any specific LEPI will affect its direction and potential impact.

TP12: “Public Policy and Regulatory Governance: Theories and New Empirical Research”

Prof. Cary Coglianese and Prof. David Levi-Faur

Hours: 1000-1230; 1400-1730; Room 504

Inbar Mizrahi Borohovich, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, inbar.m.borohovich@gmail.com, “*Understanding Financial Responsibilization from a Local Perspective: A Comparative Study of Consumer Credit Data Regimes in the United States, Sweden, France, and Israel*”

Sociologist theorizing on governmentality indicates the profound global effects of neo-liberalism on the shift of responsibility for economic conduct and outcomes from governments to individuals (Finlayson, 2009; Langley, 2007; Amable 2011; Fourcade and Healy 2007; Hamann 2009; Lemke 2001; Shamir 2008). Although the global diffusion of responsabilization as a governing technique is often considered a byproduct of the ideational shift to neo-liberalism and thus to be distributed similarly and globally among countries, this paper argues that responsabilization governing techniques are socially and politically constructed and therefore are implemented differently among countries. This approach is demonstrated in financial domains through risk pricing mechanisms such as credit scores that pose responsibility on credit applicants to be responsible for the costs of their own risks and capacities as financial consumers. However, the distribution of these techniques and their use vary across countries and is limited by consumer protection regulatory strategies. This paper investigates the extent of this variance in ‘global’ norms across national contexts. It raises the following questions: how and why consumer protection regulatory strategies differ among countries? I trace variance across four countries: United States, Sweden, France, and Israel and compare them by using a qualitative analysis of economic reports and scholarly literature. The paper concludes that even though in neo-liberal context techniques of the self-have been prominent, national characteristics (e.g. financial characteristics, financial interest groups, and national norms) are significant for understanding the notion of responsabilization.

Yair Hakak, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, yair@hakak.com, “*The Palestine Ordinance Survey*”

Despite the general view of the administration of Mandatory Palestine as economically *laissez-faire* and unwilling to assert its authority for fear of angering Palestine’s ethno-national communities, a quantitative view of administrative law activity shows a far more interventionist government. Unlike the administration’s conservative, typically colonial fiscal policy of balanced budgets and low spending on social services, in regulatory policy the Palestine government consistently intervened in economic life, and ‘regulatory’ ordinances make up the largest category of administrative acts, outpacing even traditional focus areas such as judicial procedure.

Additionally, the ebb and flow of the administrative law agenda correlates well with the mandate’s seminal events, reaching peaks after the disturbances of 1929 and 1936 and towards the mandate’s violent end. Even more striking, the differences in intensity of

rulemaking on business activities in Palestine mirrors differing approaches over time – with significant activity after 1929, when administrators concluded the main fault line in Palestine was economic, and little activity in 1936, when the Peel commission concluded ethno-national partition was the only viable option. This would argue for an understanding of Palestine's administrative setup as an extension of the specific circumstances in the territory, and less as an expression of ideological commitment to a market economy.

Nir Kosti, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel nir.kosti@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Delegation, Regulation, and Policy Implementation: A Comparative Study of Israel and the United Kingdom*”

Delegation of legislative powers is one of the most striking developments of modern democracies, but how do countries differ in their delegation forms? This paper conducts an extensive empirical study that examines the scope and type of legislative delegations in Israel and the UK over more than fifty years. Studies on delegation – the transfer of policymaking authorities and powers from the legislature to the executive branch – have rarely been focused on systemic comparison across countries, over time and across issues. This study therefore aims to address this knowledge gap using innovative datasets of delegations in Israel and the United Kingdom. It focuses on delegation to public actors, and more specifically, it studies how laws transfer policymaking authorities to cabinet ministers and bureaucrats. To do so, the paper conducts text analysis to analyze laws enacted by the Israeli *Knesset* and the UK House of Commons between 1960 and 2015. It codifies and classifies 5,532 laws in Israel and 3,130 laws in the UK, and classifies delegations by their type, time, and policy-area. The findings show that the two countries differ substantially in the types of delegation they use. Israel is more prone to use mandatory delegations, that is, delegations that command the bureaucracy to exercise its authority. In contrast, the UK uses more permissive delegations, that is, a delegation that equip the bureaucracy with much more discretion to carry its delegated powers. The study attempts to account those differences by presenting a detailed analysis of some case studies. In doing so, it should make an important contribution to the theory of delegation, and ultimately it paves the way to a better understanding of how these powers are eventually used.

Libby Maman, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, libby.maman@gmail.com, “*The Democratic Qualities of Regulatory Agencies: Conceptualization and Operationalization*”

The delegation of regulatory tasks to specialized administrations, run by unelected experts, has become a governance best practice since the 1980s. However, the independence of regulatory agencies and their detachment from political control challenges the representative notion of democracy. Respectively, several scholars claim that regulatory agencies suffer from a democratic deficit. Conversely, others suggest the exact opposite; that these agencies enhance democracy, by enabling new forms of participation. This lack of consensus could be as a result of an absence of a comprehensive framework of the role bureaucracies have in democratic settings. This gap leaves the relation between independence and democratic quality still unclear, along with a missing theoretical understanding of the way bureaucracy aligns with democracy.

This paper moves the literature forward by (a) developing a conceptual framework for the democratic qualities of the bureaucracy and (b) creating a viable tool to measure the democratic qualities of regulatory agencies. Both incorporate a multi-dimensional approach and avoiding discriminatory normative stance. The fruitfulness of the index is illustrated by applying it to several distinctive cases. This paper is the first one in a project that aims to make progress in the understanding of the link between democracy, bureaucracy, and regulation.

Rotem Medzini, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
rmedzini@gmail.com, “*Enhanced Self-Regulation via Regulatory Intermediation: Facebook Content Governance and the Publicness Dilemma*”

The manner in which transnational digital platforms self-regulate the boundaries between public and private interests is located high on the public and research agendas. This paper process-traces the development of Facebook’s content regulation regime and its reliance on various forms of regulatory intermediaries to answer three questions. First, how did the transnational self-regulatory regime surrounding Facebook’s content regulatory intermediaries evolve over time? Second, what are the differences between Facebook’s old and new regimes? And third, how has the balance between public and private interests in content regulation evolved over time and across the regimes? We find that from a consumer-empowered self-regulatory ‘old regime,’ Facebook developed a complex ‘new regime’, in which various forms of regulatory intermediaries (presumably) support Facebook’s adherence to public outcomes. Lessons are then drawn on the regulatory challenges of intermediaries-enhanced self-regulation with the aims of both assessing its strengths and weakness and the extent to which some lessons can be generalized.

Rawan Nasheh, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
rawan.natsheh@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Regulating Transport Network Companies in Cairo: A Case of Regulation under the Al-Sisi Regime*”

Transport Network Companies (TNCs) emerged in Cairo in 2012 and have captured half of Cairo’s taxi market share without any governmental regulatory intervention. This emergence provoked the incumbent taxi drivers and ignited public and governmental discussions about possible regulatory responses to the challenges and opportunities posed by the TNC. There has been strong opposition to TNCs operation from almost 350,000 incumbent taxi drivers in Cairo alone, who managed to obtain a binding court order to ban TNCs in 2017. The court order had never been enforced by the state’s executive agencies. Furthermore, in 2017, state agencies revoked the court order and in 2018, a separate regulatory law for TNCs was approved by Egypt’s Council of Ministers.

It is the purpose of this paper to understand and characterize Egyptian governmental responses to TNCs in Cairo, amidst clashing interests and heated debates, and to explain the reasons for choosing one response over others as well as explaining changes in governmental responses with time. Regulating TNCs requires more than merely regulating competition. Issues of employment, taxation, liability, user safety and protection of personal information are just some of the issues regulators must address when tackling policy problems provoked by TNCs.

All in all, elements of the interest group theory, state-centred theories, the institutional theory or the public interest theory can explain the scope of analysis in this paper. One hypothesis to be addressed is that the variation in responses is due to changes in the balance of political power between interest groups, or to changes in the motivation of public officials in the regulatory agencies. Other possible explanations address changes at the Egyptian institutional level and their shifting to accommodate new policies. However, in the Egyptian case, the causes for specific responses and variation in responses might lie in changes occurring at the state level in the regime governing Egypt, which implements its policies using the coercive power of an authoritarian regime.

Edgar Oliver Bustos Perez, Ph.D. Candidate, CIDE, Mexico,
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Yair Osheroff, Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel,
yair.osheroff@mail.huji.ac.il, “*Varieties of (Regulatory) Capitalism: Occupational Licensing in the UK, Israel, Germany, and Sweden*”

Since the introduction of the concept of Varieties of Capitalism (henceforth: VoC) (Soskice and Hall, 2001), theoretical and empirical work had discussed it in different contexts and with regard to specific issues in political economy. This study examines the regulation of Occupational Licensing (OL) by using the framework VoC suggests. While explanations of OL sought mainly in the microeconomic aspects of the phenomenon, its macroeconomic aspects and institutional settings were left underexplored. This study addresses this caveat, and aim to understand OL in light of VoC. For that aim we conduct a comparative research of UK, Israel, Germany, and Sweden – four countries that differ in the number of OL regimes under their jurisdiction and in their restrictiveness. By comparing institutions of political economy of the states, this work examines ***which factors in the level of the state explain the differences in the degree of OL between UK, Israel, Germany and Sweden?*** According to the framework of VoC, we focus on three key factors that complement and correlate with OL: vocational education, labor unions, and privatization. The study is expected to advance the understanding of the broader context of the political economy of OL. Moreover, it would contribute to the scope and comprehension of the concept of VoC. In particular it would shed light on the place of occupational regulation as an institution within the broad institutional settings of political economy.