









The Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy (TIMEP) is dedicated to influencing policy toward the Middle East and North Africa through rigorous research and targeted advocacy efforts that promote local voices.

TIMEP was founded in 2013 and currently has offices in Washington and Brussels, with a network of expert fellows located throughout the world. TIMEP is a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit in the District of Columbia.

For more information about TIMEP's mission, programming, or upcoming events, please visit timep.org. This report is the product of the collaborative efforts of TIMEP's staff and fellows.

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## Table of **Contents**

Executive <b>Summary</b>	4
Rigorous <b>Knowledge</b> Production	5
Launching a <b>Legal</b> and <b>Judicial Department</b>	7
Expanding <b>Our Reach</b>	8
Influencing <b>Policy</b>	II
Highlighting Local Voices	12
Board of <b>Advisors</b>	I4

## Executive **Summary**

Over the past five years, the Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy (TIMEP) has established itself as one of the leading organizations for research on and advocacy for the Middle East. This year we continued as a leader in our field, refining our focus on knowledge production as a means of addressing gaps in American and European policymakers' understandings of the Middle East and North Africa. To do so, we provided tools and information instrumental to their decision-making across the fundamental policy areas of rule of law, security, economic development, freedoms, and democracy.

Our work is consistently recognized and highly regarded on a global level. In 2018, the institute's work and experts were featured more than 225 times in international media, including in leading outlets such as the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Guardian, and the Wall Street Journal. At the same time, our experts continue to be sought out by leading institutions around the world to present at high-level events. The institute has had experts present at 29 different events, including major global platforms like the Halifax International Security Forum, the E.U.-Arab World Summit, and the Delphi Economic Forum.

This year, TIMEP produced more research publications than ever before and on more areas than ever before. We launched a new project on Egypt's economy to provide tools to assess the country's reform program in terms of not only economic indicators but also its impact on social health and human rights. TIMEP produced six full-length reports, including five reports that convey findings from our ongoing research projects on Egypt's security situation, parliament, and economic reform plan; 13 briefs on laws, policies, and issues related to Egypt; three briefs related to Syrian law and security; nine fact sheets and infographics related to Egyptian law and politics; and three special briefings on different phases of the Egyptian presidential elections period. TIMEP was additionally excited to bring its work to an Arabic-speaking audience through its first publications in Arabic, which numbered 12 throughout the year.

Additionally, in June 2018 TIMEP became the only Washington-based organization of its type to create a systematic legal and judicial department, with the goal of strengthening legal and judicial culture in and on the Middle East.

TIMEP has increased its influence through advocacy. In 2018 TIMEP developed and maintained contacts within key committees such as the Senate and House foreign affairs committees within the U.S. Congress, the National Security Council, and the Departments of State and Defense. Abroad, TIMEP has solidified its presence within European Union capitals and institutional arms such as the European External Action Service, the European Commission, and the European Parliament. TIMEP regularly interacted with the United Nations, specifically within the Department of Political Affairs and the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, and more recently with various special rapporteurs and experts. we also released a new advocacy product, the policy brief, that clarifies the processes by which policies toward the region are created by U.S., European, and other actors.

## Rigorous Knowledge Production

TIMEP's research brings a critical, scientific approach to investigating the most pressing policy-related issues. At a time when policy discussions are dominated by "expert" opinions, often dissociated from fact or context, and when the space for documentation and critical research is increasingly limited on the ground, TIMEP assumes an essential role: that of knowledge producer, offering rigorous research findings and evidence-based analysis that drive not only our advocacy efforts but also broader considerations of the region. In 2018, TIMEP sought to fill gaps in the policy field with its research, while expanding research to cover new thematic areas such as the Egyptian economy and Syrian political developments. TIMEP also worked to effectively mobilize resources to improve consistency and balance responsiveness with timely delivery of regular products.

- In 2018, TIMEP created TIMEP Briefs, a new product that standardizes our research and analysis into succinct publications to makes complex, policy-relevant issues, laws, and policies immediately legible to policymakers and a broad audience.
  - The institute published a total of 16 briefs this year, including on topics such as the situation in Syria's Idlib province, sectarian violence in Egypt, and the status of personal freedoms in Tunisia.
- In 2018, TIMEP launched its first project focused on economic issues, Egypt's Economic Trajectory, which has two major components:
  - A quantitative tool to help researchers, journalists, and others make better sense of Egypt's economic reform program in numerical and visual terms.
  - Analysis of developments and data, to assess the program in terms not only of economic indicators, but also its impact on social health and human rights
    - The full-length report, "Assessing Egypt's Economic Reform," examining in depth the two years since the signing of Egypt's \$12.4 billion deal with the International Monetary Fund.
- TIMEP has continued to provide multidimensional coverage of complex issues with its flagship projects.
  - The Egypt Security Watch project tracks terrorism and counter-terror efforts.
    - In November, ESW launched a new product, the ESW Week in Brief, which provides weekly coverage of trends and developments related to terror attacks, militant groups' activity, and counter-terror operations, as well as security-related developments in Egyptian law and politics.
    - In July TIMEP published a comprehensive report on Egypt's security situation, "Five Years of Egypt's War on Terror." The report drew on years of research compiled through ESW and found that, while terror attacks have slowed from their peak in 2015 and 2016, the security situation remains tenuous.
  - The Egypt Parliament Watch project (EPW) assesses Egypt's parliament and relevant legislation.
    - EPW published its Session II and Session III Reports, assessing the performance of Egypt's House of Representatives from October 2016 to September 2017 and October 2018 to July



2018, respectively, through key indicators including balance of powers, accountability, public engagement and transparency, and legislative capacity.

- To help TIMEP's audience better understand the processes and composition of Egypt's parliament, EPW published its first infographics on "Navigating Egypt's House of Representatives and "How Does a Bill Become a Law in Egypt?"
- The project also continues to regularly publish "Week in Brief" summaries detailing the activity of Egypt's House of Representatives.
- The Transitional Justice Project (TJP) examines the capacities for justice in the region.
  - TJP launched its second mini-project, Fact-Finding Fact Sheets, a tool that provides a comprehensive, in-depth assessment of the truth-seeking initiatives established in Egypt by the executive branch of government and the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) from January 25, 2011, to the present day.
  - TJP also released one thematic report on truth-seeking in Egypt and two accountability fact sheets on the Maspero Massacre and the Raba'a Sit-In Dispersal.
  - The project also put out a series of short reports, each of which delve into a number of basic transitional justice concepts: domestic trials, truth seeking, and amnesties.
- In February, TIMEP launched a short project on the Egyptian presidential election, "Pulling Back the Curtain: Dynamics and Implications of Egypt's Elections Period." Through this project, TIMEP published a special briefing on candidacy and registration, a special briefing on the campaign period, and a final special briefing on voting and reactions. To supplement these analysis pieces, TIMEP published fact sheets on election laws and procedures and candidates.
- TIMEP released a special report, "Raising the Stakes: Implications of a Second Sisi Term," assessing indicators under President Abdel-Fattah El Sisi's first term and analyzing how these will affect Egypt in the next four years. The sections of the report include legal and political institutions; security, terrorism, and extremism; economic development; gender and sexuality; and rights and freedoms.
- TIMEP launched a new assistantship program in 2018 to provide hands-on mentoring, experiential learning, and professional development trainings to promising young leaders in the foreign policy field, welcoming three assistants in our inaugural cohort.

# Launching a Legal and Judicial Department

As governments across the Middle East are increasingly relying on the law as a primary tool to further entrench their systems of governance, Washington-based think tanks and advocacy organizations often have little to no understanding of legal and judicial systems in the region, leaving them at a serious disadvantage of navigating developments and proposing institutional reform. In June 2018, TIMEP became the first Washington-based organization of its type to establish a legal and judicial department.

#### In the six months since its creation, the legal and judicial department has begun to:

- Build a network of rights lawyers across the region and plan programming to expand their capacity;
- Conduct legal research on some of the most intersectional agenda items of our time, from counter-terrorism legislation in Egypt to the obstacles governing the return of Syrian refugees to their homes; and
- Engage with international and regional legal mechanisms to guarantee that the rights frameworks in the Middle East become stronger, more effective, and better able to serve the populace.

#### In 2019, TIMEP is prioritizing:

- The pursuit of partnerships with preeminent legal institutions to inform its research and legal agenda; and
- The creation of an Arabic regional training program for rights lawyers that addresses current gaps in the legal curriculum and provides unprecedented networking and litigation workshops with renowned legal experts.



TIMEP Law Briefs provide insights and analysis into some of the most prominent pieces of legislation being passed and implemented in the region.

## Expanding our Reach

In 2018 TIMEP aimed to increase its visibility via institutional participation in new partnership opportunities that present the institute's mission and work on new stages around the world. This has expanded TIMEP's audiences reach to new industries and observers.

- TIMEP was able to reach new audiences by presenting at a number of international platforms for the first time.
  - At the 2018 RightsCon Toronto (the leading global summit on human rights in the digital age,) TIMEP hosted a panel discussion on "Digital Human Rights in the Middle East." Executive Director Nancy Okail joined Ramy Raoof, senior technologist at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, and Courtney Radsch, advocacy director at the Committee to Protect Journalists, to discuss the tightening digital space in Egypt.
  - TIMEP also hosted a panel discussion at the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum (an international media conference) in Bonn, Germany. Panelists included Amr Gharbeia, technology and human rights officer at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights; Reem Al Masri, founder of 7iber; Lina Attalah, cofounder and chief editor of Mada Masr; and Omnia Shawkat, cofounder of Andariya, for a conversation on challenges online actors face in a tightening media space within Egypt and the greater Middle East.
  - At the Halifax International Security Forum (a high-level forum to address global security issues) in Nova Scotia, Canada, Okail's panel, "Mayhem, Massacre, Misery: MidEast Makeover" covered regional dynamics and political trends in the Middle East.
  - At Global Perspectives 2018 (an international conference hosted by the International Civil Society Center in Germany) Okail presented on TIMEP's model of engaging and building the capacity of youth in the Middle East.
  - On the sidelines of the Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Group, TIMEP cohosted a session exploring "Egypt's Economy: Turning a Corner or Going in Circles? Civil Society Perspectives." Research Director Allison McManus participated, along with representatives from the Center for Economic and Social Rights, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, ECCLR, and the Bank Information Center.
- TIMEP was additionally invited to participate again at two high-level global forums:
  - At the annual E.U.-Arab World Summit, a high-level platform for debating strategies of Euro-Arab cooperation, Okail discussed migration policies and the refugee crisis in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa. The event was attended by more than 1,000 delegates, including heads of state, high-level officials, and representatives from the private sector from the E.U. and Arab world.
  - Okail also spoke at the **Delphi Economic Forum**, a global forum seeking to reaffirm international cooperation on crucial shared interests, attended by more than 1,500 participants. Okail spoke on the panel "Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East: A New Security Architecture in the Making."



Executive Director Nancy Okail speaking on a panel at the State of the World 2018: Global Relations & U.S. Foreign Policy at Florida International University.

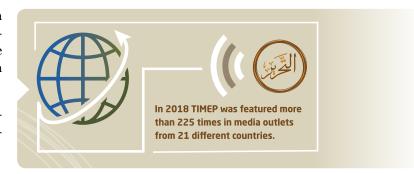
- Complementing TIMEP's participation at the above global conferences, the institute's experts were also featured at more than 20 other panels, seminars, and discussions around the world where they contributed their expertise on a diverse range of pertinent issues and reached audiences from government, academia, the private sector, media, and civil society.
  - Executive Director Nancy Okail spoke at:
    - The event "Human Rights Matter! Defending Marginalized Citizens," hosted by the Right Livelihood College (RLC) in Bonn, Germany;
    - State of the World 2018: Global Relations & U.S. Foreign Policy at the Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs, Florida International University;
    - A conference on the Day of the Endangered Lawyer hosted by the Law Society in the U.K.;
    - The Queen Mary University of London, examining the topic "Whatever Happened to the Egyptians? Remembering #Jan25;"
    - A conference, "Political Contestation and New Social Forces in the Middle East and North Africa," hosted by the Stanford Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law where Okail presented her paper, "Political Reform, Security, and U.S. Middle East Policy;"
    - A discussion on Dr. Jonathan Pickney's new paper, "Civil Resistance and Democratization: Building Democracy after Popular Nonviolent Uprisings;" and
    - Two trainings for students at the Foreign Service Institute, the U.S. government's primary training institution for employees of the U.S. foreign affairs community
  - Research Director Allison McManus spoke at a civil society town hall, cosponsored by TIMEP, on "Valuing Civic Space for More Effective and Sustainable Development," that took place during the annual IMF and World Bank meetings.
  - Advocacy Director Amr Kotb spoke on a panel on the sidelines of the United Nations Human Rights Council meeting, where he participated in a panel hosted by the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, speaking on the effects of repression and counter-terrorism strategies on extremist violence in Egypt.

- Kotb additionally participated as a speaker at a World Affairs Council event in San Francisco.
- Nonresident Fellow Mai El-Sadany joined a panel conversation, "LGBTQ communities in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities," hosted by the Middle East Institute and Human Rights Campaign.
- Senior Fellow Hassan Hassan, sought out by diverse institutions for his security expertise, offered presentations to audiences around the world, including:
  - The George C Marshall European Center for Security Studies Program on Terrorism and Security Studies for civilian, law enforcement, military, counterterrorism and professionals;
  - The Royal United Services Institute, speaking on developments and ongoing violence seven years after the Syrian revolution;



Senior Fellow Hassan Hassan speaking at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Program on Terrorism and Security Studies. Photo credit: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Flickr account

- A panel at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto, via live stream, on the global power politics behind the Syrian conflict;
- A panel on "The Shifting U.S. Policy on Syria" by the SETA Foundation;
- The report launch of "Salafism in America: History, Evolution, Radicalization" hosted by the George Washington University Program on Extremism;
- Regular features in international media continue to propel TIMEP's name to a wide audience around the world.

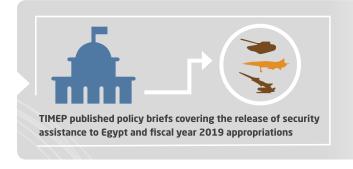


- TIMEP staff and fellows also wrote more than 50 op-eds and investigative pieces for leading journals this year such as the New York Times, Washington Post, TIME, and Foreign Policy.
- 2018 also marked the first year in which TIMEP translated and produced original content in Arabic in an effort to reach local audiences in the region.
  - TIMEP published six original analytical articles in Arabic, and translated three analyses, one major report, one brief, and one fact sheet.

## Influencing Policy

Policymakers in the U.S. and Europe are increasingly turning their attention away from the Middle East and North Africa as they become mired in their own domestic issues and prioritize a different set of global threats. This has yielded an approach to Middle East policy that is primarily rooted in doing the bare minimum to ensure that terrorism and migration remain within the region and to counter Iranian influence. TIMEP's advocacy initiatives push policymakers to evaluate the region and make decisions based on an interdependent set of factors, corresponding to our thematic areas, lying beneath the surface. In 2018 TIMEP acted as a leading source of information on salient policy issues for target advocacy segments such as American, British, and European policymakers, peer organizations, and the international civil society community.

- In 2018 TIMEP employed a diverse range of tools and materials to reach policymakers.
  - o In 2018 the advocacy department launched policy briefs, which cover the policies and actions toward the region from the U.S., Europe, and other relevant actors, offering greater clarity into the
    - processes by which these policies are created and the anticipated impact on the countries toward which they are geared.
  - Throughout the year, TIMEP served as a primary advisor on advocacy initiatives such as public statements, trips to Egypt, joint letters from nongovernmental organizations addressed to policymakers, and hearings and briefings to U.S. Congress, among others.



- In addition to advising on advocacy products, TIMEP also directly provided its expertise to members of U.S. and European governments.
  - Executive Director Nancy Okail participated in a briefing with the U.K. Parliament's All-Party Parliamentary Group on Human Rights, during which she suggested specific actions from members of Parliament and government to support Egyptian human rights defenders.
  - Okail additionally participated in a closed briefing before the German Bundestag on the latest developments in Egypt.
- In building its network across target advocacy segments, TIMEP connected with more than 30 new contacts within the policy making community, both within well-established networks such as Congress, and new ones such as the government of Sweden and the German Bundestag.



## Highlighting Local Voices

TIMEP places great importance on the value of elevating local perspectives to policy discussions. To this end, the institute supports a number of fellows who contribute in various ways to supporting TIMEP's research and advocacy efforts, and in 2018 TIMEP was able to expand its fellowship program. Through its fellowships, TIMEP is able to support local actors who are finding it increasingly difficult to conduct their work in an unpredictable environment. The program also provides the opportunity for fellows to build their professional capacity by expanding their research and analytical skills to address policymakers.

- TIMEP was pleased to welcome seven new fellows in 2018, including:
  - Four nonresident fellows, who provide critical work on topics such as religious freedoms, security sector reforms, the Egyptian justice system, and youth.
  - Two Bassem Sabry Democracy Fellows
    - Ms. Oumayma Ben Abdallah joined TIMEP from January through July TIMEP as the fifth Bassem Sabry Fellow, and first female fellow, bringing six years of experience in research, human rights work, and project coordination. As part of her fellowship, Ms. Ben Abdallah contributed analysis to further the institute's portfolio on Tunisia through blog posts and commentary



A roundtable discussion with Bassem Sabry Fellow Oumayma Ben Abdallah and Carnegie Middle East Fellow Sarah Yerkes on personal freedoms in Tunisia as a culmination of her fellowship.

- Her post on why feminism is important in the United States for TIMEP's Medium blog won third place in the Atlas Corps 2018 Empower Global Women Bloggy Awards.
- At the conclusion of her fellowship, Ben Abdallah presented her research findings on "Personal Freedom in Tunisia" at a public event, which was the institute's first event on Tunisia.
- Ms. Deema Abu Alkhair is TIMEP's first Sabry Fellow to focus on Syria and the organization's first fellow from Jordan. She joined TIMEP in December and has over seven years of experience in the nonprofit sector. She has worked in human rights, media development, and emergency response, tackling issues including media freedom, women's empowerment, and responses to refugee crises.
- In 2018, TIMEP additionally welcomed its first resident legal and judicial fellow, Ms. Yasmin Omar, who has been practicing as a human rights lawyer for the last nine years. She has worked with several NGOs in Egypt and is a member of the Front of Defense for Egyptian Protesters.
- TIMEP also engaged its networks of fellows and local contributors in the region to develop 30 analysis and commentary pieces on the latest developments and ongoing trends.
  - Nonresident Fellow Kamal Chomani was instrumental in developing the institute's growing portfolio on Iraq and Kurdish regional issues. TIMEP published six original commentary pieces by Chomani over the course of the year, with a particular focus on providing analysis around the Iraqi parliamentary elections.



TIMEP Resident Legal and Judicial Fellow Yasmin Omar.

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