



האוניברסיטה  
העברית  
בירושלים  
THE HEBREW  
UNIVERSITY  
of JERUSALEM

**THE LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**ACADEMIC REPORT 2020-2021**



המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים ע"ש לאונרד דייוויס  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations  
معهد ليونارد ديفيس للعلاقات الدولية



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## ABOUT THE DAVIS INSTITUTE

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations was established in 1972 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, thanks to the generosity of Leonard and Sophie Davis. It is part of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

The Institute provides an independent platform for the research, teaching, and discussion of international relations in general and Israeli diplomacy and foreign policy in particular. In an age of globalization, the Institute endeavors to broaden the Israeli public's horizons by acquainting it with the reality of Israeli foreign policy and the global system within which it operates.

### Three main aims guide the Institute:

- To promote research of international relations from a broad interdisciplinary perspective, drawing on knowledge from a range of academic fields;
- To acquaint the general public with key issues in international politics and Israeli foreign policy and encourage their debate;
- To make the knowledge and expertise of the Institute's scholars regarding matters of security and foreign affairs, available and accessible to the relevant elements in Israeli government institutions.

The Institute also advances research of foreign affairs, diplomacy, international law and institutions, security studies, and negotiation and conflict resolution.

The Institute contributes generously to scholarships and grants in an effort to promote scholarship concerning international studies. The Institute manages research projects and organizes public events, including international conferences, workshops, and seminars. It also hosts researchers from Israel and abroad and facilitates research groups, such as those focusing on energy and geopolitics, cyber and security, and the future of Jerusalem.

The Institute awards the annual David Carmon Prize for outstanding work in International Relations, the Middle East, and Israel's security. It also publishes the periodical "Politika", a Hebrew-language Journal of Political Science and International Relations.

The Institute established the **Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution and Peace**, a forum focusing on the links between gender, conflict, and peace. Its remit includes the role of women in conflict and conflict resolution, the peace process, and the use of gender research approaches for understanding and resolving conflicts.

The Institute's graduate training track, known as the **Davis Graduate School of International Relations (TELEM IR - DGSIR)**, is the product of cooperation between the Department of International Relations and the Davis Institute for International Relations. This prestigious track, which offers combined M.A. and Ph.D. studies, can be completed in five years while providing research students financial security in the framework of a high-achieving and challenging scholarly environment.

# GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF

## THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

**Prof. Asher Cohen**, Chairman of the Board of Trustees and President of the Hebrew University

**Prof. Barak Medina**, Rector, Hebrew University

**Prof. Re'em Sari**, Vice-President and Chairman for Research and Development, Hebrew University

**Mr. Yossi Gal**, Vice-President for External Relations, Hebrew University

**Prof. Tamir Sheaffer**, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University

**Prof. Dan Miodownik**, Director, Leonard Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

**Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan**, Chair of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

## THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

**Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan**, Chair of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

**Prof. Tamir Sheaffer**, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University

**Prof. Dan Miodownik**, Director, Leonard Davis Institute and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

**Prof. Berta Levavi-Sivan**, Vice Rector, Hebrew University

**Prof. Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi**, Head of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University

**Prof. Yoram Haftel**, Chair, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

**Prof. Guy Harpaz**, Faculty of Law and the Department of International Relations Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University

**Dr. Or Rabinowitz-Batz**, Department of International Relations

## STAFF OF THE LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE

**Mr. Chanoch Wolpe**, Administrative Director, Research Centers Unit

**Ms. Ori Dror**, Coordinator, Research Centers Unit



## FROM THE DIRECTOR

I am happy to submit the academic report 2020-2021. The report reflects the extensive activities of The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. Despite the limitations imposed due to the worldwide pandemic, we maintained an active and vibrant research agenda. In the following pages you will find information about our excellent research staff, talented students and post-doctoral trainees, the various research groups we host in the institute, and symposia we held during the year.

I became the institute's academic director in 2015, and this is my sixth and last report that I submit to you before stepping down and transferring the responsibility for this amazing enterprise to my friend and colleague Dr. Galia Press Barnatan. These have been six creative and productive years in which we promoted the institute's agenda within and beyond the scope of the university. It has been quite a journey.

Many people accompanied me on this journey, too many to mention here.

I would like to thank the members of the board, all the members of the academic committee and the people that served as committee chairs throughout this period: Prof. Tomer Broude, Prof. Oren Barak and Dr. Galia Press Barnatan; the directors of The Davis Graduate School Prof. Yoram Haftel, Dr. Galia Press Barnatan and Dr. Devorah Manekin; Dr. Tal Nitsan who has been very skillfully leading the Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peace. I am also grateful to the dedicated and punctilious work of the Institute's Administrative Director, Mr. Chanoch Wolpe, and Ms. Michal Barak.

Last but not least, I would like to convey my deepest gratitude to Mr. Alan Davis and Ms. Mary Lou Dauray for their ongoing support for this important academic endeavor.

I wish you an enjoyable read.

**Prof. Dan Miodownik**

Political Science & International Relations

Director, The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

## PEOPLE



**DIRECTOR:**  
**PROF. DAN MIODOWNIK**

Dan Miodownik, the Director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, associate professor in the departments of Political Science and International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His research examines the emergence, unfolding and regulation of anti-regime mobilization, protest behavior, ethnic polarization, and civil wars. He has a strong interest in computational modeling and geographic information systems. He also teaches both graduate and undergraduate classes on ethnic mobilization, civil wars, and interstate conflicts: violence and regulation, introduction to political science, honors workshop, social movements, and research methods.

## POST- DOCTORAL FELLOWS



**DR. ROB GEIST PINFOLD**

Rob Geist Pinfold is a Leonard Davis Post-Doctoral Fellow in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a Research Fellow in the Department of War Studies, King's College London and the National Security Studies Centre at the University of Haifa, as well as a Senior Fellow at the Herzl Center for Israel Studies at Charles University Prague. Rob holds a Ph.D. in War Studies from King's College London. His research intersects strategy and territorial conflict and his publications include articles in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *The Journal of Strategic Studies* and *Mediterranean Politics*. He also jointly edited a book, *Understanding Israel: Political, Societal and Security Challenges*, which was published by Routledge in 2019. Currently, Rob teaches courses at King's College London and Charles University Prague.



**DR. JONATHAN GROSSMAN**

Jonathan Grossman is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. His research interests include diaspora politics, the use of digital tools and big data in evidence-based research, social science methodology, and diplomatic history. In 2018, he earned his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University for his dissertation "Israel, Brazil, and the Jewish Diaspora: 1964–1975." Between 2017 and 2019, he was a visiting lecturer and post-doctoral fellow at the University of Texas at Austin, where he worked at the Department of Government, the Institute for Israel Studies, and the Schusterman Center for Jewish Studies. As a Davis Institute Post-Doctoral Fellow, he studies, among other things, the state of transparency and replicability in political science and archival research in the information era.



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## POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS: THE SOPHIE DAVIS FORUM ON GENDER, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE

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DR. NOA LEVY

Noa Levy is a Sophie Davis Post-Doctoral Fellow on Gender, Conflict Resolution and Peace at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. Her Ph.D. thesis on unaccompanied child and youth migration focused on regional mobility from Zimbabwe to the South African borderland, and investigated conceptualizations of childhood, youth and migration. She is currently working on emerging femininities and masculinities among unaccompanied migrating youth. Noa is teaching at the Department of Multidisciplinary Studies at Tel Hai Academic College.

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## RESEARCH FELLOWS

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DR. DANIEL F. WAJNER

Daniel F. Wajner is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also teaches in the Department of International Relations and Rothberg International School of the Hebrew University, while serving as the General-Secretary of the Israeli Association for International Studies (IAIS). His academic articles have been published in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, *Regional & Federal Studies*, and *Latin American Research Review*. His main areas of research and teaching include legitimacy studies, conflict resolution, regional cooperation, and populist foreign and security policies, particularly focusing on their interplay in the realm of Middle East and Latin American politics.

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DR. LIOR LEHRS

Lior Lehms is a Research Fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations and The Harry S. Truman Research Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From September 2016 to September 2018 he was an Israel Institute Postdoctoral Fellow at the Taub Center for Israel Studies at New York University. Lior wrote his doctoral dissertation, "Private Peace Entrepreneurs in Conflict Resolution Processes," in the department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His research topics include theory and history of conflict resolution, negotiation, mediation and unofficial diplomacy and he deals with various conflict areas such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Northern Ireland, the Cold War and the Balkans. He is also a Fellow at **Mitvim** - The Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies, and he was a researcher at the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, where he focused on the topic of Jerusalem within Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, the neighborhoods in East Jerusalem and conflicts in holy sites.

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**DR. TAL NITSÁN**

Tal Nitsán is a feminist scholar critically examining socio-cultural, global and local perspectives on the intersections between gender, violence, and law and society. Her interdisciplinary projects navigate between three main research sites: Israel/Palestine, Guatemala, and North America. Her research on transnational women's human rights discourse in theory and practice offers a comparative perspective on the role of dignity and diversity in promoting social justice in Guatemala and Israel. Tal is the Academic Coordinator of the Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution and Peace.

**DR. LIMOR REGEV**

Limor Regev completed her Ph.D. in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem after 15 years in the College of Management Academic Studies, where she taught and was Head of the Academic Opportunity Program and a member of the Academic Board. Following her doctoral research on implications of territorial withdrawals in Israel, she completed a second M.A. in Conflict Resolution. Her last position was as a research intern in INSS – Institute for National Security Studies. Her research deals with Territorial Withdrawals, Conflict Resolution, International Mediation, Israeli Threat Perception.

**DR. AMNON SOFRIN**

Brig. General (Retired) Amnon Sofrin has a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. His M.A. in Political Science & Security Studies is from Haifa University and his B.A. in Political Science is from Tel Aviv University. BG (ret.) Sofrin is a director at MTI wireless company and a member of the advisory board of 4D group. Prior to his Ph.D. studies, he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) from 1973 to 2003. He served as the CO of the Combat Intelligence & Reconnaissance School, as the G-2 of Israel's Central Territorial Command, as the head of the Tasking Division within Israel's Military Intelligence, and finally as Chief Combat Intelligence Corps. After retiring from the IDF, BG (ret.) Sofrin served as Head of Intelligence Directorate of Israel's Secret Service until 2008.

## DAVIS GRADUATE SCHOOL

**DR. DEVORAH MANEKIN**

Head of The Davis Graduate School of International Relations (TELEM IR).

Areas of research: political violence, conflict processes, and post-conflict transition and reconstruction, with a focus on the Middle East.



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## M.A. STUDENTS

### FIRST YEAR

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RONI BERKOVICH



MEITAL VAINER



SHIRLY LUKIN

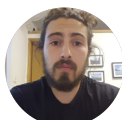
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### SECOND YEAR

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AVRAHAM SWISA



AMIT LEIBSON



IDAN DORON



LEE AMRAM-EILAT



ABIR GITLIN



YUVAL PELEG

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## PH.D. STUDENTS

### FIRST YEAR

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BAR NADEL

Research interests: International political economy, with emphasis on trade policy. I investigate the effects of individual-level trade preferences over policy outcomes. I also research the impact of media content on trade preferences, and how various interest groups communicate their messages to different publics.

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RON DOITCH

Research interests: The political theology of modern Islamist groups, strategic culture in Islam and the Middle East, rationality and decision making, the international relations of the Middle East.

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TOM ZIV

Research interests: Religion and international relations, Israeli diplomacy and the relations between Israel and the Evangelical world.

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DANIEL SEGAL

Research interests: Critical security studies, social theorizing of coalition making; ontological security, homophily and heterophily in IR; securitization strategies and discourse analysis.

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YONI BRANDER

Research interests: International relations theory; security studies; diplomatic history; American foreign policy; origins of major wars; the Middle East; relationship between ideology and material power; proliferation and military technology; deterrence theory; religion and IR; sports and IR; American and Jewish history.

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## SECOND YEAR

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**YULIA ARPORT**

Research interests: international political economy, geopolitics of energy, sanctions, political aspects of foreign investments.

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**INBAR PINCU**

Research interests: Globalization; popular culture, queer rights and disability rights in IR; Why do each of these groups (queer and disabled people) experience social oppression and similar problems worldwide?

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**OFEK RIEMER**

Research interests: coercion and deterrence; strategic communications and information & psychological warfare; strategic culture; Middle Eastern studies. Ofek is currently writing on the public uses of intelligence for strategies of deterrence and coercion.

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**JASON AARON SILVERMAN**

Research interests: Diaspora politics; diasporas and national movements; diaspora-state relations; negotiation processes in conflicts.

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**INBAR NOY**

Research interests: Discourse and textual analysis in International Relations, interstate friendship, and international norms. Her dissertation's main topic is the social construction of peace and the representation of peace in political discourse.

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## THIRD YEAR

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**MORR LINK**

Research interests: international political economy, international organizations and the global investment regime, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, and the contestation of the international liberal order. Her dissertation explores the positions and attitudes of MENA countries towards the global investment regime using quantitative and qualitative methods.

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**DAN ERAN**

Research interests: International political economy, international relations theory and computational social science. More specifically, Dan focuses his research on the effects of international institutions on countries' expectations and reputations.

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**ENAV BIRNBAUM**

Research interests: Critical security studies, ethnic conflicts and micro politics. More specifically, she employs a variety of methods to examine the ways in which street names in Jerusalem have reflected a social and political agenda since the establishment of Israel.

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## FOURTH YEAR

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**NEAL TSUR**

Research interests: Timing of civil unrest, tipping points, prediction, complex systems, socio-physics modeling, ABM simulations, NLP Machine Learning and Deep Learning methodology, Big Data.

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**DAPHNE INBAR**

Research interests include: Critical security studies, international practice theory, resistance and political agency in IR. Her dissertation focuses on national security whistleblowers. More specifically, she is interested in the transnational politics involved in the practice and process of these whistleblowers 'unauthorized disclosure'.



**NAAMA LUTZ**

Research interests: The international processes of "naming and shaming" and the actors and mechanisms involved, looking specifically at the interaction between states and transnational advocacy networks.

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#### FIFTH YEAR

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**JONATHAN ARIEL**

Research interests: International and regional cooperation through institutions. In particular, institutional design, international trade, and energy regionalism. His geographic focus is the European Union but also includes to a lesser extent Sub-Saharan Africa and North America for comparative purposes.



**REMI DANIEL**

Research interests: Relations between Turkey and Israel (between 1960 and 1980 for the thesis, but also other periods). Additional research interests are: International relations in the Middle East, Turkish political history and foreign policy, linkage politics, nationalist movements, Quebec studies.



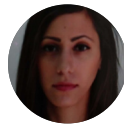
**JONNY S. ESSA**

Ph.D. Thesis Title: The Role of Armed Forces Autonomy during the Arab Spring. Jordan, Syria and Egypt in a Comparative and Historical Perspective. Additional Research interests: Contemporary Middle Eastern military history, conflict processes (ethno-political conflict and civil wars); the state, society and security in the Middle East.

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#### SIXTH YEAR

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**NETA STRUNIN-KREMER**

Cyber conceptualization and an examination of the effect of the cyber domain and the interaction that occurs in it by various international actors.

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#### RECENT GRADUATE

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**DR. HILA LEVI**

Her dissertation examined the role of organizational culture in explaining the marginal attention paid to social concerns in the austerity measures prescribed in response to the Eurozone crisis (2009–12).

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#### SHORT TERM RESEARCH FELLOWS

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**DR. AMIT SHENIAK**

Cyber-security policy coordinator of the Israeli Ministry of Defense political military directorate, and a consultant to Israel's National Cyber Directorate (INCD).



**DR. DAN SAGIR**

Researcher and lecturer on the topic of Israeli nuclear deterrence and its impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East.

# PROJECTS

## Davis Graduate School of International Relations

The 2020/21 academic year was the fifth year of the Davis Graduate School of International Relations. DGSIR welcomed three new students (a fourth student withdrew shortly after acceptance, due to personal circumstances). The academic year took place in the shadow of the Covid-19 pandemic, which for much of the year involved remote learning and fewer in-person interactions. Nevertheless, we were able to continue our programming even if via a different format.

We began the academic year with an orientation day for our new students and a separate online social event for all the program students. This event was part of our effort to maintain social connection within our DGSIR community, in the context of two lockdowns and the isolation that they caused.

Throughout the year, students continued to take classes (now moved online), to advance their own research agendas, and to serve as Teaching and Research Assistants. Though they were unable to travel abroad for methodological training as in past years, several students applied for and received DGSIR research funding for international training programs that now took place on Zoom. Though travel was impossible, the pandemic provided opportunities for guest lecturers from abroad to more easily speak in graduate classes or in seminars, so that students continued to have exposure to cutting-edge international research. In addition, several of our doctoral students presented their work at national and international conferences, with four presenting at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting. We are proud that a number of our students won highly competitive fellowships and grants this year: one student received a prestigious Presidential Scholarship from the university, and another received the selective Mandel Fellowship for Outstanding Doctoral Students. In addition, three students received internal grant funding for research projects.

DGSIR Ph.D. students attended biweekly doctoral workshops to present their own developing work as well as meet various faculty members in the department for professional development. They addressed issues such as working with an adviser, writing grant proposals and presenting at conferences. They also participated in the biweekly Davis Institute workshop showcasing the work of our postdoctoral students. DGSIR M.A. students managed a demanding course load while also providing increased mentoring to undergraduates whom they TA'd, who were also substantially affected by the crisis.

In the spring semester we were fortunate to enjoy a brief period where face to face meetings became possible. Several students returned to the campus workspaces and were able to work together in person. A number of doctoral workshop meetings were moved on campus and conducted in hybrid format, to accommodate those students who preferred to present in person. Finally, we used this time to organize a successful social event to mark the end of a challenging year.

In the coming academic year, we plan to further develop the DGSIR intellectual community. We have admitted a new cohort of three outstanding students, who will be meeting soon for an orientation. In addition, six students will be taking Comprehensive Exams in the fall, after which they will proceed to the Ph.D. stage.



## The Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution and Peace

The Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution and Peace annual activity (2020-2021) was impacted by the Covid-19 social distancing protocol. All activities were planned and held through zoom, which facilitated participation of scholars from varied institutions and locations, yet was limited to existing networks and mailing lists.

Overall, the forum engaged in four main endeavors:

1. Engaging IR B.A. students with the topic of Gender and Conflict. The goal is to introduce them to the topic and encourage them to ask related questions within their course work.
  - a. **Around the (IR) World in 80 min** (29.10.2020) An opening event for the academic year with the standup comedian, activist and IR graduate Noam Shuster-Eliassi.
  - b. **An Experts Panel on Women Warriors** (13.1.2021): Prof. Ayelet Harel-Shalev (Ben Gurion University), Prof. Edna Lomski-Feder (The Hebrew University), Prof. Orna Sasson-Levi (Bar Ilan University), Tom Gal (Forum Dvorah), organized in collaboration with the International Relations B.A. program (as a special event for the Introduction class).
  - c. **(2W) Wartime Sexual Crimes** [canceled due to elections (23.3.2021) and then tech issues (6.4.2021)]: A guest lecture for the course IR in the 20th Century.
2. Training students interested in the topic:
  - a. A specialist Master's course: **Weaving Truth(s): Commissions, Victims and Witnesses from Gender and Participatory Perspectives** (29.11–10.12.2021). Delivered by international scholar and activist, Dr. Arancha Garcia del Soto, it was organized as a combination of lectures and workshops. We aimed to offer a particularly exciting and inspiring learning experience, that would invite and allow M.A. students from various disciplines to explore questions related to gender and conflict resolutions.
  - b. A Bachelor's course: **International Relations International Law & Conflict Resolution through a Gendered Perspective** (Term 2), Delivered by Dr. Hadas Cohen.
3. Engaging IR Faculty with the topic of Gender and Conflict
  - **Exploring Feminist Security Studies: Key Interventions and Insights** (26.5.2021). A guest lecture delivered by Professor Annick T.R. Wibben, Gender, Peace & Security, the Swedish Defence University, The IR seminar series.
4. Engaging with the activist, general and feminist communities
  - a. **War Known: A Formal Launch of the *Politika* Special Issue on Gender and Conflict Resolution** (18.11.2020). Featured as part of **Civil Society Celebrates 20 Years to Resolution 1325**.
  - b. **Dignifying Testimonies: A Workshop** (13.12.2020). Delivered by international scholar activist, Dr. Arancha Garcia del Soto, offered to civil society activists and young scholars (regardless of university affiliation).
  - c. **Women at the International Level** (7.3.2021). International women's day special episode, the Davis Institute Podcast, with Prof. Orit Kedar, Prof. Galia Golan and Dr. Tal Nitsán.
  - d. Feminist Security Studies - mini lecture series:
    - Doing Feminist Security Studies: On Temporary Resting Points and Reflexive Practices**, Prof. Annick T.R. Wibben, Gender, Peace & Security, the Swedish Defence University. (27.5.2021)
    - Studying Weapons in Israel**, Dr. Sarai Aharoni, Ben Gurion University of the Negev (10.6.2021)
    - Feminist Security Studies and the case of Women as Violent State Actors**, Prof. Ayelet Harel-Shalev, Ben Gurion University of the Negev. (17.6.2021)

## The Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Model UN society

The Model UN Society at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HujiMUN) consists of Hebrew University students who have an interest in International Relations and Diplomacy and wish to gain experience in this field alongside their studies. This year the society's members are students from a variety of fields including international relations, pharmacy, political science, law, psychology and Middle Eastern studies, to name a few.

HujiMUN has been working with the support of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations since 2016 and receives its budget and logistical support from the Institute. This partnership has had a significant influence on the growth and success of the society. During the academic year, HujiMUN meets once a week. Even during these difficult times of the Covid-19 virus, we have continued to have our weekly meetings online with the help of the Davis Institute. Some meetings were held with the hybrid method, depending on preferences of the students. Throughout these weekly meetings we give our members the opportunity to develop skills in the areas of public speaking, debating, negotiating, reading, and writing formal documents in English, diplomacy, and more. There have also been online and in-person simulations to simulate the activities taught during sessions in tandem with other universities.

Sessions largely focused on the strategy of the Model UN itself as well as current events surrounding the UN, English proficiency, public speaking, and debate theory and methods. This was done with the assistance of revered guest speakers such as a representative from the Polish Delegation to Israel and a senior member of the US Military representation in NATO.

This year, we had to stay flexible and alter our activities according to Covid-19 policies. We have turned to innovative ways of engaging our participants while also involving our alumni. Despite the ongoing challenges, over the past year we have succeeded in hosting guest speakers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United States Embassy in Jerusalem. We have also attended a national Model UN conference and simulation, during which we represented the Hebrew University. The society won two best delegate awards and two honorable delegate awards during the conference. While we hope that the situation surrounding the pandemic will be resolved soon, our society members are actively involved in the planning and organization of an additional, national Model UN simulation and conference to be held in the coming months, as well as an international conference to be hosted at the Hebrew University in October. We also regularly represent the Hebrew University at the Board of Directors of the Israeli Model UN Association, a registered non-profit organization.





## Research Groups

### THE DAVIS INDEX

**Prof. Tamir Sheaffer, Prof. Shaul Shenhav, Ms. Vered Porzycki, Mr. Dror Markus and Mr. Guy Mor**

The “Davis index” aims to represent international media attention on the Israeli-Arab conflict and relations, focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The index aggregates a list of general categories, such as “Middle East Conflicts” and “Israel and the Arab world”; as well as specific categories, such as “Palestinian organizations”, “the BDS movement”, and interventions by specific governments or international institutions. The method incorporates topic models for its unsupervised component and deep learning for its supervised component. Both stages take the context into account, while focusing on the sentence as the desired unit of analysis. The result is a multi-label text classification method - attributing multiple topics to each sentence.

Throughout 2020-2021, we produced two types of reports. The first is an extended report for the year 2020, and the second is a three-month report that demonstrates the changes in the media during these three months. We are currently developing an interactive site for the index, where the users can conduct their own search and analysis of the data.

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### FROM STUXNET TO ISIS: EXPLORING CYBER-CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE-EAST

**Dr. Amit Sheniak, Dr. Daniel Sobelman and Dr. Yehonatan Abramson**

Governments around the world—whether in Western democratic countries or otherwise—are today coming to grips with the manner in which cyber-attacks are impacting their national security and vital interests. Cyber-related abilities are associated with a number of core security issues, including in areas of direct relevance to the conflict in the Middle East and the research agendas surrounding it. These include such topics as the competition for regional dominance and hegemony, and the stability of local autocratic regimes. However, cyber-conflicts in the Middle East have yet to receive proper attention in the social sciences. To date, no substantial academic attempts have been made to analyze the normative dimensions, the local discourses or the motivations of the primary Middle Eastern actors in the cyber domain. Moreover, no academic or scientific database currently exists, which records the policy decisions, laws, statements and actions that were made in the Middle East with respect to the cyber domain. Similarly absent are any studies of local statements, interviews and publications regarding cyber conflicts in the Middle East. Whatever research does exist tends to analyze the regional cyber conflict from a Western perspective.

Against this background, in May 2018, we established a research group whose aim is to explore the effects that cyber conflicts and cyber weapons have had on the forging of national security policy and politics in the Middle East. The group seeks to highlight the different effects of cyber conflicts in various regional settings. The researchers in the group bring to the table a range of relevant expertise, from cyber-attacks and the effect of cybersecurity on national security policy in general, to experts of different Middle-Eastern test-cases equipped with the necessary local language proficiencies (Arabic, Farsi, Hebrew, and Turkish).

The group’s overarching goal is to establish a database, comprised of qualitative analyses with the capacity to identify trends that would add to the emerging study of cyber-conflicts in general, and shed light on cyber-conflicts in the Middle East, including their regional and international ramifications. We believe that the study of cyber-conflicts holds the potential to improve our understanding of recent regional instability and its implications for deterrence, national coercion abilities, international involvement and security regimes. This database would enable us to narrow the gap between the existing research on cyber-security and the academic research on the regional implications of cyber-conflicts in the Middle East.



During the current academic year (2020–2021), we have made progress on various fronts. First, following a series of meetings that included presentations of specific research proposals, we have designed methodological guidelines for the identification, collection, classification, and archiving of the data. Second, as a collective, we provided feedback on each other's research projects and identified synergies and points of contact between distinct research projects. Finally, we have begun the process of data collection, particularly in Arabic and Farsi, with the assistance of several RAs. The generous support from the Polonsky Foundation, the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, and the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace was crucial in the progress we have made.

Specifically, we hired several research assistants fluent in various languages to scan media outlets, government statements, and institutional reports in Middle Eastern countries. The findings of one research project, focusing on the ways states manage their image following a cyber-attack, were presented at the International Studies Association – Northeast in November 2020. Two other projects, regarding the effect of cybersecurity on Iranian security policy and about different Middle-Eastern cases in which cyber means were used to disclose intelligence information, will be presented at the next annual ISA 2022 international conference.

Our plans for the next academic year (2021–2022) are as follows:

1. To continue and enhance data-collection in Arabic and Farsi and to start data-collection in the Turkish language.
2. To systematize the classification and archiving of our data based on the lessons we learn in the process of collection.
3. To present initial findings and intermediate conclusions at international conferences as well in an international research seminar at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
4. To submit between one and three prepared manuscripts for a peer-reviewed journal.
5. Based on our progress during 2021–2022, we intend to apply for additional research grants to expand our database, by systematically translating all relevant written materials from Middle-Eastern languages concerning cyber-security policy and cyber-attacks in the last 25 years.

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## RESEARCH AND POLICY GROUP: ISRAEL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

**Dr. Daniel Wajner, Dr. Roei Kibrik and Dr. Aviad Rubin**

The research and policy group “Israel in the Mediterranean Basin” is a project established by the Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University, the *Mitvim* Institute and the National Security Institute at the University of Haifa. The directors of the group are Dr. Roei Kibrik, on behalf of Mitvim, Dr. Aviad Rubin, on behalf of Haifa University, and Dr. Daniel Wajner, on behalf of the Davis Institute. Within the thirty participants are leading researchers in the field, former MKs, former Ambassadors and officials of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, trade union officials, among others.

The group's rationale lies in the current development of political, economic, security and social processes in the Mediterranean basin, which have drawn increasing attention from regional powers and states. The political, economic and social developments in the Mediterranean are ongoing and constantly evolving, and new economic opportunities and geopolitical developments are contributing to this trend and are turning the region into a central tenet of Israel's foreign policy. Together with regional alliances and bilateral relations that Israel is advancing in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Israeli public has also begun to perceive the area as a new space for regional belonging. The region's consolidation offers many opportunities and challenges for Israel and is accompanied by both cooperation and struggles over the region's desired characteristics, the regional institutions that should be established, common values, geographic boundaries, and each member state's role and political power.



To assess possible developments, identify opportunities and challenges, and thus discover the necessary political actions, it is first necessary to understand the arena and identify trends, processes, different issues at stake, and active players and their various interests. To this end, this group attempts to better understand the Mediterranean arena and Israel's place therein, to formulate guidelines and policy recommendations, and to promote political dialogue with various regional actors. More specifically, we focused on geo-political processes in the Mediterranean basin (changing relations between the countries of the region and the involvement of international powers in it); Israel's foreign policy towards the Mediterranean; the impact of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the reality in Gaza on the Mediterranean; how Mediterranean countries can help one another in promoting conflict resolution; the institutionalization of regional relations; as well as common opportunities and challenges in the area of democracy, energy, refugees, law, regulation and the environment.

The research and policy group held five additional meetings in the past year. The meetings focused on the activities of global and regional powers in the Eastern Mediterranean, energy and environmental issues, the impact of the coronavirus epidemic, conflicts and collaborations, and questions of identity and norms. The summaries that were released portray a perspective of what is currently happening in the Mediterranean, the opportunities and challenges facing Israel, as well as a reference to the guiding principles and recommended courses of action for Israeli foreign policy.

Likewise, following the meetings, the Cluster published a report, which summarizes the first series of meetings of the research and policy group in 2019-2020 and presents the key insights that emerged throughout it. The report can be accessed through the following link:

<https://mitvim.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/English-Israel-and-the-Mediterranean-A-New-Space-for-Regional-Belonging-May-2021.pdf>

The group's meetings:

This year, the group meetings revolved around a number of major issues related to their research. Among the topics:

- The activity of the countries in the area of the Mediterranean and Israel's policy towards them
- Great power activity in the Mediterranean and Israel's policy towards them
- Israel and energy in the Mediterranean
- Israel and environmental policy in the Mediterranean
- Israel and Covid-19 in the Mediterranean
- Israel and the conflicts east of the Mediterranean
- Israel policy in the eastern Mediterranean

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## THE GEOPOLITICS AND ENERGY RESEARCH GROUP (GERG)

**Dr. Lior Herman**

The Geopolitics and Energy Research Group (GERG) mission is to promote and advance research on the interrelations between energy, politics and geopolitics in various directions and from a multidisciplinary perspective. Led by Dr. Lior Herman, GERG brings together scholars at different stages of their academic careers and from several disciplines, ranging from international relations and geography to communication studies and conflict resolution research. GERG provides a platform for discussion, research, and analysis to advance energy geopolitics studies and acts as a conduit for developing research grants promoting further research. It serves as a forum facilitating a professional network among Israeli and international scholars and professionals working in this field. The group conducted extensive research activities, published academic articles, engaged in international research collaborations, and provided pro-bono advice to the Israel 100 initiatives during the past year.

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## NEW RESEARCH GROUP: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ACTORS TO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

Leonard Davis Institute and *Mitvim* Institute formed a new research group that focuses on the potential role, and contribution, of various actors to Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking and peacebuilding. The project combines theory and practice, research and policy, and wishes to draw lessons from the history of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, as well as peace processes in other conflict areas. At the beginning of the project, we published a call for papers and selected a group of 12 scholars from diverse disciplines and backgrounds. The proposed studies analyzes the role of actors such as religious leaders, women, businesses, prisoners, and environmental organizations. In the first stage, during May-June 2021, the group held two study sessions: In the first meeting we discussed the theoretical framework of the project, and in the second meeting we heard from guest speakers who were involved in the practice of peacemaking. The group members submitted drafts of the papers at the end of August and after a process of review and revision, the final papers will be published in Hebrew and English starting in October 2021. During the first semester of next year (October 2021-January 2022) we will organize a series of round tables in which the papers will be presented and we will also invite experts and practitioners to take part in the discussions. Some of the papers of the project will be selected to become academic articles for a special issue of the journal *Politika*.



# ACTIVITIES

## Conferences and Workshops Organized or Co-Sponsored by the Institute

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### OSIRAK 40 YEARS LATER: HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE RAID

June 1, 2021

A conference of the Wilson Center and Davis Institute, to mark the 40th anniversary of Operation Opera, also known as the Osirak air raid. The conference brought together scholars from around the world (including US, Europe, Israel, and the former Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister for Energy Affairs, Dr. Hussain Al-Shahristani) to discuss the event and its long-felt consequences.

The conference explored the nature of the event as it unfolded, the Reagan administration's reaction from Washington, the forces at play that led to the Israeli decision, and, in a roundtable discussion, the consequences and implications that linger to this day.

## Prizes

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### THE ANNUAL CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY

May 19, 2021

The Carmon Prize is awarded in recognition of an outstanding M.A. or Ph.D. thesis on Israel's security policy in the Middle East.

**Jingjie He** was awarded the Carmon Prize for outstanding research work on: "China's Military lessons from the 1973 Arab-Israeli War".

## Lectures & Colloquia

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### DAVIS RESEARCHERS' SEMINAR

**November 25, 2020**      **Dr. Amnon Sofrin**

"The Decision-making Process on Unilateral Disengagements in Israel: Israel's withdrawal to the 'Security Zone' in Lebanon (1985), the Disengagement from Lebanon (2000) and the Disengagement from Gaza Strip (2005)"

**December 9, 2020**      **Hila Levi**

"Examining the European Central Bank's Marginal Attention to Human Rights Concerns during the Eurozone Crisis through the Lens of Organizational Culture"

**December 23, 2020**      **Dr. Jonathan Grossman**

"Cite the Good Cite: Why Citation Practices in Political Science Need to Change"

**January 6, 2021**      **Dr. Tal Nitsán**

"I Survived, I'm Here, I'm Alive: Breaking the Silence and/as a claim for Dignity and Respect"

**January 13, 2021**      **Dr. Rob Geist Pinfold**

"Occupation, Withdrawal and Annexation in International Politics: Insights from Israel"

**April 28, 2021**      **Noam Brenner**

"Leadership Development as Discovery in Divided Cities: The Role of Spatial Aspects in Leaders' Narratives"

**May 12, 2021**      **Dr. Limor Regev**

"The consequences of territorial withdrawals in Israel"

**May 26, 2021**      **Dr. Amit Sheniak**

"Cyber Intermediaries: Private Entities Involvement in National and International Cyber-Security Policy"

**June 9, 2021**      **Dr. Kerstin Tomiak**

"After Genocide: How the Yazidi Perceive the Responsibility to Protect and the Actions of the International Community"

**June 23, 2021**      **Dr. Hadas Cohen**

"The politics of the edge- Treason as a site for constructing differential citizenship"



## PUBLICATIONS

### *POLITIKA* (IN HEBREW)

*Politika* is a digital peer-reviewed journal of Israeli Political Science, Public Policy and International Relations, which addresses timely issues affecting both Israel and the world. The journal has been revitalized, with a new editorial board, an upgraded website, and a new concept of producing more special issues on various topics.

### ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS OF POST-DOCS, FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF THE DAVIS INSTITUTE:

Freedman, Michael. 2020. "Religious Authority and Political Instability in Israel," *MENA Politics Newsletter*, 3(1), 27-29.

Greene, T., "Judeo-Christian Civilizationism: Challenging common European foreign policy in the Israeli-Palestinian arena". *Mediterranean Politics* 26(4), 2021.

Grossman, Jonathan. "Dupla lealdade como 'dupla recompensa': a visita do presidente Zelman Shazar ao Brasil como estudo de caso da tríplice relação – Israel, Brasil e a diáspora judaica." In *Judeus no Brasil: história e historiografia. Ensaios em homenagem a Nachman Falbel*, edited by Anat Falbel, Avraham Milgram, and Fabio Koifman, translated by Avraham Milgram, 297–312. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2021.

Grossman, Jonathan. "Cite the Good Cite: How to Make Political Science Citation Norms More Transparent." *PS: Political Science & Politics* (Forthcoming).

Haftel, Yoram, Daniel F. Wajner, & Dan Eran; "The Short and Long(er) of It: The Effect of Hard Times on Regional Institutionalization," *International Studies Quarterly* (forthcoming 2021).

Kacowicz, Arie M., Exequiel Lacowsky & Daniel F. Wajner, "Soft Borders and the Incursion of Malign Non-State Actors in the Americas", *Latin American Research Review* 55:4 (forthcoming 2020).

Kacowicz, Arie M. & Daniel F. Wajner, "Alternative World Orders in an Age of Globalization: Latin American Scenarios and Responses". In *Latin America in Global International Relations*, eds. Amitav Acharya and Diana Tussie (Routledge, forthcoming 2020).

Kacowicz, Arie M. , Exequiel Lacowsky, & Daniel F. Wajner, "Israel-Latin American Relations: What Has Changed in the Last Decade and Why". In *Extra-hemispheric powers in Latin America*, ed. Gian-Luca Gardini (Routledge, forthcoming 2020).

Karell, Daniel and Michael Freedman. 2020. "Sociocultural Mechanisms of Conflict: Combining Topic and Stochastic Actor-Oriented Models in an Analysis of Afghanistan, 1979-2001" *Poetics*, 78.

Lehrs, Lior, "The Road Not Taken': The Amirav–Husseini Peace Initiative of 1987," *Middle East Journal* 74:1 (Spring 2000), 72-94.

Lehrs, Lior. "Give Peace a Plan: Peace Plans as Diplomatic Tools and Textual Agents in Conflict Areas," *International Studies Quarterly* 65:1 (2021), 238-249.

Lehrs, Lior. "Conflict and Cooperation in the Age of COVID-19: Israel-Palestine as a Case Study," *International Affairs* (Forthcoming).

גרוסמן, יונתן. 2021. "נשיא ישראל כנשיא עם ישראל: ביקור הנשיא זלמן שזר בברזיל ביולי 1966 ויחסי ישראל, ברזיל והתפוצה היהודית." פוליטיקה

ניצן, טל (2020), יודעות וידועות מלחמה: היבטים מגדריים של סכסוכים מזוינים, פוליטיקה, 28: 1-19.

Wajner, Daniel F., "Populism and Legitimacy: Exploring the International Legitimation Strategies of Contemporary Populist Governments", In *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Consequences and Mitigation*, edited by Nina Wiesehomeier, Kirk Hawkins, and Angelos Chrysosgelos (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2021).



האוניברסיטה  
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המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים ע"ש לאונרד דיוויס  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations  
معهد ليونارد ديفيس للعلاقات الدولية