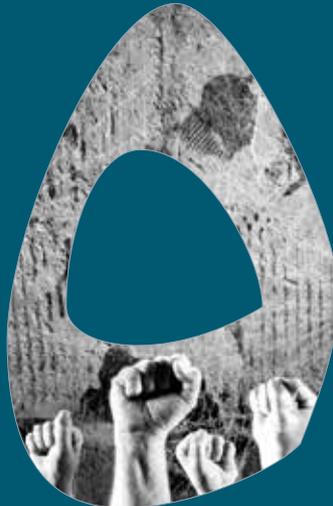




Issam Fares Institute for Public  
Policy and International Affairs

معهد عصام فارس للسياسات  
العامة والشؤون الدولية

المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات  
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies



# THE ARAB REVOLUTIONS: FIVE YEARS ON THE ARDUOUS ROAD OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS





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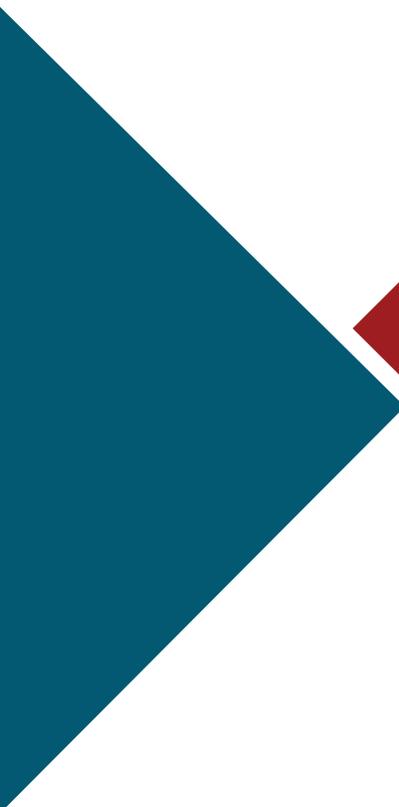
American University of Beirut  
الجامعة الأمريكية في بيروت

معهد عصام فارس للسياسات  
العامة والشؤون الدولية

# The Arab Revolutions: Five Years On

## The Arduous Road of Democratization and Future Prospects

January 21 - 23, 2016



# Time Table

# Day One

## Thursday, January 21, 2016

	West Hall - Bathish
9:00 - 10:00	<b>Opening Remarks</b> <b>Tarek Mitri:</b> Policy Institute at the American University of Beirut <b>Mohammad Almasri:</b> Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies
10:00 - 11:00	<b>Arab Opinion Index</b> <b>Mohammad Almasri:</b> The Arab Revolutions and their Development: the Public View
11:00 - 11:30	Coffee Break



Session One		
	West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
11:30 - 13:30	<p><b>The Arab Revolutions Five Years on: a Re-Reading and a Critical Examination 1</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Wajih Kawtharani</b></p> <p><b>Mouldi Lahmar:</b> The Tunisian Revolution and the Other Transition in Tunisia: Power, Resources, Considerations, and Values</p> <p><b>Hamzeh Almoustafa:</b> Syria: from Peaceful Revolution to Armed Conflict</p> <p><b>Mustapha Al-Teer:</b> The Arab Spring and the Democratic Transition: Reflections on the Libyan Experience</p> <p><b>Dina El-Sharnouby:</b> The Egyptian Revolution and its Impact on the Formation of New Youth Subjectivities</p>	<p><b>Protest Movements as Part of the Arab Revolutions</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Marlene Nasr</b></p> <p><b>Haider Saeed:</b> Protest Movements in Post-Tyranny Iraq: the Challenge to Stateism</p> <p><b>Abdel Nasser Jabi:</b> Algeria: the Fear of Political Change</p> <p><b>Abdulhadi Al Ajmi:</b> The Kuwaiti Mobilization and the Arab Spring: The Dynamic of Mass Mobilization and the Abandonment of Pragmatism</p> <p><b>Carmen Geha:</b> The Sectarian Octopus: Mobilization and Demobilization Dynamics in Lebanon's Power-Sharing System</p>
13:30 - 15:00	Lunch Break	

Session Two		
	West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
15:00-17:00	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The Arab Revolutions Five Years on: a Re-Reading and a Critical Examination 2</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Maha Yahya</b></p> <p><b>Farid Khaled:</b> Protest Behavior during the Arab Spring: A Reading of Opportunities and Constraints on Political Change within the Framework of the Civil State</p> <p><b>Hafiz Harrous:</b> Identity-based Conflicts and their Impact on the Complication of the Democratic Transition: Egypt and Tunisia</p> <p><b>Wendy Pearlman:</b> Revolution and Rebirth in Syria</p> <p><b>Linda Matar:</b> Syria: Economic Policies During Times of Conflict</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Media and Communications and the Arab Revolutions</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Walid Noueihed</b></p> <p><b>Omar Bizri:</b> Whither Science, Technology and Innovation in the 'Arab Spring' Countries? Where Do We Head Now that the Old Roadmaps Led to Disaster?</p> <p><b>Billie Jeanne Brownlee:</b> Media Development in Syria: the Janus-Faced Nature of Foreign Aid Assistance</p> <p><b>Sally Hamarneh:</b> The Arab Spring Phenomenon of Urban Mass Intercommunication: Means and Challenges</p>
17:00-17:30	Coffee Break	
17:30-18:30	West Hall - Bathish	
18:30-19:30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Keynote Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Ghassan Salamé:</b> Orphaned Democracy</p>	
18:30-19:30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Keynote Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Abdelfattah Mourou:</b> From Toppling Tyranny to Protecting the Democratic Transition: The Case of Tunisia</p>	



# Day Two

## Friday, January 22, 2016

		Session One	
		West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
9.00-10:30	<p><b>Arab Political Movements and the Revolutions: Roles and Transformations</b></p> <p>Chair: Jihad El Zein</p> <p><b>Salameh Kaileh:</b> The Left and the Arab Revolutions</p> <p><b>Nagwan El-Ashwal:</b> Islamist Political Movements and the Democratic Process</p> <p><b>Khalil al-Anani:</b> From Opposition to Power and Back: Determinants of the Success and Failure of the Islamic Movements Post-Arab Spring, a Comparative Study of Egypt and Tunisia</p>	<p><b>Arab Political Movements and the Revolutions: Roles and Transformations</b></p> <p>Chair: Rayan El-Amine</p> <p><b>Zoltan Pall:</b> How do Lebanese Salafis Establish their Religious Authority in the Post-Arab Spring Period?</p> <p><b>Mohamed-Ali Adraoui:</b> The Foreign Policies of Islamist Movements</p> <p><b>Ahmad Abdul Hamid Hussein:</b> The Transition to Democracy and the Lack of a Democratic Alternative: the Case of the “Strong Egypt Party”</p>	
10:30- 11:00	Coffee Break		

		Session Two	
		West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
11:00-13:00	<p><b>The State and Revolutions: Containment and Confrontation 1</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Bashshar Haydar</b></p> <p><b>Mehdi Mabrouk:</b> The Deep State and the Democratic Transition in Tunisia: First Principles</p> <p><b>Ouled Bahi Boun:</b> The Dilemma of the Arab Spring: the State in Opposition to Change</p> <p><b>Mohammed Elagati:</b> The Structure of the Arab State and Democratization: Examples from Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco</p> <p><b>Malika Zekhnini:</b> The Crisis of the Nation-State and the Dilemma Faced by Democracy in the Wake of Popular Movements</p>	<p><b>The State and Revolutions: Containment and Confrontation 2</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Mona Harb</b></p> <p><b>Michael C. Hudson:</b> Failing or Surviving? Unpacking the Crises of the Arab State</p> <p><b>Clement M. Henry:</b> "Stateness" and Revolution in the Arab World</p> <p><b>Mohammad El Shewy:</b> Egypt: Transitioning within Authoritarianism</p> <p><b>Daniel P. Brown:</b> How far 'Above the Fray'? : Unpacking the Mechanisms of the Monarchical Advantage in the Arab Uprisings</p>	
13:00-14:30	Lunch Break		



Session Three		
	West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
14:30-16:30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arab Armies and the Revolutions: Redefining the Roles</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Samer Frangie</b></p> <p><b>Hani Awad:</b> The Historical Development of 'the Apolitical' in Egypt: A Study in the Particularity of the Egyptian Bureaucracy (with Reference to the Case of Thailand)</p> <p><b>Hassan Al Hajj Ali Ahmed:</b> The New Military Professionalism: its Impact on the Arab Revolutions</p> <p><b>Carla Maria Emanuel Issa:</b> The Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Army: a History of Violence from 1954 to the Present</p> <p><b>Arnaud Kurze:</b> State Power, Transitions and Resilience: the Securitization of Democracy in Egypt and Tunisia</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The Democratic Transition: Approaches and Questions</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Bassel Salloukh</b></p> <p><b>Antonio-Martín Porras-Gómez:</b> A New Constitutional Law for the Arab Countries</p> <p><b>Mohammed Bask Manar:</b> A Reading of the Moroccan Constitutional and Political Experience Five Years after the Arab Revolutions</p> <p><b>Sidi Moulay Ahmed Aylal:</b> The Democratic Process in Morocco and the Problem of Effectiveness: the Case of the February 20 Youth Movement</p> <p><b>Georges Fahmi:</b> Al-Azhar and Support for Democracy in Egypt from 2011-2015</p>
16:30-16:45	Coffee Break	
	West Hall - Bathish	
16:45-18:30	<p><b>Roundtable Discussion</b></p> <p>Roundtable Discussion with a number of prominent young leaders, chaired by Fawwaz Traboulsi</p>	
18:30-19:30	<p><b>Keynote Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Gilbert Achcar:</b> Probing the Main Obstacle to the Arab Popular Uprisings: Can the Arab people topple the regime with the state in place?</p>	

## Day Three

### Saturday, January 23, 2016

	West Hall - Bathish
9:00 - 10:00	<b>Keynote Lecture</b> <b>Khaled Ali:</b> The Challenges Facing the Arab Spring
10:00 - 11:00	<b>Keynote Lecture</b> <b>Ahmad Dallal:</b> The Political Theology of ISIS
11:00 - 11:30	<b>Coffee Break</b>



Session One		
	West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
11:30 - 13:30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>From Revolution to the Dilemma of the Democratic Transition</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Saoud Almawla</b></p> <p><b>Raymond Hinnebusch:</b> Conceptualizing and Explaining Post-Uprising Divergence in the Arab States: Syria, Egypt, and Tunisia</p> <p><b>Mourad El Mehni:</b> 'Revolutionary Forces' Opposed to the Democratic Transition: A Socio-Political Reading of the Tunisian Case</p> <p><b>Ahmed Idali:</b> The Democratic Transition within Yemen and Libya</p> <p><b>Mohamed Ruhayem:</b> The Public Sphere Five Years since the Revolutions: Egypt as a Case Study</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Obstacles to the Democratic Transition in the Arab States</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Hazem Al Amine</b></p> <p><b>Abdelwahab El-Affendi:</b> Auto-Immune Disorder: Manifestations of the Arab Disease in the Post-Arab Spring</p> <p><b>Leila Kabalan and Amr Kotb:</b> The Secularist-Islamist Alliance in Post-Revolutionary Transition: Egypt and Tunisia</p> <p><b>Alhassan Bin Noujeim:</b> Reflections on the Difficulty of Change within the Arab Space</p> <p><b>Jawhar Jammoussi:</b> Political Violence Channeled through Social Media: Obstacles to the Democratic Transition in the Arab Spring Countries</p>
13:30 - 15:00	<b>Lunch Break</b>	

Session Two	
West Hall - Aud. A	West Hall - Aud. B
15:00 - 17:00	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The Stalled Democratic Transition: the Role of Social Institutions 1</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Nasser Yassin</b></p> <p><b>Mazyar Ghiabi:</b> A State without People: Civil War and Displacement in the Middle East</p> <p><b>Heba Raouf Ezzat:</b> From Awakening the Tribe to Looting the City: a Reading in the New Medieval Age</p> <p><b>Mai Mogib:</b> The Dilemma of the Minorities: from Pre-Spring Oppression to Post-Spring Existential Threat</p> <p><b>Riham Ahmed Khafaji:</b> Sub-national Identities in Arab societies: an Imagined Absence, Painful Presence</p>
17:00 - 17:30	<b>Coffee Break</b>



Session Three

West Hall - Aud. B

**Regional and Global Polarization and the Impact on the Development of the Arab Revolutions**

**Chair: Rami Khouri**

17:30 - 19:30

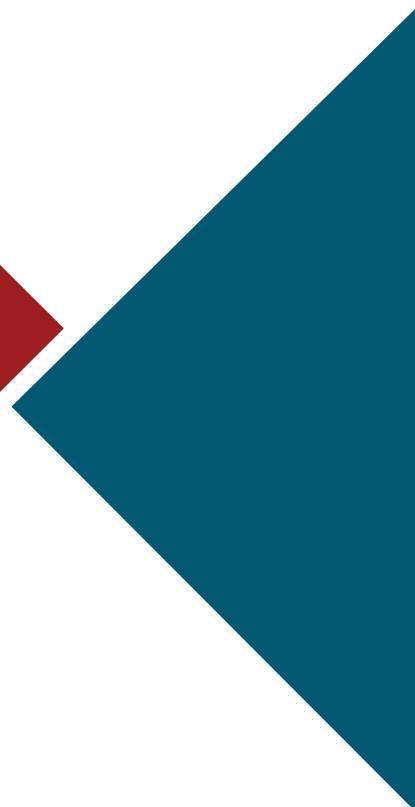
**Yasser Djazaerly:** The Containment of the Arab Revolutions and the Preservation of the World Order

**Felicia Pratto and Fouad Bou Zeineddine:** What the Stable World Does not See that the Unstable World Does: Risks and External Influences in the Arab Uprisings

**Muriel Asseburg:** The EU in the Middle East and North Africa: Helpless Bystander rather than Effective Promoter of Democracy or Stabilizing Force

**Natalia Berenkova:** The Russian Approach towards Non-Governmental Actors in the Levant during the Arab Spring

**Participants**



Participant	Biography
Abdel Nasser Jabi	Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Algeria, Jabi is an expert on labor and trade union movements, as well as political and social protest movements that have defined Algeria in the period after the 1970s. He has authored several articles and research papers published in specialized academic journals, with a particular focus on political and social movements in Algeria.
Abdelfattah Mourou	Elected in 2014 as the First Vice President of Tunisia's Assembly of the Representatives of the People, Mourou is the Vice-President of the Ennahda Party. He drafted a dictionary that includes Tunisian dialect vocabulary and that verified the etymology of more than 2,000 words. A former lawyer and judge, Mourou holds a law degree from Tunis University.
Abdelwahab El-Affendi	Head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Doha Institute For Graduate Studies. He previously served as Associate Professor of Political Science at the Center for Democratic Studies at the University of Westminster in London. Since 1998, he supervised the Democracy and Islam program at the center he founded. He earned a doctorate in Political Science from the University of Reading in Britain.
Abdul Rahman Mansour	Egyptian activist who regularly writes articles and research papers. He was one of the administrators for the "We are all Khaled Said" Facebook page.
Abdulhadi Al Ajmi	Head of the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Kuwait. He has authored several papers published both regionally and globally. Al Ajmi is involved in Kuwaiti and Gulf affairs and holds a doctorate degree in Islamic History from the University of Durham, United Kingdom.
Adel al-Shorbaji	Professor of Sociology at the University of Sanaa. He presided over a number of research teams, and served as advisor for a number of research projects. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Yemeni Observatory for Human Rights, and a founding member of the Arab Network for the Study of Democracy. He has authored several books and studies published in scientific journals, and in 2005 was awarded the Afif Cultural Foundation Award for Scientific Research.

Participant	Biography
<p><b>Ahmad Abdul Hamid Hussein</b></p>	<p>Political sociology researcher focusing on political anthropology, social movements, and studies of democratization.</p>
<p><b>Ahmad Dallal</b></p>	<p>Ahmad Dallal is Professor of History in the Department of History and Archeology at the American University of Beirut. He previously was the former provost of AUB, and held positions at Smith College, Yale University, Stanford University, and Georgetown University. His research focuses on the intellectual, historical and institutional contexts of the disciplines of learning in medieval and early modern Islamic societies.</p>
<p><b>Ahmed Idali</b></p>	<p>Professor of Political Science at the University of Ibn Zahr, Agadir, Morocco. He is also a member of the Moroccan Association for Political Science and of the editorial board of online magazine Ribataalkoutoub.com. Idali holds a PhD in Public Law from the University of Mohammed V, Agdal, Faculty of Juridical, Economic, and Social Sciences, Rabat, Morocco.</p>
<p><b>Alhassan Bin Noujeim</b></p>	<p>Doctoral researcher at the University of Ibn Zahr, Agadir, Morocco. He has authored several published studies and research papers and participated in several academic conferences. He holds a Master's degree in History from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in Agadir.</p>
<p><b>Amr Kotb</b></p>	<p>Advocacy and External Relations Manager at the Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy in Washington DC. His interests include supporting democracy and civil society in the Middle East and North Africa, with a focus on Egypt. Kotb received a Masters of Public Administration and MA in International Relations from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, USA. His editorials and writings have appeared on a number of websites including: Al Jazeera America, the Atlantic Council's EgyptSource, and Open Democracy.</p>



Participant	Biography
<p><b>Antonio-Martín Porrás-Gómez</b></p>	<p>Lawyer and economist by training, Porrás-Gómez has been working as a researcher on issues of public policy and public administration for more than five years. He holds degrees in Law and in Business Administration, studied International Relations and Diplomacy at the Spanish Diplomatic School, and has an LL.M in Constitutional Law and a PhD in Law from the University of Seville (2013). He has worked with the LSE, SOAS and now AUB.</p>
<p><b>Arnaud Kurze</b></p>	<p>Assistant Professor of Justice Studies at Montclair State University. His scholarly work on transitional justice in the post-Arab Spring world focuses particularly on youth activism, art and collective memory.</p>
<p><b>Bashshar Haydar</b></p>	<p>Professor of Philosophy and former Chairperson of the Department of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut. Haydar has particular research interests in political and moral philosophy and aesthetics. He received his MA and PhD from Columbia University in 1996.</p>
<p><b>Bassel Salloukh</b></p>	<p>Associate Professor of Political Science at the Lebanese American University in Beirut. His current research looks at post-conflict power-sharing arrangements, the challenge of re-assembling the political orders and societies of post-uprisings Arab states, and the geopolitics of the Middle East after the popular uprisings. His recent publications include the co-authored <i>The Politics of Sectarianism in Postwar Lebanon</i> (Pluto Press, 2015), “The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East” in <i>The International Spectator</i> (June 2012), and the co-authored <i>Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism and Democratization in the Arab World</i> (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012).</p>
<p><b>Billie Jeanne Brownlee</b></p>	<p>Teaching Fellow in Middle East Politics at the University of Bath, her research interests focus on the development of new media and civil society in the Middle East, with a particular focus on Syria. She is a PhD candidate at the University of Exeter and her previous posts include that of Graduate Teaching Assistant in History of the Middle East, EU democracy promotion in the MENA region at the University of Exeter, and as junior officer at the European External Action Service, Crisis Response Division in Bruxelles.</p>

Participant	Biography
<b>Carla Maria Emanuel Issa</b>	<p>Researcher specializing in political affairs of the Middle East with a focus on international relations theories. Issa holds a Master's in International Affairs from the American University of Paris where her thesis was based on the 2003 US invasion of Iraq and the balance of power between Iran and Saudi Arabia. She has previously presented research at the American University of Beirut, the American University of Cairo and the London School of Economics.</p>
<b>Carmen Geha</b>	<p>Teaches Civic Engagement and Democracy, as well as Citizenship and Civic Participation, at the American University of Beirut. She has been a visitor and spokesperson at a number of academic institutions and policy research platforms in Europe, the US, and the MENA region. Geha is also a civil society activist who has contributed to founding a number of leading NGOs and reform campaigns on issues of electoral systems, access to information, and anti-sectarianism. She is a PhD candidate at the University of St. Andrews.</p>
<b>Charles Harb</b>	<p>Associate Professor of Psychology and Chairperson of the Department of Psychology, AUB. Harb is a social and political psychologist interested in research on identities and group dynamics, with a special focus on the Arab world. He received his PhD in Psychology from the University of Sussex, UK.</p>
<b>Clement M. Henry</b>	<p>Visiting Research Professor at the Middle East Institute of the National University of Singapore, studying political economy and Islamic finance in the MENA and Southeast Asia. Emeritus Professor of Government at the University of Texas at Austin, and previously (1981-84) Director of AUB's Business School, he received his BA and PhD from Harvard University and MBA from the University of Michigan.</p>
<b>Daniel P. Brown</b>	<p>PhD Candidate in Political Science at the University of Oklahoma and currently a Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science and Middle East Studies at the University of Arkansas. His research interests focus geographically on the Levant, and thematically on contentious politics, non-democratic regime dynamics, civil society, identity politics, and international norms and regimes. He received his MA in Comparative Politics and International Relations from the University of Arkansas in 2010.</p>



Participant	Biography
Dina El-Sharnouby	<p>Doctoral Candidate at the Berlin Graduate School of Muslim Cultures and Societies, at the Freie Universität Berlin. Her topic concerns “What Happened to Revolutionary Youth after the 2011 Revolution in Egypt?”. Having been actively involved in the protest movements in Egypt since 2011, she tries to conceptualize and understand the surfacing phenomenon of youth politics, youth movements, and a rising youth subjectivity. She obtained her Master Degree in Sociology /Anthropology from the American University in Cairo.</p>
Farid Khaled	<p>Assistant Professor of Higher School of Technology at the University of Ibn Zahr, Morocco. He worked as a pedagogical coordinator for the Department of Education Technology at the Higher School of Technology in Essaouira. He is a member of the Council of Cadi Ayyad University, and holds a doctorate in public law from Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech.</p>
Fawwaz Traboulsi	<p>Visiting Professor at the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies. He taught at the Lebanese American University for many years and has been a visiting professor at numerous universities in the USA and Europe. He has published widely and translated numerous books into Arabic. His publications include <i>A History of Modern Lebanon</i> (2007). A long time journalist, Traboulsi is the editor of <i>Bidayat</i> journal. He received his PhD from the Université de Paris VIII in 1993.</p>
Felicia Pratto	<p>Professor in the Department of Psychological Sciences at the University of Connecticut since 1998. Pratto's research addresses the processes and consequences of inequality. Pratto's research has addressed the topics of race, discrimination in hiring, prejudice against lesbians, gay men, and immigrants, violations of International Humanitarian Law in war-time, terrorism and counter-terrorism, and the Arab uprisings. She is co-author of the book <i>Social Dominance</i>, and more recently, of <i>Power Basis Theory</i>.</p>
Fouad Bou Zeineddine	<p>Post-Doctoral Fellow for Professor Kevin Durrheim at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Zeineddine has a BA and an MA in Biology from Clark University, another MA and a PhD in Psychology from the University of Connecticut.</p>

Participant	Biography
Georges Fahmi	Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center, where his research focuses on religious actors in democratic transition, the interplay between state and religion in Egypt and Tunisia, and religious minorities and citizenship in Egypt and Syria.
Ghassan Salamé	Presently chairman of the Board of the International Crisis Group, Professor of International Relations at Sciences-Po (Paris) and founding Dean of its Pars School of International Affairs-PSIA. Salamé was Lebanon's Minister of Culture in 2000-2003, and former special advisor to the UN Secretary General. He holds a doctorate degree in Political Science from Paris 1 University and a doctorate in Drama Studies from University of Paris III.
Gilbert Achcar	Lebanese writer and scholar, and professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London. He left Lebanon in 1983 to Europe where he worked as a professor at the University of Paris VIII, and then a researcher at the Marc Bloch center in Berlin. He has authored several studies and books including <i>The Clash of Barbarisms</i> published in 15 languages.
Hafiz Harrous	Professor of Secondary Education in Rabat. He has authored several published studies and holds a Higher Diploma from Dar al-Hadith Hassania in Rabat. He also holds a national doctorate on the subject of Islamic mysticism in Islamic studies in the West.
Haider Saeed	Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and formerly a consultant at the Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies in Amman. He earned a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Mustansiriya in Baghdad in 2001 and has supervised and took part in research projects concerning Iraqi affairs.
Hamzeh Almoustafa	Assistant Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, his research focuses on international relations, with a special focus on Syria. He has many peer-reviewed publications and is the author of <i>The Syrian Revolution's Virtual Realm: Specificities, Directions and the Mechanisms for the Creation of Public Opinion</i> (Doha, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies: 2012).



Participant	Biography
Hani Awad	Doctoral candidate at Hartford College, Oxford University. He has previously worked as a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and has authored a book and several studies published in peer-reviewed journals.
Hassan Al Hajj Ali Ahmed	Dean of the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies at the University of Khartoum. He served as Visiting Professor at the Faculty of Postgraduate Regional Studies at Hankuk University - South Korea (2001-2005). He received a Master's degree in Political Science from the University of Missouri-Columbia, and a doctorate in the same field from the University of North Texas in the United States.
Hazem Al Amine	Lebanese journalist and writer and currently a senior editor of <i>Alhayat</i> newspaper. Al Amine formerly worked as an investigative reporter and covered wars in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq and Gaza. He also wrote extensively on Islamic movements in Yemen, Jordan, Iraq, Kurdistan, and Pakistan as well as Muslims in Europe. He is the author of <i>The Orphaned Salafi: The Palestinian Face of International Jihad and al-Qaeda</i> (Lebanon: Dar Al-Saqi, 2010).
Heba Raouf Ezzat	Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, Ezzat was formerly a visiting researcher at the University of Westminster, United Kingdom, and at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. She received her PhD in Political Science from Cairo University.
Isam Al Khafaji	Senior Adviser to a task force team on Middle East Geostrategy and Adjunct Scholar at the Middle East Institute, Washington DC. He taught at Yale University, New York University and The University of Amsterdam. Al Khafaji is the author of <i>Tormented Births, Passages to Modernity in Europe and the Middle East</i> , and several other books and articles.
Jamal Al Maliki	Prominent Yemeni writer and activist, often referred to in various media outlets. He has participated in several academic conferences and seminars.

Participant	Biography
Jawhar Jammoussi	Lecturer (associate) for Higher Education in Sociology at the Higher Institute of Multimedia Arts at the University of Tunis-Manouba. Jammoussi specializes in Political Sociology, culture and communication. He has authored several studies and papers and holds a PhD in sociology from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tunis.
Jihad El Zein	Leading Lebanese journalist, currently a Senior Editor with an-Nahar newspaper in Beirut. Before that, he was the Managing Director of as-Safir. A graduate of law, he is renowned as a political columnist, and in 2002 he published his first poetry book entitled <i>Qassidat Istanbul</i> (The Poem of Istanbul).
Khaled Ali	Egyptian lawyer and politician, member of the Socialist Front and Director of the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights. He is also co-founder of the Hisham Mubarak Law Center of which he served as Executive Director. He ran in the Egyptian presidential elections in June 2012, and came seventh with around 0.5 percent of the vote.
Khalil al-Anani	Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has taught in a number of prestigious American and European universities and served as chief researcher at the Middle East Institute in Washington, and as a visiting researcher at the Brookings Institute in Washington. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of Durham, United Kingdom.
Lamine Bouazizi	Prominent Tunisian independent leftist activist and writer. He belongs to the first generation of the Tunisian revolution and was part of it since its outbreak.
Leila Kaban	Program Coordinator at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut. Kaban's research interests focus on urban, economic, and political inequalities in the Arab world. She received her dual MA in International Relations and Economics as a Fulbright Scholar from Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, USA.



Participant	Biography
Linda Matar	Research Fellow at the National University of Singapore, her research interests include the political economy and economic development of the Arab Near East, with particular emphasis on Syria. She obtained her PhD in Economics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and her Master's degree from AUB.
Maha Yahya	Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working on citizenship, pluralism and social justice. Her work focuses on the intersection between socio-economic challenges and political transitions. Prior to joining Carnegie, she was the Chief of the Participatory Development and Social Justice Section at UN-ESCWA and spearheaded strategic initiatives at the Office of the Executive Secretary. Yahya holds two PhDs in the social sciences and humanities from MIT and the Architectural Association in London.
Mai Mogib	Assistant Professor of Political Science at Cairo University and formerly a Post-Doctoral Scholar at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). Mogib is the author of the book <i>Copts between Inclusion and Exclusion</i> , published in 2012 by the Center of Arab Unity Press in Beirut.
Malika Zekhnnini	Doctoral Researcher at the Center for Doctoral Studies, Faculty of Juridical, Economic and Social sciences, Muhammadiyah, Hassan II University in Casablanca. He is the author of several published papers and studies.
Marlene Nasr	Research Professor and Senior Researcher for Evaluation and Peer-Reviewing for the Publication Department at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in Beirut. She was a research manager at the Center for Arab Unity Studies (2011-2012). Nasr is a co-founding member at Bahithat Women Researchers Association, and serves as Vice-President of the Lebanese Association for Sociology.

Participant	Biography
<b>Maziyar Ghiabi</b>	<p>Doctoral candidate in Politics at the University of Oxford (St Antony's College) and a Wellcome Trust Scholar in Society and Ethics. His research focuses on the phenomenology and politics of drugs, 'addiction' and drug policy in Iran, by using a combination of ethnographic methods and historical analysis. He is educated in Italy at the University of Venice Ca' Foscari and at the University of Oxford where he obtained an MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies (Distinction).</p>
<b>Mehdi Mabrouk</b>	<p>Professor at the Tunisian University and member of the Tunisian Society for Sciences, Literature, and Arts (Beit al-Hikma). He has written a number of books in Arabic and French and tens of peer-reviewed articles in national and international periodicals on migration, youth, violence, and culture. He is Director of the Tunis branch of ACRPS, and formerly the Tunisian Minister of Culture (2012-2014). Mabrouk has a PhD in sociology.</p>
<b>Michael C. Hudson</b>	<p>Senior Public Policy Fellow at the Issam Fares Institute, contributing to the Institute's International Affairs Program. Hudson is the former Director of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore, and is Honorary Professor in their Department of Political Science. He is also a Saif Ghobash Professor, Emeritus, of Arab Studies and International Relations at Georgetown University. He directed the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown intermittently from 1979 to 2010.</p>
<b>Mohamed Elagati</b>	<p>Director of the Arab Forum for Alternatives, Elagati is a social science researcher and civil society expert who obtained an M.Sc. degree in Political Development from Cairo University in 2001. Elagati's research interests concern civil society, social movements, and political reform in the Arab region. Elagati has written for <i>al-Shorouk</i> newspaper, and wrote regularly in <i>Assafir</i> newspaper in Lebanon.</p>



Participant	Biography
<p><b>Mohamed Ruhayem</b></p>	<p>Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science (FEPS), Cairo University, Egypt. He is also a member, mentor and administrative assistant at the Student Mentorship and Career Counseling Unit of FEPS. Ruhayem obtained his Bachelor's degree in Political Science, with a minor in Economics, from Cairo University, where he is currently pursuing his MA in collaboration with Hamburg University.</p>
<p><b>Mohamed-Ali Adraoui</b></p>	<p>Researcher specializing in International Studies and currently a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore. Author of numerous books and articles dealing with the role of Islam in International Relations, Adraoui holds a PhD in Political Science from Sciences Po Paris. He was a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy and a lecturer at Sciences Po Paris and the Institute of Political Studies in Grenoble.</p>
<p><b>Mohammad Affan</b></p>	<p>Egyptian activist and researcher who holds a Master's degree in Political Science and is currently preparing his PhD thesis in the same field. Affan founded an institute to train activists, and was a Political Bureau member of the campaign of the presidential candidate Abdul Moneim Aboul Fotouh. Affan currently lives in Istanbul and has recently published a book on the Muslim Brotherhood and Wahhabism.</p>
<p><b>Mohammad Almasri</b></p>	<p>Researcher and Coordinator of the Arab Opinion Index Project at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Al Masri holds an MA and a PhD from Durham University in the UK.</p>
<p><b>Mohammad El Shewy</b></p>	<p>Independent writer and political analyst based in Germany, interested in Egyptian affairs and transitional justice more broadly. A regular contributor to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, El Shewy holds an MSc in Human Rights from the London School of Economics and Political Science.</p>
<p><b>Mohammed Shams</b></p>	<p>Independent Egyptian activist who used to work for Al Jazeera Centre for Studies on a research project on the major non-state local actors in the Arab revolutions. Shams was an avid activist during Egypt's revolution and played a key role in documenting its events.</p>

Participant	Biography
<b>Mona Harb</b>	Professor of Urban Studies and Politics at the American University of Beirut and author and co-author of numerous books, Harb's ongoing research investigates policy mobilities and city strategies, as well as youth mobilization and exclusion. She has provided professional advice on urban development issues for many international organizations, including ESCWA, WB, EU and UNDP. She received her PhD in Political Science in 2005 from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Aix-en-Provence (France).
<b>Mouldi Lahmar</b>	Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and Deputy Editor of Omran. His current research interests focus on political leadership in the Arab world. He received his PhD in Sociology from the School of Advanced Social Science Studies, EHESS, Paris, and his state's doctorate in the same field from the University of Tunis.
<b>Mourad El Mehni</b>	Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Tunis and Director of the Research Unit on Culture, Development, and Citizenship, at the Masarat Center for Philosophical Studies and Humanities in Tunisia.
<b>Mohammed Bask Manar</b>	Professor of Public Law and Political Science at the University of Cadi Ayyad. Researcher at the Moroccan Center for Research and Policy Analysis. Manar has authored many published studies in public law and political science. He holds a doctorate in Public Law from the University of Mohammed V in Casablanca.
<b>Muriel Asseburg</b>	Senior Fellow in the Middle East and Africa Division of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the German Institute for International and Security Affairs in Berlin. For the last years, she has been heading two research projects on "Elite Change and New Social Mobilization in the Arab world" and "The Fragmentation of Syria". Asseburg studied political science, international law and economics and holds a PhD from Munich's Ludwig Maximilians University.
<b>Mustapha Al-Teer</b>	Professor of sociology and Director of the Center for Applied Social Research at the Libyan Academy for Higher Studies. Al-Teer held various academic positions and was the first president of the University of Benghazi in Libya. He obtained a doctorate in Sociology in 1971 from the University of Minnesota, USA.



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<p><b>Naim Chelghoum</b></p>	<p>Professor at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at Setif-2- University, Algeria and a doctoral candidate in comparative political studies at Université de Constantine 3. He holds a Master's degree from the University of Jijel, Algeria.</p>
<p><b>Nagwan El-Ashwal</b></p>	<p>Head of the Arab Center for Conflict Transformation and Democratization. She is also a doctoral researcher on social and Islamic movements at the European University, and member of the Cordoba Forum for Conflict Transformation in Geneva. She was also a visiting doctoral researcher at the German Institute for International Studies SWP in Berlin. El-Ashwal holds a Master's degree in political science from the University of Cairo.</p>
<p><b>Nasser Yassin</b></p>	<p>Director of Research at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs and Assistant Professor of Policy and Planning at the Department of Health Management and Policy at the Faculty of Health Sciences, AUB. His research and practice interests are within the area of public policy making and governance in countries and societies in transition, with emphasis on social and health policies, poverty alleviation and youth policies. Yassin is also an advisor to the UNDP. He holds a PhD in Development Planning from University College London and an MSc in Development Studies from the London School of Economics.</p>
<p><b>Natalia Berenkova</b></p>	<p>Teaching fellow in the Department of Oriental Languages and Cultural Linguistics at the Lobachevsky University of Nizhny Novgorod. Berenkova's research interests focus on history of Shia activist ideologies and Russian policy towards the Middle East. She has published a number of articles and received her MA and PhD in history of international relations and foreign policy from Lobachevsky University. Additionally, Berenkova holds the position of senior researcher in the Center for Caspian Region Studies.</p>

Participant	Biography
Omar Bizri	Senior consultant specialising in science, technology and innovation (STI) policies, targeting sustainable development and poverty reduction with a focus on the Arab world. He served for nearly 15 years with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA), retiring as Chief of the Information and Communications Division; having initiated a number of new technology-based community development and poverty reduction initiatives in several Arab countries. Bizri obtained his PhD degree in Chemical Physics, in 1970, from London University, UK.
Omar Idilby	Syrian activist and president of the Supporters of the Syrian Revolution. A participant of Syria's peaceful phase of the revolution, Idilby is a founding member and the spokesperson of the Local Committees of Coordination of Syria which was the main revolution body. He currently lives in Doha, but is closely in touch with the various political and relief institutions as well as the military factions.
Ouled Bahi Boun	Doctoral researcher at the University Hassan I, Morocco. He focuses on issues of building a modern state in the Arab world, social change and Islamist groups. He is also a civil society activist and previously served as the editor of Al-Rai News Agency. Boun holds a Master's degree in political science from the University of Mohammed V, Morocco.
Rabab El-Mahdi	Professor of Political Science at the American University in Cairo. She worked as a visiting professor at the universities of Columbia and Yale in the United States. El-Mahdi has authored several books about the nature of the state and social movements in the Middle East and Latin America. She holds a PhD in political science from McGill University, Canada.



Participant	Biography
Rami Khouri	Senior Policy Fellow at Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, and its former founding director at AUB, as well as a columnist at the Lebanese <i>Daily Star</i> newspaper. He is an internationally syndicated political columnist and book author, and a fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School and the Dubai School of Government. In November 2006 he was the co-recipient of the Pax Christi International Peace Award for his efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to the Middle East. He has received his MSc degrees in Mass Communications from Syracuse University (USA).
Rayan El-Amine	Assistant Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut (AUB) and member of the institute's steering committee (ex-officio). Previously, he coordinated the "Arab Uprisings Research Initiative" at AUB. Before moving back to his native Lebanon, he held a variety of positions at organizations and academic institutions in the US, including Program Coordinator and Lecturer at the Middle East Studies Program at City College of San Francisco.
Raymond Hinnebusch	Professor of International Relations and Middle East Politics at the University of St. Andrews and Director of the Centre for Syrian Studies. His research and publications are focused on International Relations of the Middle East and the politics of Syria and Egypt. He is author of <i>The International Politics of the Middle East</i> (Manchester 2015, 2nd ed.) and obtained his PhD from Pittsburgh in 1975.
Riham Ahmed Khafaji	Assistant Professor at the Institute of Islamic World Studies at Zayed University, United Arab Emirates. She worked as an advisor at the International Center for Research and Studies in Jeddah, and as a researcher at the International Institute of Islamic Thought. She holds a doctorate in Political Science from the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Cairo University.
Salameh Kaileh	Political activist in the Palestinian resistance and then the Arab left. Kaileh holds a BA in political science from the Faculty of Law and Politics at the University of Baghdad in 1979. He has written for several Arabic newspapers since 1981 and has published several books and studies.

Participant	Biography
Sally Hamarneh	PhD candidate in the Department of Science of Information and Communication Technology at the University Paris 8, France. As an architect and an urban planner, Hamarneh is interested in communication between individuals in all its forms, as a parameter for urban life evolution, highlighting urban means of mass communication.
Samer Frangie	Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Studies and Public Administration at the American University of Beirut, where he teaches courses on Arab politics and political thought, and social and political theory. He received his PhD from the University of Cambridge in 2009. Aside from his academic work, he is a frequent contributor to the pan-Arab daily newspaper, <i>al-Hayat</i> .
Saoud Almawla	Researcher and Director of the Book Translation Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He was formerly a professor at the Institute of Social Sciences at the Lebanese University where he taught Political Sociology. He holds a PhD in Islamic Studies and a Diploma of Postgraduate Studies in the Social and Political History of the Arab countries from the University of Sorbonne (Paris).
Sidi Moulay Ahmed Aylal	Doctoral researcher at the University of Abdul Malik al-Saadi, Tangier. A participant in numerous scientific conferences and symposia and seminars, he obtained a Master's degree in political science in 2011 from the Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Science at the University of Mohammed V at Souissi, Salé.
Tarek Mitri	Director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs since 2014 and Former Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General in Libya. Mitri has also been a minister in four Lebanese governments: Information, Environment, Administrative Development, and Culture; and 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 of Palestine Studies; and a Member of the Board of Directors of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has lectured in a number of universities in Lebanon, Europe, and North America. He holds a doctorate from Paris X – University.



Participant	Biography
Wajih Kawtharani	Research Professor and Publication Manager at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Kawtharani's research centers on social history, political sociology and historical research methodology. Previously, he served as research director at the Center for Arab Unity Studies. He holds a doctorate from Paris-Sorbonne University and another one from Saint-Joseph University, Beirut.
Walid Noueihed	Coordinator of the "Prominent Past References from Arab culture" (Tayy al-Thakira) Project at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has been working in journalism since 1970, and has occupied numerous senior positions in a number of Arab and Lebanese newspapers and magazines. He has published a number of books on Arab-Muslim philosophy and holds a BA in History from Beirut Arab University (1972) and in Philosophy from the Lebanese University (1974).
Wendy Pearlman	Associate Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, Illinois, USA. Pearlman's research focuses on such issues as social movements, emotions, and political conflict in the Middle East. She has published two books on the Palestinian national movement, several articles on Lebanese emigration, and is currently writing a new book on the Syrian revolt. Pearlman received her PhD from Harvard University.
Yara Bader	General Director of the Syrian Centre for Media and Freedom of Expression and the editorial secretary of the <i>Media Club</i> magazine on media affairs. She previously worked as a journalist for <i>Alquds Alarabi</i> daily newspaper as well as the revolutionary <i>Horrya</i> and <i>Telaana aal Horrya</i> newspapers. Bader received the Human Rights Watch's Alison Des Forges Award in 2015.
Yasser Djazaerly	Assistant Professor of French, Arabic, Italian, and German languages and cultures at Fitchburg State University, Massachusetts, USA. He has also been teaching Arabic at the Arabic School of Middlebury College since 2012. Djazaerly was previously Assistant Professor of German, French, and Arabic at Sam Houston State University. He obtained a joint PhD in German Studies and Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities from Stanford University.

Participant	Biography
Yassine Ayari	Tunisian blogger and social activist. Many Tunisians believe that he was the first to spread the news that the Chief of Staff Rachid Ammar refused to follow the orders of the former president Ben Ali to shoot the protestors. This event contributed to the neutralization of the military establishment.
Zoltan Pall	Postdoctoral fellow at the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore, and visiting assistant professor at the Gulf University of Science and Technology in Kuwait. His main research interests include social movement theory, the evolution and dynamics of Salafism in Lebanon and Kuwait, and the logic of Salafi transnational networking between the Arabian Gulf and Southeast Asia. He is the author of <i>Lebanese Salafis between the Gulf and Europe: Development, Fractionalization and Transnational Networks of Salafism in Lebanon</i> (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).







