



Issam Fares Institute for Public
Policy and International Affairs

معهد عصام فارس للسياسات
العامة والشؤون الدولية

center for the
MIDDLE EAST
Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy



BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

February 1-2, 2018

9:00 am – 5:00 pm

Issam Fares Institute

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

About the Conference

Now in its seventh year, the political and social upheaval ignited by the Arab uprisings shows little sign of abating. U.S. and international policymakers continue to struggle with their response to the turmoil, including state collapse and the rise of radical jihadism in Syria, Iraq and Yemen; the fragmentation of political authority in Libya; faltering transitions in Egypt and Tunisia; and the longer-term economic and political challenges facing oil-rich Arab Gulf states.

Political, socio-religious and economic exclusion remain among the most significant catalysts of instability. Grievances that initially triggered the uprisings remain unaddressed, youth are further disenchanting and marginalized, and minority voices remain unheard as Arab states face a rising tide of radicalism and severe economic crises.

The **Baker Institute Center for the Middle East**, the **Carnegie Corporation of New York** and the **Issam Fares Institute** host a two-day conference during which renowned Middle East and North Africa experts identify effective and sustainable policy options that foster more inclusive and pluralistic systems in the region.

Project Partners

Baker Institute Center for the Middle East

The Baker Institute Center for the Middle East provides policymakers, scholars and the general public with comprehensive analyses of issues, events and trends across this critical region with important implications for U.S. policy and global stability. The center encompasses research programs addressing key policy areas including Israeli-Palestinian conflict resolution, the political economy of the Gulf, the role of women in the countries of the region, U.S.-Iranian relations, and the role of Islamist movements in the region. The Center for the Middle East builds on the Baker Institute's long engagement with the Middle East and provides support for research, lectures, conferences and affiliations with other experts and organizations confronting policy challenges in the region. The center offers a nonpartisan voice relying on data-driven research and direct engagement with decision-makers in the United States and in the region.

Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Carnegie Corporation of New York is America's oldest grant-making foundation, working for more than a century to promote knowledge, understanding, international peace and democracy.

The Baker Institute Center for the Middle East is proud to partner with the Carnegie Corporation of New York on a two-year research project to offer actionable policy recommendations for advancing political, economic and socio-religious pluralism and inclusion in the Middle East.

BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

Thursday, February 1, 2018

8:30 am Registration and Breakfast

9:30 am Introductory Remarks

Keynote Address

10:00 am **The Honorable Lakhdar Brahimi**
Former U.N. Special Envoy to Syria, and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Algeria

Panel I — Economic Inclusion in the Arab Gulf

Chair: **Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, Ph.D.**, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy

10:30 am **Karen Young, Ph.D.**, Arab Gulf States Institute
Mohamed Evren Tok, Ph.D., Hamad bin Khalifa University
Peter Salisbury, Chatham House
Alanoud Al-Sharekh, Ph.D., SOAS University of London

Noon Lunch

Panel II — Pluralism and Inclusion in Lebanon

Chair: **Nasser Yassin, Ph.D.**, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs

1:00 pm **Tamirace Fakhoury, Ph.D.**, Lebanese American University
Sami Atallah, Ph.D., Lebanese Center for Policy Studies
Gilbert Doumit, Beyond Reform and Development Group
Khalil Gebara, Ph.D., Office of the President of the Council of Ministers, Lebanon
Joseph Bahout, Ph.D., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

2:30 pm Refreshments

Panel III — Socio-religious Inclusion

Chair: **A.Kadir Yildirim, Ph.D.**, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy

3:00 pm **Nathan Brown, Ph.D.**, George Washington University
Mirjam Künkler, Ph.D., Universtat Göttingen
Amel Boubekour, Université Grenoble

Friday, February 2, 2018

9:00 am Breakfast and Registration

Remarks

9:30 am **Tarek Mitri, Ph.D.**
Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs

Keynote Address

9:45 am **Khawla Mattar, Ph.D.**
Deputy Executive Secretary, U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia

Panel IV — Conflict and Post-conflict Reconstruction in the Middle East

Chair: **Khawla Mattar, Ph.D.**, U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia

10:15 am **Anas El Gomati**, Sadeq Institute
Renad Mansour, Ph.D., Chatham House
Maha Yahya, Ph.D., Carnegie Middle East Center
Nadim Shehadi, Tufts University
Frances Brown, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

12:15 pm Lunch

Panel V — Political Inclusion

Chair: **A.Kadir Yildirim, Ph.D.**, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy

1:15 pm **Bozena Welborne, Ph.D.**, Smith College
Abdeslam Maghraoui, Ph.D., Duke University
Mazen Hassan, Ph.D., Cairo University
Imad Salamey, Ph.D., Lebanese American University

2:45 pm Refreshments

Panel VI — Student Panel

Chair: **Makram Rabah, Ph.D.**, American University of Beirut

3:15 pm Students from the American University of Beirut and the Lebanese American University

4:45 pm Closing Remarks

BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

Participant Biographies

Alanoud Al-Sharekh, Ph.D., SOAS University of London

Al-Sharekh is a research associate at the London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London. She conducts research on sociopolitical, cultural and security issues in the Arab Gulf. She has been a consulting researcher for several academic, governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Al-Sharekh's research focuses on the approach taken by Kuwait and the GCC countries to tackle popular discontent with economic stagnation and rising unemployment, mainly through reactivating the private sector's economic role by setting up small and medium enterprise funds and incubators to create jobs and lessen dependency on government welfare.

Sami Atallah, Ph.D., Lebanese Center for Policy Studies

Sami Atallah is the director of the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS). He is currently leading several policy studies on the performance of the parliament, political and social sectarianism, the electoral behavior of voters, and, more recently, the role of municipalities in dealing with the refugee crisis, among other political economy challenges facing Lebanon. He has authored several policy and academic publications and is the editor of "Towards Achieving a Transparent and Accountable National Budget" (LCPS, 2013), co-editor of "Decentralization, Democratization and Service Delivery in the Arab World" (LCPS, 2015), and co-editor of "The Future of Oil in Lebanon: Energy, Politics, and Economic Growth" (forthcoming). In addition, Atallah served on the committee established by the Lebanese prime minister to draft a decentralization law and is currently participating in the parliamentary committee that is reviewing the draft law.

Joseph Bahout, Ph.D., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Bahout is a visiting scholar for the Carnegie Middle East Program. His research focuses on political developments in Lebanon and Syria, regional spillover from the Syrian crisis and identity politics across the region. Bahout is also currently an associate fellow at the Geneva Center for Security Policy, and a member of the scientific board of the Institut Français du Proche-Orient. He is the author of books on Syria's business community and its political outlook (1994) and Lebanon's political reconstruction (1998), in addition to numerous articles and book chapters. He is a frequent commentator in European and Arab media.

Amel Boubekour, Université Grenoble

Currently based in Grenoble, Boubekour has been a research fellow at several research institutions, including the Brookings Doha Center and the Carnegie Middle East Center, where she studied the Maghreb, democratization in the Arab world, Euro-Arab/U.S.-Arab relations and Islam in Europe. She is a regular consultant for various U.N. agencies and the European Commission. Her book, "Whatever Happened to the Islamists?" (Hurst Publishers, 2012) was nominated for the Foreign Policy 2012 Best Books on the Middle East award.

The Honorable Lakhdar Brahimi

Brahimi is a former Algerian freedom fighter, foreign minister for Algeria, conflict mediator and U.N. diplomat, and an expert in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. He served as the joint U.N. and Arab League special envoy to Syria from 2012 to 2014, as U.N. special envoy in Iraq in 2004, and as U.N. special representative in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2004. He was Algeria's minister of foreign affairs from 1991 to 1993. Brahimi is also a member of The Elders, a group of world leaders working for global peace. He has also been a Member of the Global Leadership Foundation since 2008, an organization that works to promote good governance around the world. He is currently a governing board member of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Frances Z. Brown, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Brown is a fellow for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where she researches stabilization, state-building and local governance in fragile states with a focus on Syria. In her 15 years as a practitioner prior to joining Carnegie, she most recently served as director for democracy on the White House National Security Council staff in the Obama and Trump administrations. Her previous roles include several years with the U.S. Agency for International Development and nongovernmental organizations, including five years on the ground in Afghanistan, Lebanon and surrounding countries. She holds degrees from Yale University and Johns Hopkins University and is completing her Ph.D. at the University of Oxford.

Nathan Brown, Ph.D., George Washington University

Brown is currently a professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. He is a distinguished scholar and author of six well-received books on Middle East politics. His expertise spans religion, law and politics in the Arab world. In addition to his academic work, Brown serves on the MENA advisory committee for Human Rights Watch.

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, Ph.D., Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy

Coates Ulrichsen is a fellow for the Middle East at the Baker Institute. His research examines the changing position of Persian Gulf states in the global order and the emergence of nonmilitary challenges to regional security. He is currently writing two books, "Qatar and the Arab Spring" and "The Gulf States in International Political Economy."

Gilbert Doumit, Beyond Reform and Development Group

Doumit is a founder and managing partner of Beyond Reform & Development Group, a social enterprise and a consulting firm working to establish innovative, inclusive and participatory policies and institutions in twelve countries in the MENA region. A strategy advisor, leadership consultant and social entrepreneur, Doumit has dedicated his work to meaningful transformation through policy innovation, institutional strengthening and capacity development for more than two decades.

Anas El Gomati, Sadeq Institute

El Gomati is the founder and current director general of the Tripoli-based Sadeq Institute, the first public policy think tank in Libya's history, which was established in August 2011. He is also the research director for the institute's security and governance program. El Gomati has held several positions in the region and in Europe. He was formerly a visiting fellow at the Carnegie Middle East Centre in Beirut, Lebanon; a member of the U.N. Libyan Panel of Experts; and a visiting lecturer at the NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy.

Tamirace Fakhoury, Ph.D., Lebanese American University

Fakhoury is an associate professor of political science and international affairs in the Department of Social Sciences at the Lebanese American University, and the associate director of the Institute of Social Justice and Conflict Resolution. She previously taught summer sessions at the University of California, Berkeley between 2012 and 2016.

Khalil Gebara, Ph.D., Office of the President of the Council of Ministers, Lebanon

Khalil Gebara is currently the head of the Good Governance Unit at the Office of the President of the Council of Ministers in Lebanon. Prior to this, he was appointed by the Lebanese government as a member of the first Supervisory Commission on the Election Campaign. From 2005 to 2008, he served as the executive director of the Lebanese Transparency Association, Transparency International's chapter in Lebanon. He was also secretary general of the Arab Region Parliamentarians Against Corruption, a nongovernmental organization located in Beirut. He holds a Ph.D.

BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

in political economy and teaches courses on economic development and public finance at the Lebanese American University. He has authored several articles and studies on good governance, corruption, corporate social responsibility, the public sector and economic reforms in the Arab region.

Mazen Hassan, Ph.D., Cairo University

Hassan is an assistant professor of comparative politics at Cairo University and a Carnegie Fellow at Harvard University's Ash Center. He specializes in party systems, electoral systems, new democracies and experimental political science. He has co-authored two books on the Egyptian political system in transition following the 2011 revolution.

Mirjam Künkler, Ph.D., Universtat Göttingen

Künkler is a professor at the Universtat Göttingen's Institute of Advanced Study. She specializes in comparative relations between religions and the state, particularly in Iran and Indonesia. Her work examines the interplay of religion and state regarding political parties, questions of law and constitutionalism, religious education, Islamic authority and the legal system. She is currently working on her second monograph of constitutionalism in Iran.

Abdeslam Maghraoui, Ph.D., Duke University

Maghraoui is an associate professor of the practice of political science at Duke University. He is a core faculty member of Duke's Islamic Studies Center and Middle East Studies Center. His research focuses on the interaction between culture and politics in the context of Arab and Muslim-majority countries. He also addresses questions of democratization, the role of religion in public life, youth empowerment and governance in the MENA region.

Renad Mansour, Ph.D., Chatham House

Mansour is a research fellow for the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House. His research explores the outlook on Iraq's transition and the dilemmas of state building. Mansour was previously a lecturer at the London School of Economics, where he taught courses on international relations in the Middle East. He has also held teaching positions in the faculty of politics at the University of Cambridge. Since 2011, Mansour has been a senior research fellow at the Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies in Beirut. He received his Ph.D. from Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Khawla Mattar, Ph.D., U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia

Mattar is the deputy executive secretary for program support for the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA). Prior to her appointment at the ESCWA, she was the director of the Office of the Special Envoy for Syria in Damascus. Previously, she was the director of the United Nations Information Centre in Cairo (UNIC-Cairo), which covers the whole Arab region. During that same period, she was asked to serve as the spokesperson for the then special envoy for Syria Lakhdar Brahimi. Before joining UNIC-Cairo, she served with the International Labour Organization as the regional officer for basic rights at work, and as regional information officer. Mattar also worked at different regional and international organizations, such as the Arab Center for Childhood and Development.

Tarek Mitri, Ph.D., Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs

Mitri is the director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, a position he has held since 2014. He is also the former special representative of the U.N. Secretary General in Libya. Mitri has also served in four different governments as Lebanon's minister of information, of the environment, of administrative development and culture, and as acting foreign minister. He is also a member of the strategic board of Lebanon's Université Saint-Joseph, the chair of the board of trustees of the Institute for Palestine Studies, and a member of the board of directors of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has lectured at a number of universities in Lebanon, Europe and North America.

Makram Rabah, Ph.D., American University of Beirut

Rabah is a lecturer in the Department of History at the American University of Beirut. He is also a public affairs consultant with Quantum Communications in Lebanon, a strategy, communications and management consultancy specializing in political, corporate and media communications. Rabah's research interests include the modern Middle East, the modern history of Lebanon, the Lebanese Civil War and the role of memory in the reconciliation process. He is the author of "A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975" (Dar Nelson, 2009) and a regular contributor to a number of regional and international publications on Middle Eastern political affairs. Rabah holds a Ph.D. in history from Georgetown University.

Imad Salamey, Ph.D., Lebanese American University

Salamey is an associate professor of political science and international affairs, and the director of the Institute for Social Justice and Conflict Resolution at the Lebanese American University in Beirut, Lebanon. He is also the president of the Center for Arab Research and Development. His research examines ethnic and sectarian polarization and transnational extremism in the MENA countries.

Peter Salisbury, Chatham House

Salisbury is an associate fellow at the Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme. Previously a journalist and analyst writing on political economy issues in the MENA region, Salisbury is an avid contributor to prominent publications such as Foreign Policy. His work on the Chatham House's Yemen Forum culminated in the report "Yemen: Corruption, Capital Flights and Global Drivers of Conflict."

Nadim Shehadi, Tufts University

Nadim Shehadi is the director of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is also an associate fellow for the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House. He was formerly a senior member of St Antony's College, Oxford, where he was also director of the Centre for Lebanese Studies from 1986 to 2005.

Mohamed Evren Tok, Ph.D., Hamad bin Khalifa University

Tok is a program coordinator and assistant professor in the Public Policy in Islam Program for the Faculty of Islamic Studies at Hamad bin Khalifa University. His research involves policy analysis, political economy and sustainability. Tok is the co-lead investigator for a research project on the Qatari perspective on natural resource governance in Africa. His most recent publication, "Policy-Making in a Transformative State: The Case of Qatar" (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) explores how public policy is made in Qatar through a series of case studies.

Bozena Welborne, Ph.D., Smith College

Welborne teaches at Smith College and is also a contributing expert to the Women's Rights in the Middle East Program at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy. Her current research considers the impact of financial globalization on women's empowerment in the Middle East and North Africa. Welborne is also a lead author on the forthcoming book "The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States" (Cornell University Press, spring 2018).

Maha Yahya, Ph.D., Carnegie Middle East Center

Yahya is the director of the Carnegie Middle East Center, where her work focuses broadly on political violence and identity politics, pluralism, development and social justice after the Arab uprisings, the challenges of citizenship, and the political and socio-economic implications of the migration/refugee crisis. Prior to joining Carnegie, Yahya led work on participatory development and social justice at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western

BUILDING PLURALISTIC AND INCLUSIVE STATES POST-ARAB SPRING

Asia (ESCWA). She was previously the regional advisor on social and urban policies at the ESCWA and spearheaded strategic and intersectoral initiatives and policies in the Office of the Executive Secretary that addressed the challenges of democratic transitions in the Arab world. Yahya is the author of numerous publications, including “Great Expectations in Tunisia” (March 2016).

Nasser Yassin, Ph.D., Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs

Yassin is the director of research at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, and a professor of policy and planning in the Health Management and Policy Department at the American University of Beirut (AUB). He co-chairs the AUB4Refugees Initiative, which aims to build synergy among faculty and departments at AUB responding to the Syrian refugee crisis. His research and practice interests are in development planning and policymaking in fragile states. His work examines how civil society actors, community groups and informal networks can influence policies, as well as development and humanitarian programs.

A.Kadir Yildirim, Ph.D., Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy

Yildirim is a fellow for the Middle East at the Baker Institute. His main research interests include democratization, politics and religion, political Islam and Turkish politics. His most recent book, “Muslim Democratic Parties in the Middle East: Economy and Politics of Islamist Moderation” (Indiana University Press, 2016), analyzes the trajectories of Islamist parties in Egypt, Morocco and Turkey.

Karen Young, Ph.D., Arab Gulf States Institute

Young is a senior resident scholar at the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, D.C., and a visiting fellow at the London School of Economics Middle East Center. Her research interests include the GCC, Gulf states’ foreign policy, the political economy of transition, and identity and state formation. She is the author of a book and numerous articles on the Arab Gulf states.