פרחי מחקר

The 13th International Graduate Conference

In Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy

In Memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin

Conference Program

הכנס הבינלאומי השלושה עשר

לתלמידי מחקר במדע המדינה, יחסים בינלאומיים ומדיניות ציבורית

על שם יצחק רבין ז"ל

13-14 December 2017

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

http://gradcon.huji.ac.il

The 13th 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 13-14, 2017

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 International Conferences' Committee, Division for Research and Development, Hebrew University

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

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Department of Communications, Hebrew University

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

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Dr. Ronen Mandelkern, Tel-Aviv University.

Wednesday, December 13, 2017

Maiersdorf Faculty Club

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

1000-1230: Methodological workshops (morning session)

1030-1200: Roundtable Panel with international scholars on *"The Relevance of Border Studies and Geopolitics in the Age of Globalization"* [Maiersdorf 501]

1230-1400: Lunch with Faculty guests (*"Once Upon a Time I was a graduate student"*) [Maiersdorf 405]

1400-1800: Methodological workshops (afternoon session)

Thursday, December 14, 2017

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

0920-0945: Formal opening of the Conference and welcome remarks: Prof. Barak Medina, Rector, Hebrew University; Prof. Limor Shifman, Deputy Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University; Prof. Dan Miodnownik, Director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University; Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Academic Convenor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University. [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 "*Bridging the Gap between Academia and the (Real) World of Politics*" with Faculty guests. [Maiersdorf 405]

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

List of Workshops and Workshop Abstracts

Wednesday, December 13, 2017

Methodological Workshops [for registered students only]

WM1: *"Non-Experimental Methods for Causal Inference"*

Maiersdorf # 502; 1000-1230, 1400-1800

Prof. Gizem Arikan Şekercioğlu, Yasar University, Izmir, Turkey; E-mail: gizem.arikan@yasar.edu.tr

WM2: *"Experimental Methods in Political Science and Public Policy Research"*

Maiersdorf # 403; 1000-1230, 1400-1800

Dr. Sebastian Jilke, Rutgers University, NJ, USA; E-mail: Sebastian.jilke@rutgers.edu

Dr. Israel Waismel-Manor, University of Haifa; E-mail: wisrael@poli.haifa.ac.il

WM3: *"Mixed-Methods Approaches for Analyzing Media Narratives"*

Maiersdorf # 404; 1400-1800

Dr. Christian Baden, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: c.baden@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Keren Tenenbom-Weinblatt, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: keren.tw@mail.huji.ac.il

WM4: *"Political Discourse Analysis"*

Maiersdorf # 405; 0900-1200; 1530-1800

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: zohar29@zahav.net.il

Prof. Shaul R. Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: shaul.shenhav@mail.huji.ac.il

WM5: *"Security! What Do You Mean? Understanding the Role of Discourse in Contemporary Security Studies"*

Maiersdorf # 404, 1000-1230

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

WM6: *"Social Network Analysis: Concepts and Applications" - Social Network Analysis: Concepts and Applications*

Maiersdorf # 505, 1400-1800

Prof. Ilan Talmud, University of Haifa; E-mail: talmud@soc.haifa.ac.il

WP1: Research Workshop on: *"Consensus/Dissensus in Political Thought"*

Maiersdorf # 504, 1000-1230

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

Dr. Efraim Podoksik, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: podoksik@mail.huji.ac.il.

Dr. Naveh Frumer, Tel-Aviv University; e-mail: nfrumer@post.tau.ac.il.

W2: Roundtable Panel with International Scholars on *"The Relevance of Border Studies and Geopolitics in the Age of Globalization",* Maiersdorf # 501, 1030-1200. [open to non-registered students] [Co-sponsored by the Department of International Relations and the Israeli Association of International Studies]

Chair: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Participants: Prof. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, University of Victoria, BC, Canada; Prof. Richard Schofield, Kings' College, London, UK; and Prof. James W. Scott, University of Eastern Finland, Finland.

Lunch and Discussion: *"Once Upon a Time I Was a Graduate Student"*

Maiersdorf # 405, 1230-1400

Chair: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Participants:

Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, University of California, Irvine.

Prof. Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University.

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto.

Thursday, December 14, 2017

Research (Paper) Workshops: [open to non-registered students, based on availability]

TP3: *"Conceptual Analysis in Political Theory"*

Maiersdorf # 505, 100-1230

Dr. Wael Abu-'Ulsa, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: wael-a@gmx.com

Prof. Dan Avnon, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: dan.avnon@mail.huji.ac.il

TP4: *"Arms Control and Disarmament in the Middle East"*

Room to be announced (Social Sciences 5327), 1000-1230

Dr. Eitan Barak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: eitan.barak@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Emily Landau, INSS, Tel-Aviv' E-mail: emily@inss.org

TP5: *"Man, State, or Waltz?"*

Maiersdorf # 505, 1400-1730

Dr. Carmela Lutmar, University of Haifa; E-mail: lutmarc@yahoo.com

Dr. Ariel Kabiri, Western Galilee College and University of Haifa; E-mail: ariel.kabiri@gmail.com

TP6: *"Global Change: Re-ordering or De-ordering?"*

Maiersdorf # 403, 1400-1730

Prof. Charles A. Kupchan, Georgetown University, Washington, DC: E-mail: kupchanc@georgetown.edu

Prof. Piki Ish-Shalom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: piki.ish-shalom@mail.huji.ac.il

TP7: *"Multiple Identities in World Politics"*

Maiersdorf # 404, 100-1230, 1400-1730

Dr. Odelia Oshri, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: odeliaoshri@gmail.com

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

TP8: *"The Political Economy of International Institutions in a Changing World"*

Maiersdorf # 505, 1400-1730

Prof. Yoram Z. Haftel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: yoram.haftel@gmail.com

Prof. Asif Efrat, Herzlya Interdisciplinary Center (IDC); E-mail: asif@idc.ac.il

TP9: *"Non-State Actors in Global Politics: Benign and Malign"*

Maiersdorf # 405, 1000-1230, 1400-1730

Prof. Janice Gros-Stein, University of Toronto, Canada; E-mail: j.stein@utoronto.ca

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: galia.press-barnathan@mail.huji.ac.il

TP10: *"Political Communication, Participation, and the Idea of Deliberative Democracy"*

Maiersdorf # 501, 1000-1230, 1400-1730

Prof. Gonen Dori-Hacohen, University of Massachusetts, USA; E-mail: gonen@comm.umass.edu

Dr. Idit Manosevitch, Netanya Academic College; E-mail: manosevitch@gmail.com

TP11: *"Political Violence"*

Maiersdorf # 502, 1000-1230, 1400-1730

Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, University of California, Irvine, USA; E-mail: kopstein@uci.edu

Dr. Devorah Manekin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: d.manekin@mail.huji.ac.il

TP12: *"Regulation, Governance, and Neo-Liberalism"*

Maiersdorf # 503, 1000-1230, 1400-1730

Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: davidlevifaur@gmail.com

TP13: *"Law, Politics, and Society"*

Maiersdorf # 403, 1000-1230

Prof. Malcolm Feeley, University of California, Berkeley; E-mail:
mfeeley@law.berkeley.edu

TP14: "*Identity, Space, and Place in the Israeli and Jewish Context."*

Maiersdorf # 504, 1000-1230

Prof. Ilan Zvi Baron, Durham University. E-mail: ilan.baron@durham.ac.uk

Best Paper Award Ceremony, Chair: Dr. Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University

Roundtable on *"Bridging the Gap between Academia and the (Real) World of Politics."*

Maiersdorf #405, 1800-1930

Chair: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Participants:

Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, University of California, Irvine.

Prof. Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University.

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto.

Abstracts and Short Bios of the Faculty Leading the Workshops

WM1 - "*Non-Experimental Methods for Causal Inference*"

Prof. Gizem Arikan Şekercioğlu, Yasar University, Izmir, Turkey

Social scientists have been increasingly concerned with establishing the causality of relationships between their variables of interest, rather than just associations. Randomized experiments are generally regarded to be the gold standard for establishing causality. However, many causes of interest to political scientists are difficult, impractical, or unethical to manipulate experimentally. A number of methods have been proposed to establish causal inference using observational data for situations where experimental manipulations are not possible or desired. This workshop intends to survey some of these non-experimental methods. After a brief discussion of causality and causal inference, we move on to talk about the concept of as-if randomization and natural experiments, regression continuity designs, instrumental variables, and matching methods. We will examine some of the key works in the political science literature that utilize such methods and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Students are also expected to come up with their own research questions so that we can brainstorm about the possible methods that can be utilized to establish causal inference.

The language of the workshop will be in English. Students who will take the workshop will be asked to familiarize themselves with the articles posted on the syllabus.

Prof. Gizem Arikan is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Yasar University, Izmir, Turkey. She studies comparative political behavior and political psychology with a focus on religiosity, values, attitudes towards democracy, and preferences for redistribution and social welfare. Her work has appeared in journals such as *American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Political Behavior*, and *International Journal of Public Opinion Research.* She is also the winner of Turkish Academy of Sciences 2015 Young Scientist Outstanding Achievement Award (GEBIP) and Science Academy's Young Scientist Award 2016.

Website: http://gizemarikan.com/ ; E-mail: gizem.arikan@yasar.edu.tr

WM2 - "*Experimental Methods in Political Science and Public Policy Research*"

Dr. Sebastian Jilke, Rutgers University

Dr. Israel Waismel-Manor, University of Haifa

How can experimental methods help us answer political and policy questions? Experimental methods are increasingly salient to Political Science, Public Policy and Public Administration research, making them an essential tool for all of us.

This workshop is intended to offer an introduction to the logic of experimental methods, and provide an opportunity to experience practical ways of addressing research questions with a variety of experimental methods.

We will begin by understanding the general defining characteristics of an experimental design, reviewing some recent studies in the field. Next, participants will present research questions or emerging experimental designs, and we will jointly develop and design experiments to address them and provide feedback for improving existing work-in-progress.

The workshop will consider the different types of experimental designs available, including laboratory, survey-embedded, field, and natural experiments, and assess various types of experimental treatments and measurements. The discussion will address their general characteristics, strengths and weakness, using substantive examples from the social sciences.

The workshop is intended for graduate and recent PhDs interested in political and social science, broadly defined. Participants are encouraged to present their work in order to receive feedback and advice concerning research design and future publication in major journals. The syllabus and further details relating to the workshop will be posted on the conference website. The number of participants is limited.

The workshop facilitators, Sebatian Jilke (Rutgers School of Public Affairs and Administration) and Israel Waismel-Manor (Haifa University School of Political Science) specialize in experimental research in the fields of Public Policy and Administration, and in Political Behavior and Political Communication, respectively.

Dr. Sebastian Jilke is Assistant Professor in the School of Public Affairs and Administration at Rutgers University-Newark, where he co-directs the Center for Experimental and Behavioral Public Administration. His interests include citizen-state interactions and equality in service provision, and his recent work examines how citizens and public officials respond to market-type mechanisms in service delivery. He is co-editor of *Experiments in Public Management Research: Challenges and Contributions* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Website: http://www.sebastianjilke.net/ ; E-mail: Sebastian.jilke@rutgers.edu

Dr. Israel Waismel-Manor is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Political Science at the University of Haifa. His research focuses on political attitude formation and its effects on voting behavior. His current projects explore the ways in which non-verbal communication, physiological stress, institutional settings and new media influence political preferences and behavior.

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WM3 - *"Mixed-Methods Approaches for Analyzing Media Narratives"*

Dr. Christian Badenand, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

News stories and other media contents play a central role in societies' ability to observe and make sense of themselves and their environment. However, the incremental, sequential, and intertextual organization of media narratives poses several challenges for analysis. In this workshop, we discuss analytic avenues for reconstructing and analyzing media narratives in their discursive context: Departing from an understanding of media texts as episodic continuations of prior discourse, we identify strategies for linking them to their intertextual contexts. Through different forms of comparison and aggregation, we shed light on the different ways in which media texts combine the presentation of novel claims and interpretations with the continuation of ongoing narratives and debates. The workshop makes reference to a wide range of methodological approaches, from discourse analytic, qualitative to quantitative, algorithmic perspectives. It raises important conceptual and analytic concerns and lays out suitable strategies for addressing these, emphasizing potentials for mixed-methods approaches and integrative analysis. The workshop includes a hands-on component, where different analytic tools and strategies will be demonstrated and practiced using media coverage of a current issue (to be determined).

Dr. Christian Baden is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His work focuses on the collaborative construction, resonance and over-time evolution of societally shared meaning in political controversy, crisis, and violent conflict. His publications include contributions to frame analysis, media discourse studies and automated text analysis.

Website: https://scholars.huji.ac.il/christianbaden/ ; E-mail: c.baden@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Journalism at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her work focuses on cultural and political dimensions of journalism from a comparative perspective, media and conflict, and the various intersections of media and time. Her publications include contributions to the study of media narratives, intertextuality, and journalistic transformation.

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<u>**WM4**</u> - *''Political Discourse Analysis''*

Prof. Zohar Kampf, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Shaul Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Political Discourse Analysis is essentially a Discourse Analysis of political talk and text. It shares with Discourse Analysis the same interdisciplinary vision, methodological principles, and analytical tools, but applies them on language produced in political contexts. Methodologically, Political Discourse scholars base their analysis on actual manifestations of talk and text, contextualizing them in time and space, relating them to political functions, and also evaluating them in light of critical theory.

This workshop aims to outline traditionally recognized and newly identified links between language and politics. After clarifying some conceptual ambiguities and elaborating the historical roots of political language research, the workshop surveys themes, actors, methods, data, and research goals of Political Discourse Analysis, based on key texts and the latest studies in the field. The second part of the workshop will be dedicated to the analysis of talk and text in political discourse, including political narratives, interviews, speech acts and other materials suggested by the participants. The workshop will be held in both Hebrew and English, depending on the participants' preferred language and the types of texts suggested for analysis.

Prof. Zohar Kampf, PhD 2007, is an Associate Professor and a scholar of language and communication at the Department of Communication and Journalism, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His main research interest lies in the multifaceted ties between media, language and politics. These linkages appear in his studies of public speech acts, mediated political interactions, and in his works on the language of peace and conflict. He is the author of 2 books and of more than 50 chapters and articles in leading communication and discourse journals.

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Prof. Shaul R. Shenhav is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His research interests include political narratives, political discourse, rhetoric, public diplomacy, and Israeli politics. Among his publications are articles for peer-reviewed journals like Comparative Political Studies, Discourse and Society, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Narrative Inquiry, Political Psychology, Political Communication, Israel affairs and Israel Studies. His book, Analyzing Social Narratives, has been published in 2015.

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; E-mail: shaul.shenhav@mail.huji.ac.il

WM5 - *"Security! What Do You Mean? Understanding the Role of Discourse in Contemporary Security Studies"*

Dr. Keren Sasson, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

It has been over fifteen years since Jeff Huysmans posed the question essential for ever student of security: "Security! What do you mean?" Several theoretical orientations have crystallized in response, confirming the observation that the exploration of the meaning of security is the security studies' agenda itself. Guided by the theoretical premise that security is as much about physical things as it is about words and conceptions, this methodological workshop aims at reflecting upon the role and contribution of discourse analysis to the complex study of our contemporary security realm.

After delineating and discussing the theoretical underpinnings of using language in studying security, this workshop will focus on discursive interactions as a valuable lens through which we can identify and scrutinize the social construction of security conceptions and practices, which ultimately guide and dictate the behavioral proclivities of actors in the security arena. By framing discourse as both reflecting and affecting reality, the workshop will be dedicated to tracing and mapping language, wording and rhetoric (within the wider frame of social and political communication), analyzing actors' use of language in security matters and exploring the strategies of verbal and no-verbal communication (of which discourse and the deliberate use of language are one) in securitization processes. By addressing the question of the value embedded in the use of language in the security realm, this workshop connects securitization as both a discourse and a practice within the political field. The second part of the workshop will be dedicated to practical implementation of discourse in security studies by surveying themes, research designs, data and methods, suggested by the participants.

Dr. Keren Sasson is a post-doctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her doctoral dissertation engaged with regional security order in the developing world (Middle East and Latin America), and her main research interests include political discourse, security studies, social constructivism and Third World Security.

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WM6 - *"Social Network Analysis: Concepts and Applications"* **Social Network Analysis: Concepts and Applications**

Prof. Ilan Talmud, University of Haifa

Over the last two decades, there has been a dramatic growth and progression in the use of network theory and analysis across social sciences. This workshop provides a conceptual and methodological overview of social network analysis. The workshop presents an analytical synopsis of the basic assumptions, concepts, goals, and explanatory mechanisms prevalent in the field. Modes of data gathering, and data analytic trade-offs will be discussed, as the ways in which the field is moving from static, cross-sectional design into dynamic designs.

Moreover, the workshop will surveys and demonstrates applications of network models to policy networks, political networks, international studies, social and political capital, historical analysis, online networks, community engagement, labor market research, and in inter-organizational relations.

Prof. Ilan Talmud, Ph.D. Columbia University, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Haifa, Israel. He specializes in economic and organizational sociology, social capital, network analysis, Internet studies, and online currencies.

E-mail: talmud@soc.haifa.ac.il

WP1 - *"Consensus/Dissensus in Political Thought"*

Dr. Nicole Hochner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Efraim Podoksik, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Naveh Frumer, Tel-Aviv University

Political liberalism is considered for some too idealistic or too naïve to address the challenges of a multi-cultural society and to cope with the divisions in society. Paradoxically, followers of Marx who saw in conflicts the essence of politics, often did not renounce the ultimate goal of harmony and concord either. The place of divergence and opposition, discord and internal struggle has been at the heart of political philosophy since Socrates. They are definitely omnipresent for Roman political thinkers, radically reimagined by Machiavelli and still pivotal in the most recent theories of Honneth, Mouffe or Rancière to quote but a few.

This workshop invites graduate and doctoral students to explore the nexus of consensus and dissensus in political theory. We will welcome a reconsideration of Ancient and Modern visions of dissensus, avoiding the too simplistic idea that until Machiavelli political thought celebrated the foundational principle of harmony and consensus (especially in the Roman political heritage) while (post)modern ideology praises dissensus.

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.

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Dr. Efraim Podoksik is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He specializes in political thought and the history of ideas – specifically of contemporary Germany and England—and in political theory, specifically on the concepts of freedom and nationalism.

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Dr. Naveh Frumer is a Lecturer in the International BA Program in Liberal Arts, Faculty of Humanities, Tel-Aviv University. At the center of his work is the concept of social justice, or

rather injustice. Aside from moral and political philosophy he is also interested in the philosophy of language, philosophy of history, and the relations between philosophy and social science.

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TP3 - _"Conceptual Analysis in Political Theory"_

Dr. Wael Abu-ʿUksa, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Dan Avnon, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A core activity of political analysis is the study of concepts and their clarification. Our workshop invites graduate students whose works apply conceptual inquiry in political theory to historical and contemporary problems to share their work with us. We envision a workshop that crosses languages (we study or supervise research that deals with Arabic, English and Hebrew concepts), and includes a diversity of methods and approaches to conceptual analyses.

We encourage potential participants to devote attention to explaining the approach, school of thought and/or methodology that informs their work. The range is truly broad: from analytic philosophy to Straussian "reading between the lines"; from philosophical hermeneutics to Marxian and neo-Marxian approaches; from Walzerian spheres of discourse to Foucauldian rationalities; from various schools of feminist theories to colonial studies, and any and many more. The point of our gathering is to get a sense of the current "state of the art" and to enable young scholars in our field to learn about relations between methodology and research in political theory in the works of their colleagues. The workshop will be held in both Hebrew and English, depending on the participants' preferred language and the types of texts suggested for analysis.

Dr. Wael Abu-ʿUksa is an expert in the history of political and religious ideas in the Middle East. Among his publications, _Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century_ (Cambridge University Press, 2016) and _Liberalism and Left in Arab Thought after_ 1990 (Davis Institute, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem). He is a lecturer in the Political Science department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a research fellow at The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace. He was a visiting postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, and a Polonsky postdoctoral fellow at the Van Leer Jerusalem institute.

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Prof. Dan Avnon is Leon Blum Chair in Political Science and Chair of the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His recent books include edited volumes about Jewish & Israeli Political Thought (2016), Civic Education in Israel (2013), The Thought of Martin Buber (2012), Plurality & Citizenship in Israel (2010) and essays in political thought. He was trained at UC Berkeley, influenced by "The Berkeley School" in general, and by Hanna Pitkin in particular. His current research includes attention to conceptual analysis on

the basis of work done by George Lakoff and additional scholars attuned to findings in cognitive linguistics.

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TP4 - *"Arms Control and Disarmament in the Middle East"*

Dr. Eitan Barak, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Emily Landau, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

A widely accepted truism in international relations is that "the problems of arms control in the Middle East are more complex than in any other region in the world" (The Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament, 169, 1992). Indeed, the region is characterized by several bitter conflicts, periodic warfare, escalating arms races, shifting alliances and general instability. These characteristics, complicated by the multitude of independent actors involved, have made any form of conflict amelioration, including arms control, extremely difficult to implement.

This workshop will therefore focus on implementing Arms Control and Disarmament – the theory and practice alike -- in the Middle East. We invite proposals that employ a variety of research strategies and methods to overcome the challenge of negotiating agreements in the realm of arms control, let alone disarmament, in this unstable region.

Dr. **Eitan Barak** is a researcher and lecturer at the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University as well as an Associate fellow at The Harry S. Truman Research Institute. Dr. Barak's fields of interest include arms control and disarmament (mainly in the Middle East), international security regimes, peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, and related Israel's foreign and defense policy. Within the International Law discipline his fields of interest are the law of arms control and the law of weaponry. Website: http://en.ir.huji.ac.il/people/eitan-barak; http://truman.huji.ac.il/people/eitan-barak ;

E-mail: eitan.barak@mail.huji.ac.il

Dr. Emily Landau is a senior research fellow at INSS and head of the Arms Control and Regional Security program at the Institute, leading its research, conference outreach, and mentorship projects. Dr. Landau has published and lectured extensively on nuclear proliferation, arms control, and regional security dynamics in the Middle East; and developments in global arms control thinking in the nuclear realm. She teaches in the executive MA program on Diplomacy and Security at Tel Aviv University, at IDC Herzliya, and the University of Haifa. Dr. Landau holds a PhD from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Website: http://www.inss.org.il/person/b-landauemily/ ; E-mail: emily@inss.org

TP5 - *"Foreign Policy Analysis – Man, State, or Waltz?"*

Dr. Carmela Lutmar, University of Haifa

Dr. Ariel Kabiri, Western Galilee College and University of Haifa

How can we conceptualize turning points or dramatic shifts in foreign policy? What are the driving forces behind significant changes in states' foreign policy? Are there any early warning signs for such shifts? What are the necessary (and sufficient) conditions that allow for such turning points to occur?

These are some of the questions we will attempt to address in the workshop. In our search for possible answers, we will inquire whether leaders' background and personality, ideas, and incentives are the ones to initiate such changes. Or is it systemic modifiers that set the wheels in motion? Or maybe states' characteristics are the ones to look for in searching for alternative explanations. The works of Kaplan, Waltz and Singer in the middle of the previous century revealed the importance of the conceptual framework entitled IMAGES or LEVELS. This framework will serve as our point of departure, but we are open for a myriad of theories and methodologies. While this extremely abstract and controversial concept became central in IR scholarship as a useful analytical tool, we firmly believe that social science scholarship can benefit, and greatly enriched, from multi-method research, and we encourage the submission of papers that employ and combine various methods of inquiry.

Dr. Carmela Lutmar is affiliated with the Division of International Relations in the School of Political Sciences at the University of Haifa. She holds an MA in Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame, and received her PhD from New York University (2004). Dr. Lutmar was a research associate, and Lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University (2005-2009). Her research interests include leadership, regime changes, mediation in civil wars, and postwar governance in war torn societies.

E-mail: lutmarc@yahoo.com

Dr. Ariel Kabiri earned his PhD in international relations from the School of Political Sciences at the University of Haifa (2012). His research derives from his claim that technology is the systemic selector between two competing territorial cultures: status quo and revisionism, the former constituting peace and the latter constituting war. His forthcoming works examine the links between revisionist culture and the industrial era and between status-quo culture and nuclear technology, as well as the prospects for cultural change due to the emergence of nanotechnology and especially molecular nanotechnology. He currently teaches at the Western Galilee College and the University of Haifa.

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TP6 - *"Global Change: Re-ordering or De-ordering?"*

Prof. Charles A. Kupchan, Georgetown University and Council on Foreign Relations

Prof. Piki Ish-Shalom, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ongoing global developments have the potential to undermine the rules-based international order that has helped promote stability, prosperity, and democracy since World War II. These developments include: shifts in the global balance of material power; populism, polarization, and the challenge they pose to liberal values and practices; socio-economic dislocation caused by globalization and automation; "America First" coupled with the fragmentation of the European Union; the rising geopolitical aspirations of China and Russia; increased migration, both forced and voluntary; nuclear proliferation; and climate change. The democratic societies that have anchored the rules-based international order are facing internal political and economic challenges at the same time that they are confronting a wide array of external sources of instability.

This workshop will address these challenges to the global order and examine the nature of the moment that is upon us. Can the institutional and normative status quo survive, or are we inevitably headed toward either a re-ordering or de-ordering? What steps can be taken to shape outcomes? We invite proposals that engage these issues from different theoretical angles as well as diverse disciplines and methodologies. Appropriate contributions include, but are not limited to: empirical cases, historical and regional comparisons, theoretical inquiry, normative inquiry, and metatheoretical and epistemological reflections on approaching the subject in question.

Prof. Charles A. Kupchan, is Professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University and Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. From 2014-2017 he served in the White House as Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to President Barack Obama. His most recent books are *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* (Oxford, 2012) and *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace* (Princeton, 2010).

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Prof. Piki Ish-Shalom is the A. Ephraim and Shirley Diamond Family Chair in International Relations and Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the author of *Democratic Peace: A Political Biography* (University of Michigan Press, 2013), as well as articles in different scholarly journals.

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TP7 - *"Multiple Identities in World Politics"*

Dr. Odelia Oshri, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University

Identity became in the past two decades a core concept in the understanding of world politics in general and of change in particular. Given the fact that today international institutions are

powerful than ever and include a wide range of actors, ranging from governments to intergovernmental organizations and multinational corporations, we still know very little about the triangular linkage between actors' identity, institutional design and political change. Against this background and premised by the notion that identity is not a fixed substance but rather a patterned result of dynamic social and political interactions, this workshop seeks to examine the ways by which political/social identities are molded as a consequence and in response to processes of political change in institutional setting.

How does the changing social and political landscape shape actors' identity? How multinational institutions provoke change in international norms and structures? Why similar institutional changes do not yield the same results in different countries? And how identities at different level (national, regional, international) interplay and interact. We aim to focus the discussion on theoretical and empirical notions regarding the connection between identity and political power, the role of identity or community perceptions and on the tensions between overlapping identities.

Dr. Odelia Oshri is a postdoctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. Her research lies at the intersection of comparative politics and political behavior with the main focus on European integration, voting behavior, text, and discourse analysis.

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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.

TP8 - *"The Political Economy of International Institutions in a Changing World"*

Prof. Yoram Haftel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Asif Efrat, IDC

Global economic governance is currently in flux. As the distribution of military and political power is gradually changing, so is the landscape of institutions that manage key aspects of the international political economy. While the founding countries of the Bretton Woods economic order are struggling to keep it intact, other forces render it increasingly untenable. In the area of trade, as regional and mega-regional agreements are becoming ever more ubiquitous, the World Trade Organization appears to be treading water. International investment agreements, which have attracted scant public attention until recently, are now facing a great deal of scrutiny and criticism, especially with respect to investor-state dispute settlement arrangements. The ongoing crisis of the Eurozone has raised serious doubts about the prospects of European integration, and China vigorously promotes initiatives that compete with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This workshop seeks contributions that deal with such issues from theoretical and empirical perspectives. It especially welcomes studies that examine the implications of the current international order for the design and performance of international

organizations and agreements as well as the impact of global and regional economic governance on domestic politics.

Prof. Yoram Z. Haftel is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Previously, he was a faculty member at the University of Illinois-Chicago. He received his Ph.D. from the Ohio State University. His research agenda touches on major areas in international relations, most notably international political economy, international security and international institutions. He is especially interested in the manners by which economic international organizations and agreements shape cross-border interactions and domestic political forces. His recent book, *Regional Economic Institutions and Conflict Mitigation* (University of Michigan Press, 2012), explores the implications of regional economic organizations and their design for regional security and peace. In another project, he explores the politics of bilateral investment treaty ratification and renegotiation.

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Prof. Asif Efrat is Associate Professor of government at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya. He earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University. His research agenda includes international relations and international law, with an emphasis on international political economy and transnational crime. Asif's recent book, published by Oxford University Press, examines international cooperation against illicit trade: the illicit arms trade, the trade in looted antiquities, and human trafficking. His current research examines the politics of international extradition. His work has appeared in *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, the *European Journal of International Relations*, and the *American Journal of Transplantation*, among others.

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TP9 - *"Non-State Actors in Global Politics: Benign and Malign"*

Prof. Janice Stein, University of Toronto

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The past several decades have witnessed a dramatic rise in the activity of non-state actors on the global scene. These include domestic NGOs, transnational activist networks, international organizations, and individuals. The discussion surrounding this phenomenon has focused on two very different dimensions: "benign" actors such as various human rights or environmental groups, or the (overall positive) notion of global civil society, and in contrast, "malevolent" non-state actors like transnational terrorist groups, or transnational crime. This workshop sets to explore the following questions: what is the nature of the relations between non-state actors and the institution of the State? Is it different across issue areas? what are the sources of power and influence of these actors? what are the strategies adopted by states to contend with them? More broadly, are these dynamics fundamentally different when discussing benign or malign non-state actors? We seek papers that address specific non-state actors across these multiple issue areas and how they operate, as well as comparative research. We welcome both

theoretical and empirical papers that engage (or at least their authors are willing to engage) the broad questions outlined above.

Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan is a Senior Lecturer in the International Relations department at Hebrew University. She works on issues related to international cooperation, comparative regionalism, links between economics and security, and the role of popular culture in world politics. She has published two books, *Organizing the World: The United States and Regional Cooperation in Asia and Europe (*2003), and *The Political Economy of Transitions to Peace* (2009), as well as articles in leading International Relations journals.

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Prof. Janice Gross Stein is the Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management in the Department of Political Science and the Founding Director of the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and an Honorary Foreign Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She was awarded the 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*.

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TP10 - *"Political Communication, Participation, and the Idea of Deliberative Democracy"*

Prof. Gonen Dori-Hacohen, University of Massachusetts

Dr. Idit Manosevitch, Netanya Academic College

Deliberative approaches to politics and democratic life have gained much attention in recent decades (rooted in Habermas's, Barber's, Fishkin's work, to name a few). Scholars look at how politics is achieved by ordinary people and how political discourse shapes the political process. Similarly, scholars and practitioners have been studying the growing movement of deliberative civic engagement, seeking an understanding of the nature of these practices and their impact.

This workshop will focus on the study of the theory and practice of participatory democracy, deliberative or otherwise. We invite proposals which employ a variety of research strategies and discursive methods to study of both naturally occurring and pre-organized political and civic participation, in face-to-face situations, electronic media (Radio phone-ins, TV talk-shows), and in the booming online participatory communities (Online Fora, Online Comments ("Tokbeks"), Facebook (fan) pages, twitter, other social media). The sites can be political sites, arenas that are devoted to democratic deliberation, or nontraditional arenas which are part of "third spaces" (see Wright, 2012).

Dr. Idit Manosevitch, PhD 2009, University of Washington, Seattle, is a political communication scholar at the School of Communication, Netanya Academic College, Israel. Her research focuses on the role of varying forms of communication and media, specifically

digital outlets, in democracy and civic life. Currently, she studies the unique socio-political characteristics of Israeli society and their implications for deliberative theory and practice.

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Prof. Gonen Dori-Hacohen, PhD 2009, University of Haifa, Israel, is a discourse analyst and a communication scholar at the Department of Communication, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He studies both interactions in the media and in mundane situations, focusing on the intersection of interaction, culture, politics, and the media. Currently, he studies civic participation in Israeli radio phone-ins, American Political Radio Talk, and other arenas of public participation, such as online comments.

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TP11 - *"Political Violence"*

Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, University of California, Irvine

Dr. Devorah Manekin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Unfortunately, violence remains a constitutive feature of political life. In recent years political science has produced important theoretical, methodological, and empirical advances in the study of both the causes and consequences of political violence. These insights come from qualitative and quantitative approaches and use evidence ranging from the cross national to the subnational to the psychological. This literature incorporates ethnic and religious conflict, civil wars and violence within civil wars, terrorism, electoral violence and large-scale protests, genocide and other core phenomena of political life. Even if a unifying theory of political violence is unobtainable, can micro and macro approaches offer mutually supporting insights? What are the sources of political violence? Is violence good or bad for democratic development? This workshop examines the causes and consequences of political violence using a variety of methodologies and approaches.

Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein is Professor and Chair of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. In his research, Professor Kopstein focuses on interethnic violence, voting patterns of minority groups, and anti-liberal tendencies in civil society, paying special attention to cases within European and Russian Jewish history. These interests are central topics in his forthcoming co-authored book, *Intimate Violence: Anti-Jewish Pogroms in the Shadow of the Holocaust* (Cornell University Press).

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Dr. Devorah Manekin is a Lecturer in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Her research focuses on the causes and consequences of political violence, with an emphasis on the Middle East. Her work has been published or is

forthcoming in *Comparative Political Studies*, *International Organization*, and the *Journal of Peace Research*.

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TP12 - *"Regulation, Governance, and Neoliberalism"*

Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This workshop is devoted to theoretically-challenging and empirically rich analysis of the governance and regulatory processes and reforms at the national and transnational level. Our interest is in papers that examine how these relations shape regulation, governance and their challenges, including issues such as agency media management, autonomy, accountability, collaboration across agencies and more. Also welcome are papers that study processes of institutional diffusion and translation in the context of governance and regulation. The workshop is open to students and post-docs from wide interdisciplinary background and decisions on acceptance will be taken on the basis of merit.

Prof. David Levi-Faur is Professor at the Federmann School of Public Policy and the Department of Political Science, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a founding editor of *Regulation & Governance*, a Willey-Blackwell's journal, that aims to serve as a leading platform for the study of regulation and governance in the social sciences. He held research and teaching positions at the University of Haifa, the University of Oxford, the Australian National University, the University of Manchester and the Freie Universität Berlin. His work includes 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). More recently he acted as editor of the he *Oxford Handbook of Governance* (Oxford University Press, 2012) and *The Handbook of the Politics of Regulation* (Edward Elgar, 2011).

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TP 13 –"*Law, Politics, and Society"*

Prof. Malcolm Feeley, University of California, Berkeley

In the past forty years, the law-politics nexus and the court-politic nexus have emerged as important focuses in political science, political sociology, and political history, as well among legal scholars. Increasingly, scholars are realizing that the seemingly apolitical nature of law and courts have long been effective instruments for shaping political control. In recent years, students of 19th European politics have rethought the emergence of the Rechtsstadt, which not

only extended the rule of law and created a great many rights, but also provided for a more effective and efficient state bureaucracy that enhanced centralized state control. As such it may have staved off the eventual collapse of absolute monarchs who adopted it for half a century or longer. Similarly, the use of "apolitical" property law has long been an important tool in extending empire just about everywhere empire has existed. Since at least WWII, the rule of law, constitutions, constitutionalism, and judicial review have been embraced by all sorts of political regimes, ranging from tyrannical despots to open, democratic societies. Almost every constitution written since 1950 provide for not only the rule of law, but judicial review – the power of courts to declare acts of legislatures unconstitutional and void. This has increased the explicit political nature of many courts, and has encouraged judges to take more activist and politically charged roles in deciding issues and inviting litigants to bring cases to them. Once this was the sole purview of the United States Supreme Court, but over the past forty years, the US Supreme Court has been joined and even surpassed in its activism by the Israeli High Court of Justice, and the Supreme Courts of India, Colombia, and Brazil, to name just a few. In addition, in Europe and elsewhere, international courts have intervened to challenge domestic laws under international treaties, and in turn domestic courts have been empowered with judicial review afforded by international treaties and law. Advocates of limited government embrace such a stance, but so too do autocrats – from Singapore to Hungary to Sudan – who successfully use the courts to handle difficult issues they would prefer not to deal with, and to legitimate their rule. In addition, almost everywhere at one time or another, regimes have used the criminal law to attack and suppress their opponents.

Prof. Malcolm Feeley is the Claire Sanders Clements Professor of Jurisprudence and Social Policy at Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California at Berkeley. He is the author of such books as *The Process is the Punishment*; *Court Reform on Trial*; and *Judicial Policy Making, the Modern State, and Federalism: Political Identity and Tragic Compromise*. He is currently writing a book on the effects privatization in its many forms has had on the criminal justice system. He has taught at Berkeley for thirty years, and before that at NYU, Yale, and the University of Wisconsin. He regularly visits Israel, and has been a visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, IDC, and the University of Haifa.

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TP 14: "*Identity, Space, and Place in the Israeli and Jewish Context***"**

Prof. Ilan Zvi Baron, Durham University, United Kingdom

This workshop explores the different ways whereby space and identity influence each other. The connection between space and identity was clearly understood by early Zionist thinkers who sought to critique the idea of a diasporic space and diasporic identity by refashioning a new Jewish identity in the context of a sovereign nation-state. Subsequently, the dynamics between space and identity have played out in a variety of ways within Israel, via questions about "Israeliness," and outside of Israel in the "Israelization" of Jewish identity. However, the respective Diaspora Jewish and Israeli politics of identity and space are not always in harmony. Although the politics of diversity within Israel and for Diaspora Jewish populations

similarly rest on normative claims to belonging that are rooted in particular spatial politics, these politics reside on opposing normative claims. The emphasis within Israel is majority rights whereas outside of Israel it is minority rights. Yet there are minority populations within Israel, including Jewish ones, and there exist a variety of political, social, and cultural geographies within Israel that destabilize the sovereign-nation spatial story in Zionism. Moreover, space when closely aligned with identity-claims becomes more accurately described as place. When we think of a place as opposed to a space, the place carriers deeper meanings for us and for who we are. A place is meaningful in a way that spaces cannot be. Political spaces and places are not exclusively statist and can be understood in a variety of ways from different perspectives, urban, local, national, international, diasporic, and so on. In this vein, this workshop explores the different ways in which space, place, and identity function within Israeli and Jewish context, including a focus on urban cultures, public spaces, Israeli narratives of sovereignty, and Jewish Diasporic claims.

Prof. Ilan Zvi Baron is an Associate Professor in the School of Government and International Affairs at Durham University, where he is also the Co-Director of the Center for the Study of Jewish Culture, Society, and Politics. He has published on International Relations theory, identity and security, the Jewish Diaspora's relationship with Israel and the international cultural politics of Israeli cuisine. His most recent books include, *Obligation in Exile: The Jewish Diaspora, Israel and Critique,* and *How to Save Politics in a Post-Truth Era.*

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List of Participants/Students' Abstracts

Wednesday, December 13, 2017

WM1: "Non-Experimental Methods for Causal Inference" (Prof. Gizem Arikan Yasar University and Trinity College, Dubin; gizem.arikan@yasar.edu.tr)

1.Saar Alon-Barkat (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, Hebrew U; saar.barkat@mail.huji.ac.il).

2.Ilayda Bilge Onder (MA, IR, Koç U; bilgeonder@ku.edu.tr).

3.Efe Can Coban (MA, IR, Koç U; efecoban16@ku.edu.tr).

4.Burcu Bahar Dogan (Ph.D. Candidate, Ankara U; burcugogus@gmail.com)

5.Doron Ella (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U; Doron.ella@mail.huji.ac.il).

6.Yeufen Hsieh (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, SUNY Albany, yhsieh4@albany.edu).

7. Ibrahim Khatib (Ph.D. Candidate, BGS, Humboldt U; ibrahemk48@gmail.com).

8.Nir Kosti (Ph.D. Candidate, PolSci, Hebrew U; Nir.Kosti@mail.huji.ac.il).

9.Morr Link (MA, IR, Hebrew U; morrlink@gmail.com).

10.Maisie McCormack (MA, PoliSci, New York U, Maisie.mccormack@nyu.edu).

11.Guy Mor (MA, PoliSci, Hebrew U; guy.mor@mail.huji.ac.il).

12.Ido Siva Sevilla (PHD Candidate, Public Policy, Hebrew U.; ido.sivan@mail.huji.ac.il).

13. .Moran Deitch (Ph.D. Candidate, Pol. Studies, Bar-Ilan U., deitch.moran@gmail.com).

WM2: "Experimental Methods in Political Science and Public Policy Research" (Dr. Sebastian Jilke, Rutgers University, Sebastian.jilke@rutgers.edu; and Dr. Israel Wasimel-Manor, University of Haifa; wisrael@poli.haifa.ac.il)

1. Michael Freedman (Ph.D. Candidate, MIT; mrfreed@mit.edu).

2.Ivo Krizic (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, University of Geneva; ivo.krizic@unige.ch).

3.Matteo Laruffa (Visiting Fellow, Government, Harvard U.; mal0195@g.harvard.edu).

4.Zehavit Levitats (post-doc, School of PoliSci, Haifa U; zhavit@gmail.com).

5.Yarden Niv (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, Hebrew U; yarden.niv@mail.huji.ac.il).

WM3: "Mixed Methods Approaches for Analyzing Media Narratives" (Dr. Christian Baden, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, c.baden@mail.huji.ac.il; and Dr. Keren Tenenbom-Weinblatt, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, keren.tw@mail.huji.ac.il)

1.Marta Burgos Gonzalez (Ph.D. Candidate, History, U. Autonoma; ,martabures@hotmail.com).

2.Jennifer Dodgson (Ph.D. Candidate, School of PublicPolicy, Singapore, Jennifer.dodgson@u.nus.edu).

3.Sofia Haytin (MA, Communication, Haifa U; sofiahaytin@gmail.com)

4.Agnieszka Sztajdel (Ph.D. Candidate, European U, Italy; Agnieszka.sztajdel@eui.eu)

5.Daniel Wajner (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U, daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il)\

6. Inbar Pincu (MA, IR, Hebrew U, Inbar.Pincu@mail.huji.ac.il)

7. Zachary Rosenzweig (Ph.D.Candidate, PolSc, Hebrew U; zachary.rosenzweig@mail.huji.ac.il

WM4: "Political Discourse Analysis" (Prof. Zohar Kampf, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, zohar29@zahav.net.il; and Prof. Shaul Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, shaul.shenhav@mail.huji.ac.il)

1.Enav Birnbaum (MA, IR, Hebrew University; Enav.Birnbaum@mail.huji.ac.il), *"The securitization process of the "Other" in the children's film "The Iron Giant" (1999).*

2. Alon Burstein (Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science, Hebrew U; alon.burstein@mail.huji.ac.il).

3. Keren Dinur (MA PoliSci, Hebrew University; keren.dinur@gmail.com).

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10. Lev Topor (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, Bar-Ilan U., lev-topor@hotmail.com).

11. Nadezhda Yermakov (post-doc, Soc Scs., Ariel U., GorodokN@yandex.ru).

WM5: "Security! What do you Mean? Understanding the Role of Discourse in Contemporary Security Studies" (Dr. Keren Sasson, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, keren.sa@mail.huji.ac.il)

1.Raphael BenLevi (Ph.D. Candidate, PolSci, Bar-Ilan U.; rafbenlev@gmail.com).

2.Jony Essa (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U.; jony.essa@mail.huji.ac.il).

3.Marta Furlan (MA, School of Intl Studies, U. Trento, Italy; marta.furlan@studenti.unitn.it).

4.Anli Luo (MA, Rothberg School, Hebrew U, anli.luo@mail.huji.ac.il).

5. Ehud Golan (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, Bar-Ilan U; udigolan@inter.net.il),

WM6: "Social Network Analysis: Concepts and Applications" (Prof. Ilan Talmud, Talmud@sc.haifa.ac.il)

1.Jonathan Ariel (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U; jonathan.ariel@mail.huji.ac.il),

2.Omer Gendler (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U; omer.gendler@mail.huji.ac.il).

3.Michael Giesen (Ph.D. Candidate, PoliSci, FU Berlin; Michael.giesen@fu-berlin.de).

4.Daphne Inbar (Ph.D. Candidate, IR, Hebrew U; daphne.inbar@mail.huji.ac.il).

5. Mujtaba Ali Isani (PhD/Postdoctoral studies, Dept. of PoliSci, University of Muenster, isani@uni-muenster.de).

6.Kamran Ismayilov (Ph.D. Candidate, DIRPOLIS, Sant Anna, k.ismayilov@santannapisa.it).

7.Avner Kantor (MA, Internet Research Center, Haifa University;avnerkantor@gmail.com).

8. Arie Mimon (MA, Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University), ariem@kivunim7.co.il.

9.Kirill Neverov (Post-doc, Political Governance, Saint Petersbug SU, kir.neverov@gmail.com).

WP1: "Consensus/Dissensus in Political Thought" (Dr. Nicole Hochner, Hebrew University, Nicole.hochner@mail.huji.ac.il;

1. **Guy Mor** (MA, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; guy.mor@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Whither the State? The Abolition of the State in Marx and Engels*"

It is widely acknowledged that classical Marxism is committed to the abolition of the state, yet there is no agreement regarding the meaning or significance of this notion. This paper attempts to explore the doctrine of the abolition of the state in the writings of Marx and Engels, and to thereby determine what classical Marxism's 'anti-statism' amounts to. I argue that consideration of the bulk of textual evidence shows that Marx and Engels do not in fact possess a unified notion of the abolition of the state, but rather two largely distinct theses that have been advanced under this name. The first thesis involves the abolition of the state as a force alien to society, and is predicated on the radical transformation of public forms of participation and representation. I show that Marx and Engels considered this transformation to be realizable as the first act of revolution. The second thesis involves the gradual dissolution of government functions alongside class repression, and their replacement by purely administrative functions. I show the latter notion to be the result of the protracted process whereby class distinctions disappear in the post-revolutionary society. From this discussion emerges a unique conception of the role of particularity and universality in the future society. I argue that Marx and Engels' vision of the post-revolutionary society in its advanced stage is that of a universal, harmonious and consensual public sphere, which is nevertheless compatible with a private sphere pervaded by conflicting interests (albeit not class interests) and dissensus. The nature of the second, processual sense of the abolition of the state allows for particularity in the private sphere to co-exist with the universality of the public sphere. Nevertheless, I show that this process undermines the substantive changes in participation and representation achieved by the abolition of the state in the first sense, and renders the universality of the public sphere minimal and shallow.

2. Natan Milkowsky (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; natan.milikowsky@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Spheres of Majority: Conflict, Consensus, and the Majority."*

Social and political life are inherently and permanently conflictual, hence striving for a consensus seems like a futile endeavor. Building on Michael Walzer's writings, I claim that a majority is needed in order to grant legitimacy to political decisions in a setting of conflict. However, the political majority may be limited. Historical and cultural contexts are influential in shaping the scope and limits of the majority. History and culture shape a community's shared meanings and social understandings of the role of the/a majority in the community. It may be contended that these social understandings and shared meanings express a consensus, and thus the notion of consensus creeps back as an underlying assumption. In contrast, I argue that social understandings are not consensual, but rather lend themselves to interpretation that in turn may be accepted by the majority. An examination of the notion of social understandings and its interaction with the notions of conflict, consensus and majority, lead me to conclude that the notion of "majority" is decisive not only in the political sphere but in the cultural one as well.

Thursday, December 14, 2017

TP3: "Conceptual Analysis in Political Theory" (Dr. Wael Abu-Ulsa, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, wabu@mail.huji.ac.il; and Prof. Dan Avnon, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, dan.avnon@mail.huji.ac.il)

1.Matteo Laruffa (Visiting Fellow, Department of Government, Harvard University; Ph.D Candidate, LUISS University; mal0195@g.harvard.edu), "*A New Conceptual Analysis for Reading the Crisis of Democracy Under the Lens of Giovanni Sartori*"

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Giovanni Sartori (1924 - 2017)

This paper poses the following question: how can political scientists substantially achieve an advancement in the quest for standards and criteria that allow us to know more and better the crisis of democracy? In this sense, the problem is to place the challenge to figure out the crisis of democracy into a specific conceptual context, by going back to its foundations before the distraction of the alarmist proclaim on the collapse of democracy.

Since the most famous writings on the topic in the Seventies, the use of the expression 'crisis of democracy' has grown in a confused and improper manner both in political science and comparative politics.

The paper is organized as follow. First, it discusses the significance of three main fallacies in our understanding the crisis of democracy and the distraction of the alarmist bubble from the real problem of this research issue. Second, it disentangles the main meanings of the expression crisis of democracy and proposes a refined research agenda for organizing the literature. It considers three research interests: the crisis of democracy as related to governance of democracy, participation in and opposition to, democracy. Third, the paper provides a conceptual analysis of crisis of democracy based on the guidelines proposed by Italian political scientist Giovanni Sartori. This conceptual analysis includes an assessment of a representative group of seven definitions, and selects one of them as the most promising theoretical base for explaining the phenomenon. Finally, it offers four main guidelines for a more scientific approach to the debate on the crisis of democracy, as an inescapable priority for the advancement of political science.

2.Yoel Mitrani (Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science, Sciences Po, Paris, France; yoel.mitrani@sciencespo.fr), "*Godwin's Genius: His Use and Meaning of Human Exceptionality.*"

What is the cause for Newton's fame? What makes Shakespeare's plays stand out in the history of theatre? Or, to put it more generally, what makes a man exceptional and superior to others? The 18th century was full of treaties and essays that focused on these questions. The common word, which became in vogue at the time, to denote a person with exceptional abilities or the ability per se was "genius." The source of genius, the circumstances which led to its growth or decline, and the proper place of genius in modern society and politics stood at the centre of numerous debates in England and continental Europe.

My paper will offer an opening into these debates by examining the standpoint of William Godwin (1756-1836). My argument will be divided into three main parts. In part one I will

present a textual reading of Godwin's works that deal with the concept of genius. My aim here will be twofold: First, to present Godwin's meaning of the concept itself through an analysis of his theory of 'mind' and his science of education. Second, to demonstrate its place and relevance to his ethical and political theory as found in his Political Justice (1793).

Part two will focus on the intellectual context of Godwin's writing on the concept. I will claim that two major meanings of genius can be identified from the mid 18th century: the first link genius to a Christian theological worldview which associates it/him with some kind of supernatural abilities. This position was especially popular among the British literary critics of the day. The second major meaning of the concept can be found among the French and American (and to a lesser degree also British) Republican writers. These writers denounced the mystical connotation of the concept but nevertheless regarded genius in its essence as an 'inborn' ability, thus justifying a new social and political hierarchy which was based on natural and unchangeable differences.

Part three will then show how Godwin's conception was directed against these two common-place meanings. Although Godwin's thought is often (and justly) characterized as 'radical,' I will show how, at least for his understanding of difference and human excellence, Godwin was in fact much more moderate in comparison to his 18th-century predecessors and contemporaries.

My method in this paper is historical-contextual, drawing both from the Cambridge School (and especially the 'later' works of Quentin Skinner on concepts) and the History of Concepts (Begriffsgeschichte) as developed by Reinhart Koselleck.

3. Yarden Niv (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; yarden.niv@mail.huji.ac.il), *"A Typology of Moral Expertise."*

Moral experts are people who have better moral skills and hence, a superior ability to handle moral issues. Although this definition seems reasonable, it is highly contested. Philosophers have questioned the existence of such expertise and debated on its exact nature. In the meantime, professionals who are considered to be moral experts have a growing role in public and personal decision-making, especially in the medical field. Therefore, moral expertise is not only a theoretical question but also a real political phenomenon. It raises many normative questions, such as the appropriate balance between popular rule and expertise in a democratic society. Surprisingly, while much has been written on moral expertise, the literature on this topic has not been formed into a paradigm, resulting in ambiguous and contradictory conceptualizations. This paper aims to offer a comprehensive theoretical framework for the study of moral expertise, which will enable a more structured discussion on its normative consequences. It does so by a conceptual analysis of the usage of this concept in contemporary philosophy and concludes with a suggested typology.

4. Lev Topor (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University; lev-topor@hotmail.com), *"Explanations of Antisemitism in the British Post-Colonial Left"*

This article argues that the current British left ideology can cause antisemitism through its values. The Key purpose of this article is to identify why a modern liberal political ideology such as the British left is infected with antisemitism. The British left emphasizes Post-

colonialism, human rights and liberalism. Though these values are important, they can lead to the intensification of antisemitism. Three key explanations of Post-Colonial antisemitism and Anti-Zionism will be presented. First, antisemitism can be circumstantial in the left. Second, it can be philosophically reasonable. Third, it can even be simply racist. This argument will be examined by a qualitative narrative analysis of British history and culture of antisemitism, left antisemitism and Anti-Zionism, the explanations and excuses for it.

TP4: Arms Control and Disarmament in the Middle East" (Dr. Eitan Barak, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, eitan.barak@mail.huji.ac.il; and Dr. Emily Landau, INSS, Tel-Aviv, Emily@inss.org.il)

1.Raphael Ben Levi (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University; rafbenlev@gmail.com), *"Ideas and Structure in Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy-Making."*

How do the beliefs of competing strategic subcultures inform thinking on non-proliferation policy toward Iran, both in Israel and the United States? Which strategic beliefs are shared by the subcultures in both countries and which are unique to each? How do these beliefs influence real-world policymaking in the face of structural pressures in the international system?

In line with the approaches to international relations known as neo-classical realism and strategic culture, I argue that theories of material power and capabilities alone are not sufficient to explain the drastic policy changes that have occurred. Rather, cultural factors play a substantive role in forming the strategies in both countries. I will therefore analyze both the material pressures and the cultural logic of the various strategy options considered at key decision points between the years 2002-2015 in order understand the relative importance of each set of factors.

The proposed research will explore unchartered territory on this ongoing issue of immense importance to international security. While the cultural underpinnings of both the United States' and Israel's approaches to grand strategy have been analyzed in the literature, the influence of strategic culture on non-proliferation policy in general, and specifically in the case of Iran have not been given due scholarly attention. The proposed analysis will also add a new dimension to the current literature by developing a framework for explicitly comparing strategic subcultures across states.

In the first section I will conceptualize and map out the belief systems that inform the policy discussion across the various subcultures utilizing primary sources and interviews that will be analyzed by content analysis methods such as cognitive mapping and symbol analysis. For the section analyzing policy, I will employ process tracing and counterfactual analysis in order to compare the ideational and material causal influences on strategic behavior.

2.Exequiel Lacovsky (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; exequiel.lacovsky@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Arms Control in the Middle East? What Can We Learn from Other Experiences?"*

The efforts to implement a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East have been regarded as one of the most controversial issues in the non-proliferation and arms control fields.

The first proposal for a NWFZ in the Middle East was raised in 1974 and in 1995 the NPT dynamic was linked to the establishment of a NWFZ in the Middle East)at the NPT Review Conference(. As a matter of fact, little progress was made on this matter, despite the many proposals and initiatives. By contrast, other regions such as Latin America (1967), the South Pacific (1985), Southeast Asia (1995), Africa (1996) and Central Asia (2006) successfully negotiated NWFZs. Hence, the main question to be formulated here is: What can we learn from those experiences that help to create the conditions for establishing an arms control dialogue in the Middle East? Drawing upon those experiences, and in a comparative perspective, I argue that regional institutions, including commercial institutions in the developing world, have experienced a rapid spill over into military/security areas. I will show that there is a positive correlation between regional (and economic) interdependence and security regimes, such as NWFZs. If Middle East countries aspire to establish a security/arms control dialogue, it should also be accompanied and supported by other regional initiatives.

3. Igor Davidzon (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; igor.davidzon@mail.huji.ac.il), "*The Feasibility of Arms Control Regime between India and Pakistan.*"

Since the declaration of independence in 1947, India-Pakistan relations were characterized by constant tension, which has often escalated into confrontations and even four conventional wars. During these years, the two countries participated in an arms race. This race was not limited to conventional weapons, it also included a nuclear dimension, with India and Pakistan running for decades to acquire nuclear weapons. For decades, Pakistan's economy has generally taken its security steps out of the prism of the Indian threat. The decision to develop nuclear weapons is not an exception to that.

In 1998 both countries conducted nuclear tests and openly joined the prestigious club of nuclear states. As nuclear capabilities became public, there was a lively debate about the significance of the existence of nuclear weapons in the hands of two rival states. In this context of nuclear rivalry, the question of the probability to establish an arms control regime between India and Pakistan becomes important.

TP5: "Foreign Policy Analysis: Man, State, or Waltz?" (Dr. Carmela Lutmar, University of Haifa, lutmarc@yahoo.com; and Dr. Ariel Kabiri, Western Galilee College and University of Hiafa, ariel.kabiri@gmail.com)

1.Thao Do (MA, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex; dongocthaok48e@gmail.com), "*Can an Authoritarian Regime Represent its People? The Case of Vietnam*"

Authoritarian regimes are organizational complexes built by parties around a set of interests, maintained by vast administrative apparatuses, and legitimated through more or less elaborate ideational, procedural, and coercive means (London, 2014). Vietnam is an authoritarian regime, and has been under the rule of the Vietnam Communist Party for more than 62 years since 1954. Like other authoritarian regimes, Vietnam also has a National Assembly (or National Congress), which is 'the highest representative organ of the people' and 'the main

national legislature body of the country' (Constitution, 1992). However, the autonomy of the NA in implementing its role under the monopoly of power of the Party is always questioned. Since the first post-unification election in 1976, the NA has never vetoed a law, and rarely defeated a Party nominee for a ministerial which only happened twice in its history. In other words, it has been primarily a rubber stamp for decisions already made by the Party or the government.

It has raised the question *Is the NA representing the Vietnamese people? If not, who is representing the Vietnamese people?*. By answering these questions, this paper helps to contribute to the decision-making mechanism of the authoritarian regime, and the internal relative power and even conflicts between different bodies in a one-party regime. Additionally, it helps to understand the responsiveness of the delegates to underlying constituencies, thus contribute to the study of representation in non-democratic setting

The paper will be divided into three sections. In Section 1, by the adopted representation model, I will explain how the representation works in the authoritarian regime. Section 2 will clarify the mechanism in which the Party and other institutions use to control the results of the elections of the NA. Finally, the section 3 will reexamine the claim of representation of the Party, thus raise the question of claims of representation in the context of one-party socialist regime in Vietnam. The paper will focus on the analysis of the history and operation of the NA in the period from 1992 up to now.

2.Martina Dockalova (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International, European, and Area Studies, Panteion University; dockalova@gmail.com), *"The Role of Leader's Character on his Propensities to Use Diversionary Force."*

The so called diversionary theory is based on a simple argument that leaders facing domestic problems are more likely to engage in different forms of external-conflict behavior then their less troubled counterparts. Claiming this, diversionary theory challenges the realist concept of state as a black box where domestic environment does not matter very much. Contrarily, it argues that leaders at power do not necessarily consider only the well-being of their nations, but weight also their chances to retain office.

This is a serious accusation. And yet, up to now, diversionary incentives were routinely identified with mere presence of domestic problems (e.g. declining GDP, or rising unemployment). Specifically, a leader initiating (or engaging in) a conflict in times when economy was not performing well was automatically framed as a diversionary suspect. However, using the 'scapegoating' strategy is very likely dependent on many other factors simultaneously. First a potentially diverting leader has to consider the international environment: Does his state have any credible enemy? Is there any external opportunity to engage in a crisis/conflict? Is there any issue he can present as threatening the national interests? Second, he has to evaluate the domestic situation in general: What alternative options he has? Can a diversion improve his political position? Is he in a critical need to improve his position? Not least, because diversion is widely considered as an immoral and/or a risky strategy, the probability that a leader chooses to use it also depends on his personality, ethics, values and attitudes towards risk taking (see e.g. Foster and Keller 2010, pp. 422-3; Keller and Foster 2012, p. 585; Oakes 2012, p. 28).

In my paper, I would like to focus on the last mentioned factor on the role which a leader's character may play in his propensities to use diversionary force. Initially, I would like to discuss the possible mechanism(s) how leader's character could contribute to his willingness to engage in a foreign conflict. Finally, I would like to present the possible approaches to this concept's operatialization and measurement.

3.Mujtaba Ali Isani (Ph.D./postdoctoral studies, Department of Political Science, University of Muenster; isani@uni-muenster.de), *"Conspiracy Theories and the Muslim World: Between Powerlessness and Perceptions of US Control."*

The Muslim world has often been painted by scholars, pundits, and casual observers as the land of conspiracies, and scholars have linked a variety of causes and consequences for this phenomenon. However, this alleged affliction has always been assumed and not analyzed; no one has collected empirical evidence as to its existence, prevalence, causes, and consequences on public opinion in the region. This project uses PIPA data from four majority Muslim countries as well original survey data collected in Egypt to argue that feelings of powerlessness, psychological factors and perceptions of US control may result in a belief in conspiracy theories.

4. Zachary Rosenzweig (Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science, Hebrew University; zachary.rosenzweig@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Mediated Public Diplomacy: The Role of Foreign Leaders in a Country's International Frame-Building."*

While several studies have explored the reasons for success or failure in mediated public diplomacy, few have assessed the influence of foreign governments over a country's international messaging efforts. In an attempt to address this gap in the scholarly literature, the present study posits that a foreign government's support enhances the success of a country's framing in foreign news media. Substantiating this claim would offer valuable insight into the dynamics of public diplomacy, suggesting that the key to influencing foreign publics is gaining support from their leaders. Through a content analysis of U.S. media framing during the 2006 Lebanon War and the 2014 Gaza War (Operation Protective Edge), I assess the acceptance of Israel's frames in major U.S. newspapers. The data presented here demonstrate that newspapers are more likely to reflect Israel's framing when the U.S. administration shares and promotes Israeli messages. Similarly, they show that given American support, Israel's framing is attributed most frequently to official U.S. sources. This suggests that American political actors play a major role in advancing Israel's most successful frames in U.S. news content.

TP6: "Global Change: Re-ordering or De-ordering?" (Prof. Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University, kupchanc@georgetown.edu; and Prof. Piki Ish-Shalom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, piki.ish-shalom@mail.huji.ac.il)

1. Kamran Ismayilov (Ph.D. Candidate, Institute of Law, Politics and Development (DIRPOLIS), Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Italy; k.ismayilov@santannapisa.it), *"Neoclassical Realist Model of Soft-Balancing Concept: Rethinking Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy Strategy vis-à-vis Hegemony-Seeking Russia, 1991-2016"*

In the International Security journal (Vol. 30, No. 1. Summer, 2005) Robert Pape proposed the concept of 'soft balancing' to explain global reactions to the aggressive policies (e.g., invasion

of Iraq) of the United States. Proponents of the concept argued that second-tier powers such as China, France, Germany, and Russia employ soft-balancing strategy to curb the United States' influence through nonmilitary tools (Paul 2005; Walt 2006; 2008).

Over the years, the concept has proven to be useful to explain balancing dynamics in international politics, thus leading the research on soft balancing to flourish. However, a number of unresolved problems still persist that need to be addressed. One of the pressing challenges for the soft- balancing is the necessary condition for it to emerge. In other words, we still know too little 'when' and 'why' countries opt for soft-balancing strategy. Although some have investigated domestic variables (e.g., elite and policymakers' perceptions, regime types, domestic institutions and etc.), the literature on soft-balancing highlights limited works that have explored factors other than systemic ones in generating soft-balancing behavior.

This study has two main inquiries. Theoretically, the present research attempts to construct a new, sophisticated soft-balancing model that incorporates intervening-level variables that may alter the anticipated relationship between dependent variable and independent variables. In other words, in this model, the concept of soft-balancing will be incorporated into the neoclassical realist pathway. We seek to see what the explicative potentialities of soft-balancing are when this is transferred from a neorealism to a neo-classical realism theoretical framework. In order to assess these potentialities, we consider as case-study of Azerbaijan's foreign policy strategy vis-Ã -vis Russia between 1991 and 2016. It seems an appropriate case study: Russia, since the end of the Soviet Union, has sought to restore its influence and control over Azerbaijan that Baku contrasted by pursuing a strategy of resistance that neither can be described as hard balancing nor buck-passing or band-wagoning. The study endeavors to show that soft-balancing strategy is able to explain Azerbaijan's foreign policy strategy towards Russia more adequately than other neorealist theories and concepts.

2.Yoav Kapshuk (Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science, Tel-Aviv University, kapshuk@gmail.com), *"Agreements on Transitional Justice Provisions in Peace Negotiations: A Mixed Methods Analysis."*

This paper focuses on the relationship between agreements on provisions of transitional justice during peace negotiations and the outcome of the negotiation: a partial peace agreement or a final (full) agreement. A set of hypotheses on the significance of agreements on transitional justice provisions is tested empirically by creating a unique dataset, which contains an accumulation of Peace Process Years (PPYs) that belong to 72 peace processes in 1989-2014. Three of the four hypotheses tested are supported. It is found that a combination of truth and reconciliation agreements as well as amnesty is associated with an increase in the odds that the peace negotiation ended in a final agreement. On the other hand, the significance of agreements on reparations for victims or the rehabilitation and restitution of refugees is not confirmed. A qualitative analysis of several cases of negotiations is used to substantiate the quantitative findings. The results suggest that agreements on truth and reconciliation serve as an alternative form of justice and accountability, which the parties to the negotiations can live with, and therefore serve as a compromise between demands for retributive measures ("tit for tat") on the one hand, and demands for forgetfulness on the other. This kind of compromise between retribution and forgetfulness, as this study confirms, functions as the required level of justice for achieving a final peace agreement. In conclusion, this study highlights the significance of truth and reconciliation agreements as a factor that generates transformation toward peace.

3.Delia Radu (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Italy; delia.radu@eui.eu), *"EU's Foreign Security and Defense Policy: State-Building without a State."*

The past 25 years have seen a series of policy developments in EU security & defence integration that escape the functionalist rationale of current EU integration theories. In a typical core state power field, despite diverging interests of the three most powerful Member States ; UK, France, Germany â€" these policies continue to emerge outside of, or below, formal Treaty negotiations and amendments. More importantly, they present no clear problem-solving function for the group of Member States involved, as our theories would expect. 'Process policies', as I provisionally call them, are formalizations of European Council Conclusions. They emerge below Treaty level, have no clear problem-solving function and are not domestically politicized, given that they concern innovative and technical fields of integration. What they do is spell out inter-institutional relations among the bodies of the EU, as well as the directions towards which these bodies should work together. They thereby set up operations in new fields of development for EU foreign security and defence; in this sense, they can be said to contribute to a phenomenon of EU operational capability-building. The argument being put forward is that process policies can be explained as political institutions. The purpose of political institutions is not to solve problems for the group of Member States ; indeed, they have no clear problem-solving functions. Their purpose is to build up the EU as a 'state', by creating new capabilities and instituting new structures and directions to security and defence policy-making, through an incremental layering mechanism.

4.Daniel Wajner (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il) *"Make (Latin) America Great Again: Global Lessons from Neo-Populist Foreign Policies in the Americas."*

How do populist regimes conduct foreign policy? Extant literature on populism and neo-populism is focused on its domestic patterns - chiefly among them are discursively constructing "the People", attacking antagonist elites, eroding representative democracy, cultivating personalistic leaderships, and enacting clientelistic practices for popular mobilization. Meanwhile, its foreign policy dimension has been majorly overlooked. This paper aims at filling these theoretical and empirical vacuums by mapping patterns of change and continuity, as well as similarities and differences, in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy among populist regimes in Latin America. Striving to conduct a systematic comparative analysis, this paper explores the three waves of populism in Latin America (Classic, Neo-Liberal, and Progressive), while puts its analytical weight on the regimes' projection of (re)constructed transnational identities. The findings reveal that it is indeed difficult to speak of a "populist foreign policy" as a unified phenomenon, mainly due to the absence of a common political orientation or ideological alignment between the different populist regimes across the different waves. However, there are several 'unifying' elements, mostly manifested in a continuous tendency of these regimes to jointly reconstruct and empower crisscrossing transnational solidarities for legitimation purposes. Moreover, the last wave of populist regimes in Latin America has actively projected the domestic patterns to the regional and global levels, in an attempt to leverage their international influence. This study entails critical lessons for the broader scholarly engagement with populism, contributing to the lively conversation regarding the current rise of populist trends across the globe.

TP7: "Multiple Identities in World Politics" (Dr. Odelia Oshri, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, odeliaoshri@gmail.com, and Dr. Mor Mitrani, Bar-Ilan University, mor.mitrani@biu.ac.il).

1.Tracy Adams (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Hebrew University; tracy.adams625@gmail.com), "*Sorry is Only the Excuse: Demanding an Apology and the Construction of National Identity.*"

Despite the wealth of literature dealing with political apology as a common device for conflict resolution, image restoration and social-political relations management (Benoit, 1995; Blaney & Benoit, 2001; Hearit, 2006; Z. Kampf, 2011; Kampf, 2009; Kampf & Lowenheim, 2012; Leech, 1983; Weyeneth, 2001), the demand for an apology, what this demand means and its effect on the definition and perception of the political apology 404, y as a prominent tool in the process of identity formation have been under analyzed. This article originated as an attempt to address this void and provide a better understanding of the effect this demand has on the reconsideration and reframing of the past, and, more specifically, to address the role of the political apology in processes of collective memory-making and identity formation. Drawing on analysis and comparison of 16 cases demonstrating the demand for an apology following a recent incidence of transgression as opposed to cases in which such a demand is absent, and introducing a new categorization differentiating between Reputation-based demands and Identity-based demands, I shall determine the connection between the demand for an external apology and internal issues of collective identity construction, thus providing a better understanding of the theoretical, practical and symbolical implications this seemingly international external tool has on national internal processes.

2.Itai Artzi [PH.D. Candidate, Sociology, Tel-Aviv University, itai.artzi@mail.huji.ac.il], "*Changing Realities? Insights from an Israeli-Palestinian Educational Exchange.*"

This paper examines the influence of an educational exchange on the identity and political views of its Israeli and Palestinian participants. The exchange brings together Jewish-Israelis, Palestinians from the West Bank, and Palestinian citizens in Israel to an intensive educational and cultural exchange in Cyprus. Unlike the common aim of educational exchanges to bring about reconciliation between rival societies, this exchange sets a modest goal: it encourages each participant to take part in a dialogue regarding controversial political, historical and social ideas with the 'other side'. In the context of spatial segregation and the collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, an open and safe educational exchange, such as the one discussed here, is a rare opportunity for Israelis and Palestinians to meet each other and to exchange ideas and opinions regarding the conflict and how it affects their identities.

Based on a qualitative analysis of survey's replies and the author's experience as facilitator in this educational exchange, this paper argues that as a result of the participation in the seminar, some of the participants changed their opinions and feelings toward the other groups and the conflict. However, this change was not the same for all groups - the findings point to deep differences between the groups in the experience of the exchange. Those differences are reflected in the reasons for participation in the exchange and in its perceived impacts. In addition, the findings point to meaningful impact regarding differences in the perception of identity(ies) of the Palestinian citizens in Israel vis-Ã -vis possible solutions to the conflict.

To conclude, the paper discusses the advantages of a neutral and unaffiliated educational encounter in an intractable conflict. In an era of growing segregation and animosity between Palestinians and Israelis, even micro-level changes through educational exchanges, such as those discussed here, are meaningful and valuable.

3.Nechama Horwitz (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Stony Brook University; snhorwitz@gmail.com), *"Blended Identities and Immigrant Political Participation."*

In the United States immigrant groups, like Asians and Latinos, lag behind the rest of the population in political participation (Pew Research Center 2016, Wong et al 2011). Yet obviously some members of these groups do participate. What is different about these immigrants? Theories of politicized identity and group consciousness argue that those who have an attachment to their group and an awareness of their group's political position and desires will be motivated to participate in the political system on behalf of their group (Miller et al 1981). But, when immigrants come to a new country, they can decide whether they want to emphasize their national or ethnic identity or combine the two. The identity choices that immigrants face complicate the implications of group consciousness and politicized identities. These theories do not sufficiently explore how identity choice can influence political participation. Building on previous research of dual, or blended, identities, I explore how identity choice and discrimination work together to form blended identities for immigrants. I show that for immigrants blended identities are comprised of both ethnic, or country of origin, and national, or new country, attachments and I contrast blended identity measures to traditional measures of group consciousness. Further, I provide evidence that immigrants who have formed this blended identity are more like to participate in the political process.

4.Ibrahim Khatib (Ph.D. Candidate, Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt University; ibrahemk48@gmail.com), *"Identity and Reconciliation in the Context of the Arab-Israeli Conflict."*

In the context of protracted conflict, is there a relation between identity and willingness for reconciliation, and in what way does this relation exist? The current study checks the relation between individual differences in identity perceptions of a given protracted conflict along religious, national, and civic dimensions and willingness for reconciliation. The research case study is the Arab Israeli conflict and was able to formulate a unified attitude which was applied to groups with asymmetrical power and also can serve scholars who study political mechanisms and dynamics involved in various protracted conflicts around the world and the researchers on democratic changing. Our hypothesis is that the perception of conflict and threat perception are major factors that mediate between the degree of agreement to reconciliation on the one side, and religious identity and other identity perceptions (national and civic identities) on the other side. Also democratic values have a crucial role for increasing the willingness to reconcile.

The study examines the research model among citizens (N=2194) in Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, Palestine, and Israel, which have a different type of regime (control variable). Initial results show that the perception of conï¬‚ict and threat perception are major factors that mediate between the degrees of agreement to reconciliation identity perceptions. Religious conï¬‚ict perception decrease reconciliation and material perception increase it. The identity perception could play a crucial role and affect the way that the groups perceive their conflict basis, and

finally the results show that democratic values among people in the Arab states decrease the willingness to reconcile and among the Jewish sample increase the willingness to reconcile.

5. Benjamin Klasche (Ph.D. Candidate, School of Governance, Law, and Society, Tallinn University, Estonia; Benjamin.klasche@tlu.ee), *"Considering the Existence of Cognitive Frames When Evaluating International Relations Research"*

The goal of research in international relations is to portray the world's true reality by making descriptive and causal inferences, explain the status quo, and foresee upcoming events. International relations, like other social sciences strive hereby for position less and objective research results. This however, is impossible when one considers that the researchers themselves are the most important tool of inquiry in the social sciences. Even when subscribing to a strict positivistic or empiricist methodology the subjectivity of the inquiry and analysis cannot be detached from the research itself. Different people have different understanding and perception of reality, because they are subject too many different cognitive frames. Every researcher is based on this also subject to particular frames which will have an effect on their research and results. By no means does this render the results of research in international relations useless but points out that additional criteria have to be considered when evaluating the truth of the findings. When acknowledging truthfully the social ontology of agency, that includes the existence of personal bias and subjective world view, and the absence of generally valid truth - social science can produce results that are useful to reflect and describe phenomena. This is especially advantageous in international relations where researchers are very often trying to grasp linkages between far away regions from their very own desk. This paper argues that the acknowledgment and analysis of cognitive frames that have an effect on the researcher will increase the validity of results of international relations research.

6. Inbar Noy (MA, International Relations, Hebrew University; inbar.noy@mail.huji.ac.il) *"Who is Afraid of The Three Amigos? Constructing Identity through Securitization of the Hispanic Culture in the United States."*

This paper will deal with the narrative of 'The Hispanic Threat' in the U.S, which presents the immigrants from Latin America as a social and security threat. The main question that will be presented in this paper is 'How securitization theory helps to understand the social construction of the identity of the Hispanic community in the U.S. The main argument is that securitization theory is crucial in understanding the creation and success of the 'Hispanic Threat' narrative, in which the Hispanic culture is presented as the origin of the threat. To prove this argument, this paper examines a series of securitization moves which aim to present the Hispanic culture as a 'scapegoat', regarding major threats that the U.S faces. These moves originate from varied securitizing actors in academia, media, and politics. The examination of these moves will help understand which mechanisms of the theory assist in understanding the success of presenting the 'Hispanic Threat'. Among them: Understanding the characteristic of the securitizing actors; Identifying the target audience and the main purpose of each of the securitization moves; Presenting a threat 'out of thin air' while making the group that poses a threat act accordingly; The 'Linkage' between issues which helps to clarify a threat with a cultural origin. Thus, this paper will show how the Hispanic culture went through a 'deep securitization' process through the decades, which helped to keep the 'Hispanic Threat' Narrative in the awareness of the U.S society.

TP8: "The Political Economy of International Institutions in a Changing World" [Prof. Yoram Haftel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, yoram.haftel@gmail.com; and Prof. Asif Efrat, Herzlya Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), asif@idc.ac.il]

1.Jonathan Ariel (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; jonathan.ariel@mail.huji.ac.il); "*Security Facets of EU Trade Agreements.*"

The European Union is the largest signatory of trade agreements within the world trade system. A common feature of these agreements is the incorporation of Non-Trade Issues (NTIs) like human rights, labor laws, and environmental protections. Among the least researched issues within trade agreements in general and the EU's agreements in particular are security clauses. Surprisingly, perhaps, security clauses appear in the opening articles and are incorporated into some 70% of all EU trade agreements. Using an original data set of security provisions in all EU trade agreements and applying quantitative methods, I shed light on the phenomenon of security NTIs in EU trade agreements. Taking advantage of the temporal and spatial variation across the different agreements and between clauses that deal with the same issues, I consider several potential explanations, including security interests, power relations, and ideational factors. Preliminary results show that security provisions are more prevalent in agreements with potential acceders to the EU.

2.Lotem Bassan (MA, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; lotem.bassan@gmail.com), "*The OECD Brand: Does OECD Membership Effect Sovereign Credit Ratings?*"

Officials from countries considering accession tend to mention the potential positive impact of OECD membership on sovereign credit ratings. The focus of politicians on credit ratings is not surprising when taking into account recent literature on performance indicators. However, as the OECD lacks enforcement mechanisms and does not issue credit ratings, it is unclear whether OECD membership does in fact effect sovereign credibility. In order to assess this issue a fixed effects regression model has been conducted. Unfortunately, results were ambiguous. On the one hand, OECD membership was found to increase a state's sovereign credibility when controlling for GDP per capita, internal conflicts and democracy. On the other hand, when testing the hypothesis with lagged variables results were statistically insignificant, thus making it impossible to rule out reversed causality.

3.Doron Ella (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; Doron.ella@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Categorization in International Organizations*"

Why do some international organizations (IOs) classify their member-states in different categories, at times assigning them with distinct institutional rights and obligations, yet others do not? And, what accounts for incorporating different types of category mechanisms within IOs? This paper explores the understudied institutional design feature of categorization within contemporary IOs. This is done under the assumption that the establishing states aim to design IOs which will be politically viable and will also be able to attract the most relevant international actors, while maintaining efficiency. To achieve that, categorization mechanisms are incorporated within IOs in order to solve various cooperation problems that may hinder participation and compliance. I hypothesize that categorization is employed as a balanced solution for cooperation problems caused in IOs which have heterogeneous members in terms of preferences and/or capabilities, high levels of uncertainty about the state of the world, and

require deep cooperation (and therefore are highly institutionalized). For the purpose of this paper, I created a new data-set on categorization, encompassing design information on 162 IOs operating in various issue-areas. Results show, most prominently, that IOs which require deep cooperation and encompass high levels of uncertainty are more likely to incorporate categorization mechanisms.

4.Dan Eran (MA, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; dan.eran@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Paths to Credibility: The Effects of Preferential Trade Agreements on Developiong Countries' Sovereign Credit Ratings."*

Sovereign credit ratings have a significant influence on the cost of capital for developing countries. In this paper, I study the relationship between Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) and sovereign credit ratings. I argue that membership in PTAs can improve sovereign credit ratings by making developing countries' promises to service their debt more credible. I propose several channels through which PTAs can have such an effect. Statistical analyses for 73 developing countries from 1990 to 2015 support the argument

5.Ivo Krizic (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Geneva; ivo.krizic@unige.ch), *"The Effects of WTO Government Procurement Disciplines on Market Access and Corruption: The Case of the EU."*

Worldwide governments spend nearly ten trillion dollars per year on the procurement of goods, services and infrastructure projects. Because of its economic significance, public procurement has become a prominent issue in international trade negotiations, leading to its inclusion in various preferential trade agreements, most notably the plurilateral WTO Government Procurement Agreement (GPA). The GPA requires member parties to treat domestic and foreign bidders equally and stipulates a set of minimum procedural requirements to prevent "hidden protectionism" in procurement processes. While the primary aim of the framework is to increase market access in public contracts, the GPA has also been hailed as an instrument for the fight against corruption by allowing governments to "lock in" domestically contested reforms. To what extent does the agreement meet these objectives? Are GPA disciplines effective in increasing cross-border public procurement, and do they reduce the risk of corruption in public contracts? In addressing these questions, the paper contributes to debates on the effectiveness of international institutions. Neoliberal institutionalist accounts suggest a positive effect of international agreements such as the GPA, because they facilitate mutual cooperation (i.e. procurement liberalization) by offering monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms against treaty violations. Existing empirical studies, however, put into doubt the positive impact of international institutions in the area of public procurement (e.g. Rickard and Kono 2013). Against this background, the paper evaluates the empirical relationship between procurement agreements, market penetration and corruption by focusing on the public market of the European Union as one of the largest GPA members. To test the implications of GPA commitments on market access and corruption in the EU, the paper uses large-scale micro-level data on public contracts awarded by EU member states between 2009 and 2015.

6.Morr Link (MA, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; morrlink@gmail.com), *"Between Identity and Legal Tradition: Islam and Bilateral Investment Agreements."*

Recent studies on institutional design have argued that legal traditions, including the Islamic legal tradition, influence states' conduct in the international arena. This had been argued to be the case in different fields, including trade (Helpman 2006; Nunn 2007; Powell & Rickard 2010), resolution of territorial disputes (Powell & Wiegand 2010; Powell 2015) and international adjudication (Mitchel & Powell 2011). This argument, however, has not yet been extended to the field of international investment law, which leads to the question: does Islamic legal tradition affect the design of bilateral investment treaties (BITs)?

Using an original data base comprised of 97 BITs signed by Egypt, the study examines whether BITs signed with Islamic states show a lesser degree of legalization in comparison with those signed with non-Islamic states. The research focuses on investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) provisions found in BITs, one of the most prominent features of these agreements, in order to examine one specific aspect of legalization delegation, e.g., the legalistic provisions delegated to third parties for resolving disputes.

The findings provide some empirical support to the study's hypotheses, mainly regarding the venues of ISDS and the arbitration bodies referred to. These findings suggest that further research could yield more comprehensive results. The study's contribution is threefold. First, it is the first time the argument that Islamic legal tradition affects states' behavior in the international arena is put to the test in the field of international investment law. Secondly, it contributes to the debate on the causes of legalization of institutions. And third, it contributes to the body of research examining variation found in BITs.

TP9: "Non-State Actors in Global Politics: Benign and Malign" (Prof. Janice Gross-Stein, University of Toronto, j.stein@utoronto.ca; Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, galia.press-barnathan@mail.huji.ac.il)

1.Agnieszka Batko (Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University, Poland; a.batkowa@gmail.com), *"The Japan-South Korea Reconciliation: The Search for a Missing Link."*

Despite the fact that Japan-South Korea bilateral relations have improved significantly since the end of the Pacific War, several matters repressing the progress on increasing mutual understanding and trust seem to remain. Whereas the rhetoric and actions of governments in both Japan and South Korea have caused a number of setbacks in bilateral affairs, the commitment of the private sector and non-governmental organisations in both countries is still scarcely noticeable in public debates. However, this is the path where efficiency seems to be on the rise in recent years with regards to bringing the people of those two nations closer.

The purpose of the article is to analyse selected non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in both Japan and South Korea that include the issues of the reconciliation process on their agenda. It will be argued that such entities, by stressing the need to enhance civil societies in those two states and essentially working on people to people level, may secure the necessary space for advancing peaceful relations not only with regards to bilateral dimension, but also within Northeast Asia region.

With regards to methodology, a variety of methods will be applied. At the level of theory, the transnational approach will be prevalent. Regarding data concerning the activities and

programs of NGOs, the qualitative methods of document analysis produced by the chosen organizations as well as semi-structured interviews with their representatives will be dominant. This technique allowed the author to acquire direct information concerning specific actions and results as well as planned initiatives that have an effect on advancing peaceful relations in the Japan-South Korea context.

2. Marta Furlan (MA, School of International Studies, Universita di Trento; marta.furlan@studenti.unitn.it), *"From Terrorist Groups to Proto-Governments: The Evolution of Salafi-Jihadi Non-State Actors after the Arab Spring."*

Since the Arab Spring, instability has spread across the Arab world. On this background, the security threat posed by Salafi-Jihad non-state actors has increased and evolved: they have proliferated and they have transformed themselves from violent groups exclusively devoted to jihad to more complex entities engaged also in governance. Confronted with this reality, it becomes crucial to address the following question: Under which circumstances do Salafi-Jihadi non-state actors engage in governance?

To provide an answer, this paper reviews the literature on governance by violent non-state actors and investigates the reality of Salafi-Jihadi governance through a comparative analysis of Jabhat al-Nusra (JN)/Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), the Islamic State (IS), and Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).

The analysis suggests that Salafi-Jihadi non-state actors engage in governance when facing a favorable combination of insecurity, governmental vacuum, sectarianism and radicalization, and afer learning from the past experience of the mujahideen the limits of relying exclusively on jihad in pursuing the goal of building an Islamic State.

3.Michael Giesen (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political and Social Science, Free University Berlin; Michael.giesen@fu-berlin.de), *"Organizing Human Rights: The Design of Regional IOs and its Effects on Human Rights Instruments."*

The paper is concerned with the organisational contexts of norm creation in international regional organizations (RIOs) in the field of human rights and asks to what extent and how different bodies within RIOs constituted by different organisational properties affect the creation and design of human rights instruments?

Two remarkable developments of RIOs drive the inquiry of the paper: Firstly, during a period of about 30 years now (general-purpose) RIOs started to exhibit a diverse internal structure characterised by a number of (non-governmental) bodies with different organisational properties. Secondly, likewise to the increasing numbers of bodies, RIOs became more and more active in human rights policies expanding the number, scope, and depth of human rights instruments paralleling developments on the international global scene.

The paper employs an organizational understanding of international regional organisations in general, and of their internal bodies in particular. This process is hypothesized to vary substantially across RIOs' internal bodies particularly with respect to organisational identities, interests, as well as perceptions and interpretations of the social world.

The paper argues that different (also non-governmental) actors within the broader framework of a RIO are based on different identities, interest of participants, institutional rules and procedures, and so on. This affects, amongst others, the creation of legalised regional human

rights instruments and their design, particularly what kind of human rights norms ought to get legalised, which understanding of human rights is put forward, and how (diverging) ideas about human rights norms are transformed into the formal-legal language of regional instruments.

The paper employs a mixed method research design. Firstly, it maps RIO's internal organisational diversity across time on a global scale. Secondly, it supplements this by a two-case comparative case study on regional women's rights instruments.

4.Adam Hoffman (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; adam.hoffm@gmail.com), *"'Malevolent' Non-State Actors and the Limits of the "Terrorist" Label: ISIS as a Social Movement."*

How should we best understand an armed non-state actor such as ISIS? ISIS is arguably the most well-known "malevolent" non-state actor, and in most official and media accounts it is described as a terror group, with some claiming that ISIS "is the richest terror organization the world has known" (Forbes, 2014) and "the world's most powerful terror group" (The Nation, 2014). However, while ISIS clearly uses terrorism as a strategy, it is unclear how useful a concept terrorism is to understand the political behavior of such a multifaceted organization. To better understand the implications of the "terrorist" label for the study of "malevolent" armed non-state actors such as ISIS, this article conducted a systematic literature review of five leading journals which focus on terrorism studies and international security, in the years 2012-2017. A total of 180 articles were examined using a comparative content analysis. This method was used to classify the main themes, actors and research assumptions discussed in terrorism studies in the past five years. Based on this analysis, this article argues that thinking of ISIS as (only) a terrorist actor leads to an incomplete understanding of the group, and argues instead that ISIS should also be understood as a social movement. Analyzing ISIS as a social movement locates it in the broader theoretical literature on contentious politics, opening new perspectives through which to understand the behavior of the organization (both offline and online) and allowing to compare it to other social movements in different political settings, and not only to other terror groups.

5.Daphne Inbar (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; daphne.inbar@mail.huji.ac.il), *"'Playing Soldiers:' The Everyday Resistance of Soldiers in the Israeli Military."*

In societies with mandatory conscription, the military service has a major role in nation-building and "the contract of citizenship". In the Israeli case, citizens face the choice of visible conscientious objection as well as other practices of hidden resistance to the military draft. While conscientious objection has been practiced by few and researched by many, the hidden practices of daily resistance have been an ongoing, broad phenomenon within militarized societies that remains scarcely researched. Using the theoretical framework based on everyday resistance and governmentality studies can reveal the significant politics behind unorganized soldier resistance to the military. Coined after the lovable literary character, "The Good Soldier Svejk", I argue that 'Svejkian subversive obedience' might shed light on the "learning and unlearning" of military norms and values. Furthermore, the research design is based on reflexive writing, Interviews with ex-soldiers and relevant governmental, military and other documents. Throughout the paper, I seek to explore how this form of 'strategic ignorance' serves as a tool of resistance available to the 'simple soldier', and how it might be utilized in shifting the meaning of military service from the collectives' hegemonic discourse that sides

with mass-conscription, back to the marginalized discourse that enables the agency of those who refuse to "play soldier".

6. Naama Lutz (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; naama.lutz@mail.huji.ac.il), *Securitization of the 'Boycott Divest Sanction' Campaign in Israel: Evaluating the Impact of 'Naming and Shaming' by TANs*

Naming and shaming campaigns are social signaling tools increasingly used by NGOs and TANs as an important means of advocating policy change in their target states and influencing international agenda. However, what effects do these campaigns have on their target societies? The paper builds upon research on global civil society, sanctions, stigma and securitization to answer this question.

Focusing on the case-study of Israel as a society subject to the naming and shaming campaign by the transnational Boycott Divest Sanction (BDS) Movement, this paper follows Israeli discourse to see how these social signals are received, interpreted, and turned into strategy and actions. Using the conceptual framework of securitization, the paper suggests that there is an increasing use of security discourse framing the BDS and de-legitimation attempts as an existential security threat to the State of Israel. The paper follows this securitization process of the BDS TANs and examines its impact by exploring which domestic interest groups this discourse strengthens, what actions are justified by this discourse, and what long-term effects this process can have on both domestic and international levels. In doing so it offers critical insights regarding the actual domestic impact of transnational naming and shaming campaigns.

7. Yaron Schneider (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; yaron.schneider@mail.huji.ac.il), *"States. Peacekeeping Forces, Non-State Actors and the Promotion of Domestic Security Governance in the Borderlands."*

IR studies about security in the borderlands tend to focus on states and international institutions, including peacekeeping forces, as major contributors to security enhancement. However, recent studies suggest that non-state actors may also play a significant role in this regard. These studies acknowledge the importance of non-state actors for security governance; i.e., achieving collective action in the realm of security, where it is not possible to rest on recourse to the authority of the state.

This paper examines the relationship of states, peacekeeping forces and non-state actors in the borderlands (hereinafter: the triangular relationship). It aims to explain the conditions under which the triangular relationship might promote or undermine the provision of domestic security governance. Accordingly, "domestic security governance" in this paper refers to coordinated efforts of the three different types of actors to achieve stability and prosperity in the borderland, and to reduce the occurrence of domestic conflicts.

The research predicts that the degree of domestic security governance is expected to increase, as actors establish more positive interactions among them, based on incentives to cooperate on domestic security. According to this logic, negative interactions are expected to impede the provision of domestic security governance.

My hypotheses present three different incentives or triggers for positive relations and enhanced security governance: trust building by communication and information sharing; the promotion

of socio-economic development, and the establishment of state-building norms in the borderland.

The research applies a comparison between two distinct cases: Southern Lebanon (between 2000 and 2007), and the Sinai Peninsula (between 2004 and 2014). Peacekeeping missions in these borderlands (UNIFIL and MFO) were originally designated to enhance inter-state coordination and stability, but during the period under examination domestic security problems have become the greatest security challenge to their mission in the borderland.

TP10: "Political Communication, Participation, and the Idea of Deliberative Democracy"
(Prof. Gonen Dori-Hacohen, University of Massachusetts, gonen@comm.umass.edu; and Dr. Idit Manosevitch, Netanya Academic College, manosevitch@gmail.com)

1.Saar Alon-Barkat (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; saar.barkat@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Effects of Substantive Information and Symbols on Citizens' Attitudes."*

Effective public communications have been proposed as a remedy for citizens' distrust in government. The studies that explored the effectiveness of government communications have focused mainly on the extent to which they provide substantive information about bureaucracies' actions. However, these studies have largely overlooked the effect of symbolic elements, entangled in these communications (e.g. logos, images and celebrities). This study aims to enhance our understanding of the different psychological effects of substantive information and symbolic elements, and the relations between them. Building on the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) from social psychology, I theorize that citizens will be more susceptible to substantive information (as opposed to symbols) when they perceive the policy issue in the communication as having personal relevance for themselves, which enhances their motivation to invest in elaborate processing. To test this expectation, I design two survey experiments, focusing on the responses of Israeli citizens to the Environmental-Protection Ministry's communication of its policy plan in relation to the air pollution in the Haifa Bay area. The communication will be displayed to subjects under varying conditions of substantive information and symbolic elements, to manipulate these factors. To account for personal relevance, I compare between citizens from the polluted Haifa Bay area and others. The results of Experiment 1 do not support the hypotheses. However, it tentatively suggests that symbolic elements reduce the effect of substantive information, and thus enhance citizens' trust in ill-conceived government policies. These findings will be replicated in experiment 2.

2.Jennifer A. Dodgson (Ph.D. Candidate, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore; Jennifer.dodgson@u.nus.edu), *"Interpreting 'Mass Incidents' in China: An Attempt to Understand Authoritarian Deliberation via Open-Ended Online Questionnnaires."*

'Mass incidents' - the official term for group protests in China number in the tens or hundreds of thousands per year. Online campaigns and individual demonstrations outside government offices are even more frequent. In a country where electoral data is limited and public polling sparse, they can provide a valuable insight into the ways in which the Chinese public, politicians and bureaucratic elites perceive and negotiate with one another. Until relatively recently, however, they have been difficult to study. Participants are often hard to track down

or refuse to speak to researchers, and those who are willing to talk will more often than not present a narrative designed to suit their own cause rather than aiming for objectivity.

This paper analyses responses from 200+ 'elite subjects' (politics and IR students at Tsinghua and Beijing University) and 'ordinary citizens' (sourced via Witmart.com) when faced with mocked-up news articles about a pair of fictitious protests: one regarding city planning laws and another concerning an off-shore territorial dispute. Participants are asked to interpret demonstrators' feelings and goals, and to suggest ways in which they would respond to the protests if they were the state officials tasked with managing these issues. Responses are then coded and mapped.

In this way, we develop a picture of the intersubjective meanings attached to different forms of protest in China, the strategies used by the various parties, and their expected outcomes.

3.Idan Douieb (MA, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; idandouieb@gmail.com), *"The Secret of Authenticity in Political Campaigns."*

"Authenticity" was one of the most highly-discussed political traits in the recent US presidential elections: pundits, columnists and experts have claimed that Donald Trump's spontaneous, simple and direct discourse served as an important advantage, which lead to his eventual victory over Hillary Clinton.

Though researches have previously expressed doubt over the impact that political traits have on the choice considerations of voters, neither do the disregard their effect completely, claiming the need for further research. Therefore, this research (M.A thesis) defines the characteristics of "Authenticity", its role in determining politicians' image and its impact on voters.

A two-factorial experiment was used to compare the effect of three characteristics of authenticity - "Integrity", "Popular and Familial Issues" and "Interactivity and Accessibility" on voters' tendencies to vote for a candidate; the perception of the gap between the "authentic politician" vs. the "average politician"; and the sense of closeness and identification with an "authentic" candidate.

The results show that, similarly to previous studies, "integrity" has a significant impact on voters, while non-political traits do not. However, the research also newly concluded that "Interactivity" was found to be a significant factor in voters' perceptions and tendencies towards candidates, regardless of the subject matter or the ideological message they were exposed to.

4.Avner Kantor(MA, Internet Research Center, Haifa University; avnerkantor@gmail.com), *"Transparency and Interactivity: Does Data Journalism Effects Civic Engagement?"*

The early 2000th has brought new political and technological developments in transparency which have the potential to affect participatory and deliberative democracy. Many governments adopted an Open Government policy which promotes transparency, responsibility and publicity. As a result, many databases were opened to the public. At the same time, the digital revolution developed big databases, world wide web, new retrieval tools, content management systems, visual tools and friendly analyzing software.

These developments were used by activists and hackers to create friendly accessibility to data stories in order to promote social action. This was also adopted by the newsrooms in order to enable audiences and reporters to interpret, analyze and present information. This revolution is

now called 'data journalism'. It is widespread and still developing. From the beginning the academic literature recognized it potential on the flow of information and on democratic processes. Although this new practice is well known, there is huge gap about the audience use and their perception of data journalism.

This paper focuses on the Guardian newspaper, which is one of the leading in the movement of data journalism. In 2009, it established a special section devoted to data journalism. Analyzing collection of articles from 2014-2016 (N=333) allows us to understand how the data journalism effect on the audience. The dataset includes online comments, responses and Facebook shares. The results show the efficiency of transparency and interactivity on people's civic engagement.

5.Agnieszka Sztajdel (Ph.D. Candidate, European University Institute, Political and Social Sciences, Italy; Agnieszka.sztajdel@eui.eu), *"Post-Truth Politics in Post-Smolensk Poland: Frame Analysis."*

The paper will focus on the mechanisms behind the frames of post-truth politics in the Smolensk plane crash context. In factual terms, it can be said that the Smolensk catastrophe, in which 95 high-ranking Polish officials were killed, was caused by the combination of the pilots' error and the bad weather conditions, as evidence has proved. Yet, half of the public opinion in Poland disbelieves the official findings of the investigation, and half of those citizens believe it to have been an assassination.

My work focuses on a particular case study, which attempts to investigate the way in which the Smolensk crash was framed. Particularly, how, Polish politicians have framed the crash to sway voters. What are the mechanisms employed in their use of the media as a means of polarising the multitude. What is happening in Poland today has revealed something more: how a shared belief in a particular conspiracy theory can play a role previously reserved for religion or ideology - how it can serve as an indicator of political identity.

My data comes from newspaper mix-method content analysis, which I conducted over a 5-year period. The analysis shows four main frames, of which one is a conspiracy theory supported by the now-incumbent Law and Justice party. The main political actors strategically introduced the Smoleask crash's discourse into their narratives, polarising Polish society, with old conflicts gaining a new dimension.

The paper will contain salient information not only for the understanding of Polish politics, but also for the field of political communication, particularly framing research.

6.Carmit Wolberg (MA, Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University; wolbergc@gmail.com), *"Twitter, Counter-Narratives and the Politics of Violent Protest."*

During August 2014, following the killing of an unarmed Black teenager named Michael Brown by Police Officer Darren Wilson, and after years of growing tension between residents and local police, dozens of residents and activists took their frustration to the streets of Ferguson Missouri, a small suburb of St. Louise. They came out to protest what they recognized as systemic racial injustices committed by police against the Black residents of Ferguson. The protestors, who were mostly peaceful, were greeted by a heavy-handed reaction from the police. In some cases the protests did turned violent, resulting in clashes with police as well as destruction and looting of some local businesses.

Throughout the protests many activists took to Twitter to document the events and share their experiences, opinions and thoughts, formulating different story from the one portrayed by mainstream media, which focused on the violent acts on the protestor's side, sometimes tagging the protests as riots. The growing discussion about Ferguson on Twitter reached three millions tweets per day at its peak, and made significant contribution to a broader national discussion regarding racial injustice and police brutality in the United States.

Twitter as a platform, which enables social movements to mobilize and organize protests has already been examined on a meta-data level, for example during the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. It has also been demonstrated that Twitter can act as a space where counter-narratives can be created and promoted, especially during contentious events. By adopting a micro-level approach, and examine three twitter feeds of prominent activists who participated and documented the Ferguson's protests, my goal is to explore how these competitive counter-narratives could highlight the intricate dynamics, ranges and limits of protest which involve violent acts, and to help us to better understand what type of political event unfolded in Ferguson.

7. Alon Zoizner (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; alon.zoizner@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Strategic Media Coverage and its Effects on Political Cynicism: A Meta-Analysis."*

The journalistic coverage of politics usually focuses on the competition between political actors, their strategies for gaining public support and their positions at the polls. The conventional wisdom is that this tendency is usually referred to as strategic, horse race or game coverage as it has a negative effect on the electorate, specifically by increasing political cynicism among citizens. While many studies examined this question in varying countries, periods and while using different operationalizations, it remains unclear whether the effect holds across different contexts. The current study investigates this question by conducting a meta-analysis on 23 effect sizes from 17 studies. Results show that strategic media coverage significantly increases political cynicism across studies and contexts. This effect is not moderated by system-level, media-level, context-level and measurement-level variables. The implications of this robust effect are discussed.

TP11: "Political Violence" (Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, University of California, Irvine, kopstein@uci.edu; and Dr. Devorah Manekin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, manekin@mail.huji.ac.il)

1. Efe Can Coban (MA, Department of International Relations, Koç University; efecoban16@ku.edu.tr), **and Illayda Bilge Onder** (MA, Department of International Relations, Koç University; bilgeonder@ku.edu.tr) , *"The Terrorism-Democracy Nexus and the Impact of Veto Players."*

This article examines the consequences of a certain type of political violence –terrorism on the process of democratization. It engages the idea that the size and intensity of the impact of terrorism on democratization differs across cases. We hypothesize that the existence of terrorist incidents by armed groups within a country decreases the consolidation of democratization; but not always in the same magnitude. Drawing on George Tsebelis's concept of veto players, we argue that presence of multiple veto players within the state system complicates the

implementation of anti-terrorism actions and prolongs the process of bargaining with the armed group, effectively hindering the democratic resolution of the armed conflict. Thus, in cases, where the number of veto players is higher, the magnitude of damage terrorism inflicts on the consolidation of democratization is greater. Using the polyarchy score in V-Dem project to measure the fluctuations in democratization, and using the checks variable from the Database of Political Institutions and the polcon index from the Political Constraints Dataset as proxies for determining the number of veto players, we adopt a statistical approach to test our hypothesis on a Large-N data consisting of all terrorist groups identified by UCDP Actor Dataset in all countries between 1975 to 2015. We find support for the argument that the magnitude of the decelerating effect of terrorism on democratization varies according to the number of veto players present in the system.

2. Moran Deitch (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, deitch.moran@gmail.com), "*Religion as a Barrier for Peace? Religious Influence on Violent Intrastate Conflict Termination, 1990-2014.*"

In recent years, a burgeoning literature has emerged on the relationship between religion and conflict. Contradictory theories address the development, dynamics and termination of religious violent intrastate conflicts. Some studies focus on the destructive role of religion, arguing that religious conflicts are longer, more violent and difficult to settle. Others argue that religion has an ambivalent role, both destructive and constructive, and recognize religion as a force for peacebuilding. This study focuses on an aspect of that literature which is understudied - the impact of religion on conflict termination and the possibilities for a peaceful settlement. Specifically, this study focuses on the relationship between religion and conflict termination by examining termination outcomes, based on the length and the level of violence, as well as incidents of reoccurrence. The study quantitatively examines 118 domestic conflicts between 1990 and 2014, utilizing the PITF (Political Instability Task Force) and RAS (Religion and State) datasets. The findings suggest that religious conflicts are likely to last longer than non-religious ones. However, the study reveals that religion has at most a weak influence on conflict termination as well as on the reoccurrence of conflicts and the violence level.

3. Yael Elster (Ph.D., Department of Economics, Hebrew University; yaelelster@gmail.com), "*Rockets and Votes.*"

The paper explores the electoral effects of rocket attacks from the Gaza Strip on Israeli localities. The identification of causal effects relies on the exogenous nature of the temporal and spatial variation in the intensity of the attacks. I merge a unique dataset on claims for property damages caused by rocket fire between 2001 and 2015 with detailed data on six rounds of national elections held in Israel since 1999. I find that additional 1,000 rocket-related claims in a locality increases right-bloc parties' vote-share by about 3-4 percentage points. The effect is primarily driven by large-scale costly attacks which led to above one hundred claims in the locality or a compensation amount of at least one million NIS (about 250,000 US dollars). Rocket attacks closer to election date, initial exposure of the locality to direct rocket fire and higher geographical proximity to the attack led Israeli voters to further increase their support for the right political bloc. Moreover, the effect of rocket-related claims on right-bloc vote-share was positive regardless of the political affiliation of the incumbent Prime Minister and under each type of Israeli response to the rocket threat (offensive or defensive). Crucially, I show that voting patterns are not affected in localities that are within the rocket range but do

not suffer from an attack. Thus, the political effect of rockets is driven by actual exposure to rocket fire rather than the mere threat of an attack.

4.Jony Essa (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University; jony.essa@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Does Security Sector Organization Matter? Continuity and Change in the Ownership of the Syrian Security Sector since 2000."*

In divided countries, when is the security sector used as a tool for nation-building, and when is it used to reinforce ethnic cleavages? Scholars of ethnic politics acknowledge the importance of the military in power struggles among ethnic groups, but none have addressed this puzzle. The paper addresses this puzzle by highlighting the crucial role of the military on domestic politics and the institutional role that the military plays in cementing perceptions of regime stability. This paper discusses the transformation of the officer corps of the Syrian Armed forces (SAF) from 2000-2017, based on original data collected on a few hundred officers who served in the SAF. The SAF is addressed as an institution that demonstrates the complex inter-linkage between the security sector, on the one hand, and the pattern of inter-communal relations, on the other, as well as the role of security sector organization in reducing political violence. The interplay between the transformation of the SAF over time and broader political and socioeconomic changes from the transition of rule in Syria from President Hafiz al-Assad to his son President Bashar al-Assad in 2000 until the present civil war is examined. In particular, we focus on the officers who served in the SAF, with an emphasis on its highest echelons, analyzing the social composition, military careers and political orientation of these officers aiming to establish who owned the Syrian Armed forces- and Syria`s security sector in general in different periods and to examine change and continuity in this regard. Theoretically the discussion is situated within broader debates on the establishment of political settlements and security institutions in divided societies. In addition, the paper debates questions, issues and problems related to data collection on security, the security sector (the military and the other security agencies) and on the relationship between security and politics in Syria as well as the larger Middle East.

5.Michael Freedman (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, MIT; mrfreed@mit.edu) and Dr. Daniel Karell, NYU Abu Dhabi, *"Roots of Radicalism: The Language of History, Modernity, and Localism in Afghanistan, 1979-2001."*

What rhetorical attributes define radical discourse? Why are some of these attributes, but not others, adopted by radicals? To better understand the rhetorical roots for radicalism, we develop a theory of the general attributes defining forms of radical discourse, as well as why these emerge among some radical actors, but not others. We theorize that varieties of radical discourse are defined in part by how the rhetoric place actors in time and conceptualize opponents. This indexing depends on how radicals interact with their audience, or the surrounding social actors, which, in turn, is a function of their extra-local support. We offer empirical support for our theory by drawing on an original corpus of over 20,000 pages of Afghan Mujahideen and Taliban documents from the years 1979 to 2001 and in five different languages, collected in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. First, we use recently introduced structural topic models to show how apparently monolithic worldviews like radicalism can contain sub-variants that evolve throughout time. Then, with data on groups' external support and oil shocks as an exogenous moderator, we show that radical actors foreign patronage and resulting interactions with the local populace helps drive radical thought towards distinct

discursive forms. Paradoxically, radical groups receiving the greatest amount of foreign patronage are the groups that champion a historically inevitable, societal-level fight against these same patrons. In addition, we demonstrate how a novel combination of comparative computerized text analysis and causal identification strategies can help theorize and analyze sociological processes affecting discourses.

6.Ehud Golan (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, 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/ethnic conflict (ethnic insurgencies) are perceived as wars without end. Long wars (10 years on average) that it is hard to bring them to conclusion.

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: 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 actor, which is usually considered less dependent on its population's war weariness.

The research method is a structured focused comparison of five case studies: 1. the first intifada 1987-1993. 2. The second intifada 2000-2005. 3. The conflict in North Ireland 1968-1998. 4. The conflict between Spain and ETA 1968-2011. 5. The conflict between the Philippines and the MNLF. In addition to the comparison between the cases, we shall conduct a within case-analysis comparing a failed attempt to end the war and a successful war termination in each case. This research design will enable us to isolate the influence of the explanatory variable, war weariness, on the dependent variable, war termination.

7. Dror Markus (MA, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; dror.markus@mail.huji.ac.il), "*Iranian Incitement since the Signing of the Nuclear Deal: Increased Frequency but More Cagey Content*"

Epidemiology is the study of the distribution and determinants of health-related states or events, and the application of this study to the control of diseases and other health problems. We propose the use of the concepts, models and techniques of epidemiology to track and predict violent action associated with terror and genocide. Specifically, we focus on the role of indoctrination and incitement as both an indicator and a cause of such violence. In this context, 'word pollution' is an appropriate term to describe hate speech, reflecting the concept of incitement as a hazardous exposure, with sources, paths and adverse effects that are analogous to air pollution. Thus, existing air pollution models from epidemiology can be applied to the study of the role of incitement and indoctrination in genocide and terror.

As a basis for our ongoing research into genocidal incitement modeling, we have been performing discourse analysis of Iranian incitement against Israel and the West since signing

the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's nuclear program. In this paper, we find two noteworthy trends. First, the frequency of incitement increased markedly following the agreement implementation. Second, the nature of incitement has changed: the rhetoric is more guarded and less blatant. These suggest a calculated manipulation by the Iranian regime of carefully crafting the motifs of incitement in a way that allows them maintain their hegemonic role within the Islamic world while minimizing the risk of aggravating the world powers.

Our epidemiological approach predicts increased violence in regions of highest exposure and provide insights with regard to prevention. These models indicate that prevention or eradication of genocidal terror requires not only tactical defeats or punitive measures against the perpetrators of violence. The hateful indoctrination and ideologies behind such violence must be stopped and countered by positive ideologies and role models.

8. Maisie McCormack (MA, Department of Political Science, New York University; Maisie.mccormack@nyu.edu), *"A Not So Civil War: Analyzing the Proxy Conflict in Post-Gaddafi Libya."*

The Post-Gaddafi Libyan Civil War has become a playground for the most brutal in Gulf diplomatic intricacies, one that has delivered vast negative impacts on socioeconomic conditions for Libyansultimately uninvested in regional rivalries. This paper tests the relationship between Emirati and Qatari resource rents and casualties in the apparent civil conflict in Libya, using a regression discontinuity design, finding a negative correlation between crude oil prices and casualties with enhanced effects post-bottoming out treatment, suggesting that economic interests and preservation of reputation play large roles in the continuing proxy conflict. This paper also demonstrates that competitive rent-contribution can result in larger scale strikes in associated conflict. Combined, these results offer a significant insight into the causes of escalation in the UAE-Qatar proxy ground conflict, and offers a predictive instrument for attacks in the Libyan conflict that have significant potential for de-escalation or evacuation.

TP12: "Regulation, Governance, and Neo-Liberalism" (Prof. David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, davidlevifaur@gmail.com)

1.Yael Barash (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Geography, Hebrew University; yaelbarashmaster@gmail.com), *"The Putty-Clay Business Hypothesis for Investing in Polluti*on Abatement Infrastructure and Operation by Indian Oil Refineries and Textile Industries."

In the absences of international pressure either by client or international market industrial firms from LDCs has little incentive to invest in environmental abatement. Why then do firms in LDCs would invest in end-of-pipe (EOP) treatment? This paper claims that in the absence of external pressure from regulation or customers, polluting industries will make a one-time investment and set up Effluent Treatment Plants (ETPs), but when the plant is up and running other consideration are taken and firms would prefer to avoid the cost of operation in the risk of receiving fins.

2.Sebastian Booth (Ph.D. Candidate, Politics, University of York, UK; sb816@york.ac.uk), *"Agencies, Networks, Context: Towards a Dialectical Understanding of Agency Independence."*

This paper discusses how regulatory networks shape the actual independence of regulatory agencies. It contends that existing approaches to the independence of regulatory agencies present a too unidirectional relationship between regulatory networks and agency independence either highlighting how networks facilitate or constrain independence. Utilising insights from the network governance literature, this paper develops a dialectical approach to regulatory independence. It identifies three dialectical relationships between: regulatory agencies and the structure of networks they interact with; network structure and the wider context; and the network structure and outcomes. This paper then illustrates these dynamics using the case study of the reform of private security regulation in the United Kingdom in the post-crisis era. In doing so, it contributes to debates on agency independence by highlighting the importance of context in shaping interactions between agencies and networks.

3.Burcu Bahar Gogus Dogan (Ph.D. Candidate, Social Sciences Institute, Ankara University; burcugogus@gmail.com),*"Exploring 'How Much' and "How' of Governance Transfer: Transformative Power of EU'Science and Research Policy in Turkey and Israel."*

2000s saw Turkey and Israel undergoing phenomenal transformations in the area of science and research. This period coincides with their deepening relations with the European Union (EU). This project explores whether, if so to what extent, and how EU's science and research policy led to increases in domestic 'policy capacity', understood as the skills and resources for performing policy functions, as 'governance transfer'? In exploring these questions, the paper goes beyond traditional analyses of Europeanization in the literature to investigate the 'how much' and 'how' of transferring governance. Each with sui generis types of partnerships with the Union, Turkey and Israel are 'crucial cases' of Europeanization, and hence, governance transfer. In order to do so, the paper, first, reviews the neo-institutionalist literature on Europeanization in general and studies that see these processes as 'governance transfer'. It also reviews the burgeoning literature on policy capacity emphasizing analytical, operational and political skills and competences. Second, it traces changes in the EU's existing international scientific and technological initiatives, programs, regulations and legislations affect national science and research policies, policy instruments, targets, structures and procedures amounting to a governance system. Third, it addresses the 'how much' question and for this purpose attempts to measure changes in governments' policy capacity in science and research policies in Israel and Turkey. In operationalizing changes in policy capacity, the paper focuses on 'policy intensity' and 'policy density' of policy outputs in this policy area. Fourth, the paper investigates 'how' transfer of EU governance takes place in these two crucial cases. The paper relies on original data obtained through qualitative in-depth interviews with key policymakers and relevant stakeholders as well as other primary sources including programming documents and legislative acts.

4.Zehavit Levitats (Ph.D./Postdoctoral studies; School of Political Science, Public Administration and Policy, University of Haifa; zhavit@gmail.com), *"Emotionally Engaged Civil Servants: Towards a Multi-Level Theory and Multi-Source Analysis in Public Administration."*

This study offers a multi-level theory of civil servants' engagement and demonstrates how multi-source analysis of its antecedents can add to both theory and practice in this arena. We suggest an integrative model for the understanding of engagement in the public sector, based on ideas rooted in the study of Emotional Intelligence (EI) and Public Service Motivation (PSM). We suggest Multi-Level Engagement (MLE) as a broader and richer concept that better adheres with the three levels of the social context towards which public servants are ideally engaged: the wide social community; the public organization, and the individuals with whom they interact during role performance. Our major hypotheses suggest (a) a direct positive effect of employees' EI on their MLE; (b) a moderating effect of managers' EI on the relationship between their employee's EI and MLE; (c) a direct positive effect of employees' EI on their PSM, (d) a direct positive effect of employees' PSM on MLE; (e) a mediating effect of employees' PSM on the relationship between their EI and MLE, and Finally (f) a moderating effect of employees' PSM on the relationship between their EI and MLE.

Both a survey method and experimental design will be used to test the model. First, a survey method will be used to test the hypotheses. Next, two laboratory experiments and one field experiment will be carried out to support the survey. The integration of three different research methodologies will strengthen the findings, implications and external validity of the integrative model and theory. Thus, the study aims to have the following theoretical and practical contributions: (1) Develop and examine a new theoretical construct of MLE, thereby setting the stage for future research on the civil servants engagement and its aftermaths; (2) Enrich the discussion on the effects of EI on the public sector, by revealing the impact of both employees and managers on public servants' engagement; (3) Support JD-R theory (Bakker & Demerouti 2014; Demerouti & Bakker 2011), by revealing the role of employees' and managers' EI as resource that buffers the undesirable impacts of job demands on MLE; (4) Substantiate prior empirical indications of a causal relationship between EI and PSM, using an experimental research design; (5) provide HR practitioners with insights on the EI and PSM profiles of candidates that may potentially become highly engaged public servants, and finally; (6) contribute to the current body of leadership literature by revealing the role of managers' emotional abilities in increasing employees' engagement.

5.Gil Maymon (MA, Political Science, Hebrew University; Gil.maymon@mail.huji.ac.il), *"The Center, the Periphery, and What is Between."*

The study of politics has always been connected with the geographic understanding of what it means to be located within, and belong to, a political sphere. Issues such as justice, equality, and full citizenry, cannot be distinguished from the spacial framework within which they occur. In Israel, as in the rest of the world, a growing concern relates to the gap between center and periphery. While calls for 'advantaging of the periphery' and equating it with the center persist, this study tackles some key questions that remain unanswered: what is the center? How do we define a periphery? Where are the gaps that need addressing, and how do these gaps measure in comparison to others?

The Israeli case in particular presents a challenging situation to the study of center and periphery, as physical location, state and municipal borders, as well as government allocations, are imbued with political, social, religious, and international meanings. This study tests the connection between a 'geographic peripheral measurement' and factors from a variety of welfare fields, such as education, health, social welfare, transportation, and law enforcement,

in Israel between the years 2015 and 2017. The results indicate that while physical location still acts as an important predictor with regards to social services, the Gini coefficient is not a good predictor for the social services offered within a locale. Moreover, other factors, such as majority-minority ratio, have their own impact on the social services allocated by the state, such that the greater the number of Arabs within a region, the less social services are provided. The results shed light on how our understanding of periphery may be expanded beyond strict physical aspects, and conceptualized in a social way as well. I conclude by expanding the theoretical implications of this argument to other cases facing similar center-periphery tensions.

6.Kirill Neverov (Ph.D./post-doctoral studies, Department of Political Governance, Saint Petersburg State University; kir.neverov@gmail.com), *"Post-Left Turn Argentina: Mauricio Macri's Policy Change."*

In the developing world democracy stressed by various challenges. In the context of world economic crisis, which has been stressing leading democracies and economies of the world for several past years, change in political and ideological paradigm in domestic policy effects such states much. Case of Argentina where in December, 2015 right-oriented Mauricio Macri became a president could be representative. During the three presidential terms the couple Kirchner led Argentina. Political scientists who study the political regimes in Latin America are place Argentina during that period among moderate left, the left reformists. Attention to the social sector, the use of populist techniques, flirting with neo-liberalism, the desire to establish strong ties with the international community (the BRICS, Russia) are all features of the Kirchener's policy. The economic policy was the failure: high inflation, unstable peso and unemployment provoked popular unrest, which further exacerbated the corruption scandals. Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner was replaced by right-wing Mauricio Macri took off the bat, hitting a series of liberal reforms on the economy of the country and declared readiness to proceed with the social and political reform. Foreign policy is also diversified, began a close contact with the US, which was confirmed by the US President's visit. In the context of the "right turn" it is interesting to trace how government policy is changing from the left to the right at the expense of the liberal reform of Macri and propose the forecast of possible development of the country.

7.Duyugun Ruben (MA, Modern Turkish History, Bogazici University; duyugunruben@gmail.com) *"'Actually Existing Neoliberalism' in Istanbul in the AKP and the Case of Kayasehir."*

This study aims to explain the emergence of KayaÅŸehir(located in the district of BaÅŸakÅŸehir, Istanbul), the 'biggest satellite city project of Turkey', through the theoretical framework provided the regulation school and the notion of 'actually existing neoliberalism'. In a nutshell, the notion of actually existing neoliberalism denotes that neoliberalism (or more accurately neoliberalization) is a process, which is geared towards marketization and commodification of every aspect of social life but which is also shaped by the context specific features of the geography that it seeks to transform.

In this study, the attempt of seeking to explain the emergence of KayaÅŸehir will mainly consist of three major interrelated sections. In the first section, I will explain the simultaneous extension of marketization/commodification and social policies in many policy areas such as health, education, labour and housing, throughout the AKP era in Turkey. I will argue that this

simultaneous extension of commodification and social policies are one of the main features of 'actually existing neoliberalism' in Turkey. Exploring this feature of the â€˜actually existing neoliberalism' will help us understand the characteristics urban transformation and housing policies in Turkey. In the second section, I will try to explore the importance and the role of the construction and real estate sectors for capital accumulation in the AKP era. More specifically, I will focus on the commodification of urban land and the related urban transformation phenomenon in Istanbul. In the third section, I will try to establish the relationship between KayaÅŸehir and the 'New Istanbul' vision of the AKP, which basically aims to establish a â€˜new city' in the northwestern areas of Istanbul, and which is related to the controversial megaprojects of the AKP government in Istanbul.

8. Ido Siva Sevilla (Ph.D. Candidate, Public Policy, Hebrew University, ido.sivan@mail.huji.ac.il) *"Governing Cybersecurity Risks: A Comparative Analysis of Risk-Based Approaches with US Cybersecurity Regulatory Regime."*

How can we explain different risk approaches across the U.S. cybersecurity regulatory regime? In order to answer this question, I conduct a process tracing analysis (Bennet 2005) on the development of U.S. cybersecurity regulations over five decades. I find that the regulatory regime is organized across three main pillars: privacy, national security, and the digital economy. Each pillar embeds a different risk governance approach: (1) The Cyber-privacy regime is focused on risk mitigation. It tolerates privacy losses from government and private sectors in times of national security crises or the introduction of new technologies, and enforces privacy protections only in retrospect after the damage; (2) The Cyber-National Security Regime is risk-averse. It is heavily funded, and focused on the prevention of risks through cooperation of stakeholders in the domains of critical infrastructures and national security systems; the (3) Cyber-Private Sector Security Regime adopts a risk negligence approach. It is mostly underfunded without proper market incentives to invest in security. It adopts a model of process-based regulation (Gilad 2010, Thaw 2014) at the federal level and outcome-oriented regulation with limited impact at the states level. The variance in risk approaches can be explained through path-dependency in risk perceptions by U.S. policymakers, the domination and power of U.S. security institutions over privacy and private-sector interests in the decision-making process, and the role of business interests in the cybersecurity policy processes. By adopting a broad yet refined perspective on the development of cybersecurity regulations across the three main pillars, we can better assess the conflicts and drivers behind risk governance decisions embedded in U.S. regulations of cybersecurity and uncover the polymorphic role of the state in cybersecurity governance.

9. Albert Veksler (Ph.D. Candidate, School of Business, Dublin Institute of Technology; albert.veksler@gmail.com), *"Transparency of Blame-Shifting."*

Many scholars claim that lobbying regulations offer increased accountability to the voters and transparency of the decision-making processes, as well as diminishing gaps in the system, which would allow for corrupt behavior. The initiators of the Israeli Lobbyist Law (2008) declared that their goals were transparency, public interest and order. The lobbyists, in turn claimed that instead of exposing the decision-making processes, the decision makers chose blaming the lobbyists as the most convenient solution. If transparency was their real goal then the Knesset Members (MKs), the cabinet ministers and the civil servants should have been the ones to declare with whom they met. Since the lobbyist law is valid only in the Knesset building

and it did not regulate lobbying the cabinet, it conveniently provided politicians with some new means of defusing public concerns over how policy was being formulated. This paper will show that the interviewed lobbyists observed massive use of declarative bills and legislation to pronounce policies in order to preserve certain underlying values. Subtle, mutually beneficial relationship between MKs and lobbyists casted it's shadow over the legislative process of the lobbying regulations. Transparency was as pretext for not dealing with real issues of needed policy change and not as a goal as declared. This gap between the declared goals and the resulting implementation of the law reveals a new phenomenon that is not to be confused with removing the theatre curtains and exposing and revealing the decision making processes. We see that instead of that a qualitatively distinct phenomenon is created as demands of transparency subtly force actors to modify their behavior to fit the expectations of the public and hide their true motives and lobbying processes from the eyes of the public in a new way.

TP13: "Law, Politics, and Society" (Prof. Malcolm Feeley, University of California, Berkeley, mfeeley@law.berkeley.edu)

1. Ofir Hadad (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; hadad.ofir@gmail.com), *"The Policy Toward Low-Level Palestinian Collaborators and the Israeli Legal System."*

This paper asks whether and how Israeli policy toward low-level Palestinian collaborators encourages Palestinian immigration into Israel. Based on three of the main forms of the Coping Strategy, which is taken from the field of public policy, we argue that Israel's policy toward this population is characterized by formal and informal coping arrangements that not only reflect temporary and partial solutions, but in practice lead to a consistent and expanding flow of Palestinians into Israel.

Not surprisingly, the monitoring of Palestinian collaborators is a very sensitive security issue. Most of the relevant documents are classified and therefore inaccessible to academic research. As a result, the methodology of this research is based only on public sources, which were examined by a qualitative content analysis. The database of the research comprises 530 petitions submitted by Palestinians to the Israeli High Court of Justice from the late 1990s through 2015. The petitioners asked the Court to be formally recognized as 'threatened' in light of the suspicion that they have collaborated with one of the Israeli security agencies. In addition, this research includes a critical review of the main legislative procedures concerning low-level Palestinian collaborators.

2. Refia Kadayifci (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Law, Louvain University, Belgium; refia.kadayifci@uclouvain.be), "*When is 'Environmental Discrimination' wrong?"*

Environmental benefits and burdens are not distributed equally among various groups of people. This fact appeared as a significant social justice problem by the end of 1970s in the United States, following the civil activism dominated by women and people of color. The 1994 Executive Order issued by President Clinton directed federal agencies to address such disproportionate and adverse human health or environmental effects of their actions both on minority and low-income populations. Similar concerns were incorporated into the social policy of Europe in the early 2000s. In this respect, environmental racism, i.e. environmental injustices motivated both by race and socio-economic status, is the most referenced type of

environmental discrimination. Yet, it is not the only one. Ecofeminism put forward that women and children are seriously disadvantaged with regard to the impacts of certain environmental degradation. Recently, the necessity for a specific policy focus on women with their different circumstances and needs in their role of protecting children from climate change and hazardous chemicals is being discussed in the international arena. Inevitably, there have been a considerable amount of court cases, including the current climate cases, in reference to such adverse effects that environmentally vulnerable groups are predisposed. My research discusses whether 'anti-discrimination law' can be useful to address such 'environmental discrimination' issues.

In this paper, I will particularly focus on developing a theoretical framework on this issue by asking: when is 'environmental discrimination' wrong? i.e. which environmental injustices can become subject to anti-discrimination law? My claim is, environmental discrimination is wrong if (1) certain individuals or groups unfairly shoulder a great environmental burden for rest of the society and (2) such shouldering stems from a demeaning action/inaction which is connected to a particular trait. By this way, I am hoping to offer a framework which could be helpful to clarify the environmental policies that should be brought before the courts as anti-discrimination claims.

3. Nir Kosti (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University; Nir.Kosti@mail.huji.ac.il), *"Does Law Create Regulation?"*

The literature on regulation and governance has discussed so far various rationales, factors and actors behind the growth and decline of regulations. However, our knowledge of the dynamic of national regulatory outputs, both empirically and theoretically, is still limited. This paper offers a novel approach to the study of the dynamics of state regulation in two ways: First, by using data from official gazettes of rulemaking activities and thus advancing for the first time the empirical study of the issue. Second, by examining the understudied relationships between law (primary or parliamentary legislation) and regulation (secondary or delegated legislation). To do so, it examines the decline in the rate of growth of regulations in Israel since 1985, and asks: to what extent has the decline in the annual production of regulations in Israel since 1985 been driven by changes in the production and attributes of laws and amendments? Three hypotheses are raised, with each reflects a different type of relationship between law and regulation that may explain the decline in Israeli Regulation. It finds that the number of laws without regulations or amendments had risen from 1985, but they were not found to be used as substitutive instrument of regulations. The decline in regulation, however, was found to be related to a considerable decrease in regulatory laws, that is, laws that are executed and implemented by regulations. This tendency highlights that most of the regulations produced in Israel since 1985 were granted their authority by relatively old laws. The democratic implications of these findings are then discussed.

4. Elya Lucy Milner (Ph.D.Candidate, Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University; elyamilner@gmail.com), *"The 'Erasure of the Erasure': Producing a Continuously Open Urban Frontier in Tel-Aviv."*

This paper attempts to examine the continuities and extensions of settler colonial land appropriation logics into the current processes of urban spatial restructurings in the neoliberal context. It suggests a theoretical outline for such examination, analyzing urban neoliberalization as derived from settler colonial fundamental practice of land appropriation:

the rendering of existing patterns of inhabitation of space as unrecognizable, invalid and invisible, and their replacement by imagined geographies.

The paper examines these theoretical suggestions using the case study of Giv'at-Amal, a neighborhood in Tel Aviv that was established on the emptied Palestinian village of Jamassin in the war of 1948, now facing evictions by private entrepreneurs constructing a luxurious residential compound. Reading this chronology as an 'archaeology of displacements', the paper suggests that the neoliberal restructuring of the area is integral to the ongoing process of its production as part of a settler-colonial urban endeavor. By so doing it aspires to contribute to the critical writing on the spatial history of the city of Tel Aviv, as a locus of the Israeli-Palestinian space.

TP14: "Identity, Space, and Place in the Israeli and Jewish Context" (Prof. Ilan Zvi Baron, Durnham University, UK; ilan.baron@durham.ac.uk)

1. Dalya Arussy (MA, Department of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion – Israel Institute of Technology; darussy@technion.ac.il), *"The Other and Me in the City: The Caser of the German Colony in Haifa."*

In recent decades we have witnessed the rise in globalization with population migrations crossing country lines. Concurrently, urban environments are being favored over rural settings in a process of urbanization, further bringing people of varying backgrounds together. Cities in Europe have attempted to plan for the various demographic groups, but many cities are left with divided neighborhoods. The challenge now is hot to serve, manage, and plan these cities to include its diverse inhabitants, most prominently by forming spaces for interaction between them. Our research examines the German Colony in Haifa as a case-study of a shared space with varied populations. As a neighborhood within the mixed city of Haifa that boasts not only a diverse residential population but also contains a range of visitors, we investigate what draws people to the space in order to identify urban design and planning elements that play a dominant role in creating a positive experience of shared space. Using the German Colony's main axis, Ben Gurion Boulevard, as the field of research, we conducted a survey, interviewed frequent users, and held a focus group. This paper delineates the tripartite cultural aspect of Ben Gurion Boulevard in order to shed light on planning for mixed shared spaces elsewhere. In this way, rather than merely physically containing varying populations, urban spaces may also socially bring them together.

2. Yeufen Hsieh (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, SUNY Albany; yhsieh4@albany.edu), *"Crafting Citizens and Immigrants: Negotiating Room for Non-Jewish Migrants in the Jewish State."*

This paper adopts the analytical framework of discursive institutionalism to understand immigration politics in Israel. I argue that Israeli immigration politics impinges on constant reinterpretation, negotiation, and compromise over *who we are* and *who can join us*. Focusing on actors' discursive interactions, I trace the following causal processes to explain policy change or stasis: the coordinative discourses of policy actors that define the ideal citizenry of the Jewish state; the coordinative discourses of policy actors that accommodate competing interpretations of the Jewish state; and the communicative discourses of political actors that define *who we are* and *who can join us*. These discursive interactions constitute the attempts

of crafting "citizens" and "immigrants" that reclassify various non-Jewish migrants into advantaged, disadvantaged, antithetical and disputed groups, making policy changes most likely for the advantaged groups and least likely for the antithetical groups.

3. Marta Burgos Gonzalez (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; martabures@hotmail.com),*"Divergent Voices in Israel."*

Talking about Israel inevitably involves talking about the Jewish people, taking into consideration an erroneous association of the Israeli and Jewish term, making european media use both terms as if they were interchangeable. History of Israel begins with the history of the Jewish people, but we must not forget that it is possible being Israeli without being Jewish and vice versa, since the first terms refers people in a political sense while the second one does in a religious or cultural sense.

On the other hand, the existing conflict in the area has left aside other possible facets of study. Researchers and international organizations have focused on establishing the dimensions of the conflict, leaving out of study the construction of an identity, the pillars that sustain Israel as a society, its social articulation of this diversity that emerged from the creation of the State of Israel. New terms are necessary to understand the Israeli society like Ashkenazi, misrahies, haredim and olim hadasim. These social distinctions, in many respects, mark the socio-political cleavages and offer a certain vision and narrative of the construction of the State of Israel.

The general objective of this study is to deconstruct the hegemonic national narrative of Israeli society and to accommodate alternative interpretations. The first hypothesis to be proved is that the national narrative has been created giving a greater weight to the trauma Ashkenazi- and much smaller to the reality Misrahi contributing to create an excluding narrative of a part of the population with Jewish origin.

The second hypothesis to be demonstrated is that this aspect has been revealed after the Second Intifada, where the Israeli society itself calls into question some fundamental aspects of its construction and begins to accommodate alternative voices to the national narrative. The third hypothesis to prove is that this process has become possible thanks to the fact that the misrahies of origin are beginning to reclaim their space within the elites and Israeli society.

4.Naomi Michaeli (MA, Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University; naomi.michaeli@gmail.com), "*Who's In and Who' s Out? Art in the Public Space: Creating a Place and an Identity."*

Hanukah 2016, Thursday night, Fein street in south Tel-Aviv's Neve Sha'anan neighborhood. A video-art of the artist Sigalit Landau is screened on what remains from a partially-destroyed building. Next door, adjacent to a sex toy shop and an Eritrean juice bar, a large Israeli 'culture' audience looks at a light-installation exhibition of the artist Noa Peleg. Across the street, Israeli border police arrest the leader of a local activists' demonstration, demanding deportation of African refugees.

On this street, in one of the poorest neighborhoods in Tel-Aviv, on the first night of the local arts festival, "Nightlight TLV,", several opposing local political groups intersect: local neighborhood activists, sex workers, local refugees from Africa, migrant workers from the Philippines and a mainstream Israeli culture audience. This intersection is what I wish to explore. Which political forces are enforced on a local arts festival, and can it still present a

trustworthy local narrative? How does a local arts festival interact with local political forces, and does it have a political impact? How do local political forces influence the festival's aim to collaborate with and explore local narratives through artistic action? I will critically discuss these questions through the theoretical and practical paradigm of "Creative Placemaking" in the urban context.

My research methodology is based on two corresponding methods:

Ethnographic observations: participation in festival steering and production meetings, observing the event, the interaction with audiences and their reaction and the impact on the ite and on residents. As a resident myself, I must include my personal point of view in the research.

Semi-structured interviews with: festival curators, participating artists, local neighborhood activists, African refugees who live locally, municipality stakeholders, representatives of local political organizations.

5.Nadezhda Yermakov (Post-doct, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ariel University; GorodokN@yandex.ru) *"The Role of Women in the Struggle for Immigration from the Soviet Union to Israel."*

The role of women in the history of the Zionist movement in the Soviet Union ; unique role and courageous deeds which deserve be preserved on the pages of Jewish history forever. Today when borders between countries are open and every Jewish person can decide where to reside in the world, it is difficult to imagine that several decades ago the situation was entirely different in the Soviet Union where borders were sealed, Jews were denied exit visas and suffered punitively for their desire to immigrate to Israel. The aim of this paper is to analyze the diversity of women's roles in the history of the Zionist movement in the Soviet Union. Women in the Soviet Union fought for the right for repatriation to Israel in behalf of themselves, their families and for the Jewish people in the USSR. They were prisoners of Zion, wives and daughters of prisoners of Zion, refusenik women who participated in protests and demonstrations, wrote and signed appeals, organized: Hebrew ulpans, seminars on Jewish history, Jewish holidays and Shabbat celebrations, and Jewish kindergartens in underground conditions, helped prisoners of Zion and their families and advocated in their behalf, were Aliya activists, organized: refusenik women's groups, a second generation group, legal seminar, medical aid and entered into open confrontations against the might of the Soviet Union. The name of each one of these courageous women should never be forgotten.

6.Renen Yezersky (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University; reneny@post.bgu.ac.il), *"The Privatized Arena of Jewish Conversion and Immigration from Mestizo-America."*

Israel's immigration and religious conversion apparatuses are facing significant contemporary challenges. On one hand, Israel is dealing with a notable rise in the number of Jewish immigrants who are not considered Jewish by the Halacha, and whose presence in Israeli society has become widespread and visible. On the other hand, the extensive global phenomenon of emerging Jewish communities, whose convert and lead an observant Jewish life, largely without Israel's official recognition, presents fundamental questions about the boundaries of the Jewish political community in Israel.

This article will focus on describing the privatized arena of the Jewish immigration and conversion in the Mestizo-American countries, while identifying the different prominent competitors acting within it. By doing so, I will analyze this phenomena as privatization of merit goods which in the Israeli case is the privatization of its ethno-national institutions: Jewish immigration and conversion.

My main argument is that privatization advances Israel's ethno-national objectives: the expansion of immigration to strengthen Israel's Jewish demographic majority; and the preservation of a homogenous Orthodox Jewish identity among all members of the political community. Moreover, privatization serves as an instrument of the State to bypass the dogmatic bureaucratic control of the Ministry of Interior, and in the religious conversion apparatus - thus allowing the State to neutralize the main impediment to the realization of its national goals.