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Letter from our Executive Director

We remain committed as ever to our mission: to lead the process of democratic transition.

International conferences, policy dialogues, and multiple publication series... 2018 was among the busiest years ever at the Arab Reform Initiative, marking the end of one work cycle and acting as a bridge to our next four years of work. Over the course of the year, we defended and grew our community of democrats within ARI’s consortium. We continued to draw on our vast network of partners based in the region to provide insight on issues as they develop and as they are experienced by societies and local communities. And we maintained as ever our independent analysis, providing an institutional home and international platform for scholars and activists of the Arab world as the space for freedom of expression continues to shrink.

ARI’s impact in 2018 can be seen in the individuals and institutions we empowered to formulate their own policy solutions and build new coalitions for change. Through research and workshops with youth and human rights activists across the region, we defined new strategies for achieving political change. Through our work on the Syrian diaspora, we launched a new initiative to leverage its assets to serve the reconstruction of the country. We trained hundreds of young professionals in skills related to post-conflict governance and transition through our one-of-a-kind Tahdir e-learning program. And we contributed to the rehabilitation of the Syrian judiciary through the development of an online legal forum.

Increasing the role of women in peacebuilding processes, promoting cyberspace as a new domain of autonomy and active citizenship, and exploring social mobilization around the environment as new entry points for civic engagement to challenge governance systems. We also adopted in 2018 the objective to nurture an ecosystem of like-minded institutions across the Arab world. These new strategic lines all fulfill ARI’s role as a regional hub of expertise and exchange but also our ability to develop ground-breaking activities that respond innovatively to the evolving challenges of the region.

Beyond our research and programming, 2018 saw us set up an editorial committee to guarantee the highest scientific quality of our policy papers, and define a new communications strategy, including the development of new audio-visual tools for disseminating research results and increased visibility on social media.

Thanks to this year of work, ARI starts 2019 with new tools and stakeholders, new programs and methods. But we remain committed as ever to our mission: to lead the process of democratic transition by harnessing the Arab region’s knowledge and know-how to articulate a homegrown agenda for change.

Bassma Kodmani

2018 also saw us lay the foundations for new programming lines, including
2018 at a Glance

- 43 reports, policy papers, and research papers published, covering 12 different Arab countries and the year’s most important trends and events
- 3 international conferences addressing key issues related to conflict, security, and peacebuilding in the region
- 4 policy dialogues with activists and political leaders
- 2 international scientific meetings gathering academics from across Europe and the Arab world to present new analytical frameworks derived from ARI’s in-the-field comparative research
- + 200 early-career professionals trained in theoretical and practical skills on topics ranging from security sector reform and the rule of law to urban planning and local governance
- + 10000 Social media followers
The Arab Reform Initiative is the leading independent Arab think tank, founded in 2005 to articulate a home-grown agenda for democratic change. We operate on the principles of impartiality, social justice, gender equality, and diversity and work to foster vibrant democratic societies in the Arab countries. ARI conducts research, policy analysis, and policy dialogues, while providing a platform for inspirational voices.

- We produce original research informed by local experiences, and partner with institutions for outreach across the Arab countries as well as globally.
- We empower individuals and institutions to develop their own concept of policy solutions, using the knowledge produced through action-research.
- We engage diverse stakeholders from politics, society and the economy, in policy dialogues and in building coalitions for change.

Our goal is to see vibrant democratic societies emerge in the Arab countries.
Since it was established, ARI has been at the forefront of research on social and political reform in the Arab world. As a preeminent research facility, ARI has been able to harness inside knowledge and provide a global platform for the dissemination of Arab-produced research. In so doing, we have brought to light social and political dynamics that are most often unknown or misunderstood outside the national or regional context and have also put forth policy-relevant outputs that have had significant, measurable impact on public debates in the Arab world and on policy choices of partner governments.

ARI’s new cycle of work commenced in 2018, based around four overarching policy goals that guide our programming and research activities. We aim to:

1. **Reconnect Shattered Societies**, by opening spaces for informed dialogues between representatives of different communities to re-negotiate the state structures and define the governance mechanisms to manage inter-societal relations.

2. **Rebuild Stability Frameworks**, by contributing to the reconstruction of stability in conflict-ridden countries, including short-term security arrangements, institutions, and practices in deeply fragmented societies, all taken within a gender-mainstreaming perspective.

3. **Advance New Forms of Engagement**, by empowering civil society, non-traditional political actors, and like-minded institutions through identifying new practices and spaces of engagement and finding innovative means to leverage such efforts to build influence.

4. **Nurture the Technocrats of Tomorrow**, by promoting a transfer of knowledge and skills to young professionals to form a cadre of men and women in fields critical to the post-conflict phase, including the judiciary as well as local administration, sustainable development, and security sector reform.

To articulate these policy goals, ARI undertook in 2018 a wide range of research programs, action-research projects, policy-oriented activities, dialogues, and conferences along with the monthly publication of policy papers, private meetings with high level decision-makers, and public debates to contribute to influencing public policies and discourse.
Key International Events

Every year, ARI hosts several international conferences on a variety of topics that demonstrate our unique ability to convene South-South and South-to-North exchanges.

April 2018
Leveraging the Syrian Diaspora
At the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, ARI brought together a group of eminent Syrians in diaspora who agreed to form a network of like-minded individuals committed to contributing their resources for the purpose of building a democratic, inclusive, and independent Syria. The event, held with over 100 guests including Syrian and international NGOs, diplomats, and the press, also marked the launch of the Global Syria Initiative, an interactive forum designed to build solidarity among members of the Syrian diaspora and catalyze the diaspora’s contribution to the reconstruction of the country. The conference ended with a public call on the Syrian diaspora to contribute to rebuilding the country on the principles of intellectual pluralism, freedom of belief and social justice.

June 2018
Building Frameworks for Security, Transition, and Inclusion
ARI convened in Tunis a group of 30 distinguished international speakers, senior representatives of international foundations, a selection of government officials, and leading scholars to explore emerging regional security trends and discuss experiences in mediation and conflict resolution in the region. The discussion focused on three broad topics: the transformation of Salafism at the regional level and the potential future impact on national stability frameworks; women’s roles in de-radicalization and community rehabilitation in conflict areas and how these can be leveraged in peace processes and through constitutions; and the current opportunities and constraints of conflict mediation in Libya.

November 2018
Towards the Rule of Law in Syria
Over the course of three days, ARI brought together a group of Syrian and French legal experts and professionals to discuss a variety of issues related to legal reform in Syria and the rebuilding of the judicial sector in the post-conflict phase, including the civil code and property ownership, penal laws, constitutional guarantees, transitional justice, judicial and administrative reform, and security sector reform. The debates around these issues, and the blending of legal expertise from Syria and from France, allowed for a nuanced discussion culminating in the publication of a Road Map for judicial reform.
Convening Stakeholders in Policy Dialogues

One of ARI’s key activities is to convene policy dialogues, private discussions with key stakeholders to discuss agendas, strategies, and policy solutions to promote greater political participation.

Engaged Algerian Youth: Living in Diaspora, New Approaches to Political Action?

In November, ARI brought together 13 Algerian activists residing in Europe in order to exchange views on the modes of action and new forms of engagement of Algerian youth as vectors of political thought and practice. The discussion focused in particular on the diversity of the participants’ experiences, but also the impact of living abroad on action in Algeria, at both the personal and societal level. The activists collectively reflected on the role young people can play in influencing public policy, and in the political future of the country after Bouteflika.

Decentralization and Local Councils in Post-Conflict Syria: What Role Can Youth Play?

In October, ARI convened in Gaziantep 17 youth representatives from seven Syrian local councils as well as researchers and practitioners from Syria, Turkey, and Palestine. The participants to the policy dialogue discussed how youth engagement in local councils during the war in Syria could be sustained if a process of decentralization of governance takes place in the post-conflict period, and the potential for youth political engagement more broadly.
In June, ARI convened 18 representatives of youth activist groups as well as political parties and traditional NGOs. The participants discussed the modes of action and new forms of engagement of Tunisian youth as alternative practices to political action, and addressed the specific issue of the profound rupture between activist youth and the traditional political sphere. While the participants agreed on the critical importance of understanding the reasons for this rupture and the necessity to find ways to strengthen youth new forms of engagement, the way forward remains hotly debated.

In October, in Beirut, ARI brought together over 20 youth representatives from civil society groups as well as new Lebanese political forces to discuss their participation, efforts, and goals in the May 2018 parliamentary elections. The participants to the discussion included representatives from Beirut Madinati, Sabaa, Libaladi, and the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), and other groups that represent a break from “politics as usual” in the Lebanese political scene. Through the policy dialogue, the participants took stock collectively of what actions were achieved, what succeeded and what failed, and drew lessons learned for future engagement – and in particular by youth - in Lebanon’s elections and formal political sphere.
Mapping the Syrian Diaspora

ARI investigated the Syrian diaspora across the globe, assessing both the historical diaspora and the new diaspora that has emerged since 2011 in North America, South America, Europe, Turkey, Jordan, the Gulf, Egypt, and Lebanon. We evaluated the contributions and forms of solidarity that diasporic communities play towards their homeland, and investigated the types of institutions that mediate these relationships. ARI’s research also assessed how the Syrian diaspora can contribute to and/or benefit from reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Syrian territory and nation, and explored three comparative examples of other major diasporas (Palestinian, Lebanese, and Armenian) in order to draw best practices and strategies that can be applied to the Syrian case.

On 12 April 2018, ARI convened 25 experts on diaspora and migration studies to explore the extent to which the new Syrian diaspora challenges existing frameworks for the study of migration, and represent a different experience of diaspora than those of the early 20th century. The event, held at Collège de France, put forth critical reflections on how the conceptual understanding of “diaspora” and the scientific approaches to the study of diasporas should be adapted to the case of Syria, requiring a conceptual framework that takes into account the global war on terror, the control of financial flows and movement of capital, and the closing of borders. The group of experts also discussed the fast-paced globalization of the new Syrian diaspora in the absence of any organizing body, and its implications on the question of legitimate representation of Syrian communities abroad and the capacity to maintain a unitary Syrian national identity. Finally, the workshop explored how the new Syrian diaspora is both shaped by international laws governing refugees and but also is redefining the concept of a refugee itself.

Transitioning to Decentralized Governance

In 2018, ARI conducted research on the decentralization processes of Tunisia, Iraq, and Morocco, focusing on the challenges of implementation and the importance of mastering technical dimensions along with achieving society-wide buy-in. In addition, ARI conducted a digital campaign with more than 440 participants from 18 Arab countries to measure Arab public opinion and perceptions of decentralization processes, their challenges, and benefits. The results of this research will be used to draw lessons learned for building other models for other countries transitioning to decentralized governance.
Arab Youth as Political Actors
Using Action-Research methodology, ARI investigated in 2018 the new forms of political engagement of Arab youth in Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Syria. The research put forth an innovative view of what is meant by “youth,” which we understand not as a predetermined aged-based category but rather as a generational practice of politics, governance, and participation that is patterned on new understandings of state-society relations. ARI’s research shows that activist youth across the region tend to dichotomize their own work with political work, using the term “apolitical” to distinguish their alternative forms of engagement. In addition, the research identified a new trend of translocality and the construction of new political identities, specifically in the context of displacement, exile, and diaspora of Arab youth in the post-2011 period.

Emerging Alternative Patterns for Mobilization in Post-2013 Egypt
Focusing specifically on Egypt, ARI in 2018 undertook in-depth research and analysis on the strategies adopted by local populations and collectives in order to counter repression and maintain their engagement. These include: argumentation strategies, tactics and legal practices adopted by cause lawyers in order to challenge state narratives and overturn the domination of the executive over the judiciary, the development of crossed solidarity networks between different poor neighborhoods facing massive displacement policies imposed by the government, and the active development of collaborative platforms allowing for the production of shared knowledge. This also included research on the undocumented destiny of the Brotherhood inside Egyptian prisons, including the processes of ongoing radicalization and reorganization of the MBs inside prison.

The Future of the Human Rights Movements in North Africa
In 2018, ARI carried out extensive research on the human rights movements of Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt. Through a series of 18 studies, ARI looked at the individual and institutional actors of human rights advocacy, their relations with the state, Islamist movements, other parts of civil society, the internal governance systems of human rights organizations, and their impact. The research culminated in recommendations to transform human rights organizations to become more strategic, adequately supported, and effective in the future.

WOCMES 2018
ARI convened two panels at the World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES) in July 2018, in Seville, Spain. The first panel covered the topic “Syria and Syrians: Perspectives on a Conflict,” presenting the demographic changes in Syria and neighbouring countries as a result of exodus and migration; the reconstruction of the Syrian judiciary as a tool of stabilization or cooperation; and the Syrian transition and need to re-establish security, stability, and rule of law before putting into place democratic rule. The second panel covered “The Generational Practice of Politics: Arab Youth and New Forms of Engagement” and presented the results of the field research on youth activism in Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Syria.
Preparing Professionals for Post-Conflict Syria

The Legal Forum for Syria
ARI in 2018 managed an electronic platform to support Syrian legal professionals in the process of regaining their independence and rehabilitating their profession. The platform acts as both a virtual space for exchange as well as an online archive and library, providing them with the necessary tools to tackle issues of impunity and transitional justice in the recovery phase of a post-conflict Syria. Through this platform, members have been able to discuss how to re-establish a judicial order and reclaim their professional identity.

Tahdir for Syrians
Since 2015, ARI has been running its one-of-a-kind Tahdir for Syrians academic training and capacity-building program, which provides online multidisciplinary teaching entirely in Arabic to students and young professionals who no longer have access to education as a result of the conflict and displacement. The program, which targets young Syrian professionals wherever they are, is designed to help them take an active part in the reconstruction of their country and their society and be agents of change of their own lives and of their communities.

The training uses state-of-the-art e-learning methods, consisting of video-recorded lectures, interactive sessions, individual readings, personalized mentoring, graduation projects and live discussion seminars on three core subjects: Governance, Decentralization and Civil Society; Justice and Security Sector Reform; and Urban-Planning and Reconstruction. These courses are designed to build capacity in fields of key importance for the process of reconstruction and reinstating social cohesion. The program in 2018 was managed by ARI in partnership with the Olof Palme Centre, benefiting from input from local Syrian NGOs.

Tahdir by the Numbers: Following three rounds of training, 130 participants were accredited 15 ECTS on an advanced level from Lund University in Sweden. In addition, 99 final graduation projects were presented, and 30 projects were awarded seed funding.
Governance

ARI is governed by a Plenary of its members and an Executive Committee. The Plenary brings together 20 policy research centers from across the Arab world as well as Europe and the USA, along with four independent members. The Plenary operates as a network that fosters collaborative efforts between members, and meets every two years to set ARI’s vision and advise on programmatic lines of work.

Plenary

Members of the Plenary in 2018 are:

- Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt
- Arab Forum for Alternatives, Egypt
- The Arab Reform Forum at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Egypt
- The Egyptian Center for Public Opinion Research - Baseera, Egypt
- The Center for Strategic Studies, Jordan
- The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, Lebanon
- Center for Studies in Research and Social Sciences (CERSS), Morocco
- The Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Palestine
- King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Saudi Arabia
- EtanaCenter, Syria
- The Syrian League for Citizenship, Syria
- L’Observatoire Tunisien de la Transition Démocratique, Tunisia
- The Gulf Research Center, Dubai, UAE
- The Yemeni Observatory for Human Rights, Yemen
- Casa Árabe, Spain
- Center for European Reform, UK
- Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Greece
- The European Institute for Security Studies, France
- Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina
- US Middle East Project, U.S.A
- Salah Eddin al Jourshi, President, Al Jahedh Forum, Tunisia
- Yezid Sayigh, Senior Associate, Carnegie Middle East Center, Lebanon
- Jafar Alshayeb, Muntada al-Thulatha’ al-Thaqafi, Saudi Arabia
- Haidar Ibrahim, Center for Sudanese Studies, Sudan
Executive Committee
The Executive Committee acts as the governing Board. Meeting twice a year, the Executive Committee is currently composed of six members who serve for a period of four years, renewable once. Current members of the Executive Committee are:

Dr. Atallah Kuttab, Chairman. Holding a Ph.D. from Imperial College, University of London, Dr. Kuttab has worked in engineering consulting in the private sector, and ten years in education at Birzeit University in Palestine and Heriot-Watt University in Scotland. From 2005 to 2011, he was Director General of the Welfare Association, the lead foundation supporting Palestinians primarily in Palestine and Lebanon. He is currently the Chairman and Founder of SAANED for Philanthropy Advisory in the Arab Region based in Jordan. Since April 2014 he is a Richard von Weizsaecker Fellow at Bosch Stiftung in Berlin.

Dr. Hoda Elsadda, General Secretary. Dr. Elsadda is Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Cairo University and an activist for women’s rights. She previously held a Chair in the Study of the Contemporary Arab World at Manchester University, and was Co-Director of the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World in the UK. She was Carnegie Visiting Scholar at Georgetown University in 2015-2014. She was member of the -50 member committee that drafted the Egyptian constitution endorsed in a referendum in 2014 and was coordinator of the Freedoms and Rights Committee in the Constitutional Assembly.

Dr. Nacer Djabi, Vice-Chairman. Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Algiers University, he has been a research fellow at CREAD (Centre de recherche en économie appliquée pour le développement) since 1986. From 2006 to 2014 he held the position of Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Arab Council for the Social Sciences. He is a leading expert on governance and civil society in Algeria and North Africa more generally, on social movements, labor unions, youth movements and youth aspirations.

Ms. Hanin Ghaddar, Managing Editor of NOW - where she writes commentary and analysis on Lebanese and regional politics, Syria, and Iran. She is a regular contributor to a number of publications, including the New York Times, Foreign Policy, and Al-Hayat. She is a former Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and researcher for the SURF-Arab States Program at the United Nations Development Program. She holds a Bachelor’s degree in English literature and a Master’s degree in Middle Eastern Studies, both from the American University in Beirut.

Ms. Maria Chatti-Gautier, Treasurer. Ms. Chatti-Gautier has extensive experience in the economic and financial sector, with over 30 years as an officer with various Paris-based financial institutions: Chase Manhattan Bank, Banque Arabe et Internationale d’Investissement, Natixis Private Equity, Oddo Private Equity. She is a specialist in private equity and fundraising for family-owned SMEs (small and medium size enterprises), and has sat on the board of more than 40 different companies.

Mr. Jafar Al-Shayeb is a Saudi writer, political activist, and an elected Chairman of Qatif Municipal Council in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. He is also a sponsor of Muntada al-Thulatha’ al-Thaqafi, an online platform for dialogue and discussion on different social and political issues, and currently manages his own business in telecommunications and IT consulting. He previously worked in the fields of finance and administration and participated in National Dialogue Conferences in Saudi Arabia.
The Arab Reform Initiative is registered in France as an independent autonomous non-profit institution operating under French law of 1901. Its sister organization, Moubaradat al-Islah al-Arabi, is registered in Lebanon as an international NGO. ARI’s financial situation is externally evaluated: balance sheets are drawn up every year by an external accounting firm, and accounts are audited by an external auditing firm every two years.

In 2018, ARI received funding from the Ford Foundation, the International Development and Research Center of Canada, Open Society Foundations, the GIZ, the European Commission, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Institute of International Education, and Brot für die Welt: Bread for the World.

**ARI Expenditures 2018 in USD**

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<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Operational Costs</th>
<th>Research and Projects</th>
<th>Communications and Outreach</th>
<th>Professional Fees</th>
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<td>520,436</td>
<td>115,764</td>
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Special Dossier: The 2018 Arab Elections, Between Citizens’ Disenchantment and Mobilization

Holding elections and voting for the candidate of choice in the Arab world have not translated into reforms that could kickstart the social and economic prosperity that many were promised in post-2011 times. The low turnout at elections in 2018, along with the significant votes in favour of newcomers and civil society actors, are indicative of a growing sense of disillusionment with the political class. New voting trends are emerging, away from traditional votes, in support of actors able to mobilize around issues that echo voters’ social and economic ills. Through a series of three papers looking at the 2018 elections, ARI’s special dossier explored the emerging departure from sectarian voting trends in Iraq along with the persistence of the countries key traditional coalitions, the failures of the new electoral law to shake up Lebanese politics and the significant challenges faced by independent candidates, despite increasing civil society mobilization, and how the growing disenchantment in Tunisia with the political elite preserved the dominance of Ennahdha and Nidaa Tounes.
The 2011 uprising opened opportunities to Egyptians from all walks of life to mobilize and organize in order to demand their rights. These opportunities proved ephemeral, and mobilization efforts have been interrupted by the shrinking space for social mobilization during al-Sisi’s presidency. This collection of research papers and studies provides a glimpse of how these social movements organized, their challenges, and their achievements during the period between 2011 and early 2014. Published in two volumes in Arabic and one in English, and based on extensive field research, including hundreds of interviews, ethnographic methods, and participant observation, as well as action-research dialogues between activists and researchers, the publication provides an exceptionally rich picture of Egyptian civil society and presents a wide array of movements ranging from the organizing efforts of street vendors to the Tahrir Doctors Society, from anti-sexual harassment to urban rights and workers movements.

Social movements played a central role in sparking the 2011 revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa region. In most cases, these movements have been side-lined. Seven years on, they continue to raise key questions about the lessons learnt and ways to navigating today’s challenges in an increasingly volatile region. As part of ARI’s Peace Possibilities Series, ARI takes stock of the conclusions from numerous papers published under our Arab Research Support Programme. These are presented in three papers:

- The Arab Revolutions Seven Years On: The State of Social Movements in Egypt and Syria
- Institutional Reform in the Arab World: Problems, Challenges, and Prospects
- Arab Revolutions and Political Participation: New Patterns, Divergent Trajectories, and Different Negotiation Abilities