

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

CITIZEN VIEWS ON LIBYA'S POLITICAL TRANSITION

FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS IN LIBYA

Conducted November 12 - 28, 2011

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CONTENTS

- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE 1
- PREFACE 2
- MAP OF LIBYA 4
- EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 5
 - I. National Direction 5
 - II. Reflections on the Revolution..... 5
 - III. Islam and Politics..... 6
 - IV. Democracy, Elections and Constitutional Questions..... 7
 - V. Political Parties and Movements 8
 - VI. Transitional Governance..... 8
 - VII. Security, Economy, Corruption, and Other Challenges 9
 - VIII. Citizen Participation..... 10
 - IX. Looking Forward 11
- PRINCIPAL FINDINGS 12
 - I. National Direction 12
 - II. Reflections on the Revolution..... 15
 - III. Islam and Politics..... 22
 - IV. Democracy, Elections and Constitutional Questions..... 24
 - V. Political Parties and Movements 32
 - VI. Transitional Governance..... 37
 - VII. Security, Economy, Corruption and Other Challenges 41
 - VIII. Citizen Participation..... 47
 - IX. Looking Forward 56
- CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 59
- APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP LOCATIONS 62

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights. Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies. The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

PREFACE

Inspired by uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, Libyan citizens took to the streets in what is popularly referred to as the February 17 Revolution, calling for an end to Muammar Gaddafi's dictatorship and a transition to democratic rule in Libya. On October 23 Libya's transitional leaders declared the country liberated and launched a political transition which includes benchmarks for appointing a new government, developing an electoral framework, holding elections for a 200-member national conference and the drafting of a new constitution. This pilot round of focus group research took place three weeks into the transition timeline and captured citizen sentiments about the political landscape and expectations for the future. The findings indicate that Libyans are eager to exercise newfound political freedoms and participate in shaping their country's future, but feel disadvantaged by their lack of familiarity with democratic principles and practices.

Purpose. In order to provide political and civic leaders in Libya with timely and objective information about citizens' priorities and perspectives during the political transition, the National Democratic Institute (NDI or the Institute) led a qualitative public opinion study in six cities across Libya from November 12 to 28, 2011. The study comprised 16 focus group discussions throughout the country and examined the following:

- Perceptions about how the political transition is unfolding;
- Views on priority issues and key concerns regarding the transition;
- Expectations and hopes for the future; and
- Attitudes toward democracy, governance, elections, and political parties.

The findings of this study were used to inform Libyan decision-makers—in political parties, civil society organizations and the transitional government—about citizens' attitudes and opinions. The Institute commissioned International Advisory Services (IAS) to organize the study in six cities across the country. IAS is an international research and advisory company with regional offices in Tripoli.

Focus Group Research: Focus groups are open-ended group interviews directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. The purpose of focus group research is to understand the attitudes, opinions and experiences of participants who are recruited for the exercise. Focus groups are particularly useful in gaining a deeper appreciation of the motivations, feelings and values behind participants' reactions. In addition, the group format enables respondents to participate in an exchange of ideas – thus revealing a more in-depth understanding of why opinions are held – that may not emerge in individual in-depth interviews or quantitative surveys. Focus group discussions

comprise a small number of participants, typically eight-12 per group. Through facilitated, open-ended discussion, focus groups allow decision-makers to understand the motivations, feelings and values behind participant opinions. Further, focus group findings are only a snapshot of opinions at the moment the research is undertaken. Given the dynamism of the Libyan transition, public opinion is in constant flux as citizens respond to unfolding events. The conclusions of this report therefore only represent opinions when research was conducted in mid- to late November 2011.

Method. From November 12 to 28, 2011, NDI held 16 focus groups in six cities across Libya with a widespread geographical representation: Benghazi, Derna, Misrata, Sabha, Tripoli and Zawiyah. Target cities were selected based on their population size and geographic location. To capture the perspectives of a broad cross-section of Libyan society, NDI divided the groups by gender, education level (secondary education or less and those with a more than secondary education) and age (18-35 and over 35). Each group comprised between six and 10 participants. Participants were selected and re-screened to ensure gender parity and a diverse representation of neighborhoods, socioeconomic backgrounds, education levels and professions.

Staffing and Logistics: The moderators conducting all focus groups were Libyan citizens trained in moderator techniques by NDI and Quirk Global Strategies. All groups were conducted in Libyan Arabic and transcripts were prepared in Arabic and English.

Group Locations: The 16 focus groups outlined in this report were conducted in six locations throughout Libya – Benghazi, Derna, Misrata, Sabha, Tripoli and Zawiyah (see the map in this section). NDI had originally intended to conduct focus groups in Zintan, but this coincided with the capture and transport to Zintan of Gaddafi's son Saif al-Islam Gaddafi. Accordingly, the Institute conducted focus groups in Zawiyah instead of Zintan. Despite Libya's lack of exposure to independent qualitative research, NDI and IAS succeeded in carrying out all groups as scheduled. Locations selected for the study were urban or semi-urban areas. In all cases, appropriate venues for focus group discussions were identified to ensure participant privacy and sufficient space for indirect observation by NDI and IAS staff.

Outside Influence: In all cases, every effort was made to ensure there was no undue influence exerted on the participants in the groups. The focus group guideline was not shared with local authorities prior to the group. In this study, there was no case in which the findings from one or more groups differed radically from findings in the groups overall, which suggests that any local influence that may have occurred did not impact the research.

MAP OF LIBYA



One World Nations Online. November, 2011.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores public opinion in Libya in the late fall of 2011. Based on 16 focus group discussions with more than 144 participants, the report examines attitudes and concerns of Libyan citizens about the unfolding political transition. Participants were asked about their views on the performance of transitional governing institutions, opinions on security and economic issues and thoughts and impressions on democracy, elections, and political parties. A summary of the main findings can be found below. The full results, along with selected quotations from participants, can be found in the Principal Findings section of this report.

I. National Direction

Libyans are optimistic and believe the country is headed in the right direction. They are proud of what they accomplished through the revolution and some feel a new confidence in their ability to solve problems and direct the course of their country in the future. Participants point to the fall of Gaddafi and the freedom to speak openly, particularly about political topics, as the strongest indicators that the country is on the right path.

Growing everyday concerns are beginning to eclipse the revolutionary euphoria. Libyans display increasing anxiety over the economy, the internal security situation and corruption, which are perceived as emerging threats to the sustainability of the political transition.

In rebuilding their country, participants feel that Libya is recovering not only from a violent revolution, but also from 42 years of systemic mismanagement and neglect. They recognize the daunting road ahead and clearly want to "get it right" on the first try – most urge patience and an incremental approach to rebuilding the country and assert that strong, transparent leadership is necessary to ensure the proper foundations are established.

II. Reflections on the Revolution

Personal involvement in the revolution gives ordinary Libyans, particularly women, a sense of responsibility for the direction of the country. Participants believe that the success of the revolution has empowered them to protect their hard-won rights. They believe they have set a precedent with the revolution and that future leaders should recognize that they are accountable to the Libyan people.

Participants identify freedom – particularly freedom of speech – as the most significant change in their lives since the revolution. They describe a new boldness in sharing ideas and opinions and feeling safe to disagree and make their own choices.

Participants evince hope for the future and a new interest in politics and in civic engagement. Many respondents describe joining civil society organizations and wanting to become involved in new political movements and to play a role in the broader transition process.

Gaddafi supporters are still a concern to participants, particularly in Misrata, Sabha, Zawiyah and Tripoli. Participants express fear that regime loyalists could destabilize the transition and many are worried about how to reconcile fractured communities.

After decades of feeling pitted against each other by Gaddafi, participants credit the revolution with instilling a new sense of nationalism and unity. They claim that “East and West” divisions have been eroded by the common struggle against the regime and that they have newfound respect for citizens in all cities.

However, some feel that regional tensions are re-emerging. Participants in Benghazi, Derna, Misrata and Sabha complain that Tripoli is reassuming its pre-war prominence and exhibit a growing sense of marginalization.

III. Islam and Politics

Participants’ responses reaffirm that Libya is a conservative religious society; most participants want and expect Islam to play a role in political life. Respondents of all backgrounds assert that Libya is an Islamic country and that religion will naturally govern public life to a certain degree.

Libyans overwhelmingly agree that moderate Islamic principles should influence governance, but vary on exactly what that means in terms of the role religion should play in public life. There is consensus on the need to avoid extremism.

There is some support for a separation between religion and politics. Some participants caution against the potential infiltration of extremist ideologies, while others argue that religion will always play an important cultural role, but should have limited influence in the political sphere.

There is discomfort with Islamic political parties among participants, particularly those with higher education levels. Some respondents explain they do not want Islamic political movements because they suspect that parties are feigning piety to attract votes, while others claim they prefer to keep religion and politics separate.

IV. Democracy, Elections and Constitutional Questions

Libyans want to exercise democratic rights and responsibilities, but feel limited by their lack of exposure to democratic concepts and institutions. Some participants claim that democracy is an admirable goal, but unrealistic given that most Libyans have no experience with democratic practices.

Participants are supportive of democracy, but can offer few definitions of the term beyond freedom of speech and the right to peacefully disagree. Some participants, generally those with higher levels of education, associate democracy with political parties and the right to elect qualified leaders of their choice.

Opinions of democracy have been damaged by Gaddafi's propaganda. Many participants recount being taught that joining political parties was treasonous and that Gaddafi's perverted system of "direct democracy" was the only possible political system for Libya. **Awareness of the upcoming elections is low.** While most participants were aware that elections are planned for Libya's future, few had any idea of when the elections would be held or what they would be voting for.

Participants are eager to vote in elections and view them as a key component of democracy. They associate elections with the opportunity to choose qualified leaders and bring about positive change for their country. Beyond this, few participants knew how elections worked in practice.

Participants believe that broad participation will guarantee the legitimacy of the first elections. In addition to expressing their own intent to vote, many participants urge their fellow Libyans to participate.

Participants are concerned that the first election will be dominated by the country's tribal leaders and those whom they support. While most participants agree the tribes play a constructive social role, they are opposed to a tribally-based political system. Several participants claimed they would not participate in an election dominated by tribes.

In all cities, participants worried about Libyans' lack of awareness of the forces that will shape their political system, basic democratic principles and the people and organizations that are coming to power. Participants want to make sure they and their fellow citizens are familiar with the technical and substantive aspects of democracy and elections. Participants also want to be informed voters and are anxious for accurate information on candidates, platforms and programs.

Awareness of the constitutional process is low. While participants generally believe a constitution is important for the future of the country, few have any information on the constitution or its drafting process.

Nevertheless, citizens want and expect to play a key role in the constitutional development process. Most participants agree an inclusive drafting process is necessary to ensure that the constitution has legitimacy and believe that there should be opportunities for input from both technical experts and ordinary citizens.

V. Political Parties and Movements

Gaddafi's propaganda tarnished the public image of political parties. Several participants referred to regime propaganda against parties and Gaddafi's efforts to convince Libyans that political parties were unpatriotic and disruptive as having damaged their views of parties.

Lack of exposure to political parties has frequently led to negative assumptions about their agendas and motivations. Many participants are concerned that political parties could be a source of conflict among Libyans at a time when the country needs to be united.

Participants claim that they need more information about parties – both on their roles and functions and more specifically on the platforms and goals of the new Libyan political movements. Beyond the Muslim Brotherhood – which receives mixed opinions – only a handful of participants could name other Libyan parties.

Despite concerns about political parties, many participants are willing to listen and make decisions based on parties' agendas. Participants want parties to articulate clear platforms explaining how they intend to solve key issues facing Libya, including security, the economy and corruption.

VI. Transitional Governance

Participants are supportive of the NTC and appreciate the role it played in managing the country during the revolutionary crisis. Respondents credit the NTC with bringing international attention to Libya's plight and opening the door to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) involvement as critical to the success of the revolution.

The NTC is grappling with a growing public relations crisis that could be solved, claim participants, by creating channels to share information and communicate with the public. The NTC faces widespread criticism for not being transparent and for failing to

communicate effectively with Libyan citizens, particularly youth. Participants are frustrated by the lack of information available on the NTC and its members, as well as its programs and decision making processes.

While many participants are still willing to be patient with the NTC and wait for future developments, it is clear that more communication and transparent decision-making would help Libyans feel more confident that the NTC is making progress on important issues.

Citizens' views and level of awareness of the work of local councils vary depending on the city, generally as a result of confusion over the responsibilities and authority of the councils. Many participants are unsure of the responsibilities and boundaries that fall under the purview of the local councils as opposed to what should be managed by the NTC.

VII. Security, Economy, Corruption, and Other Challenges

The security landscape is chaotic and confusing. Participants see the National Transitional Council (NTC) as having little, if any, influence over militias. This has damaged the credibility of the NTC in the eyes of many people.

Libyans are confused over the lines of authority for national and local security. There is consensus that a central authority needs to collect weapons, establish an army and develop an organized security system to prevent backsliding into conflict.

The number of weapons, unrestrained militias and easy access to guns is a major worry in all cities. This proliferation of weapons is the most significant reason for pessimism cited by participants.

Key Economic concerns include the difficulty of withdrawing money from the country's banks and the rising costs of basic goods. Some participants believe shop-owners are taking advantage of the unstable situation to raise prices and are frustrated that the NTC is not intervening to end profiteering.

Participants have high and potentially unrealistic expectations of Libya's frozen assets and vast oil reserves. Many participants are convinced that once the assets are unfrozen and the oil sector is back to normal they will immediately reap the benefits.

Fiscal transparency is a key concern. Participants want the NTC to be transparent about the assets and oil revenues and to provide citizens with information on how money will be managed during the transition.

Education and health issues are important to participants, but second tier in comparison to the more immediate security and economic concerns.

Participants are concerned about corruption, due both to the legacy of Gaddafi's venal regime and increasingly because of the lack of transparency in the transition process.

While participants blame some corruption on the Gaddafi regime, many are frustrated that the NTC is not taking visible steps to combat corruption.

VIII. Citizen Participation

Participants are eager to engage in civic and political life. While many respondents admitted they are unfamiliar with the options available to them and worry that they are not qualified or informed enough to participate in politics or civil society, men and women alike are eager to join and volunteer for newly created associations and groups that address causes they care about. While most participants focused on civic engagement, some expressed an interest in joining political parties, running for office and voting in elections.

Women are proud of the role they played in the revolution and look forward to actively participating in the next phase of Libya's transition. Many women cite their involvement in the revolution as having inspired a new confidence and investment in their country's political future. They want to capitalize on the momentum and ensure that women continue to have opportunities to move Libya forward.

Participants are broadly supportive of women playing roles in public life, but there is disagreement over what type of engagement is best-suited to women. Some participants, including women themselves, were uncomfortable with women playing a leading role in politics and thought high-level positions were inappropriate or would conflict with women's responsibilities to their families. Other participants claim that men and women are equal and should share the same responsibilities and opportunities in the transition phase.

Nearly all participants believe young Libyans need to be rewarded for their service and sacrifice and given opportunities to participate in the country's transition process. However, some are concerned that Libyan youth lack the proper qualifications and experience to play meaningful leadership roles.

Participants have mixed opinions on the role Libyans who lived abroad and have recently returned to the country should play in the political process. Some participants believe that returning Libyans should not be allowed to participate in national politics

because they did not share in the suffering of the Libyans who stayed behind and may be serving foreign political agendas.

Most participants rely on television, particularly international channels, as their primary source of information. Participants are frustrated with domestic media and want Libyan channels to help close the information gap and raise awareness about politics and the situation in the country.

IX. Looking Forward

Libyans have high expectations for the future. While they acknowledge recovering from the revolution will take time, most describe their vision of Libya in five years as a stable, prosperous country with well-educated citizens.

Participants do not want their leaders governing in isolation. Participants want to be reassured that their country is being led by transparent, honest people who will honor the goals of the revolution. Regardless of age, geography and gender, participants want to know that their leaders are listening to them and that their opinions are valued. They want their leaders to fully assume the responsibilities they have undertaken, protect the goals of the revolution and truly serve the Libyan people.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

This study is a pilot research initiative and a first look at citizen attitudes about the unprecedented opportunity for democratic transition in Libya. After the hard-won victories of the revolution, Libyan citizens are looking forward to exercising new freedoms and have expectations that the transition will deliver improvements to their every-day lives. The roles played by ordinary citizens in challenging and overthrowing Gaddafi's dictatorial regime translate into a strong personal investment in the success of the transition. Over time, stability may depend on whether Libyans believe the unfolding transition is achieving the goals of the revolution. NDI conducted 16 focus groups with more than 144 participants throughout Libya to gauge citizen hopes and expectations for the transition, identify key concerns and ascertain perspectives on democracy, elections and political parties. The findings, drawn from participants' comments, are below.

I. National Direction

Participants believe Libya is headed in the right direction. They are proud of what they accomplished through the revolution and some feel a new confidence in their ability to solve problems and direct the future course of their country. Participants point to the fall of Gaddafi and the freedom to speak openly, particularly about political topics, as the strongest indicators the country is on the right path. Respondents, particularly youth, describe the novelty of being able to freely voice opinions without triggering repercussions from the regime's security forces. Participants are optimistic, claiming that the success of the revolution and their new freedoms herald a bright future for Libyan people.

"Now we have hope in everything. Everyone has their own opinion. If you voiced your opinion before you'd be put in jail." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"We used to dream of democracy and now we are living it." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Before we loved Libya but we had no rights, now we can be a part of building Libya and having our rights." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Thank God we got rid of the previous regime. I feel comfortable and free after the fall of the tyrant." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Now we have freedom. Before I had no views - now I have them, because I can speak freely." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

Some participants feel that the situation is stabilizing, pointing to schools resuming and businesses re-opening in Libya. Other participants, particularly women, describe feeling safer in their neighborhoods and attribute this both to an increase in official visible security measures, such as official checkpoints, and to informal community efforts.

"I feel safer now than before. Yes living here is risky, but the people are taking care of each other, I feel safer walking in the streets. Once there was a fight, and some people came and protected me from it. Nobody would come to stand by your side or protect you before." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"According to the circumstances our country is in, I believe that it is going in a pretty good direction. For example, some schools are back, factories are back, the security is pretty good." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"As a woman I never felt safe to go out before, but now I feel much more confident because I see a lot of checkpoints." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Despite the enthusiasm for the success of the revolution, some participants are concerned that it is too early to make a determination on whether or not the country is headed in the right direction. **For some participants, the revolutionary euphoria is giving way to anxieties over everyday concerns.** They point to rising prices, pervasive weapons, corruption and general disorder as threatening the stability of the country and the success of the transition.

"There is still chaos on the roads, no one stops for traffic lights, the prices are high, there is fighting in front of the banks, people aren't getting their wages, nobody knows if we are going in the right direction. We are still fixing the country, breaking things is easy but it takes time to put it all back together." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"I think right now it is too early to suggest if Libya is going in the right or wrong direction. Libya is like a garden that is growing, you still don't know what will happen." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Although participants across the country express concerns over economic and security challenges, many say that Libyans need to be patient. Some participants argue that their fellow citizens are too demanding and have unrealistic expectations that – if unmet - could cause trouble for the transition. Participants point to the United States

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

and European countries as nations that had years to develop what many Libyans want to see in a matter of months.

Others explain that Libya is recovering not only from a violent revolution, but that 42 years of systemic mismanagement and neglect mean that building state institutions, restarting the economy and developing democratic processes will take time. **Participants recognize the daunting road ahead and clearly want to “get it right” on the first try – most urge patience and an incremental approach to rebuilding the country and assert that strong, transparent leadership is necessary to ensure the proper foundations are established.**

“I think it's quite impossible to transform straight away into a democratic country after living in a dictatorship for 42 years. The change has to be gradual, take it step by step.” Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

“The European countries reached democracy and transparency after years and years of practicing it. At this stage we need transparency; those who are responsible should tell us what their priorities in building the country are so we reach the next stage that we want to achieve.” Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

“This is our country, and we need to be patient to rebuild it. If you don't get your salary quickly that does not mean you need to go out with your weapons and threaten people.” Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

“The important thing is we have got rid of Gaddafi. We have been waiting 42 years so we can wait a little bit longer.” Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

“We finished the main part - which was the liberation of the country, but now comes the most important part - which is building and establishing the government institutions.” Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

“We are hoping for the best. It's a hard time to go through, and we have to go through a lot of struggles and challenges to build a country with strong foundations. We have to move slowly but build right.” Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

Some participants express concern that Libyans will have difficulty recovering from the duress of life under Gaddafi. They say that it will take time for mentalities to change.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"If you ask someone to say their opinion they are still scared that the security apparatus will catch them. We've had over 40 years of dictatorship so it will take some time. Before if you said something wrong at 12 o'clock the police would pick you up by 1 o'clock!" Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"We did change the national anthem, however people have not changed. We have lived like this for 40 years. We have to understand this that there is still corruption, nepotism and so on. That is because people have not changed. They have grown up with this. Slowly slowly things will change." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

The desire for patience has its limits, particularly in the eastern cities that were liberated earlier during the conflict. Some participants claim that they are still waiting to feel the change promised by the revolution.

"Sometimes I feel pessimistic when they give us a date to do something, and when the time comes; they say it has been delayed. I feel let down, but that doesn't mean I'll stop, I'll just feel we are still in the old days when things get delayed." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We were one of the first cities that got liberated and we waited a long time for all the other western cities to become liberated. Now that we are ready to build our country we come to find that nothing has changed and all the processes are the same." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

II. Reflections on the Revolution

Libyans are invested in their revolution and proud of the roles they played. While a few participants acknowledge NATO's role in providing air support, participants assert ownership of the victory over Gaddafi's forces. Many speak with great pride about their own involvement in the revolution – which ranged from cooking meals for fighters, to volunteering at hospitals, to collecting money, and to taking up arms and fighting on the frontlines. This personal involvement in the revolution gives ordinary Libyans, particularly women, a personal stake in the transition and sense of responsibility for the direction of the country.

Some participants are still amazed by the success of the revolution, commenting that they originally took to the streets to push for small changes, including improvements in health and education, and that they never expected to overthrow the regime. Participants describe attending protests for the first time in their lives, growing more confident and being inspired by the strength and sacrifice of fellow citizens.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"From children, to the youth, to middle aged man, to the old man – everyone was a part of this revolution and that is what made it successful. This revolution belongs to everyone." Derna woman, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We were like caged birds and then we were freed and we were able to fly and we didn't care about the consequences anymore because we really tasted what freedom was." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"I did go out on the 17th of February but did not think that it would reach this far. It was simply to pressure the government to make it improve various sectors such as education. However to actually eliminate the head of this regime is beyond words." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The word revolution was new to us, we didn't know what to expect. Gaddafi thought his speech would scare us but it didn't. He learned we would sacrifice everything to get rid of him." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"When the revolution started I was afraid. I knew Gaddafi had a strong force and he wasn't easy to beat. Killing and murder to Gaddafi was an easy thing. Sometimes I was like 'I am living, I am still alive, why risk my life for democracy'. But when I saw the youth giving up their lives for this cause, my fear started to go away. Thank God we won in the end." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I started to feel more patriotic and optimistic. Since the first day of the uprising, I felt very proud of being Libyan. I started to love going to my work at university and I believed that whatever would come after the fall of Gaddafi wouldn't be worse than him. There is now a new hope." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants recount harrowing ordeals and conditions during the revolution. Many participants had seen Gaddafi quash other rebellions and expected retaliation to be similarly swift and brutal. In Benghazi, Tripoli, and Misrata participants claim they are still recovering from the anxiety and violence that characterized their daily lives for eight months. In Misrata, women speak about campaigns of rape and violence during the siege of their city. While rehabilitation for revolutionary fighters is a priority frequently mentioned by participants, some also mention the need for ordinary citizens to heal from the conflict.

"I can't simply forget those eight months. Every day we listened to the radio. It gave us a sense of relief although it was unbearable due to the lack of water, electricity," Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"It was a time of complete fear, insomnia, children crying and old people terrified. I was not scared of death; I was scared of rape actually. I protected myself with a knife under my pillow. If someone entered my house, I was convinced that I would kill myself before he would reach me because in no way would I be able to beat them single-handedly." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"In the beginning I was scared because they told us the pro-Gaddafi people would come in and rape the women and girls, we weren't scared of being hurt or facing death but scared of being raped." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

In Misrata, Sabha, Tripoli and Zawiyah some participants describe conflict with Gaddafi loyalists in their communities during and after the fighting. Some participants lost their jobs for supporting the revolution and others were harassed by neighborhood gangs loyal to the regime.

"The people I worked with were pro-Gaddafi. They wouldn't let me speak. They would get his picture and put it behind me. They all knew I was against Gaddafi. I said hang your picture today, tomorrow hopefully it will be our picture. The boss told me it's best not to come in anymore, as I would not be safe and it would be safer at home." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"We used to cry, me and my family members. We were so scared. We were also threatened by our neighbors as they were very loyal to Gaddafi, that was horrible." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Gaddafi supporters are still a concern to participants, particularly in Misrata, Sabha, Zawiyah and Tripoli, cities in western and southern Libya that remained under Gaddafi's control for longer periods of time. Participants express concern that regime loyalists could destabilize the transition and are unsure of how to heal their fractured communities.

"At work we all knew who was pro-Gaddafi and who was not. We were under a lot of pressure. Now the problem is that some are still pro-Gaddafi." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"If you go to a pro-Gaddafi place then you can't talk freely as you will be afraid for your life. Will Gaddafi supporters respect my opinion now because we are free or just do as they wish? No one knows. We're afraid of them." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Misrata, which experienced some of the worst fighting during the revolution, is struggling to accommodate groups of people referred to as “returnees,” Gaddafi supporters who fled and are now returning to the city. Misrata participants are unsure of how to live and work alongside known regime supporters, as well as members of the nearby Tawergha tribe, a group that clashed with Misrata fighters during the conflict.

“Most of the families in my street have people martyred. They want their rights and closure. Those people left Misrata raising Gaddafi’s green flag and supported him in blood and soul. Now they come back as if nothing happened and they are still supporting him to this day.” Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

“I believe that in terms of the politics it is going towards a great direction. However, inside our society I see several problems. For example the people now in Misrata call anyone who has escaped Misrata during wartime and who has come back now, ‘the returnees’. These people experience disrespect and are sometimes harassed. This is highly uncivilized. If this is how it will continue then this revolution will lead to a civil war, not prosperity.” Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

“The repeated rape and harassment against the Misrata women is the main reason that Misrata became infuriated. It is very hard for them to accept Tawergha now because of the harm they have experienced. Misrata has been deeply cut and its scars will take time to heal.” Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Many participants evince a newfound respect for their fellow citizens and describe feeling patriotic for the first time. Participants, particularly residents of Tripoli and Benghazi, express an intense sense of national pride, unity and sympathy toward fellow Libyans.

“The revolution has made me aware of the people I am surrounded by, now I worry about my neighbors, my patriotism has been restored. I really feel that I was reborn on the 17 of February.” Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

“The feeling of nationalism was something new, when we first went to protest in the court. I felt shivers on my skin, I was crying from happiness.” Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

“At the beginning of the revolution I thought to myself maybe having an oppressive regime is better than a void that won’t be filled, but this void has been filled with things we have not known for the past 42 years, the love and bond that we have for each other.” Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"What we have noticed is that we have started to care about each other. We were waiting for the fighters from the other cities and we were praying for them." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"The revolution helped us realize that we should place the goodness of our country as our top priority. I never had this feeling of belonging to my country before." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants credit the revolution for their new sense of nationalism. While Gaddafi was notorious for stoking regional rivalries and pitting the cities and regions against each other, many participants claim that the war and humanitarian crisis forced Libyans to take care of each other within their communities and support refugees and fighters from other cities.

"The East loving the West is something new. During Gaddafi's time he used to make us hate each other." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We stood together like brothers, of one blood and with no differences, even when Gaddafi bombed us. People you didn't know would come and help clean up the mess. I would leave my house to help someone I didn't know." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"People took in other people they didn't know and housed and fed them as if they were from their family." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We have become united and we have forgotten our divisions. There is no more East and West." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

While most participants claim they feel a new sense of national unity, concerns are emerging that Libya will return to a centralized state controlled by Tripoli. Some participants are frustrated by what they perceive as political posturing by citizens of some cities. Participants in the East are worried that they are losing their revolutionary prominence, and that national and international attention is shifting back to the capital. Participants from Derna and Misrata complain that few people pay attention to cities outside of Benghazi and Tripoli. In Misrata, the same participants who describe feeling a new sense of camaraderie among all Libyans also state they are worried about discrimination from other cities.

"Tripoli is our capital and it comes first but they shouldn't have a monopoly." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"In the beginning of the revolution we were all one hand, we were all called Libyans, but now recently, every city wants to stand by itself. It's slowing down our development." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I feel they are unfair to the people of Misrata - if we go to Tripoli they say go back to Misrata. That is why we have shut Misrata to them." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"When something happens in the south of Libya in Sabha the people don't make a big deal of it. When it happens in Tripoli or Benghazi they do make a big deal and it's all over the press and all the attention is on them." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"Another problem we have is that when the NTC was in Benghazi, all eyes were on Benghazi as if Benghazi is Libya, and when NTC moved to Tripoli, all eyes are on Tripoli as if Tripoli is Libya. It is just like before when all the other small cities in Libya were ignored." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Participants identify freedom – particularly freedom of speech – as the most significant change in their lives since the revolution. They describe a new boldness in sharing ideas and opinions and feeling safe to disagree and make different choices.

"I still can't believe I am actually talking freely now." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"You can say your opinion. Whether people agree with you is up to them but you won't die for it, you don't need to be afraid anymore." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The biggest difference is the freedom to express yourself and your opinion anywhere you want." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Now I can discuss political matters with my friends without the fear that I will be arrested. I am no longer oppressed." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants are eager to exercise their new freedoms and believe that the success of the revolution has empowered them to protect their hard-won rights. They believe they have set a precedent with the revolution and that future leaders should recognize that they are accountable to the Libyan people.

"I am optimistic for one reason and that is that any next president will know that the Libyan people are not easy to rule and cheat on once again. We'll be there to

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

make sure they do their job right." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"For the past 42 years whatever crises we faced always destroyed us, but now whatever crises we are faced with, we try to solve and we will solve them." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants share a new hope for the future and a new interest in politics and in civic engagement. In several cities, participants describe joining new civil society organizations and wanting to become involved in politics. Young Libyans recall the frustrations of growing up under the Gaddafi regime. Several participants describe having their career and education dictated by revolutionary committees, who forced them to switch courses of study or enter a particular career. Now they claim to feel invested for the first time in their lives in their country's politics and future.

"What has happened now is an earthquake. People now are starting to understand the importance of civil society, what a constitution is...they are becoming aware." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"It got to a point where you graduate from high school and then the government chooses what you study, not what you wanted to become or what was your desire. So from here they started to crush your spirits. You didn't think about your dreams, but rather just how to get out of college as soon as possible. Maybe from primary school you had some ambitions but by the time you graduated you had none." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I am an accountant. I want to change my major and study political science to be part of political life, maybe become a diplomat." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Now we can all go for the jobs we trained for, not like before when someone trained in engineering could be put in social work – as if the regime didn't want good people in jobs." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"I was from those who couldn't wait to graduate so I could go live abroad but now after the revolution I see that there is a future here. There is something for me - I have goals that I want to achieve." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I believe that I am more active now. I am more politically aware and I do many more things than I used to. I was used to being a housewife and only that - but

things have changed now." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

III. Islam and Politics

Participants' responses reaffirm that Libya is a conservative religious society; most participants want and expect Islam to play a role in political life. Respondents of all backgrounds assert that Libya is an Islamic country and that religion will naturally govern public life to a certain degree.

"I see the Quran as the main legislative source in Libya." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"Islam must have a role in politics - we must follow the Quran." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"We have to follow our religion, otherwise we won't go in the right direction." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"It plays a huge role. Islam calls upon equality, justice and the truth. It fits with our community perfectly and it is what our community goes by already." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"Islam should have a role in politics because all Libyan people are Muslims so they will follow the Islamic rules." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Islam is our religion, Islam is our democracy. I don't see what the issue is." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants believe that Islam provides the right moral backing and necessary instruction and that the fundamental role Islam plays in the country's cultural fabric should translate into prominence on the political scene, including influencing the constitution and legislation. **Libyans overwhelmingly agree that moderate Islamic principles should influence governance, but opinions vary on exactly what that means in terms of the role religion should play in public life.** There is consensus on the need to avoid extremism.

"The problem I see in Derna right now is the concept of Islam. Everyone here understands it differently and everyone wants to dictate his way on yours." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I believe in a conservative democracy that follows moderate Islam." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"We want a moderate Islamic government. We must have Islam in our politics and we can adapt it to our modern life." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Some are afraid of the Islamic law, we don't want it too strict. We are moderate Muslims and it must follow our beliefs." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

There is some support for a separation between religion and politics. Some participants caution against the potential infiltration of extremist ideologies, while others argue that religion will always play an important cultural role, but should have limited influence in the political sphere.

"Islam is something beautiful - it should be taught, but should not be a part of politics." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"There is Islam in politics such as in Afghanistan. They are extremists and look at the state of their country." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Islam shouldn't have a place in politics." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"I believe that there are political matters that should not involve religion. I think there should be a limited separation between religion and politics." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

There is discomfort with Islamic political parties among participants, particularly those with higher education levels. Some respondents explain they do not want Islamic political movements because they suspect that parties are feigning piety to attract votes, while others claim they prefer to keep religion and politics separate.

"I oppose the fact that some parties use Islam as a mask, a political party is a political party and shouldn't be sugar coated with religion." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"99% of Libyans are Muslims, and we have got one religion. No political party should use religion as a means to attract people." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I believe that political parties should not be based on religion, because we all have one religion, but each one has his own way. Religion should be between you and god." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

IV. Democracy, Elections and Constitutional Questions

Democracy

Participants are enthusiastic about democracy and mostly associate it with free speech and debate, and inclusive decision-making. They are supportive of democracy and eager to participate in democratic processes in Libya. Despite this enthusiasm, few participants can provide concrete examples of how they envision a democratic Libya beyond freedom and rights.

"I think democracy means we talk about the problems together and everyone gives their own opinion, according to freedom of speech so that you feel free and not afraid of what you say." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Democracy is about expressing yourself and taking part in discussions." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Democracy is discussing with others and taking opinions around a table. The voice most agreed upon is the one that wins." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"Democracy means to give and share your opinions and make decisions together as one and I really wish that Libya will become one of the countries with democracy. I have a good feeling that it will." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

While most equate democracy with free speech and debate, **some participants focus on citizens' relationships to elected government and leaders.**

"Democracy for me means I get all my rights from the government and do my best for them in return." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I have the right to choose the right person, and if he is not qualified, I can say no." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"When I hear the word democracy I imagine having elections and changing the person chosen after a period of time." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Gaddafi's propaganda has somewhat tarnished Libyans' perceptions of democracy.

Several participants recall the former regime's claims to be operating "democratically" and admit that they have never before experienced democratic politics.

"When I hear the word 'democracy' I laugh at myself because in the past reign it was said we were living democratically while in fact we saw nothing to do with democracy." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"Gaddafi has made me hate the word democracy." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"People understand democracy according to the way Gaddafi taught them, in a bad way. Most Libyans don't understand what democracy is." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants are interested in exercising their democratic rights and responsibilities, but feel limited by their lack of exposure to democratic concepts and institutions. Some participants claim that democracy is an admirable goal, but unrealistic given the fact that most Libyans have no experience with democratic principles and practices. Many participants state that education and awareness are necessary preconditions for democracy in Libya. **Regardless of geographical background, age, or gender, participants want more information about democracy.**

"It is not that we want or do not want democracy but the problem is that we are politically ignorant. We have gotten used to only knowing the Green Book and Muammar Gaddafi. However now we must raise awareness among the people." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"We would like there to be someone to tell us what democracy means so everyone knows." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Awareness, education, and respecting other people come first before democracy." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"We have to understand the true meaning of democracy and practice it in the right way." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"To achieve democracy you have to educate the people." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Not everyone in Libya knows the meaning of democracy; they need to learn how to vote and how to make decisions the democratic way." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"We need specialists to give seminars and to create awareness." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

Despite enthusiasm for democracy in Libya, some participants are concerned that citizens are abusing new freedoms because they do not understand what it means to live in a democratic society. Some participants describe careless driving and disrespect as troubling developments since the revolution. Many participants claim they prefer "democracy with limits" and that they want laws to create rules and structures for Libyan people.

"In Libya we still don't know the real meaning of democracy. For example somebody who crossed a red light will tell you it's my freedom, its democracy. We can't pass certain lines and say 'I am free'." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Many people don't know what democracy is. Some think that it means freedom without any boundaries, which is wrong." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Elections

Libyans are eager to participate in elections and view them as a key component of democracy. They associate elections with the opportunity to choose qualified leaders and bring about positive change for their country. Beyond this, few participants have information on how elections worked in practice, with some assuming from television and exposure to other countries that they are held automatically every four years.

"The person who gets the most votes gets the job." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"They mean freedom of choice. They put the right people in their place – not like Gaddafi who did the opposite." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"Elections are democracy; they give you the ability to elect a president to rule for four years, this is the pure form of democracy." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"When you give citizens the right to vote, you give them a sense of importance - that they have a view in deciding the government." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"I think they should do elections every year to give other people a chance." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

While most participants are aware that elections are planned, few have any idea when the elections will be held or what they will be voting for. A handful of participants were confident in saying that elections would be held within eight months of liberation, but the majority of participants said they did not know when elections would be held.

"I think [elections] will be in February." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The elections are important - we will choose our president." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

There is little consensus on whether the electoral timetable provides ample time to prepare for elections or not. Some participants are eager to hold elections as soon as possible, claiming they would contribute to stability. Others say that any electoral delays could stretch the waning patience of Libyan citizens.

"I figured after the death of Gaddafi we would vote straight away and have fair elections, somewhere in November or during New Year's." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We are a small society, with the same aims and ideas; it shouldn't take time to start elections." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I think we have to do the elections within eight months to save the country from the issue of security instability." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"I think forces would take over if it was delayed more than eight months." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I want them sooner, there are a lot of good educated people who are prepared to do things for Libya. Three to four months would be good." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Some participants who advocate postponements claim that seven months is not enough time to complete the technical preparation. Others argue that the country is

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

not stable enough for elections and that citizens will not be able to vote freely if weapons and militias are still present.

"Once the weapons have been collected and a proper census of the population has been done, then we can start elections." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think we need more time because we just came out from a war." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Tribal networks are a cause for concern. Some respondents are worried that tribes will influence the elections and several claim that they will not participate in an election dominated by tribes.

"I am hoping that people will vote for the ones who are qualified and not because the person nominated is from the same tribe. We don't want tribalism anymore." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"I will not vote if the elections are based on the tribal system." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

Many participants claimed that the first elections will likely experience many challenges, but none they considered too serious, or that would be unexpected given Libya's many years under Gaddafi and recent emergence from revolution.

"Errors and mistakes are natural. We are heading towards a new experience that is subject to errors but hopefully we will learn from them." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"Due to the lack of awareness, the elections will be plagued by corruption and mistakes at the beginning." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Honestly I don't want to sound negative, but I am sure there will be a few mistakes, maybe a few problems. But, I hope it will be a first step towards improvement by learning from our mistakes." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

Many respondents said that a great deal of education will be needed to prepare citizens to participate in elections, both technically and substantively. Participants want to make sure they and their fellow citizens are familiar with the technical aspects of voting. Participants also want to be informed voters and are anxious for accurate information on candidates, platforms and programs.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"If we are to vote in the national conference, show me the process for voting and the mechanism for setting up the committee that will later establish the constitution. Show me the mechanism through which elections will take place. If it is on the basis of parties, then give me the time to form or join one. If it is on some other basis, then tell me about the mechanism and timeframe. Is it going to be through tribes, cities, I do not know. Plus there is not much time until the national conference is held, the people need awareness." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"We have to be educated about the elections, constitution and the political parties and in this way we can determine who is the right person." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I must know the CV of the person who I'll vote for. I need to know his abilities to serve the Libyan people's needs. We need a training course to teach us how to vote for a person." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The person who runs for elections should be transparent. We must know his curriculum vitae and what he wants to offer, where he sees Libya in the future and so on. I don't want to vote for someone just because he is from my city or from the same tribe. I want to vote for what he will offer to my country." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The people who want to stand for government need to make themselves known. They need to show what they believe in and what rules they'll instill." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants are enthusiastic about voting for the first time. Even those participants who claimed that elections could not be held within seven months and those that believe broad awareness campaigns are a necessary precursor to elections, expressed excitement over the prospect of casting a ballot for the first time in their lives.

"This is a new experience for us; we all want to be part of it. We want to share in the experiences we see on TV when other countries do their elections. We were always waiting for our turn." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think it will be a fun experience. You'll be eager to ask your friend who did you vote for." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"That is why we carried out this revolution, to convey and express our opinions. Besides, we were waiting for this historic moment." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Even if we vote and make a mistake, at least we voted and tried." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants believe that broad participation will guarantee the legitimacy of the first elections. In addition to expressing their own intent to vote, many participants urge their fellow Libyans to vote.

"All people will participate in the elections, and this will decide whether the elections are fair or not. We really need these elections to go well." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I would like to say to those who do not want to participate – do not condemn the consequences. We were forced to not participate in anything during Gaddafi's reign and this led to marginalization. If you do not participate now, then you are harming yourself." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Some participants are concerned about the country's lack of experience with democratic elections and express interest in having the international community play a role in enhancing the credibility of the polls.

"If it was internationally supervised, it would proceed according to international standards." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I hope that Libya consults election specialists so that they train people and give workshops on how to elect using modern methods and processes." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Constitution

While participants generally believe a constitution is important for the future of the country, few have any information on the constitution or its drafting process. A handful of participants are vaguely aware that the NTC established a constitutional charter for the transitional phase, while others think that special committees are working on the new constitution or that a draft has already been released.

"I heard a temporary constitution is in place to keep the country moving." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think a draft was made after Liberation Day." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I believe several professors who lived abroad are partially responsible for it... I think others are working on it at the moment." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Some participants thought Libya's pre-Gaddafi constitution of 1951 would be reused or modified, although participants disagreed over whether they thought that was the best approach for the country.

"I think from what I understood they will use our old constitution that was used during the Kingdom's period." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think they are just going to fix the old one, but not start a new one." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"If we were to reuse a constitution that is 42 years old then we might as well reuse or repeat everything." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants are looking forward to a new constitution and believe that it will play an important role in delineating and protecting citizens' rights, providing order and structure to the government and creating a framework and reference for lawmaking.

Although participants offer few details on how they expect the constitution to improve their daily lives, it is clear that expectations are high.

"The constitution is something very important to the country. Whatever they do in it should include politics, the economy and social things altogether so it's good for the Libyan people." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"I hope for the best from the constitution and it should solve all the people's problems." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"It is definitely very important as it will be the reference for all laws." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The constitution is really important for all Libyans. It's the way to judge anyone who commits a crime - from the president to the low class person." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The country cannot run without it. So yes it is important." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The constitution will educate people and specify their duties, the things that they should or shouldn't do." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

There is a strong sense that the constitution can not only protect individual rights, but also help safeguard Libya against absolute rulers like Gaddafi in the future.

"By having the constitution, no one person can violate the laws and rules or have the power to change anything." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The constitution will make sure we don't live through the troubles we were in again. Due to the lack of the constitution, Gaddafi was able to rule like he wanted." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Citizens want and expect to play a key role in the constitutional development process.

While participants disagree over who should be responsible for the technical drafting – some believe a committee of lawyers and experts should prepare a draft, while others want citizens to be surveyed for their input before a draft is prepared – most participants agree that Libyans need to be consulted throughout the drafting process or the constitution will lack legitimacy.

"It will be very troubling if people are not consulted regarding the constitution." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"Specialists should create a constitution and then this constitution should be suggested to the people and they should then participate by adding whatever they see is missing." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"The people should choose what they want and the specialists should make the laws according to them." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

As with democracy and elections, participants do not feel knowledgeable about constitutions and want more information.

"I think the Libyan people don't have a clue what the constitution is, it is the same issue as political parties, maybe worse. The well educated people might understand what the constitution is, but the middle class and lower class people do not know what it is about." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

V. Political Parties and Movements

Participants' reactions to the idea of political parties range from ignorance to skepticism to outright hostility. Some respondents, mostly the more educated participants, are interested in parties and see them as potentially positive forces in the new democratic Libya. The few participants who are familiar with the concept of

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

political parties associate them with representation, elections and providing citizens with opportunities to reflect different viewpoints and ideologies.

"A political party should be a place for people to work together, under the same thoughts and ideas, to become stronger and come out with better outcomes."
Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I feel that a party consists of people with a certain ideology and objectives, while they try to recruit as many effective people as they can. A party tries to spread as much as it can and recruits as many people as it can for the benefit of the party."
Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I guess political parties will be beneficial for the country, because they will start a competition to serve the people better." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Each party is concerned with a certain issue and tries to be a leader in solving it."
Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"It depends on the type of government. If the President isn't doing what he said he would do then the parties could tell the people and force him out." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

Lack of exposure to political parties frequently translates into negative assumptions about political parties. Many participants are concerned that political parties are potentially divisive and could cause conflict among Libyans at a time when the country needs to be united. Participants are unconvinced that political parties are genuinely motivated to serve the people and question the hidden objectives of new political movements and leaders.

"I think they make problems - from the name they sound like a threat. When someone wants to make a political party it's like they are against someone else. I'm not convinced about them." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"I see that each political party has their own personal agenda, which might turn out to the disadvantage to the country." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I feel that it actually segregates the country and disrupts unity. Instead of having united opinions people become separated." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I am scared of the word party....If we start having political parties then there will be divisions." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"When parties are not in agreement and have too many differences, this could interrupt the political process." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"We all don't want them. One has one opinion, the other another and all they do is fight. It would create a big problem. I don't want people to fight." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"I want Libyans to be united under one umbrella, not divided into which political party you support." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants are concerned that a large number of competing political parties will create problems. Some express interest in legal measures limiting the number of parties that are able to run in future elections.

"We should agree on a minimum and a maximum number of political parties. Similar political parties should join together to form one, thus limiting the number of political parties, while increasing the power and efficiency." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I think the most worrying thing is the big number of parties. I am afraid they will get into a power struggle." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"When there are a lot of parties they could cause problems and start to fight." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Sometimes having several political parties creates a confusing atmosphere in which people get lost between fighting parties." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Gaddafi's legacy has damaged the public image of political parties. Some participants still harbor negative associations of organized political movements, and claim their only exposure to political parties was dealing with Gaddafi's corrupt "revolutionary committees" which served as instruments of the regime. Several participants referred to regime propaganda against parties and Gaddafi's efforts to convince Libyans that political parties were unpatriotic and disruptive.

"I used to believe there was only one political party in Libya, which is called the revolutionary committees, which took the opportunity when they were in power to

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

serve their own needs and interests, the old regime. This is why I fear political parties." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"It reminds me of Gaddafi's saying 'whoever joins a party, is considered a traitor.'" Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

Participants claim that they need more information on parties – both on the roles and functions of parties and more specifically on the platforms and goals of the new Libyan political movements. The pervasive lack of information and understanding of political parties clearly contributes to the suspicion and skepticism with which people view parties.

"Right now I can't tell you much, I don't have a clear idea on what they are. I don't know how they are established or what their rules are. We need more knowledge on them, maybe that's why we fear them; it's something new to us." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Personally I don't know what political parties are or what they do." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Honestly the experience of having political parties is something new to us; we have never been through it, so maybe we are afraid of its outcomes. Most of us don't understand what political parties are. We need to raise awareness among the people about political parties." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"You must let the people know what the political parties are. The Libyan people have never had political parties before so they don't understand what they are all about, so first we must explain to them what it is all about." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Despite concerns about political parties, many participants are willing to listen and make decisions based on parties' agendas. They want parties to articulate clear platforms of how they intend to solve key issues facing Libya, including security, the economy, corruption and development.

"The groups should advertise about themselves on TV. They must tell us all about themselves because we don't know. We all want to help Libya - if they say they'll do good things then I'll join them." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"They need to assure the people, especially the lower class, what the future will be, from a security point of view, to civil services, or development of the country. They should talk about rights and services to the citizens." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"I am not with any party because I have still not seen their agendas." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"In fact it is not easy to judge people who belong to political parties at this stage until we give them a chance and see what they have to offer to the Libyan people." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"I am not with or against them [parties] because I still don't understand what is going on." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"I want to be able to have the choice to see all the parties and what they have to offer and then to make my choice." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

The only political movement with broad name recognition among participants is the Muslim Brotherhood. Some participants, particularly women, are concerned that the Muslim Brotherhood is an extremist organization opposed to women's rights. Others argue that the Muslim Brotherhood had been defamed and victimized by Gaddafi and that the group could potentially play a positive political role. Some participants criticize the Brotherhood and assert that they are using Islam to gain political power.

"I am somewhat against them because they are against women. For example they believe that women should not have a major role in politics." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"The problem is that the ones that are running this party want power and are not doing this because they really believe in their Islamic duties." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"They were harassed a lot in Gaddafi's reign and now they want to show themselves in any way possible. In my opinion they will be the first to form a party." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants are concerned about the potential politicization of tribes. While most participants agree that tribes play a constructive social role, they are wary of a return to a tribe-based political system. There is concern that tribes, particularly those with access to weapons, could destabilize the transition.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Tribalism can solve social problems. This is normal but it should not interfere with politics." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"As we are a tribal country, we fear the tribes will influence the political parties and cause problems instead. I am afraid that the tribes will make the political parties extreme. With weapons among the tribes I am afraid a civil war might erupt." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The biggest problem is tribalism. If we could avoid tribalism, especially in politics, then Libya will be okay." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"Now, every tribe thinks that they have won the revolution and now we can make our dreams come true and become billionaires. But this is not true and will only cause fights between the people. This is one of the things that the Libyans are afraid of. We do not want war between the tribes." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

VI. Transitional Governance

Participants are supportive of the NTC and appreciate the role it played in managing the country during the revolutionary crisis. Respondents credit the NTC with bringing international attention to Libya's plight and opening the door to NATO involvement as critical to the success of the revolution.

"Honestly the NTC was amazing since the beginning of the revolution. It's a great achievement and honor for us to see a council set up in such a short and hard time, and has the support and love of the majority of Libyans." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"God blessed us with the NTC at the time for us to all unite under it." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"They helped us in our time of need, when there was no authority in charge." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"They have controlled the ship very well in the middle of chaos." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"The greatest achievement of the NTC was gaining the recognition of many countries." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"They told the outside world about our problems and got them to come and help us." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants criticize the NTC for making slow progress on security, failing to improve the economy and not adequately providing for injured fighters and the families of martyrs. Some participants see the council as overwhelmed and no longer in control, particularly in regards to the chaotic security situation. Other participants claim the NTC is too reactive and not doing enough to move the country forward politically.

"They did their role but their problem was that they were no longer able to control the people, for instance the spread of weapons." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I would like to say that they are in grave danger. Huge mistakes have been committed and the NTC must rescue itself. For example, the problem of article 30 in the constitution declaration. There are about eight months until the national conference is held and a month has already passed. The NTC has not declared laws for an election, laws for parties and I do not know how the national conference will be organized." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Sadly the NTC sometimes used to wait for the problem to happen, rather than work to avoid the problem happening." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"The NTC tells us some things and then we find out later this is not the case. This confuses us." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

The NTC faces widespread criticism for not being transparent and for failing to communicate effectively with Libyan citizens, particularly youth. While many participants are still willing to show patience to the NTC and wait for future developments, it is clear that more communication and transparent decision-making are critical for Libyans to feel more confident that the NTC is making progress on important issues. Without information from the NTC, participants are making their own assumptions about how the NTC is operating.

"I think there will be secret internal elections held, right?" Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"There might be confidential things the NTC is doing. We don't know everything they do, we need to know everything - it's our right." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I believe that the NTC lacks youth. They are still working with the mentality of a 50 year-old. Remember this revolution was brought by the youth; there is a huge gap in age between the leaders and the people who came up with the revolution." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants are frustrated by the lack of information available on the NTC, its members and its programs. They want to know who their leaders are and what they are doing to move the country forward.

"We don't know any of these people. So as an idea maybe they should do a website that says a little about themselves." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"I barely know anything about them." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"If I knew where the NTC was, I would go there and complain." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I don't know how many members there are in the NTC yet." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"They should publish the CV of each person, we only hear rumors." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

The NTC is grappling with a growing public relations crisis that participants claim could be solved by creating channels to share information and communicate better with the public. Many participants want the NTC to establish a newspaper or television channel to proactively inform people about the transition.

"There should be transparency in the NTC. Through media, we should get weekly updates. Currently it is chaotic. We are hearing different information from different people. This creates a gap of distrust between the government and the public." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"We don't want things to be behind the scenes anymore. This is over. We want to see and know what they are doing. I don't blame them but they need to show us. For example we need to know what is happening with the constitution." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"The NTC sadly isn't doing the best for the Libyans and we know they can do better. There are so many radio and TV channels and newspapers that have been run by

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

normal people but until today there isn't even one newspaper that writes on behalf of the NTC and this is bad because there are so many rumors which we hear and there should be a newspaper from the NTC to confirm or deny these rumors." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"I want [the NTC] to open a TV channel that announces any decisions or laws that are issued by the NTC, and to know that this channel belongs to the NTC to inform people on what is going on." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Despite these frustrations, some participants claim that the NTC deserves the support of the Libyan people. **They are willing to give the NTC a little more time to improve its ability to communicate with citizens, while others claim that constructive criticism and monitoring are important avenues to increase government accountability.** They want to play a role in helping the NTC be more effective and responsive.

"We should criticize the NTC and point out their weak points, but we have to support them." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"If the people keep an eye on what the NTC is doing then everything will be fine but if the people become careless and don't really care about what those that are responsible are doing then they should know that there will be consequences that they won't be able to solve later on." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Confusion over the responsibilities and authority of local councils translates into mixed opinions on their performance. Views, awareness and opinions of local councils vary from city to city. In Misrata, participants were very critical of their local council, while those in Benghazi considered their local authorities largely irrelevant, although they hoped for local-level improvements to infrastructure and services. In Derna and Tripoli some participants agreed that the local councils were attempting to provide a degree of security despite limited resources, but others were frustrated with the councils' overall performance. **Many participants are unsure of the dividing line between the roles and responsibilities of the local councils and the NTC.**

"I actually do not know anything about them. They gave me the feeling that they played no role whatsoever." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"There is too much pressure on the Tripoli local council as it is performing great duties. Actually, it is working hard. You should not forget the great burden resting on their shoulders." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"They should exit and stop. The NTC are doing a better job. The local councils made things hard in the revolution instead of helping people." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"The council tried to do something with nothing in their hands. How can we expect the local council to be powerful if they don't have the full authority yet, or the money? Our problems will be solved once the local council has enough money to work with." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

VII. Security, Economy, Corruption and Other Challenges

Although there is overwhelming support for the success of the revolution, key security concerns are emerging. The number of weapons, unrestrained militias and the ease with which guns can be obtained are major worries in all cities. This proliferation of weapons affects most areas of life, is the most significant reason for pessimism about the future and presents a formidable challenge for the NTC.

"Every other day we hear of casualties here and there due to celebratory shooting or by people shooting by mistake. I know that the situation is temporary, but this security vacuum is dangerous." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"If the weapons are not gathered by the government, it will be impossible for the revolution to go the right way." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"The biggest problem is the weapons that nearly everyone has. We need to collect all the weapons and the guns from the people and put them in the right hands." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"People are armed and they are scared. Therefore when we get rid of the weapons from the people, at that point we can start solving the other problems." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Participants offer many suggestions for disarming the population, including government-led buy-back programs, taxes and fines, and even using tribes and mosques as collection networks. Some participants claim they will take personal responsibility to inform authorities about weapons in their neighborhoods.

"From now on, if I know a family has guns, I will tell the authorities, that is what I personally will do." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Gathering the weapons needs great awareness from the people. Each area has a local council that should play a major role in this. Imams and mosque sheikhs must also play a role in that as they can issue an Islamic order to prohibit the spread and carrying of weapons without permit." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"Libya has a tribal structure, and I believe if all tribes gather their youth and talk to them, the youth will feel shy enough to give their weapons away." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Anyone found holding a weapon should have his weapon confiscated from him, and should have to pay a tax for it." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The solution for this issue is by buying all these weapons, meaning, giving money to the fighters to give up their weapons and starting some educational sessions that will encourage the handing over of weapons." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

Some participants are worried that Libyans may not surrender their weapons until they are confident that conditions are improving and the country is stable.

"If the weapons were collected, who would protect Misrata and the cities?" Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"Personally if I have a weapon, I will not hand it back until the country is stable." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

The security landscape is chaotic and confusing. Participants see the NTC as having little, if any, influence over the militias, a fact that damages the council's credibility among many people. There is broad confusion over who is responsible for national and local security. Some participants think that the NTC is in charge of security, while others think that the local councils should be responsible.

"The NTC is weak and the national security, made out of the freedom fighters, is not trustworthy. It consists of different brigades led by different people." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"The NTC is responsible for security, they have to pass strong and strict decisions in order to resolve this." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"The first job for the defense and other interim ministries should be to collect these weapons and establish a national army and rebuild the security institutions and support them strongly." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"I think the local council should be responsible for their own cities as its will be really difficult for the NTC to take charge of security of the whole nation for now." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Participants want the government to take action on the countless militias still present in many major cities. They want the revolutionary fighters to be rewarded for their service, rehabilitated and incorporated into a national army or disarmed and disbanded. Many participants urge the government to move quickly to establish the national army, in order to bring stability and provide an outlet for the militias. Tripoli residents, in particular, are anxious for the militias to stand down. Above all, **there is consensus that weapons need to be collected, a national army established and that an organized security system will prevent backsliding.**

"All brigades from Zintan and Misrata have to go back to their cities. Tripoli can be secured by its people. They must also be enrolled under the national army to avoid confrontations and divisions." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The solution is to create a national army - people will feel safe and they won't feel the need to keep their weapons." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"The militias should either break up and be honored for the job they did, or join the national army." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"For security in general we are not stable; they should form a structure to contain the whole security of different cities so that they can be responsible." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The picture is not clear of what the army is or who are the members that are part of the army or not. We have brigades, national army ... the picture is just not clear for us." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

There is little confidence in local police forces, given the close associations they have to the former regime. Participants do not trust or respect the police, but they want some sort of credible local security presence. While most security complaints relate to the proliferation of weapons, some participants also fear a rise in petty crime which they see as increasing the general sense of lawlessness and further obstructing the transition.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"The police are afraid because they don't have weapons to protect themselves, that's why they are not on the streets yet." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We don't even have police and the police that exist from Gaddafi's time are unqualified to be policemen." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

The economy is cause for serious concern. Participants in all groups decry rising prices and the difficulty of withdrawing money from banks. While some participants note that they continue to receive salaries and are being paid on time, others complain that they are not receiving wages and that the climbing costs of living are unreasonable.

"You have to stand for ages in the queues at the bank and then they only let you withdraw a small amount and the prices are going up and up. We can't afford things at these prices. Sometimes they have no Libyan dinars so they offer you dollars and we can't spend them here. Sometimes we stay there all day and get nothing. Then you go back the next day, I have been doing this for the past two months and I haven't got anywhere." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"In the banks there are lots of problems. We can't get our money out because they don't have enough to give us. We need money for our everyday lives. This matter needs to be solved." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The situation is terrible. My husband is one of the fighters. Every day, they promise them they will give them money and salaries, but this doesn't happen." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"There is an increase in prices and shortage of supplies. It is hard for big families to buy their supplies. Sometimes there is a certain item you want to buy, but you can't afford it." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Some participants accuse shop-owners of taking advantage of the situation and express hope that the government will intervene to control prices.

"Some of the shop owners and merchants are making use of the situation and exploiting people." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Anyone who puts prices up should be asked to lower them — all shops should keep goods at the same price. If prices are too high they should risk losing the shop or even face jail." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

Despite these concerns, many participants refer with optimism to Libya's frozen foreign assets and vast oil reserves. In some cases, **knowledge of the frozen assets and natural resources appears to translate into unrealistic expectations**, as some participants are convinced that once the assets are unfrozen and the oil sector is back to normal they will reap the benefits. Other **participants want the NTC to be transparent about the assets and oil revenues** and to provide citizens with information on how money will be managed during the transition.

"We are happy because now we can split all the money between all the Libyans. We will all get our share." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The government should explain to us why there is an economic problem, how long will it last, and how will it be resolved. They need to be more transparent and explain to us the process of retaining the frozen assets." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"We were happy when we heard the Libyan money was frozen. We were shocked when we heard how much money was all around the world and here some people eat tea and bread because it's all they can afford." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants raise concerns over improving the availability, cost and quality of education and health care, but these issues are secondary to the more pressing concerns of security and the economy.

"To me the education program is important. Tomorrow I will have children. I want to be assured that it's a high standard of education our children will receive as it is the most important thing. Second thing is the health care, they must have some sort of plan that they will conduct." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The hospital was never up to standards during the Gaddafi's time and now it is worse. Personally I travel abroad to either Tunis or Egypt to get treated." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

Libyans are concerned about corruption, due both to the legacy of Gaddafi's venal regime and increasingly because of the lack of transparency in the transition. Some participants admit to being skeptical of the motives of people who are entering government, fearing they will put their self-interest above that of the nation.

"You can say that the same corrupt people before the revolution are still here practicing their corruption." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Our previous problem and it might follow us, is the issue of money. Gaddafi used to blind his followers with money. Unless we have decent people who know how to spend the government's money, we will have a disaster." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"There is administrative corruption. We don't know how the money we gave to support the freedom fighters has been dealt with." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

While participants blame some corruption on the Gaddafi regime, many are frustrated that the NTC is not taking visible steps to combat corruption. **In the absence of official information on public spending, many participants assume that corruption is continuing behind closed doors.** They point to the presence of corrupt former regime officials in the new government and claim that the NTC has done little to persuade the public that it is transparent or committed to accountability.

"Corruption was clearly present in the past. It is still present but the only difference is that it is done behind curtains." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"We are scared of corruption. We have changed in some ways but still there are some things that have been embedded in us for the past 40 years that have still not changed. That is why we are afraid of corruption and are always checking what the NTC is up to, how much money they have received and where it is going. And the NTC has no transparency." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

In Benghazi, some participants spoke about the need for legal measures to combat corruption and to guarantee that public officials can be held accountable.

"The law should be firm, and the people caught involved in corruption should be punished and the people reporting corruption should bring sufficient evidence." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"As long as you are responsible for money and for people's properties, you must be held accountable even if you were there for only an hour." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Many Libyans are concerned by the **presence of former regime officials in the transitional government.** Participants view many high-profile defectors from the Gaddafi regime with skepticism and see them as untrustworthy opportunists. Participants disagree over whether they should be allowed to participate in the new

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

government, with some respondents asking that they be required to disclose their role under the former regime as a precondition to holding public office.

"We still have a lot of people who work for the old regime holding high positions. They have their personal agendas and are the cause of corruption." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"There are those who were loyal to Gaddafi and now they have been given higher positions in the country." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"People that worked in the regime now defected and are spending millions to help the revolution to prove that they are good." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Let them show us what they did before, let them be truthful and tell us whether they worked with Gaddafi, took his money or did they fight with the revolution. Why should we trust them?" Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"People who were supporting Gaddafi on the 14 of February are in the NTC. How is this acceptable?" Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

VIII. Citizen Participation

Women

Women are proud of the role they played in the revolution and are looking forward to actively participating in the next phase of Libya's transition. Many women cite their involvement in the revolution as having inspired a new confidence and investment in their country's political future and want to capitalize on the momentum and ensure that women continue to have opportunities to move Libya forward.

"If it wasn't for women, this revolution wouldn't have been possible." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"We feel we are much more powerful now, more united, especially among us women." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"Woman's role was insignificant in the society before the revolution but during the revolution they played an essential role. She worked in everything except fighting at the frontlines and that was because the men refused to let her fight. Although I believe that if she had been allowed she would've gone unhesitatingly." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Libya has achieved its revolution with women being able to be a part of it, and we will be able to build Libya because there has been a change." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Women have done a lot in the revolution so we must be part of rebuilding Libya." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants are optimistic and hopeful about the future of Libyan women, but some respondents – including male participants – express concerns over the possible emergence of extremist elements and infringement upon women's rights.

"I have heard there is a party in Tripoli which is not going to let women join, unless she agrees to wear a headscarf." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I know a respectable lady that was running an organization and she was threatened with her life by these extremists that she should shut it down because it's mixed. He has no right at all to threaten her." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Participants are broadly supportive of women playing roles in public life, but there is disagreement over what type of engagement is best-suited to women. Some participants, including women, were uncomfortable with women playing a leading role in politics and thought high-level positions were inappropriate or would conflict with women's responsibilities to their families.

"I don't think women are capable of being president of the country. Women can be ministers, but not presidents." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The worst thing is putting a woman as a judge because she is more emotional towards situations. With all due respect to her I don't think women can be in a leading role. Women can be a part of anything but as leaders....I don't believe they should be leaders." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"For me the women should have a role to play in political life. But I am not convinced women should be presidents." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"If a woman is given a political position, that would be at the expense of her duties at home. That might be fine when she is a teacher, a doctor or an employee. But as a politician, it would be quite difficult." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"She can have a role, but within boundaries, something suitable for her, not doing a man's job such as being in the military. She can be in the administrative part of it, but she should not carry a gun or drive a tank." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Other participants claim that men and women are equal and should share the same responsibilities and opportunities in the transition phase. They claim that qualifications are more important than gender and that women have the right to participate at all levels. Some women participants are eager to build their skills so they can play a major role in Libya's new politics and express hope that the new government will provide them with opportunities.

"The whole point of the election is that men and women can stand - either of them can be elected. It is all to do with what they have to offer not what sex they are." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"I think that women can lead the country, they lead their homes so why can't they run a country? The country should give her the tools and allow her to learn and to build herself as a person in order to do all of these things." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"Women are very important because they can do and think of things that men can't. The problem is they're not given a chance. They say the women's place is in the home. Women are more responsible than men." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"In the next 10 years we have to make everyone aware that women can run for elections too, that men should be open to this idea. I shouldn't wait for anyone to tell me when to go or when to speak, we have to participate because this is our role." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

Participants agree that women's rights should be protected in the constitution, but differ on whether there need to be specific provisions or if a constitution based on Islamic law would contain ample safeguards for women's rights. Male participants were generally more persuaded that Islamic law would automatically protect the rights of women.

"Women should play an equal role in the future political life of Libya and I see no problem in granting her that right in the constitution." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"If our constitution is based on our religion, women will have a lot of rights and privileges." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"This is certain - if Islamic Shari'a is applied then women's rights will be protected and they will be treated equal to men and with the same responsibilities." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"I support the Islamic law. It is good and it gives you freedom to do things in the right way. It is not like they say - that all women have to wear veils. Islam has freedom. Freedom to choose what to wear is up to the woman." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Youth

Participants, regardless of age and city, credit Libyan youth with launching the revolution and liberating the country. **Nearly all participants believe young Libyans need to be rewarded for their service and sacrifice and given opportunities to participate in the country's transition.**

"They should play a very important role in the future political life of Libya. They are the ones who granted us freedom, so they should not be neglected." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"The youth made the revolution happen; they should have a vital role in the political life." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I believe that the new government should consist of youth, and keep the older people as advisors. All the ministries should consist of youth." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"They helped liberate Libya so they must have a big part. I hope the new government gives a lot to the young men." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Some participants are concerned that Libyan youth lack the proper qualifications and experience to play meaningful leadership roles. Others propose that Libya invest in developing the capacities and skills of youth so that they can contribute in the future. Some participants suggest that the government should seek to strike a balance and provide opportunities for the younger and older generations to work together in the new administration to avoid a generation gap.

"Yes the youth came by this revolution, but right now we need the experience of the older people to be able to run the country smoothly." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I think they should be supported by the senior people so that they can be introduced to political life. This will help in not creating a gap between the generations." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"If you provide the right environment for the youth, they will quickly make something of themselves and become qualified." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The youth might not have leadership qualities, but why not invest in them now for the next stage in Libya; we can't keep them in the dark forever." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"I believe we need to have a mix in the national council, just like a football team, you need the pace of the youth with the experience of the older players. We need a mature mentality with the spirit of the youth." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Diaspora Libyans

Participants have mixed opinions on the proper political role for Libyans who lived abroad and have recently returned to the country. Some participants believe that returning Libyans should not be allowed to participate in national politics because they did not share in the suffering of Libyans who stayed behind. Others claim that those living overseas can participate, but that they should be limited in their opportunities and not allowed to hold key ministerial posts or serve as president.

"I think the person voted to be president shouldn't be a person living abroad. He has to be a person who witnessed the suffering of the people, lived with them and with their troubles." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think they should be allowed a role but not a big one. We should use their ideas but not give them a high standing." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"No, they waited until Libya was free and then came back. They're welcome in the country but not in important positions - these must go to those who stayed here during the revolution. They went out when Gaddafi was here and now return when things are about to get better. They didn't stay and suffer with us." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

Other participants worry that Libyans who have spent decades abroad may be loyal to foreign governments or no longer understand or be suited to Libya's religious and

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

cultural traditions. Some are suspicious of the motivations of those who lived abroad and claim it is hard to trust people they do not know.

"I am against those who learn a new language and gain knowledge then come back and look down on you while you converse with them. I was the one who was in the middle of the battlefield when my country needed me. I am against them for not thinking about coming back to their country at any time but now, in search of positions." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Politically, I wouldn't accept them because I don't know who is behind them and who supports them." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I think we need to be more cautious about the people living abroad, because we haven't lived with them so we don't know them that well." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Libya welcomes everyone provided that they are qualified and experienced. However, their customs and behaviors won't be the same as real Libyans. They should bear that in mind because if they introduce something different, it won't be accepted." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Still, others credit the Libyan diaspora with obtaining support for the revolution and claim that Libyans who were forcibly exiled should be allowed the opportunity to return to their home and play a role in politics. **Some participants claim that the most important thing for Libya is to have qualified leaders and that some Libyans living abroad may have developed skills and experience that could help advance the transition and serve the Libyan people.**

"I welcome them as they have raised our voice in different parts of the world." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I think they are part of this country - they were oppressed and subjected to much harassment whether in Libya or outside Libya. So, we should judge them according to their credentials and qualifications." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The person to lead Libya needs to be highly qualified whether he was living in Libya or living abroad." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think it's about how qualified they are. It doesn't matter if he lived 30 years in Libya or 30 years abroad." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"If they can help the Libyan nation we should listen to them and use their ideas, maybe they have learnt something we don't know about from being outside." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

Individual Participation

Participants are eager to engage in civic and political life. While many respondents worry that they are ignorant about all the options open to them, men and women alike are eager to join civic, educational and humanitarian groups and volunteer for causes they care about. Some believed that they can maintain the spirit of the revolution and ensure Libya's progress through continuing activism.

"God-willing I will be part of the transformation. I want to help in any way I can, small or big." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I believe that civil society will be very important and effective. I will participate in working with them because I believe that the civil society is the government in the shadows. I want to become an effective citizen who will work to build the country." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I want to create an association for women so that the Libyan women have a strong role in society and to participate in global events, things that we don't know about and have never joined." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

While most participants focus on civic engagement, some express an interest in joining political parties, running for office and voting in elections. Others are more hesitant to participate, admitting that they do not know enough about politics or political engagement to feel comfortable engaging in politics. Some claim that they are still grappling with the negative associations with politics caused by the Gaddafi regime.

"I will join a party; maybe as I grow older I will nominate myself for elections." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I am going to join a political party." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I think voting can be considered part of the political contribution." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I believe I will not participate politically as I am not very well informed about politics." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"I can't guarantee my participation as I don't know who to choose or which party I should be a member of." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The problem is we are still affected by Gaddafi. From before, if you were in politics that meant you were part of the 'rebellious committees' and that you were an immoral and unscrupulous woman." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

Participants are hungry for information on politics, democratic systems and processes, and civil society. **Throughout groups in all cities, participants worry about Libyans' lack of awareness of the forces that will shape their political system, basic democratic principles and the people and organizations that are coming to power.** They are concerned about the "national mentality" and "lack of development." Others claim that political awareness is necessary to protect Libyans from being manipulated. Regardless of gender, educational or geographical background and other factors, participants express keen interest in learning more about democracy and raising political awareness.

"At school no one was allowed to talk about politics so no one knows what it means." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"We could collect five people, talk to them, and let them go to the community and they will spread the message to their family members and neighbors, and each person will then do the same with his family members and neighbors." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"The lack of knowledge when it comes to the elections, the constitution and the political process should be solved through seminars and lectures to raise people's awareness." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

"The disadvantage is the lack of political knowledge and awareness of the people, caused by the old regime. I think it's the duty of the new government to raise political awareness among the people." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The problem is that no one is letting us know what is going on. We do not know what is happening and there is no change." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"If people become free without proper awareness, any political movement can use them for their advantage." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"Some people still don't understand what democracy is. Seminars and workshops should be held to discuss democracy and the TV channels should start shows to explain what democracy is." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"The issue is that we are politically ignorant - we don't know anything about politics and how we can settle matters in a modern way. This is the result of Gaddafi's ruling. So, there should be sessions and lectures to raise the awareness among people to understand their duties and commitments towards the country and the law." Woman, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Information

Most participants rely on television, particularly international channels, as their primary source of information about current events. Some respondents rely on word of mouth from friends and family, but admit they often fall victim to rumors when they rely on these sources. More urban residents rely on internet, particularly Facebook, but are wary of Internet rumors.

"When I want to know confirmed news I turn on the Al Jazeera channel." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"You cannot know from the internet whether this information is partial or impartial." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"There are so many people who go on the Internet and Facebook for example and write lies and then other people believe it - which is wrong because that causes problems." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

Participants are frustrated with domestic media and want Libyan channels to help close the information gap and raise awareness about politics and the situation in the country.

"The useless Libya satellite channels, there must be some channels that introduce people to the new things, such as the constitution." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Even the Libyan TV channels - you hear that they're having a lot of problems. How can I trust them, when they are unstable?" Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

"There are no positive things about our TV channels except for the news hours. The whole day it's full of music. They should interview youth and let them share their opinion." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"Unfortunately the media isn't playing a positive role... They should be working on raising the democratic awareness among the people instead of playing songs and useless advertisements." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"The media can have an educational role to help us understand more about political systems." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

IX. Looking Forward

Libyans have high expectations for the future. While they acknowledge recovering from the revolution will take time, most describe their vision of Libya in five years as a prosperous country with well-educated citizens. Participants say they want to see development, reconstruction, economic growth and stability.

"Libya will be one of the leading countries of the world, economically and educationally." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

"I pray it'll be like Dubai. It looks good on TV. I wish Libya could look like that." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

"Libya should look more like Europe or England, with nice buildings and good shops and things like that." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"The next generation will live good secure lives with good medical care and good education. We hope the next generation will have a better life than we had." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"We expect Libya to change from one country to a new one, where everyone has their rights. We expect this new Libya to be much better in health and security. We think there will be a big difference in five years' time." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"I just want it to be better - that all this blood that poured in the streets was not for nothing." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

"We want to be like other countries, to be able to relax, to have a good education." Woman, Sabha, over 35, secondary education or less

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

In considering what they want from their transitional leaders, participants identify a few common priorities. They want improvements to their daily lives and to feel they live in a stable country. Participants tend to equate stability with a structured security apparatus, including a national army, and permanent state institutions to manage the country.

"I want better education, better healthcare, better living standards. I want a better life." Woman, Derna, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I want them to work on bringing law and order to this country." Man, Benghazi, 18-35, more than secondary education

"I would ask for security and disarming all fighters." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

Participants want their leaders to be mindful of the sacrifices made during the revolution and to provide for injured fighters and the families of martyrs.

"Even if we build a new Libya we must never forget the martyrs who gave their lives to make a better future for us all and not to forget their families or the injured." Man, Derna, over 35, more than secondary education

"Remember the bloodshed and the people we have lost for this country." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"They should take care of the injured before anything else." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I would look for the leaders to give priority to the families of the wounded and martyrs." Man, Tripoli, 18-35, more than secondary education

Participants believe their revolution has set a precedent and should serve as a warning to future governments. Some participants want to remind transitional authorities that they will not hesitate to stand against corrupt or inefficient leaders.

"We took Gaddafi away, we are free, and we are prepared to do anything to make sure they will do a proper job." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"My advice to the people who get elected is to look after the people who elected them and they should bear in mind that the people who put Gaddafi down could

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

do the same with him if they feel that he is not serving the people and misusing power." Man, Tripoli, over 35, more than secondary education

Libyans do not want their leaders governing in isolation. They want to be reassured that their country is being led by transparent, honest people not motivated by self-interest. Participants want constant information on developments, platforms, and policies and to be included in decision-making. Regardless of age, geography, or gender, **participants want to know that their leaders are listening to them and that their opinions are valued.** They ask their leaders to recognize the responsibilities they have undertaken, to protect the goals of the revolution and truly serve the Libyan people.

"They should plan things and have goals, tell people these goals so we can see they are doing something." Man, Misrata, 18-35, secondary education or less

"I would ask [my leader] to be more transparent." Woman, Tripoli, 18-35, secondary education or less

"To fear God, to be transparent, to have credibility and honesty." Man, Benghazi, over 35, secondary education or less

"I hope that they will work with us on credibility and transparency issues and do nothing behind the scenes." Woman, Misrata, over 35, more than secondary education

"I would ask them to be more transparent, and to serve the country from their heart." Man, Zawiyah, 18-35, secondary education or less

"Go down to the people and listen to them and note their needs and provide them." Woman, Benghazi, 18-35, secondary education or less

"If you're in politics then listen to the people's opinions and take the best one so that it is not like under the last regime." Man, Sabha, over 35, more than secondary education

"Take care of Libya; it is a responsibility in your hands." Woman, Benghazi, over 35, more than secondary education

"Don't let our revolution go to waste, be honest." Woman, Zawiyah, over 35, more than secondary education

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The overthrow of the despotic Gaddafi regime offers Libyans an unprecedented political opening in Libya and creates opportunities and challenges for a democratic transition. There is widespread enthusiasm for the transition and genuine hunger for democratic governance. Specifically, focus group participants are excited by new freedoms and eager to participate in elections, influence government decision-making for the first time in their lives and to set precedents for transparent and accountable leadership. However, they have serious concerns over the chaotic security landscape, economic instability and whether the transition will bring about improvements to their daily lives and provide them with meaningful opportunities to participate in the country's new political processes. Given the sacrifice and loss that participants experienced during the harrowing eight-month uprising, they are intensely invested in the success of the transition.

Moving forward, the key challenges for Libya's new leaders will be to: instill the country's new political institutions and processes with democratic values that citizens are largely unfamiliar with; afford opportunities, yet manage expectations for citizens to participate in the transition process, including upcoming elections and the drafting of a new constitution; and to provide citizens with regular and accurate information on the transition process and its milestones. Participants' responses in this study provide some guidance for how best to accomplish these objectives.

Addressing Profound Deficits in Public Understanding of Political Processes

Libyans are eager to participate in their country's democratic transition, but are anxious and feel disadvantaged by their lack of exposure to democratic processes and modern political practices. Participants have little understanding of elections, constitutions, political parties and the roles that citizens can play in transitional and democratic societies. Civic and future voter education efforts will be necessary to respond to citizens' demands for specific information on the mechanics of democratic processes, including elections and voting, but also to increase broader awareness of citizen's roles and responsibilities. Responsible authorities need to proactively communicate with citizens up to date and accurate information on the election process, including the electoral calendar and the purpose of the polls.

Recommendations:

- Conduct civic education and awareness-raising campaigns to help citizens understand their rights and responsibilities in the new democratic Libya.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

- Communicate the purpose and process of the election to eliminate any confusion.
- Share information that will help citizens develop more realistic expectations of the transition.
- Encourage political parties to campaign and provide citizens with information on their platforms and visions for the country's future.

Setting Realistic Public Expectations for Transitional Governance

Participants have high expectations for the transition and are increasingly frustrated by the lack of timely, accurate information from transitional authorities. While there is considerable goodwill toward the NTC, in the absence of information from the council or the opportunity to provide input into decision-making, patience is beginning to wane. If Libya's citizens, a majority of whom possess weapons, feel the transition is being hijacked by unresponsive leaders and opportunists a return to rebellion could occur.

Recommendations:

- Establish regular channels for communication between government and citizens.
- Improve national media as a means to raise awareness and inform people about political developments, the transitional framework and timeline and other necessary information.
- Demonstrate a strong commitment to anti-corruption efforts through the creation of robust investigative and enforcement mechanisms.
- Increase communication about political decision-making, and descriptions of the national conference.
- Proactively explain any delays to benchmarks established by the national charter for the transitional phase.
- Manage expectations on economic development with communication of realistic timeframes and honest assessments of what can be accomplished within budget constraints.
- Set realistic expectations about frozen assets and wealth distribution by proactively sharing information on how resources will be managed.

'NOW WE HAVE HOPE'

- Prioritize bringing order to the security situation and creating a structured, national army and delineating security responsibilities among local and national authorities.
- Expand efforts to engage in dialogue with citizens through traditional and new media, as well as through regular travel by NTC members to their constituencies.

Promoting an Inclusive, Democratic Transition

To ensure the success of the transition, ordinary citizens, particularly women and youth, must be allowed to participate and feel their contributions matter. Despite overall enthusiasm for the revolution and excitement for the transition, many participants are concerned that they will not have a voice in their country's future. Regional rivalries are beginning to resurface and some citizens are worried that Libya will revert to a centralized system where power is held in Tripoli at the expense of other cities. While the revolution is credited by many participants for instilling a sense of national unity and camaraderie, there are serious concerns about how to heal communities fractured by the conflict and how to reconcile with Gaddafi loyalists.

Recommendations:

- Engage in widespread public consultations and an inclusive constitution-drafting process to ensure citizens are invested in the constitution.
- Pursue broad-based national and local-level reconciliation.
- Pursue public discussion on regionalism and decentralization to assuage concerns that the new government is Tripoli-centric.
- Provide women and youth with opportunities to develop skills and participate in the elections and transition processes.

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP LOCATIONS

Location	Gender	Age	Education	Urban/Rural
Benghazi	Male	18-35	More than Secondary	Urban
Benghazi	Female	18-35	Secondary or less	Urban
Benghazi	Male	35+	Secondary or less	Urban
Benghazi	Female	35+	More than Secondary	Urban
Derna	Male	35+	More than Secondary	Semi-Urban
Derna	Female	18-35	More than Secondary	Semi-Urban
Misrata	Male	18-35	Secondary or less	Semi-Urban
Misrata	Female	35+	More than Secondary	Semi-Urban
Sabha	Male	35+	More than Secondary	Semi-Urban
Sabha	Female	18-35	Secondary or less	Semi-Urban
Tripoli	Male	18-35	More than Secondary	Urban
Tripoli	Female	18-35	Secondary or less	Urban
Tripoli	Male	35+	More than Secondary	Urban
Tripoli	Female	35+	More than Secondary	Urban
Zawiyah	Male	18-35	Secondary or less	Semi-Urban
Zawiyah	Female	35+	More than Secondary	Semi-Urban