

פרחי מחקר

The 14th International Graduate Conference

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

In Memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin

Conference Program

הכנס הבינלאומי הארבעה עשר

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

על שם יצחק רבין ז"ל

12-13 December 2018

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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

**The 14th 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 12-13, 2018**

Sponsors

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University

The Levi Eshkol Institute, 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

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Jerusalem

Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Academic Convener, Department of International Relations,
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Dr. Becky Kook, Ben-Gurion University

Dr. Daniel Schwartz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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 12, 2018

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 (“*Between Theory and Methodology: Should We Prioritize One over the Other?*” [Maiersdorf 405])

Participants: Arie M. Kacowicz (Chair); Roundtable panelists: Prof. Madalina Busuioic, Prof. Sharon Gilad, Prof. Marco Steenbergen, and Prof. Kyle Grayson.

1400-1800: Methodological workshops (afternoon session)

1900: Dinner at Ima Restaurant, Schmuel Baruch 55 St., Jerusalem [by invitation only]

Thursday, December 13, 2017

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

0920-0945: Formal opening of the Conference and welcome remarks: Prof. Asher Cohen, President, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Prof. Tamir Sheafer, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Prof. Dan Miodownik, Director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Dr. Odelia Oshri, European Forum and Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Academic Convenor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem [Maiersdorf 405]

1000-1230: Research workshops (morning session)

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 “*Can We Make Sense of Today’s World?*” with Faculty guests [Maiersdorf 405] Participants: Arie M. Kacowicz (Chair); Prof. Peter Katzenstein, Prof. Janice Stein, Prof. Alan Dowty, and Prof. Marc Hooghe.

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

Detailed List of Workshops and Abstracts by Date and Type
**The 14th 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, 12-13 December 2018.

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Methodological Workshops:

WM1: “*Introduction to GIS*” [Afternoon session: 1400-1700: Room 4721, Social Sciences]

Prof. Noam Levin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

noam.levin@mail.huji.ac.il

WM2: “*Writing and Publishing Qualitative and Mix-Methods Research*” [Maiersdorf 504]

Prof. Madalina Busuoiu, Leiden University, the Netherlands;

e.m.busuoiu@fgga.leidenuniv.nl

Prof. Sharon Gilad, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Sharon.gilad@mail.huji.ac.il

WM3: “*Multilevel Analysis*”

[Maiersdorf 404]

Prof. Marco Steenbergen, University of Zurich, Switzerland; steenbergen@ipz.uzh.ch

WM4: “*Text and Discourse Analysis in International Relations*” [Maiersdorf 505]

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University; mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

WM5: “*Normative Political Theory*” [Afternoon Session: 1400-1800] [Maiersdorf 403]

Dr. Avigail Ferdman, Freie Universität, Berlin; avigail.ferdman@mail.huji.ac.il

Research (Paper) Workshops:

WP1: “*Political Psychology*” [Morning Session: 1000-1230] [Maiersdorf 403]

Prof. Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; pazit.bennun@mail.huji.ac.il

Prof. Daphna Canetti, University of Haifa; dcanetti@poli.haifa.ac.il

Thursday, December 13, 2018

Research (Paper) Workshops:

TP2: “*The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Origins, Evolution, and Future*” [Maiersdorf 405]

Prof. Alan Dowty, University of Notre Dame, USA; dowtyalan@gmail.com

Prof. Galia Golan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ggolan@idc.ac.il

TP3: “*Power, Risk, and Uncertainty in World Politics*” [Maiersdorf 501]

Prof. Peter J. Katzenstein, Cornell University, USA; pjk2@cornell.edu

Dr. Keren Sasson, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; keren.sa@mail.huji.ac.il

TP4: “*Popular Culture and Politics*” [Maiersdorf 502]

Prof. Kyle Grayson, Newcastle University, United Kingdom; kyle.grayson@newcastle.ac.uk

Prof. Oren Barak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; oren.barak1@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; galiapress@gmail.com

TP5: “*Dark Non-State Actors in World Politics*” [Afternoon Session: 1400-1730]
[Maiersdorf 403]

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto, Canada; j.stein@utoronto.ca

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University; mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

TP6: “*Political Participation in an Era of Rapid Social Change: Comparative Perspectives*”
[Maiersdorf 503]

Prof. Marc Hooghe, University of Leuven, Belgium; marc.hooghe@kuleuven.be

Dr. Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University; oser@post.bgu.ac.il

TP7: “*Political Personalization and Personalized Politics*” [Morning Session: 1000-1230] [Maiersdorf 505]

Prof. Gideon Rahat, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; msgrah@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Meital Balmas, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; meitalbalmas@gmail.com

TP9: “*Utopia and Dystopia*” [Morning Session: 1030-1230] [Maiersdorf 401]

Dr. Nicole Hochner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Nicole.hochner@mail.huji.ac.il

TP12: “*Emerging Technologies: Regulatory Governance, Law, and Policy*” [Maiersdorf 504]

Prof. Gary E. Marchant, Arizona State University; Gary.Marchant@asu.edu

Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; david.levifaur@gmail.com

TP 13: “*Europe after the Crises?*” [Morning Session: 1000-1230] [Maiersdorf 403]

Prof. Sharon Pardo, Ben-Gurion University; pardos@bgu.ac.il

Dr. Sara Kahn-Nisser, Open University of Israel, sarabethkn@gmail.com

TP14: “*Secularization, Religion, and Public Life*” [Afternoon Session: 1400-1730] [Maiersdorf 505]

Prof. Guy Ben-Porat, Ben Gurion University; gbp@bgu.ac.il

Prof. Yagil Levy, The Open University; yagil.levy@gmail.com

TP15: “*International Political Economy*” [Morning Session: 1000-1230] [Maiersdorf 404]

Dr. Arie Krampf, The Academic College of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, arie.krampf@gmail.com

Dr. Lior Herman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, lior.herman@gmail.com

Abstracts and Short Bios of the Faculty Leading the Workshops

WM1: “Introduction to GIS” Prof. Noam Levin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) refer to software that enables to collate digital spatial data from various sources, georeferenced them, build their geometry and connect them with tabular datasets, perform spatial analyses and visualize the outputs as maps. GIS tools are fundamental for analyzing spatial patterns and relationships and for deriving new insights of relevance to understand the spatial aspects of geopolitics.

This workshop is directed for graduate students with no background in GIS. It will cover some of the basic concepts such as the vector and raster models, demonstrate how to visualize datasets, and how to perform some basic vector analyses such as spatial intersections. The workshop will be composed of an introductory 30-minutes’ presentation, followed by a hands-on guided GIS exercise conducted in a computer lab, where we will be using either ArcGIS (commercial software) or QGIS (a free open source software) with some sample datasets. This workshop is recommended for those students who wish to attend as well the “Remote Sensing, Big Data, and Other Global Datasets” workshop, but have no background in GIS.

Prof. Noam Levin is an Associate Professor and Head of the Remote Sensing Lab and a Faculty Member in the Department of Geography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since 2008. He studies geographical and environmental patterns and processes of land cover changes in the face of human and climate induced changes, using remote sensing and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) tools.

Prof. Levin has published more than eighty peer-reviewed articles on these and other related topics. In his work, he combines fieldwork, remote sensing of satellite images, spatial analysis of GIS layers, statistical analyses, and modelling. Noam’s current research focuses on remote sensing of nightlights as indicators of human activity, wildfires, conservation planning over spatial scales from local to global, landscape ecology, historical geography, and Aeolian processes. He has a great interest in maps, and in exploring new methods to analyze spatial information, from historical maps, GIS layers, aerial photographs and satellite images.

Website: <https://scholars.huji.ac.il/noamlevin/>; email: noamlevin@mail.huji.ac.il

WM2: “Writing and Publishing Qualitative and Mix-Methods Research”

Prof. Madalina Busuioic, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Prof. Sharon Gilad, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Writing and publishing qualitative research in prominent Political Science journals is challenging. Whereas the expected structure, and criteria for rigor, of quantitative papers is institutionalized and clear, this is not the case for qualitative papers. These problems are further exacerbated for mixed-methods papers, which need to manage a bricolage that meets the expectations of both qualitative and quantitative reviewers.

In this workshop, we will discuss these challenges, as well as how qualitative researchers might address them. We will present for discussion and scrutiny examples from our own qualitative and mixed-methods own work, which has been published in recent years. Additionally, whilst not a pre-requisite for participation in the workshop, we strongly encourage the participants to send us ahead of time their work-in progress qualitative or mixed-methods papers, for group discussion and feedback during the workshop.

Prof. Madalina Busuioic is Associate Professor at the Institute of Public Administration, Leiden University, at the Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs. Her main research interests are in the area of multi-level (risk) regulation and governance, with a particular emphasis on the study of bureaucratic agencies operating both at the national and EU levels, public accountability, agency independence and the institutional design, and practices, of multi-level cooperation. Her most recent work draws on reputational approaches to study and theorize about their implications for our understanding of public accountability and theories of political control.

Dr. Busuioic is the recipient of a prestigious 5-year European Research Council (ERC) grant (2017-2022), for her project “Reputation Matters in the Regulatory State” (EU_RICA).

Website: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/madalina-busuioic#tab-1>; email: e.m.busuioic@fgga.ledienuniv.nl

Prof. Sharon Gilad is Associate Professor at the Federmann School of Public Policy and Government and the Political Science Department, 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.

e-mail: Sharon.gilad@mail.huji.ac.il

WM3: “Multilevel Analysis”

Prof. Marco Steenbergen, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Political Science data often have a strong comparative dimension. Indeed, over the past decades, cross-national efforts at coordinated data collection have multiplied, witness the large number of cross-national surveys (e.g., the European Social Survey), studies of comparative policy agendas, and efforts to measure democracy, to name only a few examples. The data generated in this manner offer rich opportunities. However, they also require specialized statistical tools. There are several reasons for this, not the least that observations from within the same context (e.g., a given country) are not statistically independent.

Since the 1980s, multilevel models have become a crucial tool in the analysis of complex data structures like the ones generated in contemporary Political Science. In this workshop, students will learn how multilevel models operate, how they are specified, analyzed, and interpreted. Special topics include a brief foray into borrowing strength when data are sparse and how to analyze discrete outcomes. The workshop leaves plenty of room for students to discuss their own data and how one might go about analyzing them.

Prof. Marco Steenbergen is Professor of political methodology at the University of Zurich. He received his undergraduate training at the University of Amsterdam (focus political methodology) and his graduate training at Stony Brook University (focus political psychology). His methodological interests are in the area of computational science and statistical models. His substantive interests concern public opinion, electoral behavior, and representation, all viewed through the lens of political psychology.

Website: wordpress.steenbergen.ch. E-mail: steenbergen@ipz.uzh.ch

WM4: “Text and Discourse Analysis in International Relations”

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University

International relations are in their essence a social construct that is made through interactions between agents. Discursive interactions are the main conduits through which states and non-state actors express political stands and policies, construct political phenomena, and form political relations. It thus makes sense to understand international relations, in their most literal sense, by exploring “what states are talking about?” The purpose of this methodological workshop is to discuss the role of discourse in exploring international relations at the analytical and methodological level. To this end, the aim is to first survey common approaches to discourse in international relations. Then, we will devote most of the workshop to discuss the wide array of discourse analysis methods (critical, thematic, narratives, and quantitative), based on the research project of the participants.

The workshop fits young researchers who find interest in the discursive and textual facets of world politics and are interested in exposure to various research methods, on the one hand, and discussing the pros and cons of such methods, on the other. We will not learn how to do discourse analysis, as there is no one method of discourse analysis. Instead, we will use your research projects to discuss possible methods and assess to what extent they are conducive to specific research questions and designs.

Dr. Mor Mitrani is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University. Previously she was a joint post-doctoral fellow in the Berlin-Jerusalem post-doc program of the Hebrew University and Freie Universität Berlin. Her research focuses on the connection between identity and community in a globalized world.

E-mail: mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

WM5: “Normative Political Theory”

Dr. Avigail Ferdman, Freie Universität, Berlin

Political theory can be defined as a *systematic reflection about politics*. Descriptive theory is tasked with identifying the standards that govern society and politics, whereas normative theory attempts to determine whether these are the standards that we *ought* to follow, and why. In other words, it is a systematic *normative* reflection about politics. In the first part of the workshop we will examine the defining features of normative political theory: action-guiding; idealizing; moral and perhaps more controversially—liberal. The second part of the workshop will investigate what political philosophers do when they do normative political theory. Looking at concepts such as state legitimacy, property and the common good, we will differentiate three distinct questions in normative theory: (i) What is justice?; (ii) What should the state do?; and (iii) Which social states of affairs ought to be brought about? The workshop will leave room for participants to reflect on their own projects in light of the workshop’s main themes.

Dr. Avigail Ferdman is the Joint Berlin-Jerusalem Post-doctoral fellow at the Institute for Philosophy, Freie Universität Berlin; previously a Halbert post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Ethics, University of Toronto. Her research interests are public goods, well-being, distributive-justice and cities. Ferdman has published on the intrinsic value of public goods, in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy (CRISPP)*; on Public Space conflicts in *Space and Polity*; on the problem of liberal neutrality in cities in *Urban Research & Practice*; on the dissimilarities between applied liberalism in language policy vs. land-use policy, in *Public Reason* and on evaluating equal treatment in land-use development in *Canadian Journal of Law & Jurisprudence*.

Website: <https://www.avigailferdman.com/>

E-mail: avigail.ferdman@mail.huji.ac.il

WP1: “Political Psychology”

Prof. Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Daphna Canetti, University of Haifa

Political Psychology is an approach utilizing psychological processes and findings about the human psyche to understand political behavior. While the official society of Political Psychology had only been formed in 1978, scholars have been discussing the relationship between psychology and political processes as early as in ancient Greece. When one hears the term political psychology, one might envision the study of elections and campaigns. While not inaccurate this perception excludes a broad range of topics that fall within the purview of political psychology, including political attitude formation, intergroup relations, the role of personality and traits in politics and political decision-making. The primary purpose of this workshop will be to bring together young scholars engaged in different aspects of the study of Political Psychology. We welcome mainly empirical quantitative political research of all shapes and forms (e.g., lab in the field, field experiments, surveys, experiment-surveys). Themes may reflect the broad array of interests shared by political psychologists (e.g. the dynamics of public opinion, the organization of political beliefs, political information processing, political socialization and conflict resolution). While contributions will vary theoretically and empirically, they should all overtly discuss the psychological mechanisms of a political phenomenon. Each applicant will submit a 3-page summary of their research project by September 30, 2018. Upon admission, each participant will: a) prepare a 10-12 minutes presentation; b) submit their paper to two participants for review; and c) review two papers, preparing written comments (approximately 1-2 pages) and a 2-3 minutes presentation.

Prof. Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom (PhD, Stony Brook University, 2010) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University and the director of the *Political Psychology Laboratory*, specializing in comparative political behavior and political psychology. Her research examines how religion and values form the basis of political behavior, and specifically how religiosity and moral values both hinder and enhance democratic norms (such as tolerance, support for democracy, social justice, country-level human rights, and good governance). Her work appears in the leading venues of the field, such as *The American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *PLoS*

One, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Political Psychology* and *Political Behavior*.

e-mail: pazit.bennun@mail.huji.ac.il

Prof. Daphna Canetti (PhD, University of Haifa, 2003) is an Associate Professor in the School of Political Science at the University of Haifa. Her main research interests are in the political psychology of intergroup relations, with an emphasis on the micro-foundations of political conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere. Methodologically, she uses controlled randomized experiments, spatial analysis, survey experiments, and bio-political research. She has received over \$3 million in research grants to study people in conflict zones (e.g., NIMH, ISF, BSF) and published in journals such as *American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Political Behavior, Political Psychology, Psychiatry - Interpersonal and Biological Processes, Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Journal of Peace Research* and *British Journal of Political Science*.

e-mail: dcanetti@poli.haifa.ac.il

TP2: “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Origins, Evolution, and Future”

Prof. Alan Dowty, University of Notre Dame, USA

Prof. Galia Golan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Study of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is enriched by a broad perspective that begins with its origins and traces the important transformations in its development and the factors that influenced them. Such analysis helps to answer such questions as whether the gap between the parties has grown wider or narrower over time; how the addition or subtraction of outside parties has influenced its course; and even how the basic issues between the two sides have changed in response to historic events and the influence of broader international development, as well as domestic factors effecting the protagonists.

Understanding the factors and trends that have shaped relations between the conflicting parties is also a key to understanding how the conflict might be moderated or resolved. Full-scale negotiations between mainstream Israeli and Palestinian leadership over the core ("final status") issues have taken place only in the last quarter century; lessons also need to be drawn from this experience in the recent past. The debate over competing models for resolution is

best conducted on the basis of solid historical analysis that addresses the failures and the successes of the past.

Prof. Alan Dowty is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. In 1963-1975 he was on the Faculty of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, during which time he served as Executive Director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations and Chair of the Department of International Relations. In 2003-2006 he was the first holder of the Kahanoff Chair in Israeli Studies at the University of Calgary, and in 2005-2007 he was President of the Association for Israel Studies. Among his publications are basic texts on Israeli society and politics (*The Jewish State: A Century Later*) and on the Arab-Israel conflict (*Israel/Palestine*, 4th edition 2017). In 2017 he was awarded the Lifetime Achievement Award in Israel Studies by the Israel Institute and the Association for Israel Studies. He can be reached at dowtyalan@gmail.com

Prof. Galia Golan is Darwin Professor emerita of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where she was chair of the Political Science Department. More recently, she was Head of the Program in Diplomacy and Conflict Studies at the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya. She has published ten single-authored books, most recently *Israeli Peacemaking Since 1967: Factors for the Breakthroughs and Failures*, (Routledge) and, with Walid Salem, *Non-state Actors in the Middle East: Factors for Peace and Democracy*. Dr. Golan has co-edited with Gilead Sher a forthcoming volume *Spoilers and Coping with Spoilers in the Israeli-Arab Conflict* (Indiana University Press). She is the recipient of the Israel Political Science Association 2007 Award for “Lifetime Contribution,” the International Studies Association “Distinguished Scholar” Award in Peace Studies 2016, and the 1995 New Israel Fund “Alice Shalvi Women in Leadership” Award. She can be reached at ggolan@idc.ac.il

TP3: “Power, Risk, and Uncertainty in World Politics”

Prof. Peter J. Katzenstein, Cornell University, USA

Dr. Keren Sasson, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Mainstream international relations theory continues to assume that the world is governed by calculable risk based on estimates of power, despite repeatedly being surprised by unexpected change. Still power remains a contested concept in the analysis of world politics. For the last half century, the conventional wisdom in international relations has continued to rely on the natural resource model of power while most theorists of power focus on the relations between actors. While the scholarly literature distinguishes between at least four different kinds of power, the conceptual approach to power is decisive for how we analyze world politics. This workshop invites students to deploy, defend, and discuss their favored approach to understanding and studying power in contemporary world politics. Domestic and international power domains are both relevant as are security, economic, social, and cultural domains of power. We invite proposals for papers that address the concept of power and its components of, or relations to, risk and uncertainty in contemporary world politics.

Prof. Peter J. Katzenstein has taught at Cornell for more than 40 years and has published widely in the fields of international and comparative politics. His most recent book (coedited with Lucia Seybert) is *Protean Power: Exploring the Uncertain and Unexpected in World Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2018). His current project focuses on worldviews in world politics. A former President of the American Political Science Association he is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Science, the American Philosophical Society and the British Academy. He holds six honorary degrees and is the recipient of various prizes and awards. He has served as editor of *International Organization* and since 1982 he has edited the *Cornell Studies in Political Economy*.

E-mail: pjk2@cornell.edu; website: <https://pkatzenstein.org/>

Dr. Keren Sasson is a Post-doctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her PhD dissertation has examined regional security orders in the

developing world—comparing convergence and divergence in conceptions and practices of security in Latin America and the Arab Middle East and scrutinizing the role played by regional organizations in accounting for regional variations. Her current research deals with the strategic culture of terrorist organizations, the role of ideas in security studies, and the changing security architecture of the Middle East.

E-mail: keren.sa@mail.huji.ac.il

TP4: “*Popular Culture and Politics*”

Prof. Kyle Grayson, Newcastle University, United Kingdom

Prof. Oren Barak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Recent years have seen a growing interest among scholars, students and practitioners in the political roles of popular culture (PC), broadly defined. Emerging from different academic disciplines and strands of literature, scholars have thus begun to explore the role of PC in shaping, reinforcing and challenging identities, i.e. as a source of what Nye called "soft power", and, at a deeper level, how PC performs as an arena of politics in itself, domestically, internationally and trans-nationally. There has also been a growing interest in PC works as a useful tool to engage, study, and reflect upon various core concepts, theories and beliefs about politics. This workshop invites students who are interested in any of these approaches to PC or others. Papers could address broad conceptual and theoretical issues or specific cases (e.g., a movie/TV series, the use of PC by a particular state or group etc.). Given the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, we welcome the participation of students from fields beyond International Relations and Political Science.

Prof. Kyle Grayson (PhD York, Canada) is a Reader in Security, Politics, and Culture in the School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology at Newcastle University (UK). His research has examined human security, the cultural components of political violence, and the role of popular culture in world politics. He is a former editor of the UK Political Studies Association’s journal *Politics* (2012-2018), an associate editor of *Critical Studies on Security*, and co-editor of the *Popular Culture and World Politics* book series (Routledge). He has published single authored

books on Canadian identity and the drug war with University of Toronto Press, and the cultural politics of targeted killing with Routledge. His journal articles have appeared in leading peer review outlets including *Political Geography*, *Security Dialogue*, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, and the *Review of International Studies*. He is currently the Honorary Secretary of the British International Studies Association.

E-mail: kyle.grayson@newcastle.ac.uk

Prof. Oren Barak is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he holds the Maurice B. Hexter Chair in International Relations-Middle East Studies. He was a fellow at Harvard University and a visiting professor at Cornell University and the University of Texas in Austin. His research deals with the relationship between the state, society, and security and ethnic & national relations. He is the author of *The Lebanese Army: A National Institution in a Divided Society* (SUNY Press, 2009), *Israel's Security Networks* (Cambridge University Press, 2013, with G. Sheffer), and *State Expansion and Conflict* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). He also edited several books including *Nonstate Actors in Intrastate Conflicts* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, with D. Miodownik). His articles have appeared in outlets such as the *Journal of Peace Research*, *Security Dialogue*, *Armed Forces & Society*, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, and *History & Memory*.

E-mail: oren.barak1@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan (PhD Columbia University, US) is a 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 US 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*.

E-mail: galiapress@gmail.com

TP5: “Dark Non-State Actors in World Politics”

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto, Canada

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University

In the past few decades, IR scholarship has expanded its focus beyond states to include a broad range of non-state and non-governmental actors in explanations of international politics. However, they have paid relatively little attention to a subset of these non-state actors, the “dark” actors and networks that seek to go around global governance to maximize their gains, to challenge global governance, and/or to destabilize the global order.

We call for papers that explore the roles of dark non-state actors in world politics in the context of global governance. How do they engage with states, IOs and NGOs that operate in global civil society? Who co-opts whom and can we identify specific patterns of power projection or power assets that are unique to dark non-state actors? How are dark non-state actors regarded by international organizations and what governance arrangements do they stimulate? What roles do states play in empowering, funding and supporting dark non-state actors against rival states? In our workshop, we want to focus not only on empirical accounts on the activities of dark non-state actors but also to develop theoretical understandings of these actors, examine the methodological difficulty of measuring and assessing their actions and engage the normative aspect that arguably accompanies the labeling of actors as “dark.”

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 Molson 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*.

E-mail: j.stein@utoronto.ca

Dr. Mor Mitrani is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University. Previously she was a joint post-doctoral fellow in the Berlin-Jerusalem post-doc program of the Hebrew University and Freie Universität Berlin. Her research focuses on the connection between identity and community in a globalized world.

E-mail: mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

TP6: “Political Participation in an Era of Rapid Social Change: Comparative Perspectives”

Prof. Marc Hooghe, University of Leuven, Belgium

Dr. Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University

Mass political participation is considered an important characteristic of a well-functioning democracy. Participation, or political behavior, is how citizens can get their voices heard in the political decision-making process, and is traditionally seen as a key subfield of political science. However, 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, the internationalization of protest movements, and the changing role of the media as mobilization agents.

These types of rapid changes lead to new and exciting research questions. For example, from a normative perspective, what exactly is the democratic potential of participation? 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, 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.

<https://soc.kuleuven.be/centre-for-political-research/Personeel/00043550>;

e-mail: marc.hooghe@kuleuven.be

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.

<https://www.jenniferosser.com/>; e-mail: osser@post.bgu.ac.il

TP7: “Political Personalization and Personalized Politics”

Prof. Gideon Rahat, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Meital Balmas, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Political personalization is a process in which the political weight of the individual actor in the political process increases over time, while the centrality of the political group (i.e., political party) declines. It is a multifaceted phenomenon. Three main types of political personalization can be identified: institutional, media, and behavioral personalization. These can be further categorized into sub-types: institutional personalization at the state and at the party level; personalization of mediated (or controlled) or unmediated (or uncontrolled) media; and personalization in the behavior of politicians and voters. Furthermore, personalization may be about focus on leaders (centralized personalization), or about focus on individual politicians beyond party leaders (decentralized personalization). The term personalized politics describes a static situation that may result from the culmination of the process of personalization or describes the properties of a political system in comparison to another. In addition, personalization and personalized politics may be about identifying ideologies, political issues, and political stands with individuals rather than with parties, or it may be about focusing on personal apolitical properties of individual politicians (that is privatization or intimization of politics). Many of the debates and studies on political personalization or personalized politics have revolved around the idea that such processes create human pseudo-events and downplay the larger socio-political picture in favor of human triumphs and tragedies.

The purpose of the workshop is to bring together young scholars that investigate the different aspects of personalization and personalized politics, to engage in discussions of how to conceptualize, explain, and measure personalization and exchange theoretical and conceptual ideas as well as empirical results. The workshop welcomes papers related to various aspects of personalization such as the importance of individual politicians (leaders and candidates) in elections, institutional changes, media coverage, as well as campaigns and new media, and changes and variation in the behaviour of politicians. Papers may be conceptual, clarifying our understanding of personalization; they may be theoretical, developing frameworks for explaining when and why we may witness personalization of politics and its political consequences; and they may be empirical, providing studies of single or multiple cases. In short, we welcome theoretical and conceptual papers as well as empirical studies of institutional, media, and behavioral personalization.

Dr. Meital Balmas is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication and Journalism. Her research on international political personalization is the first international comparative analysis that has been undertaken in the field. Her recent study, published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, provide empirical evidence for the effects of personalized political information on media audiences. The findings show that the media portrayal of behaviours and standpoints of foreign leaders not only provides rationale for opinion building regarding that leader's nation but also contributes to the stereotyping of its citizens. Dr. Balmas has published numerous articles in top academic journals such as *Journal of Communication*, *Communication Research*, *Party Politics* and the *international Journal of Public opinion research*.

E-mail: meitalbalmas@gmail.com

Prof. Gideon Rahat is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a senior fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute. His research fields are comparative politics and Israeli politics. His interests include political parties, electoral reform, the personalization of politics, and candidate selection methods. Prof. Rahat has published numerous articles in academic journals and also books on the politics of electoral reform and on candidate selection methods (with Reuven Hazan). He co-authored two journal

articles on political personalization. His book with Ofer Kenig on party change and political personalization will be published by Oxford University Press in June 2018.

E-mail: msgrah@mail.huji.ac.il

TP9: “Utopia and Dystopia”

Dr. Nicole Hocher, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The word “Utopia” was coined by Thomas More in the sixteenth century, today the idea of utopia is back. Since the best seller *Utopia for Realists* by Rutger Bregman (2014) and the more recent *Natural History of Dystopia* by Gregory Claeys (Oxford University Press, 2018) the fruitfulness of the utopian discourse speaks with the urgency to formulate our expectations for a better future and reconsider the challenges of our times. Next to an ecological catastrophe and the severe effects of global economic inequality in democracies, the possibility to imagine a post-work society, a post-human life, or a post democratic regime is pressing. Utopian discourses are not so much the pursuit of a perfect and idealized dream but the reframing of the boundaries of what is possible or as Cornelius Castoriadis phrased it *The Figures of the Thinkable*. This workshop invites graduate and doctoral students to consider the utopian discourse in its many and varied expressions, in political philosophy and theory before or after Thomas More's *Utopia*. Papers on literary or artistic material are welcome as well.

Dr. Nicole Hochner is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Head of the Graduate Program in Cultural Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her research analyses the production of political ideas in their social and cultural context, at the crossroads of the late medieval and the early modern periods.

E-mail: Nicole.hochner@mail.huji.ac.il

TP12: “Emerging Technologies: Regulatory Governance, Law, and Policy”

Prof. Gary E. Marchant, Arizona State University

Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The focus of this workshop will be on the politics of emerging technologies. It will cover issues of regulatory governance, legal, policy, political, social and ethical aspects of emerging technologies, including (but not limited to) information technologies, surveillance technologies, technology & privacy, cybersecurity, internet of things, geoengineering, neuroscience, military technologies, artificial intelligence, drones, algorithms, autonomous cars, and robotics, nanotechnology, synthetic biology, gene editing, biotechnology, genomics, personalized medicine, digital health, human enhancement technologies, blockchain, cryptocurrencies, data analytics, telecommunications. It builds on the premise that there is much to be learned and shared from and across the governance experience and proposals for these various emerging technologies.

Prof. Gary E. Marchant from Arizona State University focuses on the governance of emerging technologies, including biotechnology, nanotechnology, neurotechnology, and artificial intelligence. He serves as Regents’ Professor and the Lincoln Professor of Emerging Technologies, Law & Ethics, and Faculty Director of the Center for Law, Science & Innovation, at the Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law. He also serves as a Professor at the School of Life Sciences and Distinguished Sustainability Scientist at the Global Institute of Sustainability at ASU. Prior to joining the College faculty in 1999, Professor Marchant was a partner at the Washington, D.C., office of Kirkland & Ellis, where his practice focused on environmental and administrative law. He has authored more than 150 articles and book chapters on various issues relating to emerging technologies, has edited several multi-author books, has served on six National Academy of Sciences study committees, and has organized dozens of academic conferences and workshops on governance of emerging technologies.

Prof. David Levi-Faur is a Professor for Political Science and Public Policy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is a worldwide recognized authority in the field of regulation of governance and its application and extension to various domains of governance. He held

research and teaching positions at the University of Haifa, the University of Oxford, the Freie Universität Berlin, the Australian National University and the University of Manchester. He held visiting positions in the London School of Economics, the University of Amsterdam, University of Utrecht and University of California (Berkeley). His leadership in the field was published in special issues of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism, co-edited with Jacint Jordana) and Governance (Varieties of Regulatory Capitalism). He is the editor of the Oxford Handbook of Governance (OUP, 2012) and The Handbook of the Politics of Regulation (Edward Elgar, 2011). Levi-Faur is the founding editor of Regulation & Governance, a highly ranked journal that serves as a leading platform for the study of regulation and governance in the social sciences. His current research project includes “welfare and regulation”, “[r]egulatory intermediators,” and the “regulation of emerging technologies”.

e-mail: david.levifaur@gmail.com

TP13: “*Europe after the Crises?*”

Prof. Sharon Pardo, Ben-Gurion University

Dr. Sara Kahn-Nisser, Open University of Israel

This workshop traces the transformation of Europe after the crises of the last decade. The workshop unpacks the different perspectives, policies and imaginations of key European challenges in the last decade. Taking as its central problem the fluid nature of the refugees’ crisis, the financial crisis, the Brexit negotiations, the rise of extreme right parties and the European identity challenge, the workshop moves away from and calls into question the European nation-state as the main answer to Europe’s crises and challenges.

The workshop deals with the key debates relevant to the European continent in general and to the European integration process in particular.

Prof. Sharon Pardo is a Jean Monnet Chair ad personam in European studies and the Chairperson of the Department of Politics and Government at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. His research interests focus on the legal and political dimensions of European Union foreign and security policy, the development of the Euro-Mediterranean region,

Israeli-European Union relations, and Israeli-Canadian relationship. He has published widely on these issues.

e-mail: pardos@bgu.ac.il

Dr. Sara Kahn-Nisser is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Communication at the Open University of Israel. Her research interests include the European Union's foreign policy, the European Union's social policy, international and transnational human rights promotion, computer-assisted content analysis and research methods. She has published extensively on these subjects.

e-mail: sarabethkn@gmail.com

TP14: “*Secularization, Religion, and Public Life*”

Prof. Guy Ben-Porat, Ben Gurion University

Prof. Yagil Levy, The Open University of Israel

Studies of religion and politics propose two seemingly contradictory propositions. The first, secularization thesis, developed more than fifty years ago, suggests that in the modern world, religion is expected to lose its significance, de-politicize, and become a private affair. The second, more recent, argues that not only has religion retained its popularity and power, it returns to occupy social and political power, de-privatizing and politicizing. These debates draw academic and public interest in light of questions of immigration, struggles over religious jurisdiction and conflicts defined as “religious.” Contemporary politics, however, suggests that religious resurgence and secularization can occur simultaneously with different outcomes and dynamics. What we are witnessing, in different places, are institutional changes where old rules and conventions that set the limits of religious authority are challenged by economic, demographic and political changes. Religious and secular attempts to shape public institutions and policies, are part of the political landscape of many states, and are of critical importance for governance and policy-making.

This workshop invites students who are interested in the study of religion and politics, both theoretically and in relation to particular questions of institutions and policies in different settings. Students whose work engages with, but not limited to, religion and morality politics, religion in militaries, educational systems, health systems and urban planning, are invited.

Prof. Guy Ben-Porat is an Associate Professor at the Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University. He is the author of “Between State and Synagogue; the Secularization of Contemporary Israel”, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

e-mail: gbp@bgu.ac.il

Prof. Yagil Levy is a Professor of Political Sociology and Public Policy at the Open University of Israel. He is the author of “The Divine Commander: The Theocratization of the Israeli Military” Am Oved and Sapir Academic College, 2015, in Hebrew.

e-mail: yagil.levy@gmail.com

TP15: “*International Political Economy: Institutions in Trade and Finance*”

Dr. Arie Krampf, The Academic College of Tel-Aviv Yaffo

Dr. Lior Herman, 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 on-going gradual shift 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 interdependencies.

This workshop is dedicated for examining these international political economic trends from both 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.

Dr. Arie Krampf is a Senior Lecturer at the School for Government and Society at the Academic College of Tel Aviv Yaffo and a lecturer at Department of Politics and Government at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. His studies were published in peer reviewed journal among them *Journal of European Integration*; *Contemporary Politics*; *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* and others. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Israel Association for International Relations and a member of the Board of Directors of the Israeli Association for the Study of European Integration. His recent book is *Israel Path to Neoliberalism: State, Continuity, Change* (Routledge 2018).

e-mail: arie.krampf@gmail.com

Dr. 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.

e-mail: lior.herman@gmail.com

List of Participants/ Students' Abstracts

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

WM1: "Introduction to GIS" [Room 4721 Social Sciences; 1400-1700]

Prof. Noam Levin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; noam.levin@mail.huji.ac.il

Ornit Avidar, Ben-Gurion University; ornit@water-ws.com

Lev Topor, Bar-Ilan University, lev-topor@hotmail.com

Dafna Schneider, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; dafna.schneider@mail.huji.ac.il

Wendy Wagner, IDC Herzliya; wnedy.wagner@post.idc.ac.il.

WM2: "Writing and Publishing Qualitative and Mix-Methods Research"

Prof. Madalina Busuoiu, Leiden University, the Netherlands;
e.m.busuoiu@fgga.leidenuniv.nl; Prof. Sharon Gilad, Hebrew University of Jerusalem;
Sharon.gilad@mail.huji.ac.il

Effie Charalampaki, Institute of International Relations, Greece; Effie15235@yahoo.com

Jony Essa, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; jony.essa@mail.huji.ac.il

Ehud Golan, Bar-Ilan University; udigolan@inter.net.il

Avishai Green, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; avishai.green@mail.huji.ac.il

Vellah Kigwiru, Technical University of Munich, Germany; vellahkedogo@gmail.com

Shashwat Kumar, Institut Barcelona Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona, Spain;
skumar@ibeio.org

Libby Maman Burstein, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; libby.maman@gmail.com

Sharon Matzkin, University of Haifa; sharona.work@gmail.com

Netta Moshe, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; nettamoshe@gmail.com

Katrin Pakizer, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, Switzerland;
katrin.pakizer@usys.ethz.ch

Inbar Pincu, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Inbar.Pincu@mail.huji.ac.il

Ofek Riemer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ofek.riemer@gmail.com

Assaf Shmuel, Tel-Aviv University; assafshmuel91@gmail.com

Jason Silverman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Jason.silverman@mail.huji.ac.il

Ido Sivan-Sevilla, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ido.sivan@mail.huji.ac.il

Takahiro Suzuki, Doshisha University, Japan; suzukitakahiro1984@gmail.com

Daniel F. Wajner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il

WM3: “Multilevel Analysis”

Prof. Marco Steenbergen, University of Zurich, Switzerland; steenbergen@ipz.uzh.ch

Yulia Arport, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; yulia.arport@mail.huji.ac.il

Noam Brenner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; noam.brenner@mail.huji.ac.il

Dan Eran, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, dan.eran@mail.huji.ac.il

Styliani Gerani, University of Macedonia, Greece; sgerani@gmail.com

Nora von Igersleben-Seip, Technical University of Munich, Germany; nora.von-ingersleben@hfp.tu.de

Amit Levinson, Ben-Gurion University, Amitlevi@post.bgu.ac.il

Dror Markus, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; dror.markus@huji.ac.il

Guy Mor, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; guy.mor@mail.huji.ac.il

Pedro Perfeito da Silva, Central European University, Hungary; Perfeito_Pedro@phd.ceu.edu

Avraham Ritov, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Avraham.ritov@mail.huji.ac.il

Shahaf Zamir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; shahaf.zamir@mail.huji.ac.il

WM4: “Text and Discourse Analysis in International Relations”

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University; mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

Shakked Dabran, University of Haifa; shakkeda@gmail.com

Laura Valeria Gheorghiu, Karl Franzens Universitaet, Graz, Austria;
lauravgheorghiu@yahoo.com

Daphne Inbar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; daphne.inbar@mail.huji.ac.il

Hila Levi, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; hila.levi@gmail.com

Annie Niessen, University of Liège, Belgium; annie.niessen@uliege.be

Inbar Noy, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; inbar.noy@mail.huji.ac.il

Vered Porzycki, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; vered.porzycki@mail.huji.ac.il

Tal Rippa, Ben-Gurion University; rippat@post.bgu.ac.il

Zach Rosenzweig, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Zachary.rosenzweig@mail.huji.ac.il

WM5: “Normative Political Theory” [1400-1800]

Dr. Avigail Ferdman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Freie Universitat, Berlin;
avigail.ferdman@mail.huji.ac.il

Mateo Cohen, Open University of Israel; id.ma.co@zoho.com

Kasim Khorasanee, University College London, United Kingdom; K.Khorasanee@ucl.ac.uk.

Shirley LePenne, Tel-Aviv University; shirleypenne@gmail.com

Natan Milikowsky, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; natan.milikowsky@mail.huji.ac.il

Ibrahim Cagri Mutaf, Bogazici University, Turkey; cagri.mutaf@boun.edu.tr

Igor Shoikhedbrod, University of Toronto, Canada; shoikhedbrod@trinity.utoronto.ca

WP1: “Political Psychology” [Wednesday, 1030-1230]

Prof. Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; pazit.bennun@mail.huji.ac.il;
Prof. Daphna Canetti, University of Haifa; dcanetti@poli.haifa.ac.il

Ori Figura-Rosenzweig (MA; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ori.figura@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Do Policy Client Characteristics Correlate with Public Servants' PSM? The Case of Israeli Teachers and Their Students*"

Over the course of the past two decades, researchers have shown a growing interest in understanding the dynamics of Public Service Motivation (PSM). PSM is positively associated with employee performance and job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job retention. Research on PSM has mostly focused on testing how PSM affects individual and organizational variables. However, very little is known about how contextual antecedents affect PSM.

Focusing on the relationship between policy clients' characteristics and public servants' PSM, this study sheds new light on the contextual antecedents of PSM. An analysis of survey data from 349 teachers in Israeli public schools confirms that student characteristics correlate with teacher PSM. Specifically, class size and student diversity were positively associated with PSM, whereas lack of improvement in student achievements, low family support, and difficult student behavior were negatively associated with PSM.

Michael Freedman (Ph.D. Candidate, MIT, USA); mrfreed@mit.edu) and Prof. Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "*Religious Credibility and Compromise: Experimental Evidence from Religious Leaders in Israel*"

Why are some religious leaders able to help resolve conflict while others have little impact? In this project, we examine to what extent religious leaders are able to generate a greater willingness among local populations to make political compromises with out-groups in conflict situations. We propose a theory that argues that religious leaders with high political and religious credibility are better situated to propose political compromises for conflicts where sacred values are pertinent. Since people typically choose what religious leaders and messages they expose themselves to, it is hard to measure the causal impact due to the confounding effects of self-selection. We overcome this identification problem by using a novel experimental design with different populations that lie upon the religious spectrum in Israel. Overall, this research makes important contributions regarding the potential for former hardline religious leaders to moderate religiously motivated political claims.

Kasim Khorasane (Ph.D. Candidate, University College London, United Kingdom; K.Khorasane@ucl.ac.uk), "*Political Psychology and Political Theory: A Beneficial Relationship*"

According to one understanding of Political Psychology (PP) and Normative Political Theory (NPT), they are both entirely separate fields of enquiry. PP is empirical, it seeks to describe and explain actual behavior, and it conducts experiments under conditions of subject ignorance. Conversely, NPT is normative, it prescribes potential behavior or institutions, and

it seeks to educate its subjects. Therefore, the two are separated by both methodology and goals.

This paper, however, argues for a tightly linked approach to these two disciplines. NPT clearly helps direct the focus of PP towards topics of normative importance – for example, social justice, prejudice, and deliberation. However, I argue that NPT should also incorporate insights from PP in determining its own focus, as well as in considering feasibility constraints. Utilizing a Lakatosian model, I maintain that even if the core claims of NPT are unfalsifiable (for example, the intrinsic value of equality or liberty), the constellation of accompanying theories that generate prescriptions for the real world can be supported or undermined by the findings of PP.

By way of case-study, I draw on dual process theory to suggest that exclusive emphasis on explicit reasoning in NPT theories of deliberation neglect important unconscious inaccessible processes that draw on the bulk of our knowledge and experience. As a consequence, deliberation theorists should reconsider the important tradition of practical judgment as something that cannot necessarily be fully enunciated in explicit principles. Even if we can sometimes be led astray by such practical judgments, they form an integral part of our reasoning processes.

Sharon Matzkin (MA, University of Haifa; sharona.work@gmail.com), "*The Effect of Cyber Terror on Public Confidence*"

The current paper sets out to test the hypothesis that previous exposure to terror affects the public's confidence in government institutions by affecting habituation. To our knowledge, there have been no lethal outcomes from cyber-attacks, rendering these types of attacks still in the unknown sphere. In light of these, we pose three questions: (a) How does terror affect confidence? (b) Does previous exposure to terror of any kind affect levels of public confidence in government institutions; and (c) How is confidence affected after conventional terror vs. cyber terror?

To address these questions, we utilize experimental manipulations in which participants from three countries (Israel, UK, and US) were randomly exposed to the different video clips depicting differing terror scenarios.

Zachary Rosenzweig (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Zachary.rosenzweig@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Relationship between Challenging Questions and Persuasive Answers: Jerusalem Mayor Nir Barkat in Foreign Television Interviews*"

Notwithstanding their potential benefits, news interviews carry considerable disadvantages for political interviewees, requiring politicians to confront the challenges and criticisms of aggressive interviewers. While scholars have explored interviewer aggressiveness from a broad range of theoretical perspectives, few have considered whether challenging interview questions influence the general appeal of a politician's messaging to news audiences. The current study addresses this apparent gap in the scholarly literature, examining whether aggressive questioning affects elements of persuasive communication in a politician's interview performance.

The study explores this question through a quantitative content analysis of U.S. and British news interviews featuring exchanges with Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat. Significant criticism

of Israel in foreign media makes this case an ideal subject of analysis, providing substantial documentation of a politician's reactions to aggressive interviewers. An analysis of adjacency pairs (question-response sequences) shows that answers to challenging questions contain fewer features of persuasive messaging when compared with responses to non-challenging questions. Nevertheless, a question's degree of aggressiveness has negligible effects on an answer's persuasiveness, suggesting that challenging questions reduce effectiveness regardless of their number of challenging features. Combined with a qualitative analysis of Barkat's interview performance, these findings offer valuable insight to political-communication scholars, highlighting obstacles to effective messaging in a hostile news environment.

Alon Zoizner (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, alon8304@gmail.com),
“*There are Two Sides to the Story: How National Stories Influence Affective Polarization in America*”

American citizens nowadays show increasing hostility toward their political rivals. This paper explores the conditions that might mitigate this affective polarization. While previous studies stress that emphasizing other unifying identities – specifically national identity – may decrease partisan animus, we deepen the focus into the way people tell the story of their nation. Thus, we focus on people’s adherence to the nation’s main stories – i.e, the popular meaning they give to the American nation – and examine how it relates to the partisan animus. While some theoretical frameworks suggest that partisan animus will decrease amongst people who share the same national story, other suggest the opposite. Our results support the latter explanation by showing that individuals’ proximity to the national stories actually *increases* partisan animus, especially among strong partisans and politically involved citizens. Instead of national stories becoming a base for cooperation, they are a symbolic resource in what appears to resemble a zero-sum partisan conflict.

Thursday, December 13, 2018

TP2: “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Origins, Evolution, and Future”

Prof. Alan Dowty, University of Notre Dame, USA; dowtyalan@gmail.com; Prof. Galia Golan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ggolan@idc.ac.il

Noam Brenner (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem;
noam.brenner@mail.huji.ac.il), “*Do Community Leaders Increase the Proclivity of Cooperation with Members of a Nominally Rival Group?*”

Do group leaders increase or decrease group member' inclination to cooperate with the nominally rival group? Studies typically find that the proclivity of cooperation is associated with the salience of the conflict: people are less likely to cooperate during periods of intense conflict (during cycles of violence) or if the conflict is salient in their day to day life as a result, for example, of discrimination, policing, or negative friction.

In this paper, we argue that the exposure of group members to community leaders moderates the effect of conflict exposure on inclination to cooperate. Focusing on Jerusalem, a contested urban space and the cradle of the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we demonstrate that community leaders in East Jerusalem channel the impact of conflict exposure on East Jerusalemite's attitudes toward 'normalization'; i.e., cooperation with Israel; and more specifically, support of Palestinian participation in municipal elections. To do so we employ results from a public-opinion survey of 612 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem and twenty in-depth interviews with local Palestinian leaders.

Mateo Cohen (MA, Open University of Israel; id.ma.co@zoho.com), "*Developments and Agreements in the Israeli Right on the Future of the Conflict*"

The aim of this research is to arrange the recent suggestions, proposals, and developments in Israel's right-wing agenda, regarding what it sees as a solution to the conflict. The mainstream right in Israel is usually regarded as reluctant to accept a two-states solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Flich and Lebel, 2005; Rynold, 2002). While left wing actors tend to assume that the right offers no solution (Herzog 2018 [in Hebrew]; Avneri 2014 [in Hebrew]), academic studies attribute the one-state solution to extreme radical streams of the Israeli right (Pedahzur, 2012; Flich, 2010; Yuchtman-Yaar and Peres, 2000). Alas, in the second decade of the 21st century, the most recent surveys have shown that the Jewish population in Israel is deeply divided in preferring two-states over a one-state solution, and that a majority of right-wing voters rejects a two-state solution (Truman Institute and Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research 2016; Herzliya Conference 2017).

On the sole goal of finding an alternative to the two-states solution, in 2013 the Religious-Zionist elite has founded the *Ribonut* ("Sovereignty") journal. In just a few years' time, almost all the members of the political elite of the mainstream right, religious and secular alike, have either written an article or got interviewed by this journal, signaling that the right-wing political class is aligned with the average right-wing voter in denouncing a two-states solution.

By reviewing and critically analyzing the core arguments found in forty-five articles and interviews in all ten publications of the *Ribonut* journal, this research finds evidence for an emerging and somewhat absurd consensus in all parts of the Israeli right: A one-state solution of unilateral implementation, that includes gradual expansion of Palestinian rights in Israel, while adamantly trying to keep its Jewish and democratic identity.

Lauren Dagan Amoss (Ph.D. Candidate, Bar-Ilan University; laurendagan@gmail.com); "*High Tide and Webb: Continuity and Transformation in India's Foreign Policy towards Israel in Light of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1947-2016*"

India, the world's largest democracy, was released from the reigns of British colonialism in the mid-twentieth century, and like other post-colonial countries, was confronted with considerable domestic and foreign challenges. The cultural, religious, and class divides in India fed into complex foreign relations with its neighbors in the South Asian region. In the last few decades, India has exerted itself more so than in the past in the international arena and therefore, it has the potential to influence the Middle East at large and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular.

At the base of this research is the examination of the causes that shaped and impelled India's foreign policy towards the Middle East, and particularly towards Israel since 1947, the year of India's independence, up until 2016, the peak of Narendra Modi's government (from the BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party). In order to do so, the research will investigate the multiple aspects of India's policy towards both the West and Islam within this timeframe.

The innovative aspects of this research are related to the fact that these issues have not yet been examined comprehensively and methodologically within the specific timeframe suggested. Moreover, in its methodology, the research is the first to draw upon principles from the field of political culture, a direction not yet fully researched with regard to India's foreign policy.

I argue that India's approach to the Middle East in general and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been deeply complex and maybe even equivocal. These complex relations are a product of many causes that have shaped India's foreign policy. For example, colonial rule created within the country a Western political culture. Moreover, there are internal divides among different ethnic and religious groups. Another variable refers to India's dependency on energy sources in the hand of OPEC countries as part of its own modernization process.

In order to examine the different sources of India's foreign policy, I rely on primary sources such as treaties, speeches, parliamentary decisions, archival documents, both from India and the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Secondary sources include academic research and writings of experts in the field such as P.R. Kumaraswamy, an Indian researcher who studies the relations between India and the Middle East. Likewise, I will conduct interviews with key people in both India and Israel in relation to India's policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Assaf Derri (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa, assafderri@gmail.com), "*Two Nations are in thy Womb: Rivaling National Movements in Mandatory Palestine in the Wake of the Post-Colonial Nomos*"

In the aftermath of World War I, a new world order arose, with the Middle East – and particularly Palestine – serving as its large-scale experimenting laboratory. The timing was ideal for experimentation in international law, as it was the twilight hour that marked the decline of one *Nomos* – the world order that Carl Schmitt had termed "*Jus publicum Europeaeum*" – and the rise of another, the post-colonial.

The first part of this paper shall unfold the roots of the unique legal-political situation in Mandatory Palestine, through the prism of *Nomos*. Immediately following World War I, the situation in Palestine was marked by legal contradictions: conflicting British promises to Arab and Jewish leaders, contradictory aims promulgated by the League of Nations' Covenant and the Mandate for Palestine. Consequently, the gravest problem of initial division of territory was left unsettled.

The paper's second part will be dedicated to establishing its main argument, that among the parties involved in the conflict – the Jews have thoroughly grasped the unique state of affairs that was "caught in an hour which is neither day nor night" – in the midst of a process of alteration of *Nomoi*. Whereas the declining *Nomos* of *Jus publicum Europeaeum* continued to swerve as a framework for the Arab leaders, erroneously ascribing to the British government its previous colonial decision-making power (specifically regarding future sovereignty over

the country), the Jewish leaders have acted upon a different paradigm, working toward self-determination, in accordance with the rising post-colonial *Nomos*.

In the third and concluding part, I shall argue that to a great extent, these disparate approaches have determined the management of the conflict on both sides, with the Palestinians misusing international mechanisms, such as the process before the International Court of Justice in 2004, and the Israeli government's calculated use of the ambiguous legal status of the conflict.

Jonathan Ghariani (Ph.D.Candidate, University College, London, United Kingdom; jonathan.ghariani.15@ucl.ac.uk), "*Paths to Peace: A Comparative Analysis of the Diplomatic History of the Bilateral and Multilateral Middle East Peace Negotiations*"

The Arab-Israeli peace process has been the subject of much debate in the field of international politics. Most previous peace efforts in the Middle East have taken the form of bilateral negotiations that have led to breakthroughs on a number of issues, most notably the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt as a result of the Camp David Accords. However, while the bilateral approach has mainly been successful in resolving territorial conflicts between sovereign states, it has proven much less successful in dealing with more intractable issues, such as the status of Jerusalem, the refugee issue, and questions relating to national identity. The role of third party mediators, mainly the United States, is also heavily debated.

Historically, attempts to pursue the multilateral track have been foiled by the refusal of the Arab states to recognize Israel, as well as Israel's fear that it will be outnumbered in any multilateral negotiations that will allow the Arab states to put pressure on Jerusalem to make concessions on sensitive issues such as the fate of the Palestinian refugees. The Madrid Peace Conference put in motion a first round of multilateral talks between Israel and the wider Arab world, excluding Syria and Lebanon. Despite initial success, these talks ended in a failure and were terminated in January 2000.

In March 2002, the Arab League adopted the Arab Peace Initiative (API), which for the first time explicitly recognized Israel. However, some major points of contention remain between Israel and the Arab states, mainly on the issue of Palestinian refugees as the API insists on a settlement based on United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194. Nowadays there is a convergence of interests between Israel and the moderate Arab states – such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia and most of the Gulf States – related to the rise of Iranian influence in the Middle East. This convergence could pave the way for Arab regional involvement in the peace process.

Ehud Golan (Ph.D. Candidate, Bar-Ilan University; udigolan@inter.net.il), "*Wars without End? The Influence of War Weariness on the Termination of Asymmetric Wars*"

Asymmetric wars, which are part of a national or ethnic conflict, are perceived to be 'wars without end.' Those are long wars, lasting at least ten years on average, and they are difficult to end. The theoretical literature on war termination is underdeveloped. Some observers have pointed out war weariness as one of the causes for the termination of asymmetric wars. But there is neither a clear conceptualization of war weariness nor a good understanding of

how it influences war termination. The research question for this paper will be: Is there a causal link between war weariness and war termination in asymmetric conflicts, and if so, what is its uniqueness?

The purpose of this research is a conceptualization of the term 'war weariness' and establishing a causal link between war weariness and asymmetric war termination. The research will examine war weariness on both sides; the state and the non-state actors, which is usually perceived as less dependent on its population's war weariness.

The research method is a structured focused comparison of five case-studies: 1) The first intifada, 1987-1991; 2) The second intifada, 2000-2005; 3. The conflict in Northern Ireland, 1968-1998; 4) the conflict between Spain and ETA, 1968-2011; and 5) The conflict between the Philippines and the MNLF. In addition to the comparison between the cases, I will conduct a within case analysis comparing a failed attempt to end the war and a successful war termination in each one of the relevant cases. This research design will enable to isolate the influence of the explanatory variable, war weariness, on the dependent variable, war termination.

Tatiana Moshkova (Ph.D. Candidate, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia; tata.midge@gmail.com), "*The Role of the Russian Federation in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*"

According to the Israeli Ambassador to Russia, Harry Koren, the settlement of the Palestinian Israeli conflict is impossible without the participation of the United States. At the same time, as regards the Palestinian side, it hopes for the help of Russia. This was said, in particular, by the Ambassador of Palestine to Russia Abdel Hafiz Nofal. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for the Middle East and African countries, Mikhail Bogdanov in February this year announced Moscow's readiness to act as an intermediary in the negotiations. After the "Great March of Return" campaign, Vladimir Safronkov, the Russian deputy envoy to the United Nations, confirmed Moscow's readiness to provide a platform for an attempt of a peaceful settlement.

The interest of the Russian side is conditioned not only by the fact that Moscow is concerned about the situation and calls on both Palestine and Israel not to allow actions that could harm peaceful citizens, but also the importance for the Russian side not to give the US a free hand in solving this issue alone. Cooperation on the Palestinian-Israeli settlement can also relieve in the long-term the tension between the countries that arose after the recent incident with the Russian II-20. After the incident, the Russian side is talking about the need to reverse the current trends that are associated with unilateral decisions. Relations between the two countries are traditionally characterized by the leaders as "stably good," despite the stumbling block in the form of Syria, where the interests of the parties do not fundamentally coincide. In this sense, the maximum that the Israeli side can achieve is to put some pressure on the issue of cooperation between Russia and Syria with Iran.

Ariadna Petri (Ph.D. Candidate, Universidad Complutense Madrid; anpetri@ucm.es), "*No Hope from the Second Track: The Failure of Track-Two Negotiations in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*"

The Oslo Process has institutionalized the use of multi-track negotiations within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and beyond. On the multi-track dial, the focus has

increasingly shifted from supporting First Track and generating possible solutions acceptable to both sides, to engaging the larger public and building intra-societal support for a peace agreement acceptable to both sides. Yet, twenty-five years on, the ongoing failure of second-track negotiations has had an impact both on the other tracks and on the peace process in its entirety and diversity.

This paper examines the major reasons for the failure of second-track negotiations, based on primary and secondary sources, as well as twenty interviews with Israeli and Palestinian negotiations undertaken for this research.

Jason Silverman (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem;), Jason.silverman@mail.huji.ac.il, "*Credibility in Hostage Negotiation Policy: The Case of Israel and its Disproportionate Prisoner Exchanges*"

Despite Israeli decision-makers' declarations that Israel will not release prisoners for hostages, but instead, will implement other coercive measures, the result remains constant: a disproportionate prisoner exchange. Today, while the bodies of two IDF soldiers and two Israeli citizens are held captive by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, senior Israeli officials are declaring that the government will not repeat another Shalit deal, in which 1,126 Palestinian prisoners were released in exchange for Gilad Shalit, and that other means will be implemented to bring them home. Is such a stance perceived as credible in the eyes of the captors?

This paper seeks to explore the question of the credibility of Israel's current declarations of not performing another prisoner exchange. This research posits that Israel's current stance is not credible and offers three factors explaining why: the power of public opinion, reputation, and judicial constraints of policy maneuvering. Mass campaigning by the families of hostages, sparking vast mobilization among the public to participate in these campaigns, places pressure on decision-makers, knowing that they can pay the price at the ballot for not heeding to the public opinion.

Israel's constant capitulation to the demands of its enemies for the release of prisoners has formulated a reputation in their eyes that shows that the formula is successful – hostages for prisoners. Finally, Israel attempts to alter the model by replicating its adversary's methods of bargaining, for example, by withholding bodies of the Islamic Jihad and Hamas as bargaining chips. Yet, this method is confronted with legal obstacles as the government is subordinated to the rule of law as it is interpreted by the Supreme Court. I attempt to substantiate the argument proposed in the paper through personal statements and expressions made by the decision-makers of both Israel and Hamas in resources such as newspapers and personal memoirs.

TP3: Power, Risk, and Uncertainty in World Politics

Prof. Peter J. Katzenstein, Cornell University, USA; pjk2@cornell.edu; Dr. Keren Sasson, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; keren.sa@mail.huji.ac.il

Effie Charalampaki (MA, Institute of International Relations, Greece; Effie15235@yahoo.com), "*Regional Systems as Complex Adaptive Systems: Complexity and Interdependence in the Systems of Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East*"

Regional security, cooperation and development are possible when structures of interdependence are constructed in such a way that all state and non-state actors at the micro and macro levels form networks of interconnectedness/interdependence materially and normatively. Drawing on Chaos and Complexity theories, the systems of Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East are conceptualized as two regional "complex adaptive systems" (CAS) of the global order, that interact with each other and with other subsystems, bifurcating into many internal sub-subsystems according to the regional alliances they form that shift and change in order to promote national security, economic, and political interests. Global powers also create perturbations of turbulence internationally, regionally, and domestically so that CAS seek to adapt to nonlinear events that steer states of chaos in the form of protracted armed conflicts, intrastate conflicts, terrorism, economic and energy crises, domestic political crises, and humanitarian crises.

Conceptualizing regional orders in this manner assists in understanding the causes of turbulence and interdependence inside these regional systems. Interconnectivity, which is promoted either by conflict or by cooperation, becomes pervasive inside CAS; conflict, hence, becomes an agent for change that creates 'cascades' of uncertainty that is the main reason of turbulence in the global order. Inside this pervasive state of turbulence, regional state and non-state agents and global powers must seek cooperative structures in order to survive; hence, cooperation, interdependence, and multilateralism become paramount.

In this theoretical paper, I seek to understand and explain the relationship of the state of complexity, when networks of agents at the micro and macro levels operate "at the edge of chaos", with interdependence and uncertainty. I conceptualize the regional orders of the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean as CAS that coevolve in their effort to mitigate nonlinearity in the global order. The methodology springs from Complexity and Chaos theories.

Shakked Dabran (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa, shakkeda@gmail.com), "*The Role of Culture in Foreign Policy: Confucianism and the Chinese Claims in the South China Sea*"

This paper investigates what role, if any cultural ideas have in a state's foreign policy. Using neoclassical realism theory, it tries to answer the question what is the role of Confucian ideas in China's behavior in its dispute over the South China Sea (SCS). Are ideational elements a variable that shapes Chinese behavior, or cultural arguments are only China's cover for an interest-based policy?

IR theoretical thinking offers competing interpretations of PRC's behavior. Offensive realists suggested that as the PRC becomes more powerful, it would challenge US hegemony and its world order. Constructivists, in contrast, usually highlight the role of ideational factors in

shaping China's behavior. Should we, however, separate those two different theories in such a sharp way?

Over the past decade, China's actions in the SCS demonstrate the offensive realist thinking behind China's behavior. At the same time, the leadership in China consciously considers itself the heir to China's imperial heritage, often using imperial symbols and rhetoric. Clearly, both Realist and Constructivist variables have their place in explaining China's behavior. Thus, exploring the interconnection between power, interests, and identity, rather than separating them, would appear to have great potential to resolve the Chinese riddle. Using the technique of process tracing, I gauge the role of Confucian thinking in China's motives behind its behavior in its dispute over the SCS. The review is from 2009 to 2016.

In contrast to a pure Realist perception, I argue that we cannot ignore the cultural and historical elements and their influence on China's behavior. I contend that China exploits and uses the Confucian conception as a political tool to establish its arguments and glorify its self-image. The cultural and historical variables play out within a Realist/material explanation; hence, their influence is realized as a political tool that helps China's great ambition of being/becoming a superpower.

Jony Esa (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; jony.essa@mail.huji.ac.il); *"Security as a Critical Rule of Power: Defining the Accepted Script in Middle Eastern Security Sectors: Acceptance, Rejection, and in Between"*

Contemporary Middle Eastern societies face a decrease in confidence in the capabilities of their security institutions. This loss of confidence is most visible in the institutions' capabilities in addressing domestic conflicts. The prominence of domestic conflicts brings to light the challenge of these security institutions in balancing confidence in capabilities with liberal expectations and demands.

This paper examines how Middle Eastern states attempt to embed liberal notions of security and stability into their institutions, while at the same time assessing systems and practices of security in modern Western societies in a critical way. I propose that regulation mechanisms of political and security institutions in Middle Eastern societies have had a positive effect in regulating violence and are predicated on defining the accepted critical rules of power under conditions of uncertainty. Thus, changes in the way the different actors define and perceive security as the critical rule of power may perpetuate or undermine diverse outcomes of stability or violence.

This paper analyzes and compares three Middle Eastern states: Jordan, Egypt, and Syria. In these cases, the role of regulation of both political and security institutions and the changing rules of security and their perception from various actors as well as its impact on the episodes of conflict outbreak or lack thereof will be examined and analyzed.

Styliani (Stella) Gerani (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Macedonia, Greece; sgerani@gmail.com), *"Small States in Regional Conflicts: Israel's North Predicament"*

This paper sets out to investigate how small states can cause an armed conflict. The peculiarity of regional conflicts lies in their ability to affect the regional distribution of power as well as international peace and stability, since such conflicts may attract the attentions of the great powers, especially when the interests of the latter are at stake. Taking as a constant

that small states operate in their regional system and strive for survival, Realism (both classical and structural) provides the most suitable framework to highlight systemic structural limitations and the great power motivations. Furthermore, the literature on small states provides the appropriate tools to analyze the strategic and domestic environment, the small states' range of options as well as their strategic limitations. Hence, the critical question raised is how a small state confronting a more powerful actor in its regional subsystem could lead to the escalation of a regional conflict.

The case of the State of Israel is a befitting case-study that could enable us to ascertain the aforementioned issue. The security of the small but strong Israel is being challenged. Iran's involvement from the Gulf to the Eastern Mediterranean attests to its hegemonic plans, especially by using proxies that directly threaten Israel's existence. Thus, Israel strives to deter any attack that will create a severe gap to its security. Israel, by capitalizing on its soft and hard power, could showcase whether its capacity to eliminate its adversaries' capability is achievable through coercive diplomatic means or, instead, it could escalate a low conflict into an intense armed one by securing the military backing of the United States.

Ofek Riemer (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; ofek.riemer@gmail.com), "*The 'Word-Lords': Israel's Use of the Media for Coercion*"

Throughout much of its history, Israel shied away from the public sphere in its management of international conflicts and adhered to a policy of ambiguity. This has changed in recent years, when Israeli government and security forces began to systematically use the media to issue public statements and threats, to demonstrate capabilities and resolve, and to disclose sensitive intelligence information. This research follows Israel's official use of the media in support of its struggle against Iranian entrenchment in Syria and the Iranian-led effort to provide Hezbollah with the ability to manufacture precision-guided missiles in Lebanon, during 2017.

The paper raises the question of whether the extensive use of the media indicates a change in Israel's coercion policies and examines its impact on the prospects of an effective and credible coercive diplomacy.

Assaf Shmuel (Ph.D. Candidate, Tel-Aviv University), "*Explaining the Pre-Election Peace*" (assafshmuel91@gmail.com)

Vast literature has been dedicated to the 'rally around the flag effect' - leaders' popularity increasing in the short term following MIDs (military inter-state disputes). According to the diversionary theory of war, one would expect incumbents to use this phenomenon to boost their re-election probability by waging war prior to elections. However, past researches who have analyzed the probability of a state waging war in different parts of the election cycle have found the opposite result – MIDs initiation probability decreasing prior to elections.

This article offers an explanation to this pre-election peace – the decrease in the probability of MIDs initiation as elections approach in democratic states. My hypothesis is that the interaction between the incumbent's popularity and the proximity to elections greatly affects the probability of war. Popular incumbents approaching elections have no incentives of waging war, as their chances of winning the elections are already high. Unpopular ones,

conversely, might wage war in order to increase their chances of winning the upcoming elections. The empirical analysis presented in the paper supports this hypothesis.

The article is organized as follows: First, I refute the common explanation associating the pre-election peace phenomenon with states being taunted less by other states in proximity to elections. I then separate popular incumbents from unpopular ones and find different behaviors among the two groups as elections approach. Finally, I qualitatively examine the only three full-scale wars in the pre-election period mentioned by Kurt Taylor Gaubatz and find them to be coherent with this paper's theory.

The results may help explain the relatively weak empirical evidence established so far for the diversionary theory of war when not controlling for the pre-election period. They also present a certain difficulty to Realist theorists who assume that states' domestic issues do not affect foreign policy.

Daniel F. Wajner (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il, "*Learning for Legitimacy: The Gaza Flotilla Empowerment of Meaningful Learning in Israel's Foreign-Policy Strategic Planning*")

Most IR scholars attribute changes in foreign policy strategic planning to shifts in interests, capabilities, alliances, norms, knowledge, and context. Even those studies focusing on social learning as a driver for policy change mostly underestimate the role of international legitimacy dynamics in empowering learning processes under conditions of risk and uncertainty.

This paper seeks to bridge the gap between theory and practice by building on David Ausubel's theory of meaningful learning to address the Gaza Flotilla crisis as a paradigmatic case of legitimacy learning in world politics. This tragic incident, which occurred in May 2010, deepened the diplomatic crisis between Israel and Turkey, until their official reconciliation in June 2016. Likewise, it led to growing de-legitimization of Israel among several global audiences. Having internalized the magnitude of the political damage that this incident caused and the need to subordinate operational decisions to legitimation considerations, Israel sought to tackle similar future challenges through reforms in numerous issue-areas relating to foreign policy strategic planning: diplomatic, military, communications, intelligence, technological, and humanitarian.

Drawing on testimonies of Israeli policymakers and the reports published by committees appointed to examine the Flotilla events, the phenomenological study describes Israel's meaningful learning process, tracing the subsequent development of *delegitimatzia* ('delegitimation') as an advance organizer among Israeli governmental and non-governmental institutions. These findings can serve scholars in outlining a broader research agenda for analyzing how different actors adapt to the risks and uncertainties posed by the battles for legitimacy that characterize contemporary global power politics.

TP4: “Popular Culture and Politics”

Prof. Kyle Grayson, New Castle University, United Kingdom; kyle.grayson@newcastle.ac.uk; Prof. Oren Barak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; oren.barak1@mail.huji.ac.il; Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; galiapress@gmail.com

Remi Daniel (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, remi.daniel@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Asymmetric Conflict on Screen*"

War movies constitute one of the widest points of contact between popular culture and international relations phenomena. Thousands of works have depicted war events, becoming at the same time objects of analysis for IR researchers since they reflect society's perception of war as well as taking part, by their impact on the audience, in the shaping of this perception.

My paper focuses on asymmetric warfare and it analyzes it through the prism of two films that were big successes in their countries: *Nefes*, a Turkish film on the war between the Turkish Armed Forces and the Kurdish guerrilla movement PKK; and *Beaufort*, an Israeli film dealing with the armed conflict between the Israeli Defense Forces and the Lebanese Hezbollah.

Both movies were produced a few years after the events they depict took place, both focus on conscript soldiers serving in the national army (the 'strong side' of the conflict), and both present themselves as based on real events. Besides these similarities, they have a big difference: The Turkish director chooses to show a Turkish victory (after heavy sacrifices made by the TAF), whereas his Israeli counterpart focuses on Israeli failures.

While the reasons for the strong side's defeat in asymmetric wars are still debated within IR, I analyze the two movies in parallel using this comparison both to show how the issues discussed within the scientific field of IR are reflected in popular culture, and to underline how these movies may help to offer an answer to those debates. In particular, by focusing on the differences in the presentation of death aversion, justification of the war, and nationalist feelings, I show how these subjective dimensions, that are expressed as well as supported by the two movies, may impact the results of the armed conflict.

Keren Dinur (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; keren.dinur@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Ambiguity of the Conflict in Northern Ireland as Reflected in the Film 'The Crying Game'*"

The Northern Ireland conflict was considered to be one of the longest and most violent internal conflicts in modern times. However, since the conclusion of the Good Friday Agreement in 1988, the characteristics of the conflict have changed profoundly, so that a more quiet and secure reality gradually became established. This process makes the Northern Ireland conflict particularly interesting, and it raises the question as to what was done right in this process of conflict resolution that was not being done in other conflicts.

This paper examines this issue from the Conflict Resolution Approach – a psycho-social perspective that enables the examination of perceptions, beliefs, and identity at the individual level. At the same time, this approach has its shortcomings since it is very rigidly dictated by the explanations given to the conflict society. Hence, I argue that examining elements of

'ambiguity' in a conflict can compensate for these shortcomings and provide a new, more complex, explanation.

This paper stems from the assumption that popular films emanate from and represent societal perspectives, so they can provide a fascinating point of view on the issue examined. I focus on the film *The Crying Game*, a unique film in the genre of Northern Ireland conflict films, in that it does not present a classic narrative of good/bad, but rather a much more complex picture of many narratives and flexible identities.

The paper links together theoretical aspects of the Conflict Resolution approach; the existence of the ambiguity element in the characteristics of Northern Ireland's conflict and in the Good Friday Agreement; the ambiguity element in the film *The Crying Game*; all along with an examination of its encounter with the Northern Ireland reality. On this basis, an argument is presented regarding the ambiguity element as deserving significant attention in research, as an independent element with significant potential influence upon conflict resolution processes.

Dan Eran (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, dan.eran@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Dark Horse That Roared*"

In the paper I introduce the concept of the *Dark Horse*— a little-known entity that emerges to prominence, even though that it seems unlikely to succeed – in international politics. I argue that the Dark Horse is an important concept that can help us to learn about the structure and the nature of the international system, and that we can best understand what a Dark Horse is and what is its importance by using popular culture. I do so by examining the film *The Mouse that Roared* and by discussing the case of 19th century Japan. Moreover, I show under what conditions Dark Horses are more likely to arise and explore the positive, as well as the negative sides of such an emergence. The paper sheds light on the stratification of world politics and it contributes to the understanding of the role of popular culture in the discipline of International Relations.

Daphne Inbar (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, daphne.inbar@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Girls to the Front? Dilemmas of Representing Gendered Soldier Dissent in the Israeli Film 'Zero Motivation'*"

Popular culture serves as an important arena for contesting militarism and military service in militarized societies, but it may also help legitimize them in these contexts. This paper presents some of the dilemmas facing the politics of representing female and male soldiers in popular culture in militarized societies. More specifically, we ask what popular representations of non-combatative, 'unmotivated', military service reveal about the gendered aspects of military service; about the relationship between 'front' and 'rear' of military activity; and about the possibilities and limits of resistance to the military and militarism 'from within'.

Analyzing the popular Israeli film "Zero Motivation," whose protagonists are non-combatative female soldiers, we show how they resist their military service in 'unheroic', everyday actions that challenge military hierarchies and gendered power structures, but also how the limits set by these soldiers themselves, and also those imposed on them by their superiors and by the society in which they are embedded, 'normalize' militarist tendencies and military service.

The paper draws on, and engages with, theoretical contributions of feminist scholars dealing with "militarized femininity" and "dissenting subjectivities." By providing different interpretations regarding the possibilities and limits of gendered soldier agency, it asks whether the growing visibility of the non-combative female soldiers in popular culture mainly serves to question or 'normalize' and reaffirm mandatory service 'for all.'

Through this discussion, we raise more general dilemmas regarding the portrayal of the non-combative female soldier, and also argue for the transformative potential that popular representations of soldier dissent might present.

Inbar Noy (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; inbar.noy@mail.huji.ac.il), "Re-Imagining the Dissolved Nation: Reconstructing Ontological Security in 'Ostalgie' Movies"

This paper discusses the use of nostalgic notions for a dissolved state in popular culture as a mechanism to reconstruct ontological security, by referring to two German films about life before and after the dissolution of East Germany – *Goodbye Lenin* and *Live of Others*. By representing both criticism about the East German regime and the struggle of their citizens against their own regime, these two films reflect the loss of the former citizens' national identity and disappointment from the current political reality in a reunified Germany. Thus, the two films are connected to the phenomenon of "Ostalgie" – nostalgic notions for East Germany. While "Ostalgie" was commonly observed as a mere longing for cultural aspects of East Germany, this paper suggests that the use of "Ostalgie" in popular culture is a powerful tool that can reflect a loss of identity after the dissolution of the state and the old political order. Hence, "Ostalgie" is used to reconstruct the ontological security of citizens of a dissolved state – by securing their self-image and provide them with stability and continuity.

First, I discuss in this paper how nostalgia can be used as a tool of reconstruction of a lost identity, and in turn ontological security. Then, I will discuss the use of popular culture to reconstruct a lost national identity, as well as the use of German cinema to reflect upon political processes in the country. Finally, I analyze the narratives arising from the films, which seek to both preserve a 'counter-culture' identity of former East German citizens; as well as 'self'-'other' relations that maintain the distinction between East and West. Finally, I conclude with a discussion about how the reconstruction process perpetuates social identities and structures that had existed before the state's dissolution, thus reflecting a symbolic resistance to the new political reality.

Inbar Pincu (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Inbar.Pincu@mail.huji.ac.il), "The False Security of the Wall: The Perception of Security in 'Attack on Titan'"

The paper inspects the issue of walls as instruments to create seemingly secure spaces, using *Attack on Titan*, a popular science-fiction anime, as a tool to demonstrate how this sense of security is falsified and built. *Attack on Titan* is set in a fictional world, where the last of humanity lives within three circular walls. Outside the walls roam humanoid monsters called 'Titans' that eat humans. The series starts with the outermost wall breaking down, and the chaos that ensues as the Titans invade the walls.

First, the paper demonstrates as to why it is useful to use popular culture to inspect different issues of IR. Then it delves into the reasons why walls tend to create a sense of security in people, and asks what is "that looks safe"; namely, the visual aspect. It then discusses the

militaristic reality walls create around them – by defining spaces as artificial borders, and defining people as those within or outside of the walls.

In *Attack on Titan*, closer inspection suggests that people start demonizing any others that come from outside the walls, seeing them as monsters and stripping them of their humanity – likening them to the actual Titans. To further illustrate this point, the paper draws comparison to three famous walls in IR – the Great Wall of China, the Berlin Wall and the Israeli West Bank 'security barrier' (also known as the Separation Wall). It concludes by claiming that walls of any kind do not create secure environments, but only a false sense of such security – that could crumble at any given moment.

TP5: “Dark Non-State Actors in World Politics” [1400-1730]

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto, Canada; j.stein@utoronto.ca; Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University; mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il

Atanaska Metodieva (Ph.D. Candidate, Central European University, Hungary; asyametodieva@gmail.com), "*Deconstruction of Foreign Fighter 'Hubs' and Construction of Martial Social Identity (MSI) in Foreign Fighter Streams in Post-Violent Societies*"

We fail to profile them. We keep on collecting pieces of the puzzle of their identity, motivations and motives, ideological and socio-economic drivers and we still fail. We simply call them 'foreign fighters' because they join a 'foreign' cause that they embrace like their own, though they do not initially belong to its geographical, national, or ideological determinants. Ongoing conflicts like the one in Syria have become magnets for foreign fighters from all parts of the world. People with different backgrounds have joined the Islamic State (IS) and other extremist groups as part of the war theater. High decentralization has been the main feature of IS recruitment efforts worldwide. New and revived terrorist cells have emerged across Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia in the last five years.

The paper is concerned with the emergence of foreign fighter cells in post-violent societies, and the interaction between the actors involved. It applies to the case of Kosovo, regarding what has already been argued about such 'hubs' established in the West. It asserts that foreign fighter mobilization in Kosovo follows the trajectory of the local charismatic leaders. Cells appear as the result of interaction between *identity producers* and *identity seekers*. The research seeks to conceptualize this process as the construction of a Martial Social Identity (MSI). It builds on research in collective action theory looking at foreign fighter mobilization as a product of radical collective action. It puts a great emphasis on identity construction, as identity provides individuals with the means to see themselves linked by common values, interests, and goals. In the case of Kosovo, as the national identity seems to be fragile, another one takes its place – the religious one. This gap was successfully exploited by identity producers.

Lev Topor (Ph.D. Candidate, Bar-Ilan University, lev-topor@hotmail.com), "*Dark Hatred: Antisemitism in the Dark Web*"

Antisemitism is racism; it is not broadly accepted in modern societies. Though not accepted, it does exist in the margins of society and amidst dark and deep places with no norms or regulations. The key purpose of this paper is to develop a new conceptual research framework in the study of antisemitism and in the study of racism. The dark web (Dark Net) holds many offensive and criminal activities; it also holds racist and anti-Semitic activities. It is only logical to search the dark web, the modern dark alley of society, for activities that are not accepted by most of society. In order to open this kind of conceptual portal to other researchers, an overview of anti-Semitic activities in the dark web will be presented and analyzed. A method of conceptual analysis will be used to broadly examine and explain dark web anti-Semitic activities and trends.

Wendy Wagner (MA, IDC Herzlyia; wendy.wagner@post.idc.ac.il), "*Valar Morghulis—Authoritarian Coercion and the Religious Terrorist*"

Religious fundamentalism fosters a notion of collective identity and immortal continuity of the self and the group. The inherent mechanism of religious belief, studied widely in the area of Terror Management Theory, serves as a coping mechanism in face of physical threat of death. A growing number of armed non-state actors foster a religious ideology that allows them to utilize the concept of 'symbolic immortality' to show resilience and continued operation even if confronted with violent repercussions.

I argue that for these non-violent non-state actors with a religiously fundamentalist ideology, death lost its deterrent effect. These groups are more likely to operate under restrictive and coercive conditions, show higher presence in authoritarian regimes and facilitate more attacks than their non-religious counterpart. In response to physical threat through coercion, religious fundamentalist actors are more likely to sacrifice their physical self, increasing support for hostility and violence.

Differentiating authoritarian regimes based on their ability for coercion and co-option, the results indicate an ineffectiveness of coercive counterterrorism tools in face of religiously motivated actors. Estimating negative binomial mixed effects models on a dataset of 30,000 terrorist incidents in 172 countries between 1997 and 2014, I find that regimes that rely solely or majorly on coercion to repress dissent experience higher levels of religious terrorism.

TP6: “Political Participation in an Era of Rapid Social Change: Comparative Perspectives”

Prof. Marc Hooghe, University of Leuven, Belgium; marc.hooghe@kuleuven.be; Dr. Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University; oser@post.bgu.ac.il

Libby Maman Burstein (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, libby.maman@gmail.com), "*Measuring and Comparing Democratic Qualities of Regulatory Agencies*"

The structure of government is changing continuously throughout the world. One of the most visible changes has been the proliferation of independent regulatory agencies (IRAs) in the national level across multiple sectors. Prompted by a diffusion process, politicians delegate regulatory tasks to unelected experts to enhance their credibility and to achieve effectiveness. Though desired, the independence of the regulatory agencies and their structured detachment from hierarchical ministerial supervision, challenges the representative notion of democratic legitimacy.

So far, scholars and politicians have mainly focused on accountability and oversight mechanisms to ensure the legitimacy of IRAs. However, the notion of accountability is constantly stretching theoretically and practically, to include stakeholder participation, transparency, and openness beyond the obligation to offer information or explanation to political actors. Hence, a different conceptual handling is required.

Specifically, this research asks whether the independence of IRAs is correlated with an enhancement of democratic qualities. By expanding the theoretical framework used to

analyze the democratic legitimacy of IRAs beyond representative democracy to participatory and deliberative democracy, this research contributes to the literature in several aspects. First, it offers a conceptualization of the 'democratic qualities of IRAs', a multi-dimensional concept, looking at agency practices of accountability, transparency, and participation. Second, it offers a systematic comparative measurement of these different procedures across sectors and countries. Third, it attempts to explain the variations in the qualities of democracy displayed in different sectors and countries. It employs a mixed-method methodology and is constructed in a two-step analysis; first, it performs a qualitative small n comparison; second, it will use the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) method to test configurations of explanations upon an increased number of cases.

Kamil Ishkhakov (MA, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia; dwar95apple@mail.ru), "*The Problems of Political and Legal Regulation of Freedom of Speech in the Conditions of Digital Communication*"

The author analyzes the processes of coordination of political interests with objective laws of social development, suggests possible methods of preventing confrontation in the field of digital communication. The article is devoted to the problems of political and legal regulation of freedom of speech in the conditions of digital communication. In other words, the author tries to determine the boundaries of human rights to freedom of speech in the modern world, which at the same time would not come into conflict with the national security policy of states and would meet the needs of individuals in the participation and saturation of the information field of the digital space.

Security tends to be ensured by the unity of the whole mass of residents, so there is an urgent need to achieve a common denominator of the points of view from which the phenomenon of freedom of speech is considered, because life is changing, living conditions are changing, and conflicts are changing, and the ability to overcome these conflicts in time, avoiding unnecessary collisions and losses, allows you to act to expand the capabilities of each individual who has every right to do so.

The world is changing and slipping away quickly. A huge, permanent information stream confuses with false statements, making reliance on the truth of the facts, but on an attempt to achieve a monotonous emotional effect after "swallowing" this or that information-dish. In the absence of proper skills to work with information, individuals find themselves in a vulnerable position, increasing their susceptibility to suggestion. The likely trajectory of this situation contributes to the mobilization of protest potential around the world in various forms of its manifestation, since part of that refers to the negative side of clip thinking, as well as laziness of thought in the context of cognitive activity.

Amit Levinson (MA, Ben-Gurion University; amitlevi@post.bgu.ac.il), "*Cannabis in Israel: The Telegrass Revolution*"

Cannabis has been used globally for thousands of years for different products, among them medicinal and fiber (Wills, 2003). Explicit recreational consumption is a relatively recent phenomenon in Western culture. Israel, and the world in general, is undergoing a paradigmatic shift in its attitude towards cannabis, largely characterized by a growing decriminalization movement. Until last year in Israel, in order to buy cannabis you would have to know a dealer or a friend who knows a dealer. Buying cannabis online flowed

through sites like the 'Darknet', somewhat difficult to use and largely unbeknownst to most Israeli consumers.

Hence, the new app Telegram, "a messaging app with a focus on speed and security" (Telegram, 2018), came along and changed the means of acquiring illegal cannabis in Israel. Using the Telegram app, a few activists created "Telegrass" – an encrypted platform for purchasing and selling cannabis discreetly and involving approximately 100,000 enrolled users. I argue, and therefore the pursuit of this topic, that Telegrass profoundly changed the cannabis market in Israel.

Eagolton-Pierece (2001) describes the use of the Internet – a tool enabling instant messaging for assembly purposes – in creating a platform in a free but closed space, explicitly global, accessible to all and cheap. Moreover, Beekhuyzen (2011) shows how the Internet aided pirate music downloaders form a community, transfer files to one another and all this while being clandestine and taking security precautions. In sum, we can see how the Internet creates a new milieu for social movements and an easy path for illegal activities. In this paper I discuss the difficulties of cannabis acquisition in which Telegrass emerged, why it is not blocked, and how has the application transformed the cannabis' trade.

Guy Mor (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; guy.mor@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Corrective or Threat? Populist Parties and their Effect on Political Representation*"

Recent scholarship suggests a fundamental connection between populism and the question of political representation. Populism arises due to a perceived crisis of representation, and its core claim is the articulation of the interests and preferences of 'the people', representing themes and groups long neglected by mainstream parties. Nevertheless, we do not know yet whether and how populism affects political representation, and different strands in theoretical research give rise to contradictory expectations.

On the one hand, some authors suggest that populism may be a democratic corrective, giving voice to groups that do not feel represented, and forcing elites to react and change their political agenda. If so, the rise of populism may be able to close gaps or blind-spots in the representational system. On the other hand, the performance and perpetuation of crisis is seen by some to be an inherent feature of populism. This is reflected also by the exclusionary nature of populist representation claims, contending that populists and they alone represent the will of the people. Thus, populist parties may be expected to exacerbate perceptions of a representational crisis even as they gain power and influence.

In this paper, I analyze and discuss arguments relating to the effect of populism on both substantive and symbolic representation. I then proceed to test these arguments empirically, drawing on data from four modules of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. Utilizing a regression discontinuity design, I examine the causal effect of populist parties' entry into parliament in European countries on the quality of both substantive and symbolic representation. With these means, this study aims to shed light on populism's pathological nature and enhance our understanding of the conditions and challenges faced by contemporary democracies.

Abraham Ritov (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Avraham.ritov@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Limited Ideological Convergence of Single-Winner Elections to the Median Voter: Is Trump an Outlier?*"

The median voter theorem (MVT) states that two candidates, competing in a single member district (SMD), will converge ideologically to the median voter's policy preference. Combining MVT with Duverger's law implies that all SMD elections should eventually converge to the median voter. However, multiple candidates do compete, and research on real-world data has repeatedly shown non-convergence.

One of the previously proposed reasons of non-convergence has been this involvement of multiple candidates. We propose that, even when elections eventually feature only two candidates, the campaign process which leads to the emergence of these two candidates will likely result in non-median convergence. This paper uses a simulation approach to demonstrate predictable, non-median convergence, and is illustrated via real world data – the 2016 U.S. Republican presidential primaries – single-winner elections with multiple candidates and a non-median winner.

Dafna Schneider (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; dafna.schneider@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Policy of Israeli Coalitions, 1992-2015*"

The first step in trying to estimate the political value of a coalition is to define the policies and positions of the parties involved. In that sense, this descriptive study analyzes the pre-election political intentions' statements of coalition parties in the Israeli political arena from 1992 to 2015. The coalition's parties are examined by their electoral platforms as a declaration of their policy statements, and as the confrontation on the government's identity between right and left. This research uses 'wordfish' software as a statistical test analysis (Prokcsch and Slapin, 2009).

The findings of the paper present the composition of the different Israeli coalitions during this period. Hence, the research attempts to identify the factors and events that led to policy stagnation, the weakness of the large parties, and the assessment of intraparty stability in the coalition.

Yair Yassan (Ph.D. Candidate, Ben-Gurion University; yairyassan@gmail.com), "*Political Violence of Citizens towards the State and Its Agents*"

States are generally perceived legitimate when they act fairly, for the benefit of their citizens, allowing them to influence. When this perception is undermined, citizens may deviate from the rules of democracy and act in protest, and sometimes even violently. How can we explain violent protest by undermining the concept of state legitimacy? The use of violence against state agents can be interpreted as a loss of state legitimacy in its most basic sense; i.e., a challenge to the monopoly of violence that should be in the hands of the security forces.

In democracies, state legitimacy is characterized by a lack of coercion. Based on previous definitions of state legitimacy, in this paper I would like to suggest a new political apparatus, one that characterizes perceived state legitimacy as composed of the following six components: identification, trust, procedural justice, distributive justice, legality, and effectivity.

Based on sixty semi-structured interviews with protest actors from three different conflict arenas in Israel – Jewish settlers, Negev Bedouins, and Ethiopian descendants – my research shows that while diverse social groups can be defined in different socio-political statuses, the perceived state legitimacy of citizens from different social groups is related to explanations provided by protesting political actors towards the state and its agents, according to the components I suggested above. Thus, citizens from different groups will explain political violence based on undermining the legitimacy of the state according to its various components: *Power groups*, based on effectivity; *relative deprivation groups*, based on distributive justice and effectivity; *weakened groups* based on trust, distributive justice, and effectivity; *supra-national authority groups*, based on trust and legality; *national minority groups*, based on identification, trust, distributive justice, and legality. In addition, all groups will explain political violence towards the state based on undermining the component of procedural justice.

TP7: “Political Personalization and Personalized Politics” [1000-1230]

Prof. Gideon Rahat, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; msgrah@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Meital Balmas, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; meitalbalmas@gmail.com

Renana Atia (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; renana.atia@mail.huji.ac.il), "*To Personalize or De-Personalize? The Effect of Personalized Discourse on Social Media Success Rates*"

Personalization, the process in which power of political groups transfers to single members, is an element perceived to affect political culture (Balmas et al., 2013). In the era of digital media, public debate and opportunities to engage with the public have migrated into social media platforms (Karlsen, 2011). As traditional media attention is restricted to a small number of politicians, based on assorted media considerations (Tsfati et al., 2010), politicians divide their efforts between traditional and new media platforms, with the latter enabling non-mediated communication with the public (Lee and Oh, 2012). Facebook, as a social media platform, underlines the individual, her self-presentation and image creating, and all other attributes that make it a natural habitat to behavioral, personalized discourse (Yang and Brown, 2013).

This study argues that examining the effects of personalized discourse on political success in social media can significantly advance our understanding of the way it interfaces with public engagement. The novelty of this study is in addressing personalized discourse as a predictor, and not only as being predicted by other factors. Moreover, this study uses Facebook's success indicators commonly used by social media specialists (Tafesse, 2015): reactions, comments, shares, and overall engagement (Larsson, 2015).

To test for the effects of personalized discourse on social media success, this study relies on a coded sample of 1,392 Facebook posts retrieved from pages of fifty-eight politicians over the course of two years. Our analysis found that three of the success indicators are significantly predicted by increased usage of first person singular expressions, and by first person plural expressions. Results show publications balanced between the two types are more successful. It might not be by chance that results show that women's posts are significantly more

balanced than men's, due to the combination of gender expectations (Carli, 2010), and adjusting to the personalized state of politics.

Avital Friedman (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; avital.friedman2@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Better Alone or Better Together: Personalized Politics in Parliament and its Influence on Party Status: Evidence from the Israeli Case*"

Personalized politics is a phenomenon in which political power is shifted from the political parties to the individual politicians. This study questions this phenomenon from a unique perspective, asking whether personalized politics, expressed by high usage of individual MK (members of Israeli parliament) bills, always harms the party, as its definition suggests. It also asks if candidate selection methods affect the patterns of personalized politics.

By conducting an in-depth analysis of private member bills in the Israeli parliament during the 20th Knesset, the study first shows that in some cases legislators from the same party still work collectively as a group, even while using an individual tool. This finding suggests that parties still matter, and that personalized politics do not always come at the expense of the party. Secondly, this study shows that candidate selection methods do have an impact on the pattern of personalized politics. In other words, exclusive candidate selection methods lead to higher levels of innerparty support, while parties with inclusive methods are characterized by a more individualistic behavior of their legislators.

Avishai Green (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; avishai.green@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Speaking Bullshit to Power: Populism and the Rhetoric of Bullshit: A Conceptual Investigation*"

Populist politicians are often credited by their supporters as 'telling it like it is', yet their statements appear to reveal a pattern that fits Harry Frankfurt's definition of "bullshit" as any statement whose truth value its speaker is indifferent towards. Relying on a theoretical enquiry based on a wide array of existing scholarly literature on populism, and using Trump as a test case, I attempt to explore this seeming paradox, and answer the question: Is there a fundamental, non-incidental connection between populism and the rhetoric of bullshit?

I posit five possible connections: 1) "Bullshit as ignorance": Populists are susceptible to bullshit, as they tend to be uneducated on a great many topics they are forced to discuss; 2) "Bullshit as Partisanship": Populists may be incentivized to bullshit because their audience is likely to assess their claims as true regardless of content; 3) "Bullshit as infallibility": Populists have a central claim – the exclusivity of their claim to popular representation – that they regard as infallible; thus, leading them to bullshit whenever evidence that casts this claim into question arises, as it invariably does; 4) "Bullshit as symbolism": Populist communication is frequently primarily meant to convey symbolic, unarticulated messages, leading literal meaning to often be overlooked; and 5) "Bullshit as sincerity": Populists claim to authentically represent 'the people' and their 'folk' values, it makes them value sincerity over accuracy, leading them to construct statements with little regard for their veracity.

I contend these connections go a long way towards understanding both the phenomenon of populist bullshit and answering the puzzle posed above. Finally, I argue that a better understanding of bullshit in populist discourse must be achieved, as bullshit is, in Frankfurt's words, "a greater enemy of truth than lies are."

Shahaf Zamir (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; shahaf.zamir@mail.huji.ac.il); "*The Face of Party Meets the Tweet of Politician: A Cross-National Comparative Analysis of Online Personalized Politics on Facebook*"

In the last two decades, the Internet became crucial to everyday life, predominantly to the political arena. This paper examines personalized politics online. It asks whether there are any differences between online personalized politics in Twitter compared to Facebook (the most widespread campaign tool), and if so which is more personalized? It analyzes cross-national data covering online activity and consumption of parties, their leaders, and prominent politicians from twenty-five democracies.

Previous findings, using the same database, showed variance among parties and democracies in their level of personalized politics online (Rahat and Zamir, 2018; Zamir and Rahat, 2017). Generally, they showed that parties are more represented online and more active than their politicians. However, online consumption of individual politicians' Facebook and Twitter accounts is larger than their parties, especially the consumption of party leaders, rather than other prominent politicians. Different online platforms may breed different levels of personalized politics. Their varied properties are expected to influence the way they are used and consumed, and thus to have an impact on the levels of online personalized politics that they create, if at all.

It is important to understand which platform generates more personalized politics. First, if there are differences between these platforms we might conclude that online-personalized politics is not consistent and technologically deterministic. Second, it may shed light on some of the factors for personalized politics; given the variety of incentives, it gives the political actors to use it. Findings of this paper show that in a majority of democracies, online personalized politics is more evident on Twitter than on Facebook. The gaps are even larger when it comes to the consumption of individual politicians on Twitter. It seems that Facebook bears more opportunities for parties to revive while Twitter seems to be much more individualistic.

TP9: "Utopia and Dystopia" [1030-1230]

Dr. Nicole Hochner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Nicole.hochner@mail.huji.ac.il)

Ibrahim Cagri Mutaf (Ph.D. Candidate, Bogazici University, Turkey; cagri.mutaf@boun.edu.tr), "*Political Liberalism and Religious Discourses: An Evaluation of the Asymmetry Objection*"

John Rawls' *Political Liberalism* (2005) addresses the question of enduring plurality of conflicting worldviews within societies under democratic regimes. As a theory of justification, political liberalism excludes religious reasons from public reason's scope and content.

The asymmetry objection disputes political liberalism by claiming that (1) burdens of justification are distributed unevenly between non-religious and religious citizens; (2)

political liberalism favors liberal comprehensive doctrines over non-liberal comprehensive doctrines; and (3) the asymmetric treatment towards disagreements about the good life and the political conception of justice proves that political liberalism is not internally coherent.

By expounding on the existing responses to the objection, this paper asks: Can Political Liberalism sufficiently rebut the asymmetry objection? Can religious discourses be permissible for justifying constitutional norms and their interpretations as laws? In this paper, possibilities of overcoming the asymmetry objection are shown through expanding and interpreting responses in the literature. This evaluation of the asymmetry objection leads to a particular reading of Political Liberalism as a non-comprehensive Kantian moral-political doctrine.

Respondent: **Iddan Sonsino** (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Iddan.Sonsino@mail.huji.ac.il).

Igor Shoikedbrod (Ph.D./Postdoctoral studies, University of Toronto, Canada; shoikhedbrod@trinity.utoronto.ca), "*Rethinking the 'Ideal of Equality': G.A. Cohen and the Limits of Ideal Political Theorizing*"

The political philosopher G.A. Cohen famously remarked that Marxists, beginning with Karl Marx, have been hostile to the 'ideal' of equality and have failed to appreciate its value for egalitarian transformation. The theoretical presuppositions underpinning Marx's theory of revolution in the 19th century became untenable under 21st century global capitalism, so much so that Marxism came to resemble the 'utopian socialism' that its theoretical founders critiqued in the Communist Manifesto.

This predicament led erstwhile Marxists such as Cohen to pursue normative political theorizing with the goal of egalitarian advocacy. The aim of this paper is to critically evaluate G.A.Cohen's critique of Marx with respect to the 'ideal' of equality and to offer what I take to be Marx's counter-critique of G.A.Cohen on the limits of ideal political theorizing for egalitarian transformation. In each case, the point is to arrive at a better understanding of the value and limitations of ideal political theorizing for egalitarian transformation, particularly at a time of economic inequality, precariousness, and exclusion.

Respondent: **Natan Milikovsky** (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; natan.milikowsky@mail.huji.ac.il).

TP12: “Emerging Technologies: Regulatory Governance, Law, and Policy”

Prof. Gary E. Marchant, Arizona State University; Gary.Marchant@asu.edu; Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; david.levifaur@gmail.com

Nora von Igersleben-Seip (Ph.D. Candidate, School of Governance at the Technical University of Munich, Germany; nora.von-ingersleben@hfp.tum.de), *"Fostering Competition in Markets with Data Network Effects: The Case for an Industrial Data Strategy based on Authorized Sharing"*

Collecting user data allows companies such as Facebook and Google to target users with personalized ads that elicit lots of clicks, generating even more data. This dynamic, in which the ownership of data leads to the collection of more data that makes the overall data repository even more valuable, is best characterized as a data network effect. In contrast to people network effects, data network effects have not been widely explored in the academic literature. This is surprising, as data network effects often lead to the emergence of monopolies in the digital economy.

Data network effects and their impact on market structures pose new challenges for regulators. Disruptive emerging technologies such as autonomous vehicles, Fin Tech, and the Internet of Things all benefit from the accumulation of user data. Therefore, there is a distinct chance that early movers in these sectors will come to dominate their respective markets thanks to data network effects. The downsides of market dominance in the digital economy are serious and well understood. Regulators are therefore striving to articulate coherent rules for governing emerging technology markets, aiming to preserve innovation on the one hand while protecting user welfare on the other.

Both EU and US regulators took a relatively hands-off approach to the technology industry until recently, intervening only once monopolies had already emerged. The proposed paper argues that this ex-post approach is not good enough given the huge advantages associated with data ownership: the ability to influence users, charge high prices for data access, and create advanced artificial intelligence solutions. Instead, governments should adopt a proactive "industrial data strategy" that focuses on getting consent from users for the sharing of data between authorized organizations. This would allow startups as well as large companies to build innovative products and services based on these data, ensuring that market leaders would emerge because of the superior technologies they build, not because of path dependencies caused by data network effects.

Vellah Kigwiru (Ph.D. Candidate, Technical University of Munich, Germany; vellahkedogo@gmail.com), *"Emerging Disruptive Technologies and the Regulation of Market Competition in the Legal Market: A Kenyan Perspective"*

Innovative technologies trigger changes that threaten current markets, social as well as political orders, and the once conservative and exclusive legal market is no longer immune. The increasingly informed tech-savvy client base, the unbundling of legal services, online service delivery, and the application of new technologies in the legal profession such as Big Data, artificial intelligence, blockchain and automation of legal services continues to disrupt the legal profession in profound ways. For a long time, the legal profession has enjoyed exclusivity in the provision of legal services through self-regulation, and the entrance of legal

technological innovations bring with them competition that is affecting the way the legal market operates.

In response and in a bid to maintain the market share and revenues, lawyers have continued to resist the impact of disruptive technologies. In 2018, the Kenyan government sought to digitize the land registry. The Law Society of Kenya (LSK), in suing the Ministry of Land against automation of land registry argued that lawyers were the only ones mandated to execute conveyancing processes in accordance with Section 34 of the Advocates Act. Further, as a regulatory body, there were no regulations in place on how e-conveyancing was to be conducted.

This reaction by the LSK brings key legal regulatory issues that this paper seeks to discuss: the current disruptive legal technological innovations, the opportunities and the challenges they present, regulatory concerns such as regulation of unlicensed legal services providers, price regulation and professional competence. Second, the interaction of legal services innovation with professional regulations, the implications of the current legal profession on market competition and the role of competition authorities in enforcing competition in the legal market. Finally, I will review the legal and competition regulatory framework in the wake of emerging disruptive technologies in a bid to provide relevant reforms.

Shashwat Kumar (Ph.D. Candidate, Institut Barcelona Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona, Spain; skumar@ibei.org); *"The Diffusion of Regulatory Governance in India: An Analysis of Institutional Diversity and Distribution of Regulatory Responsibilities"*

The Planning Commission of India in the consultation paper issued in 2006 had observed that the existing statutory and institutional framework governing regulatory agencies indicate an absence of a common regulatory philosophy. Similar observations were made in the second administrative reform commission's thirteenth report (dated April 2009), where it had recognized issues, such as inconsistency with respect to powers and functions of the regulators, independence of the regulatory agencies, lack of uniformity in appointment, removal, etc., with the regulatory environment in India. Therefore, to provide for a common regulatory philosophy, the Planning Commission of India drafted the Regulatory Reform Bill in 2013, which is yet to be passed by the Parliament.

Until now, the observations made in the above-mentioned reports were simply based on comparison of legislations that constituted each of the sectoral regulators. However, this paper aims to expand the scope of inter-sectoral comparison by empirically analyzing the 'institutional constellation' and the 'regulatory arrangement' in sectors where independent regulatory agencies have been established. This article will use two key dimensions from Jordana and Sancho's (2004) analytical construct of 'institutional constellation'; i.e., institutional diversity and distribution of responsibility. Further, the concept of 'regulatory arrangement' will be used to map out the formal distribution of regulatory responsibilities in each of the selected sectors.

In this way the paper will make two valuable contributions towards the literature on regulatory administration in India: (1) The empirical mapping of the formal distribution of regulatory responsibilities in selected sectors will facilitate the understanding of regulatory governance in India; and (2) This empirical exercise will allow to build hypotheses to ascertain whether such divergence in the institutional framework of regulatory agencies exist due, for example, the sectoral peculiarities or alternatively, due to historical and cultural

explanations. This will enrich the comparative research in the discipline of regulatory governance.

Erez Maggor (Ph.D. Candidate, New York University, USA, erez.maggor@nyu.edu),
"Overcoming the 'Spillover Problem': The Politics of R&D Policy under Economic Globalization"

Economic globalization was supposed to mark the end of state-led developmentalism. Yet, rather than dismantling their developmental institutions, many developing and developed economies have adopted new modes and strategies that retain, and in some cases even increase, their capacity to promote national economic growth. Among the most pervasive policy instruments has been the public funding of industrial research and development (R&D). In the context of globalization, one of the fundamental challenges involved in this development strategy is the realization of innovation.

Whereas states aim for the 'fruits' of R&D (i.e., jobs, taxes, exports, and skill and knowledge creation) to remain local, profit-oriented firms seek to appropriate the benefits of innovation by relocating certain business functions to places where they are more economically beneficial. How states can overcome this conflict of interest has yet to be fully addressed. Particularly lacking is an understanding of the institutional mechanisms that work to address such challenges. Further absent is an appreciation of the social forces that underpin these key institutions, as well as the political dynamics that are responsible for their transformation over time.

Using the crucial case of Israel's highly successful rapid-innovation-based development strategy, and drawing on original archival materials and semi-structured interview, I advance three main arguments: (1) effective R&D policies depend on the state's capacity to condition its assistance, as well as discipline firms that do not adhere to specific stipulations. In Israel, firms enjoyed ownership over the knowledge that resulted from state-funded R&D, but they were obligated to manufacture locally and prohibited from transferring the intellectual property (IP) beyond the state's borders; (2) The successes of this policy regime depended on the political support it received from domestic socio-economic forces and; (3) Its eventual demise was a result of significant changes that occurred within this coalition. In Israel, the original support of these policies came from an emerging social alliance of local finance, leading industrial conglomerates, and entrepreneurial scientists. Yet, this support deteriorated over time with the appearance of a new actor, the Venture Capital (VC) industry, which held distinctly different policy preferences and mobilized effectively to erode the key pillars of Israel's R&D policy.

Dror Markus (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; dror.markus@huji.ac.il),
"Parliamentary Committees in the 'Age of Information'"

As opposed to previous research on informational functions of committees that looked at policy results of members' motivations when attempting to measure information collection, I utilize machine learning techniques to open the 'black box' of actual committee deliberations to explore the collection of external information based on the discussions themselves. I find that deliberations in the 'Age of Information' are longer and more focused on specific topics, yet delve into less depth than those from the past. This challenges the traditional classification of 'entropic' and 'expert' information by Baumgartner and Jones (2015).

Additionally, such findings help to understand the place of the committees in the present information-processing of legislators.

Katrin Pakizer (Ph.D. Candidate, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, Switzerland; katrin.pakizer@usys.ethz.ch), "*Let's Go Modular: Governance Conditions for Implementing Alternative Water Systems*"

Urban water systems are increasingly confronted with climate change, population growth, and urbanization. The traditionally large and centralized systems, which often consist of outdated technology and ageing infrastructures, typically lack the flexibility to adapt to this fast changing environment. Despite the existence of technological alternatives in the form of decentralized systems, many countries continue to rely on tried-and-true solutions. One reason for this is that conventional decentralized solutions are considered as too expensive, performing poorly and hard to regulate. However, modular water systems promise of overcoming these shortcomings, as modular technologies can entail highly effective membrane-based systems with low-cost automation and remote monitoring. Nevertheless, their implementation remains limited, suggesting that developing new technology is not enough for successfully implementing alternative structures.

The existence of supporting policies and governance structures play an equally important role for the introduction of modular systems. On the one hand, it entails adopting the current regulatory framework and management structures. On the other hand, supporting policies also have to find a way to integrate modular systems into the existing landscape, creating so-called hybrid systems. Despite the understanding that governance is important for the successful introduction of alternative technology, there is little insight into its processes and conditions.

The goal of this paper is therefore to identify alternative governance arrangements and model the complex causality of conditions that are relevant for overcoming path dependencies in the context of implementing modular systems. Through a preliminary analysis, we identified five conditions of governance that seem essential for the occurrence of the desired outcome. We will apply Qualitative Comparative Analysis to analyze these conditions in case-studies selected from an extensive literature review. Specifically, we will test whether national state involvement, public ownership, regulatory instruments, horizontal accountability, and user participation are sufficient or necessary conditions for the desired outcome.

Ido Sivan-Sevilla (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, ido.sivan@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Regulatory of Risk-Regulation: A Comparative Analysis of U.S. Cyber Risk-Regulation Regimes*"

This paper asks how and why different risk-regulatory models are developed? Based on an original data set (N=42) of U.S. policy documents, federal legislation, administrative rules, executive orders, self-regulatory arrangements, and public-private partnerships that govern cyber risks in the private sector between 1996 and 2018, this paper identifies three regulatory models of cyber risk-regulation in the private sector: (1) Critical infrastructures are governed through models of co-regulation with shared governance structures and risk-governance responsibilities between the private and public sectors; (2) Health and financial service providers are regulated through command and control models of state-regulation in which rule-making, monitoring, and enforcement are carried almost exclusively by the state; and (3)

'Non-critical' sectors, which represent the greater digital economy, adopt self-regulation models through collaboration between and within industries based on voluntary adoption of standards that are partially enforced by government agencies.

This variance in risk-regulation models is explained by the role of private-sector expertise in designing cyber risk-regulation, institutional regulatory norms across market sectors, and the influence of private interests on the decision-making process. By tracing the evolution of cyber risk-regulatory regimes and bringing together literature on risk and regulatory governance, this paper takes us one step closer to understanding the politics behind the design of risk-regulation for digital technologies.

TP13: "Europe after the Crises?" [1000-1230]

Prof. Sharon Pardo, Ben-Gurion University; pardos@bgu.ac.il; Dr. Sara Kahn-Nisser, Open University of Israel; sarabethkn@gmail.com

Laura Valeria Gheorghiu (Ph.D. Candidate, Karl Franzens Universitaet Graz, Austria; lauravgheorghiu@yahoo.com), *"Europe – Not Yet before the Crisis"*

It is way too early to talk about "after the crisis" in Europe, since in my opinion, crisis not yet about to start. Why is that the case?

In methodological terms, speaking "after" comes once the subject acknowledges the problem and looks for remedies. That is not necessarily the case in Europe today. Moreover, in sociological terms, it is not something similar to a psychological crisis that has to be treated in due time, including an "after" promise.

In qualitative terms, there are several unanswered questions that should be addressed: 1) What is the identity crisis of the EU? This could have been placed into brackets should the Cristian element would have been incorporated in the European Charter. But it is not, and Europe is not really Christian. It is already a mix of hard-to-define influences, including "the good Christian," "the just Christian", and "the perfect Christian."; (2) What is the crisis of political identity? The notions of nation, federalism, Constitutionalism, and sovereignty are all under the question mark; (3) What is the post-Cold War crisis? What to do about Russia? How to accommodate Central and Eastern Europe within the Western narrative? "Equal standing" means that some have to offer the remedy and the others simply have to swallow?; (4) What if the "Western Narrative" is just another narrative?; and (5) What to do about the leadership crisis?

Any crisis is resolved by a committed leader finding and having the power to implement solutions. Up to now, it seems to me, Europe has no idea what kind of crisis it is in. Europe has a leadership not yet prepared to change some deep irregularities; it is not clear whither Europe.

Thus, we should start by trying to identify the crisonergic issues and "create" the picture of the entire disease. Then will come the remedies and only after that, the "after" stage. We are now too far from that time.

Rotem Medzini (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; rmedzini@gmail.com), *"European Data Protection Officers as Regulatory Intermediaries between Public and Transnational Private Regulation"*

The role regulatory intermediaries hold within regulatory regimes increasingly attracts theoretical and empirical attention (Abbot, Levi-Faur, and Snidal 2017a, 2017b). This paper focuses on the emergence of European data protection officers (DPOs) as regulatory intermediaries and asks how and why do rule-makers and rule-takers rely on them. Using process tracing, I find that whereas an 'old' regime considers DPOs as an exemption to the extensive notification scheme that empowered data protection supervisory authorities (DPAs) over processing operations, the 'new' regime mandates the designation of DPOs within broad categories of regulated public and private bodies for monitoring and guidance on implementation.

This finding aligns with functional and supranationalism hypotheses to explain that the Commission choose DPOs as a functional solution for compliance in the context of informational capitalism. However, due to European-level political pressures, DPOs' institutional design and consequential regulation are softer than initially planned. This public decision to rely on DPOs institutionalized them as the leading regulatory intermediaries carrying with them transnational private regulation capacities.

Annie Niessen (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Liège, Belgium; annie.niessen@uliege.be), *"The EU Institutions' Interpretations of the States' Europeanness: Discourse and Relevance in Light of the Recent Internal Events"*

According to Article 49 of the Treaty on the European Union, a state wishing to join the EU must be "European." In other words, European 'identity', or Europeanness, is the first requirement for a state to be considered eligible for EU membership. Although written into EU law since the Treaty of Rome (Article 237 Section 1), the qualifier "European" has never been explicitly or institutionally defined, despite the fact that it may encompass geographical, cultural, historical or else political references. Yet, the EEC/EU institutions have had to interpret the states' Europeanness, especially in the course of enlargements and membership applications.

Building on a textual and discursive analysis of recent documents and older records held in the Historical Archives of the EU in Florence, this paper investigates and analyzes the various institutional interpretations that have been provided by the EEC/EU institutions by focusing on specific (formal and informal) requests that raised eligibility issues. Building on these interpretations, it then discusses the potential enlargement perspectives, as well as the relevance of these interpretations that may be jeopardized by the recent internal events that the EU has to handle, such as Britain's withdrawal from the EU or the democratic issues in some eastern countries.

Gianluca Piccolino (Ph.D. Candidate, Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies, Italy; g.piccolino@sssup.it), **Davide Angelucci**, dangelucci89@gmail.com; and **Maria Sessa**, *"You Populist! Drivers and Targets of the Term 'Populism' in Western Europe"*

Unprecedented events such as Brexit and the Trump election have led to an impressive growth of references to populism, both in academic and public debates. On the one hand, this inflation signals how pervasive and relevant the populist tide has become in contemporary political systems; on the other hand, it has potentially expanded the 'populist arena' (i.e., the political actors that are alternatively labelled as populist). However, although the concept of populism is theoretically well grounded in academic literature, it is still unclear how the use of this term has developed in the public debate over time.

From this perspective, two research questions stand out as particularly relevant. First, whether and to what extent the attributes conferred to populism have evolved over the past decades (what we call here the tone of populism, potentially implying either more positive or negative stances). Second, whether or not the populist arena has expanded over time (i.e., the number of political actors labelled as populist).

To answer these questions, this study investigates the populist evolution in four Western European countries directly affected by the populist wave (i.e., France, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom). To this scope, the paper relies on an original dataset derived from the coding of a sample of newspaper articles containing references to populism for the last five national electoral campaigns in each country. Simple univariate and bivariate statistics are finally used in combination with regression analyses to assess which factors might drive the potential transformative processes of populism in public discourse.

The paper intends to contribute to scientific research on populism by shedding some deeper light on the meanings attributed to populism by the political-media debate and consequently transmitted to public opinion.

Vered Porzycki (MA, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; vered.porzycki@mail.huji.ac.il),
"The Influence of Target Audience on Populist Parties' Speeches"

During the last decades, the power of European populist parties has grown; a development that has affected both party systems and traditional party identification. This research discusses how right-wing populist parties shape their image, using speeches and targeting different audiences. Thus, my first hypothesis is that European populist parties exhibit their features, such as being anti-establishment, anti-elite and representing the people, in speeches. This question allows us to examine how parties construct their speeches for different target audiences. My second hypothesis is that in order to achieve their agenda, right-wing populist politicians shape their speeches according to their target audience.

I examine these hypotheses using content analysis of populist parties' speeches – a research tool that enables us to examine both the politicians' personal agenda and the party's agenda. Hence, this question will help us to comprehend whether the populist parties' characteristics are being manifested in their discourse, through speeches. I have reached two conclusions. First, populist parties are not fully demonstrating all their characteristics in speeches. Rather, they only display some of them according to their target audience. Moreover, speeches are indeed constructed according to different target audiences – speeches in front of the parliament will present the politicians' and the party's agenda and will aim to change public policies. However, speeches, which are addressed to the general public, will aim to persuade their audience and getting electoral support.

Tal Rippa (Ph.D. Candidate, Ben-Gurion University; rippat@post.bgu.ac.il), "'A Supranational-National Day': 'Europe Day' as a Soft Power Agent in EaP Countries: The Case of Georgia"

In May 2018, more than twenty thousand people gathered in Rike Park in the city of Tbilisi, Georgia, to celebrate 'Europe Day,' the day of European Unity. 'Europe Day' marks the anniversary of the Schuman Declaration, which established the Coal and Steel Community on May 9th, 1950, and in 2004 it became an official symbol of the European Union (EU).

Since 2014, Georgia publicly celebrates this state-like political ritual. Not being part of the EU, this statement by the Georgian people and government was not theoretically addressed until now. As rituals had always been a reflection of the society's values and thoughts, academic literature of national days. Thus, through Joseph Nye's prism of attraction and affiliation, my research will deepen the discourse on 'Europe Day' as part of the process of creating European citizens outside of the EU. By doing so, the political relations between 'Europe Day' and European identity will be properly addressed for the first time.

The paper presents preliminary findings analyzed as part of a large-scale research being held on numerous Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries (Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) that aims at unbundling the sui generis and unintuitive phenomenon of a secular political ritual being celebrated outside its original political borders. By trying to identify the EU as a 'soft power' in the international sphere, this research will shed light on the overlooked aspect of the EU as a global actor.

TP14: “Secularization, Religion, and Public Life” [1400-1730]

Prof. Guy Ben-Porat, Ben-Gurion University; gbp@bgu.ac.il; Prof. Yagil Levy, The Open University; yagil.levy@gmail.com

Lilach Ben Zvi (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Haifa; lilach.benzvi@gmail.com), *"Religion and the Modern State: Between the Private, the Public, and the Political"*

The discourse regarding the relationship between religion and state could be viewed as an attempt to answer the question: where exactly is the line? Where does religion belong, in essence and in practice, in the modern state? How can its existence not harm the essence of an ideologically pluralistic state? Is it possible for religion to help shape the civil contract and help form the political institutions? These issues can be described as boundary issues; i.e., where one does create the boundary between the private and the public spheres regarding the place of religion, and the sphere in which religion has a place is.

I would like to challenge the current thought regarding this separation of spheres, as well as to challenge several axioms regarding the place and role of religion in the modern state. I will do so by using the terminology of Yeshayahu Leibowitz's philosophy.

Leibowitz, one of the great supporters of the separation between religion and state in the State of Israel, presents an approach that challenges the discourse when he differentiates between what is public and what is political; therefore creating three spheres instead of two: the private, the public, and the political.

I argue that this differentiation of spheres redraws the lines regarding the place of religion in the modern state, and in itself stands at the heart of the struggle. In other words, the relationship between the religious and the political, according to Leibowitz, is a constant conflict of values; that is, essentially a struggle about the existence of the public sphere as separate from the political and the private.

Using Leibowitz's discourse, I will suggest a new perspective on the relationship between religion and the state, assessing the chances for these two constructs to co-exist side by side in the modern world.

Asli Elitsoy (Ph.D. Candidate, Bilkent University, Turkey; aslielitsoy@bilkent.edu.tr), *"Civil Friday Prayers: A Kurdish Challenge to the Religious Political Power in Turkey"*

The Presidency of Religious Affairs (hereafter Diyanet) in Turkey is a state institution that controls and regulates religious affairs throughout the country since its founding in 1924. Promoting only the Sunni version of Islam, the content of the weekly Friday sermons is drafted and circulated by the Diyanet and recited by the imams in state-run mosques all over the country. Between 2011 and 2013, a pro-Kurdish religious association established by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) started to organize civil Friday prayers as part of a civil disobedience project in which the prayers were held in city squares instead of state-owned mosques and the sermons were preached in Kurdish by the Kurdish imams. Civil Friday prayers were not just a communal worship, but a significant collective political action revealing the religious dimension of an intractable ethnic conflict and the power struggle in the religious domain in an ethnically divided society.

The aim of this study is to investigate civil Friday prayers between 2011 and 2013 and to what extent they challenged the Diyanet's religious hegemony in the Kurdish provinces of Turkey. The main source of the Kurdish problem in Turkey is the exclusion of the Kurdish identity and the lack of recognition of Kurdish cultural rights. Therefore, this study aims to reveal the power struggle in the religious domain in an ethnically divided society.

Qualitative textual analysis of Turkish and Kurdish sermons will be employed in this study as the main methodological tool. The primary resources of this study will be the sermons that were delivered by the Diyanet and semi-structured interviews with the Kurdish imans who preached outside the state-owned mosques.

Shirley LePenne (MA, Tel-Aviv University; shirleylepene@gmail.com), "*One State, One People – One Secularism? Understanding Secularism in Tunisia*"

In the wake of the Arab Spring, secularism has returned to the heart of Tunisian public discourse, once monopolized and authorized only by the state. And in the interplay between the state, the secular, and the religious, one ingredient that has gone missing for a while – the people – has been brought back on stage, turning from a non-state actor into a state-inherent one. The reentry of the people into the public sphere evinced that without *a* people there can be no state, let alone a secular one.

However, when the Jasmine Revolution resulted in the election of an Islamic party, Ennahda, nominated during the first democratic elections held at the aftermath of the revolution, scholars and politicians voiced their concerns about the future of secularism in Tunisia. Was Ennahda's ascendance for the better or the worst? How does the nomination of an Islamic party affect our understanding of Tunisia's secularism, if at all? In this context of changes and frustrations, is secularism sustainable?

To answer these questions, I will use Saba Mahmood's theory from *Religious Difference in a Secular Age*. Proposing an alternative narrative of secularism, Mahmood defines secularism not merely as the idea of separation of state and church, but as a statecraft ideology whose aim is to interfere into the realm of the religious to manipulate and control it. Defining secularism as a "universal project" and claiming that there is only *one* secularism, Mahmood's theory may fit, but also be challenged by, the Tunisian case – the country having often juggled between statehood and statism.

Eran Tzidkiyahu (Ph.D. Candidate, Sciences Po Paris, France; tsidky1@gmail.com), "*Modern 'Pseudo Academic' National-Religious Polemics*"

Famous inter-religious polemics between Judaism, Christianity and Islam took place throughout the Middle Ages. In those debates, it was common to use manipulatively the other religion's scriptures. For example, scholars used Jewish writings to prove the truthfulness of their religion, be it Christianity or Islam. Jewish scholars, on their part, in their polemics with Muslims at the time, used to highlight contradictions in the Quran in order to prove it wrong, thus proving the truthfulness of Judaism. Such selective and manipulative use of the other's scriptures was not aimed at convincing members of the other religion (the religion whose scriptures were being quoted), but rather to convince members of one's own religion of the rightfulness of their path.

Contemporary religious-nationalist scholars use similar polemic methods to prove the authenticity of their own side and refute that of their rivals. In the Israeli-Palestinian sphere, like possibly elsewhere, the discussion over national-religious identities is not strictly theoretical, it is a lively debate constantly present in the public sphere.

In the Israeli-Palestinian context, contemporary debates on the sanctity of Jerusalem's Holy Esplanade, for example, or on Israeli and Palestinian national authenticity, echo these age-old inter-religious polemics. Self-proclamation alongside negation of the other side is used by popular Muslim-Palestinian and Israeli-Jewish preachers and intellectuals, based on national-religious polemic readings of the other's traditions, shaping common knowledge and influencing policies.

In this paper, I wish to discuss the work of two Israeli Jewish national-religious influential public intellectuals, Assaf Malach and Mordechai Kedar, both from Bar Ilan University, who use pseudo academic discourse as a vector for national-religious polemics.

TP15: “International Political Economy” [100-1230]

Dr. Arie Krampf, The Academic College of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo; arie.krampf@gmail.com; Dr. Lior Herman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; lior.herman@gmail.com

Ornit Avidar (Ph.D. Candidate, Ben-Gurion University; ornit@water-ws.com), "*A Regional Analysis of Sustainable Access to Clean Water in Siaya County, Kenya*"

In 2018, 325 million people do not have access to clean water in Sub-Saharan Africa. Water scarcity and lack of access to water have been researched extensively, but the existing research largely focuses on two levels: broad country-wide analyses, or narrowly-focused examinations of piecemeal individual water projects. While each perspective is highly significant, there is a middle-ground perspective that is missing that can give a comprehensive view not detached from the population.

Very few studies have adopted a regional perspective that considers the historical, political, economic and social reasons behind the uneven access to clean water in Africa. The research will first map out existing inequalities with regard to access to water in Siaya (an undertaking of value in and of itself), and then provide an explanation for the current situation that considers the multi-level influences (international, national, regional, and local) and the linkages between them.

Given the devolution process in 2010 in Kenya, the timing of the proposed research seems especially apt, as the country is now at the forefront of policy development and all the layers and ramifications from different levels can be examined. Through a close examination of four water schemes in Siaya, my research will evaluate the extent to which each has been sustainable and then draw a comparison between the schemes in order to underscore the complexities and multiple aspects that come into play in determining sustainable access across the region.

The comparison will highlight the need for a broad and multifaceted view of the current water crisis that moves beyond piecemeal investigations and isolated conclusions. The intention of this dissertation is to improve the understanding of how sustainable access to water is linked to broader economic, social, political, historical and other factors within a geographic area and how the population is affected.

Hila Levi (Ph.D. Candidate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, hila.levi@gmail.com), "*The Economy is Too Important to Leave It to the Economists': An Organizational Cultural Perspective on the Euro Crisis Management*"

The European Union (EU) is founded on the normative values of democracy and human rights. Surprisingly, however, the protection of human rights has been significantly restricted in the austerity programs ordered by the International Monetary Fund (INF), the European Central Bank (ECB), and the European Commission (EC) (often labelled "the Troika"). The Troika designed and negotiated bailout packages with the crisis-countries in order to provide them with financial aid and to stabilize the euro-area. While acting in liaison with other institutions, the ECB played a crucial role in the design of the bailout packages, and therefore this work puts the ECB at the center of analysis.

This paper argues that ECB officials made no significant effort to protect human rights or strike an adequate balance between competing financial and human rights needs while coping with the crisis. ECB officials were preoccupied with the need to stabilize the economy and prevent a collapse of the Eurozone, and paid only marginal attention to human rights' concerns in the design and implementation of Troika's programs.

Numerous interviews with high-ranking officials and staff members of the ECB emphasize that cultural characteristics are vital for understanding the marginal attention paid by the ECB to human rights during the Eurozone crisis. Taken-for-granted assumptions, basic beliefs, ideas and norms shared by members of the ECB – determined how the Bank's members perceived their task in the course of the crisis, interpreted the crisis and its causes, approached various strategies to cope with it, and reacted to its environment.

Pedro Perfeito da Silva (Ph.D. Candidate, Central European University, Hungary; Perfeito_Pedro@phd.ceu.edu), "*The Political Economy of Capital Controls: A Comparison between the New Welfare Economics and the Development Approach*"

This paper discusses the implications of two theories that advocated the reregulation of cross-border financial flows after the 2007 Global Financial Crisis – the New Welfare Economics and the Development Approach – for the topic of economic development. Besides policy prescriptions, these theories are compared around underlying ideas, class-based interests, and international alliances in order to understand the different agendas regarding global governance, policy instruments, and policy objectives.

After that, for illustrative purposes, the paper presents data on the level of capital controls and financial integration and it discusses briefly the recent capital account policies in Brazil and China. The paper also discusses how different theories of development framed the issue of capital mobility during the Bretton Woods and the globalization orders.

Takahiro Suzuki (Ph.D. Candidate, Doshisha University, Japan; suzukitakahiro1984@gmail.com), "*Partial Integration or Total Segregation? The Collapse of Subsistence Economy and the 'Native Problem'*"

Mamdani argues that all the colonial states had to face a 'native problem'. To strengthen colonial power, they introduced indirect rule. They rationalized it so that those natural ethnic

groups could develop their own national life in their territory. It had been done in the language of cultural difference and cosmopolitan tolerance.

In South Africa, there had always been always two camps in white politics. There had been an oscillation between partial integration; that is, admitting orderly African urbanization and becoming urban proletariat, and total segregation, specifically regarding all the Africans as temporal migrants from their "homelands." In the 1922 and 1948 general elections, white electorate chose the latter. However, with the collapse of subsistence economy in the homelands, and deepening crisis in the homelands and urban African townships, including the South African economy itself, South Africa had to face unavoidable *apartheid* and labor utilization reform.

Turning the analysis to the territory of the former Mandate of Palestine, there also has existed a "native problem." There has also been the collapse of subsistence economies among the two Palestinian Arab groups. It was Harold Wolpe who argued for super-exploitation under a circulating migration system before the collapse of subsistence economy in the reserves and connected the collapse to the formation of *apartheid*. Though his explanation was corrected later by some articles based on positive analyses, collapse of subsistence economy must be considered as an important reason behind a shift in institutional segregation in conjunction with national economy and politics.

This paper aims to examine the transition processes and results concerning the two Palestinian Arab communities in the two territories; namely, de jure and de facto Israeli territory. It attempts to analyze them from a political economy's point of view, the differences in the demands and qualities of labor and their relationship with the Israeli economy and politics.