

Political Strategy in Israel (PLSC 485R)

Professor: Dr. Maoz Rosenthal

Email: mrosen@binghamton.edu

Office: LNG 90

Phone: 607-777-3260

Class Meeting: TR 4:25-5:50

Class Location:

Office Hours: Tuesday 10:00-12:00

Course Description: Political Strategy in Israel (PLSC 485R)

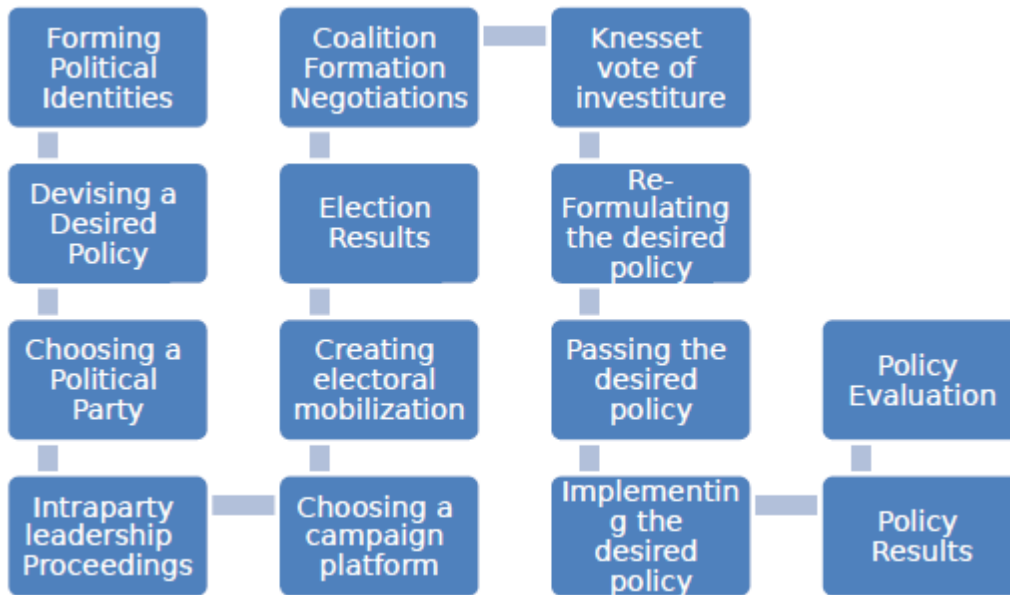
How would you like to be Israel's Prime-Minister? If you do wish to become Israel's Prime-Minister what should you do to take over that position? Once you are there what do you want to do? What can you do? If you are not able to become Israel's Prime-Minister what can you do to promote your goals? What are the goals that you cannot promote? Do you need to be a Prime-Minister to get your wills? Do you even need to be a politician to do so? Can you be external to the formal political system and promote your policy desires? Is it even better? Using a diverse arsenal of theoretical tools and an extensive empirical knowledge on the Israeli political system we will simulate electoral strategy and public policy design in Israel.

The course will be based on active participation.

Also, students are expected to have previous academic knowledge on the Israeli government structure.

Course Plan

The course will follow the path of having a policy purpose in politics and implementing it. For each phase I will first teach the 'academic' central knowledge and then we will simulate it in class on the basis of the roles and the class-based interactions.



Roles

1. Likud
2. Labor
3. Kadima/Yesh Atid
4. Israel our home
5. Meretz
6. Shas
7. The Jewish Home/National Unity
8. Hadash

In the end of 2nd week you will send me your 3 most-preferred roles. I will then assign you to these roles and the game will begin. Those specifically interested in one particular party will need to give a very strong argument to be that party. Disappointments might happen in political life and simulations).

Readings

Generally the readings will be at the background of the activities. Many of you studied the Politics in Israel course that course's basic text books are strong enough for the background we need. Hence, I am re-referring you to:

Dowty, A. (1998). *The Jewish State*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Arian, A. (2005). *Politics in Israel: The Second Republic*. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Shepsle, K.A. (2010). *Analyzing Politics*. New York: WW Norton & Co. 2nd ed.

Bard, M. G. and D. Nachmias (Eds.) (2009). [*Israel Studies: An Anthology*](#). DC: Jewish Virtual Library, 2009. Which is accessible online at:

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/isdf/text/anthologytoc.html?352,279>

The syllabus also includes empirical papers which will serve as a reference for your decisions and activities. Even if in class I will less lean directly on the books and papers I will definitely expect that you will use them in the final paper.

Weeks 1-2: Israel's Cleavages' Structure and Consequent Policy Dimensions

I will take the first two meetings to re-introduce Israel's cleavages' structure and their policy consequences. Following that introduction you will send me your desired political parties' placements on the basis of your policy interests.

Reading Items:

Dowty, 1998, Ch. 7

Arian, 2005, Ch. 2

Arian, A. and M. Shamir (2008). "A Decade Later, the World Had Changed, the Cleavage Structure Remained Israel 1996—2006". *Party Politics* 14(6): 685-705.

Weeks 3-4: Devising a Desired Policy

After being placed in a group, each group will work on formulating policy positions on each of the following topics. We will first have an instructed class-level discussion and then work in small groups to come up with basic policy positions regarding these policies which are central for the Israeli polity.

The West Bank and Gaza

The Reut Institute. *The Palestinian Challenge*. <http://reut-institute.org/Default.aspx?SubjectId=99>

Rosenthal, M. & G. Doron (2009). "Israel's 1993 Decision to Make Peace with the PLO: Or How Political Losers (this time) Became Winners", *International Negotiation*, 14(3):449-474. Can be obtained at my website:

http://www.academia.edu/389678/Israels_1993_Decision_to_Make_Peace_With_the_PLO_or_How_Political_Losers_This_Time_Became_Winners

Doron, G. & M. Rosenthal (2012). "Intra-Domestic Bargaining over the Lands and the Future: Israel's Policy towards the 1967 Occupied Territories" . In: Daniel Bartal & Izhak Schnell (eds.).

40 Years to Israeli Occupation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Can be obtained at my website:

http://www.academia.edu/712520/Multiparty_Democracies_and_Occupied_Territories_Theory_and_Evidence_from_the_Israeli_and_Croatian_Cases

Nuclear Middle East

Perthes, V. (2010). 'Ambition and Fear: Iran's Foreign Policy and Nuclear Programme'.

Survival: Global Politics and Strategy. Vol. 52(3): 95-114

[http://swp-](http://swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/fachpublikationen/100605_Irans_Foreign_Policy_Survival_52_3_09_Perthes_KS.pdf)

[berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/fachpublikationen/100605_Irans_Foreign_Policy_Survival_52_3_09_Perthes_KS.pdf](http://swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/fachpublikationen/100605_Irans_Foreign_Policy_Survival_52_3_09_Perthes_KS.pdf)

Fiore, M. (2011). 'Israel and Iran's Nuclear Weapon Programme: Roll Back or Containment?'

Istituto Affari Internazionali IAI WORKING PAPERS 11 | 18 – July 2011

<http://docs.jean-jaures.net/NL446/defense.pdf>

Israeli, O. (2012). 'An Israeli Plan B for a Nuclear Iran'. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 16 (2): 52-60.

<http://www.gloria-center.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Israeli-revised-YA-au1-PDF.pdf>

State and Religion

Arian, 2005, Ch. 1

Dowty, 1998, Ch. 8.

Socio-Economic Policy

Arian, 2005, Ch. 3

Cohen, N., S. Mizrahi and F. Yuval (2011). 'Public Attitudes towards the Welfare State and Public Policy: the Israeli Experience.' *Israel Affairs*. 17(4): 621–643

Meydani, A. (2008). 'Political entrepreneurs and electoral capital: the case of the Israeli State Economy Arrangement Law'. *Constitutional Political Economy*. 19:301–312

Electoral System

Arian, 2005, Ch. 7

Carey, J.M. & S. Hix (2011). "The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems". *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 383-397.

Rahat, G & R.Y. Hazan (2011). 'The Barriers to Electoral System Reform: A Synthesis of Alternative Approaches'. *West European Politics*, 34:3, 478-494

Week 5: Choosing a Party Platform

Party platforms are supposed to combine sincere policy and strategic considerations. We will discuss these considerations will re-familiarize ourselves with the basics of the Israeli party system. Then we will work in groups to come up with party platforms.

Austen-Smith, D. and J. Banks (1988). "Elections, Coalitions and Legislative Outcomes." *American Political Science Review*. 82(2): 405-422.

Roemer, J. E. (1998). "Why the poor do not expropriate the rich: An old argument in new garb". *Journal of Public Economics* 70 (3), pp 399-424.

Schofield, N. J. and I. Sened (2005). "Multiparty Competition in Israel, 1988–96". *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(4): 635-663

Schofield, N. J. and I. Sened (2005). "Modeling the Interaction of Parties, Activists and Voters: Why is the Political Center so Empty?" *European Journal of Political Research* 44(3), 355-90.

Arian, 2005, Ch. 5

Doron, G. (2005). "Right as Opposed to Wrong as Opposed to Left The Spatial Location of "Right Parties" on the Israeli Political Map". *Israel Studies* 10(3): 29-53

Week 6: Creating electoral mobilization

After formulating a party platform designed to maximize votes you will need to develop an electoral turnout strategy. We will think about the basics of electoral turnout, electoral behavior as a whole and in particular in the Israeli case. After understanding the basics each party will design and present its turnout mobilization strategy.

Riker, W. H. and P. C. Ordeshook (1968). "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting". *American Political Science Review* 62: 25-42.

Green D.P. & Gerber A.S. (2003). 'Getting Out the Vote in Local Elections: Results from Six Door-to-Door Canvassing Experiments'. *The Journal of Politics* 65:1083-1096

Arian, 2005, Ch. 8

Bargstad, M. & O. Kedar (2009). "Coalition-Targeted Duvergerian Voting: How Expectations Affect Voter Choice under Proportional Representation". *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 307-323

Nachmias, D., M. Rosenthal and H. Zubida (2012). 'Local and National Electoral Turnout: A Theory and Evidence from the Israeli Case'. *Paper to be Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting*.

Submission Paper #1

Week 7: Election Results

I will post the electoral results and then we will analyze these results and prepare for the coalition negotiations. The results' analysis will be based on the following papers:

Austen-Smith, D. and J. Banks (1988). "Elections, Coalitions and Legislative Outcomes." *American Political Science Review*. 82(2): 405-422.

Sened, I. (1996). 'A Model of Coalition Formation: a Theory and Application'. *The Journal of Politics* 58: 350-372.

Mershon, C. (2001). 'Contending Models of Portfolio Allocation and Office Payoffs to Party Factions: Italy, 1963-79'. *American Journal of political Science* 45(2): 277- 293.

Week 8: Coalition Formation, Negotiations and Knesset Investiture

On the basis of the parties' policy positions and electoral results there will be a coalition sought for yielding an agreement between the sides. The coalition will HAVE to be approved by the Knesset.

Laver, M. & K.A. Shepsle (1990). 'Coalitions and Cabinet Government'. *The American Political Science Review*. 84 (3): 873-890.

Heller, W.B. & C. Mershon (2005). 'Party Switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1996–2001'. *The Journal of Politics* 67(2): 536–559.

Carroll, R. and G.W. Cox (2012). 'Shadowing Ministers: Monitoring Partners in Coalition Governments'. *Comparative Political Studies* 45(2) 220–236

Arian, ch. 9

Week 9: Easter/Passover

Week 10-11: Re-Formulating the desired policy

Now the coalition needs to choose one policy derive a bill from it have a government's decision, coalitional agreement, and Knesset approval (first vote->committee bargaining and vote->second and third Knesset votes.

Moe, T. E. (2005). "Political Control and the Power of the Agent". *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*. 22(1):1-29

Arian ch. 10

Rosenthal, M. (2012). 'Agenda Control in an Unstable Parliamentary Democracy: Evidence from the Israeli Public Sector'. *Constitutional Political Economy*. 23(1): 22-44.

Submission Paper 2#

Week 12: Policy Implementation

After politics has been done the bureaucracy deals with policy implementation with the supervision of the politicians. Who should do what? How do you monitor the bureaucracy? Is the opposition's role over when policies are implemented?

Alesina, A. and Tabellini, G. (2007). "[Bureaucrats or Politicians? Part I: A Single Policy Task](#)". *American Economic Review* 97 (1): 169-179.

Alesina, A. and G. Tabellini (2008). "[Bureaucrats or Politicians? Part II: multiple Policy Tasks](#)". *Journal of Public Economics* 92(3-4): 426-447.

Huber, J. D. (1998). 'How Does Cabinet Instability Affect Political Performance?

Portfolio Volatility and Health Care Cost Containment in Parliamentary Democracy'. *American Political Science Review* 92 (2): 577-591.

Arian, ch. 11

Nachmias, D. & Arbel-Gantz, O. (2006). "Policy Implementation in Israel: The Loss of Government Capacity". *International Journal of Public Administration*. 29(9): 679-699.

Week 13: Policy Evaluation

Results of the policy process will be announced it is time for damage control and assessments of policies. This evaluation will relate to the political aspects as well as the policy aspects of the outcomes of the policies taken.

McCubbins, M., R. Noll & B. R. Weingast (1987). 'Administrative Procedures a Instruments of Political Control'. *Journal of law, Economics and Organization*. 3(2):243-277.

Rosenthal, M. and A. Wolfson (2010). ""The Determinants of Budgetary Implementation: A Theory and Evidence from the Israeli Case". NEPSA Annual Conference, Boston, MA.

Nachmias, D. and O. Arbel-Gantz (2005). 'The Crisis of Governance: Government Instability and the Civil Service'. *Israel Affairs* : 281-302.

Week 14: De-Brief

This week will be dedicated to providing a joint narrative of the events that happened throughout the simulation and discuss their meaning. Each party will fully disclose what it did and why and we will try to gather the effects of all the moves and aims taken by the parties. Using the narrative we will re-discuss the main theories we presented and used throughout the semester. Also we will try to offer specification of these claims to the Israeli case as we experienced it.

Grading

The grade will be based on the following three components:

Participation and discussion: 30%

Two papers: 30%

Take home exam: 40%

1. Participation and discussion:

- a. Attendance: Attendance will be checked every meeting. After four unapproved absences you will not be eligible for the participation and discussion grade. Students who did not attend at all will receive the grade 'No Show F'.
- b. Active participation (30%): both the 'classical' academic part of the course and the simulation part of the course are based on active participation. For the academic part those who participated in the discussion will approach me at the end of class and will receive a signature for participation. For the simulation part I will observe the class participation and will grade it. Moreover, as we will use the course's website's blogs and discussions features any student who will create a discussion or blog on the system will receive somewhere between a point to five points based on the quality of the discussion/blog.

2. Papers (60%):

During the semester you will have to submit two papers. The **General Instructions for Submission:**

- a. Needless to mention, academic writing and citing rules apply for the position papers you need to submit as well as the take home exam. Each paper should be 2-3 pages long (including bibliography), font Times New Roman size 12 with 1.5 line spacing and the Microsoft Word default margin size.
- b. Any data when used should appear in clear tables in the paper itself while citing the sources and websites you based your analysis on.
- c. The papers should be submitted on time via Blackboard. The TURNITIN entries will be in the content part of the website.
- d. Any delay needs to be coordinated and approved by me at least a week before the preset date of submission. Any uncoordinated delay in submission would yield a zero grade.

The first paper (15%):

The public party platform:

1. Your policy beliefs and goals on each of the policy areas we discussed.
2. The public policies you will pursue while you are in power.

The private party platform:

What are the strategic considerations at the basis of each policy commitment?

The Second Paper (15%):

The bill devised by the coalition:

1. Explain the bill and its main policy aims.
2. Describe and explain your party's positions regarding the policy.
3. Describe and explain the steps you can and should take in order to deal with this bill.

Take home exam (40%):

a. The Narrative

1. Present the decisions and events you did as a political party.
2. Provide explanations to the maneuvers you took on the basis of the theories we studied as well as the descriptive accounts of the Israeli case.

b. Discussion

Your discussion should relate to the following aspects of the activities you and others took during the simulation.

1. The policy aspect: what needs to happen in Israeli public policy and what can happen?
2. The institutional aspect: to what extent does the design of political institutions in Israel help in the attainment of public policy?
3. The strategic aspect: in what ways is strategy helpful to meet policy ends in the Israeli case?

General Instructions

- The take home exam will be 6-10 pages long including bibliography (font, size and margins as with the previous papers).
- The take home exam needs to be submitted by May 21st.
- Submit it both on TURNITIN and to my email mrosen@binghamton.edu.
- Any uncoordinated submission after that date would receive the grade zero for that task.

Assignments	Date	Meeting	Week
	Jan 29th	1	1
	Jan 31st	2	
	Feb 5th	3	2
Party options' survey	Feb 7th	4	
	<i>Feb 12th</i>	5	3
	Feb 14th	6	
	<i>Feb 19th</i>	7	4
	Feb 21st	8	
	Feb 26th	9	5
	Feb 28th	10	
Submission Paper #1		11	6
	March 5th		
	March 7th	12	
	March 12th	13	7
	March 14th	14	
	March 19th	15	8

	March 21st	16	
	Easter/Passover	17	9
	Easter/Passover	18	
	April 2nd	19	10
	April 4th	20	
	April 9th	21	11
	April 11th	22	
Submission		23	12
paper 2#	April 16th		
	<i>April 18th</i>	24	
	April 23rd	25	13
	April 25th	26	
	April 30	27	14
	May 2nd	28	
	May 7th	29	15
May 21 st	May 9th	30	
Submission			
of take home			
exam			