"COME TO THE PEOPLE"

CITIZEN VIEWS OF LIBYA'S POLITICAL TRANSITION

FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS IN LIBYA

Conducted June 24 – July 15, 2013

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Cover photo: Demonstration in Tripoli against the Political Isolation Law(Anis El Willani 2013)

CONTENTS

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

One year after the election of Libya's General National Congress (GNC), persistent insecurity continues to hamper the ability of Libya's leaders to respond to citizens' high expectations of the political transition. This round of focus groups took place nearly two months after the GNC passed the Political Isolation Law, legislation intended to bar a wide range of former regime officials and supporters from holding public office or leading political parties. Voting on the new law took place in May 2013, with legislators under pressure from armed militias who had taken up positions outside ministries in Tripoli to demonstrate their support for its passage. Despite increased political polarization and instability, Libya's leaders began to prepare for a nationwide vote for a constitution-drafting assembly (CDA).

Purpose: 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) led a qualitative public opinion study based on 16 focus group discussions in six cities across Libya from June 24 to July 15 2013. The discussions examined the following:

- Libyans' reflections on the current situation in Libya, including security challenges;
- Attitudes toward the performance of political parties and the GNC;
- Expectations for the CDA election and the constitution-drafting process;
- Views on Islam and politics; and,
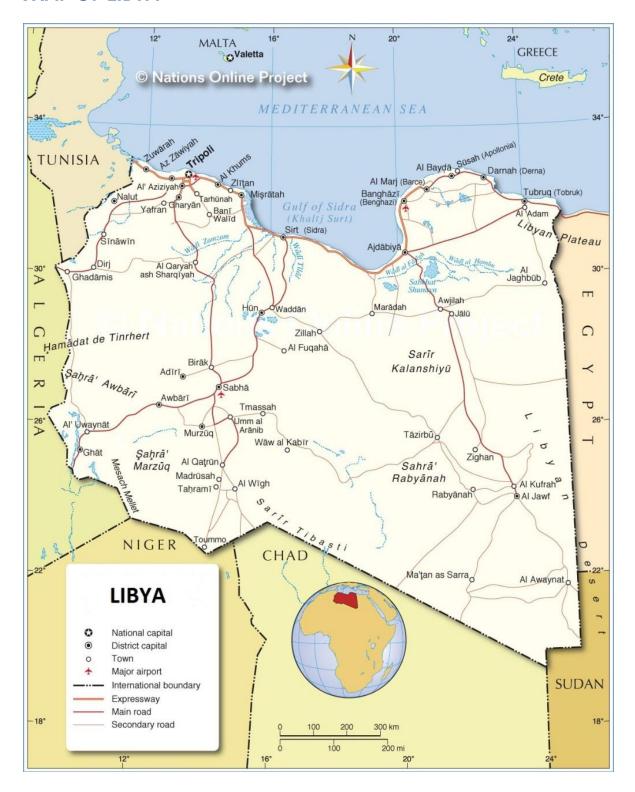- Expectations and hopes for the future.

The Institute commissioned Diwan for Market Research, a Libyan public opinion research company, to organize the focus groups in six cities across the country. This study marks the fourth round of nationwide qualitative research conducted by NDI in Libya since 2011. NDI's focus group research is one component of the Institute's ongoing assistance to political parties in Libya.

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 to 12 per group. Focus group findings represent 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 June 2013.

Method. From June 24 to July 15, 2013, NDI held focus groups in six cities across Libya with a widespread geographical representation: Benghazi, Derna, Misrata, Sabha, Tripoli, and Zawiya. 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 secondary-level education or more), and age (18-35 and over 35). Each group comprised between seven and 11 participants. Participants were selected and re-screened to ensure gender parity and a diverse representation of neighborhoods, socioeconomic backgrounds, education levels, and professions. All groups were conducted in Libyan Arabic and transcripts were prepared in Arabic and English.

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 groups.

MAP OF LIBYA

One World Nations Online. November, 2011.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores public opinion in Libya in June and July 2013. Based on focus group discussions with a total of more than 110 participants in six cities, the report examines Libyans' attitudes and perceptions of the on-going political transition, the recent Political Isolation Law, political parties, governing institutions, the constitution-drafting process and upcoming constitution-drafting assembly (CDA or Committee of 60) election, Islam and politics, and the role of the international community. 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.   Current Situation

In contrast to prior research conducted by NDI in Libya, a majority of focus group participants now believes that the country is headed in the wrong direction and views the deteriorating security situation with strong trepidation. Libyans increasingly do not believe that leaders are meeting the high expectations resulting from the 2011 revolution. Aside from security issues, they point to pervasive corruption as a priority issue. Success in guaranteeing democratic rights and freedoms represents the sole area of positive progress acknowledged by Libyans.

Libyan participants consistently identify the security situation as the greatest challenge facing the country and a priority issue for decision-makers. The most commonly cited issue is the proliferation of weapons, which participants believe has rendered government security forces incapable of confronting militias and restoring security. Several participants believe that greater political discord in Libya is contributing to insecurity. Responsibility for improving security is placed squarely with the government; there is a widespread desire for the Libyan state to exert its authority in this area.

Corruption is also identified as a priority concern among Libyans when evaluating the current situation. Respondents view corruption as a barrier to progress and an offense to the value of fairness that grew out of the revolution. While almost all respondents believe that corruption is widespread in Libya, particularly in administrative transactions in the form of nepotism or favoritism, only some were able to point to first-hand examples of corruption affecting their daily lives.

There was a noticeable gender difference in terms of how values and aspirations translate into political priorities; this discrepancy did not occur in past rounds of focus groups. While men's priorities revolve around security, rule of law, and infrastructure improvements, women seek improved quality of life and government services. Overall, responses suggest that Libyans continue to be committed to democratic rights.

Libyans' perceptions of the situation facing the country vary significantly by city. Those in the eastern cities of Benghazi and Derna assert that their situation is worse by comparison, and they point primarily to severe insecurity. In the western cities of Tripoli and Zawiya, participants voice a range of concerns but disagree over whether they were worse off or better off than other cities. Participants in the southern city of Sabha

see themselves as better off due to their perception of tribal cohesion, while residents of Misrata believe the stable situation and social cohesion in the city is favorable to other areas in Libya.

II.   Political Isolation

Many participants are aware of the Political Isolation Law and express some support for measures to exclude Gaddafi-era figures from holding political office. While a few respondents maintain support for an absolute ban, most believe there should be exemptions for people who supported the revolution and can contribute to the political transition. Some participants who expressed unequivocal support for the law changed their opinions when other members of their focus group suggested that the law would affect notable revolutionary leaders with former associations to the regime.

III.   Political Parties and the GNC

Participants believe that increasing partisanship in Libya is negatively impacting the transition process. They view political attacks as tactics to achieve self-interested priorities and harmful to the national interest. **For many participants, perceived partisan bickering is a key reason why they continue to mistrust political parties and are skeptical about their role in upcoming elections.**

Despite negative attitudes about parties, participants do not rule out future involvement with parties, whether as supporters at the ballot box or as members. Libyans demonstrate a strong desire to see political parties increase their outreach to citizens at the community level, explain how they are contributing to the political transition, and present distinct ideas for improving Libya's future.

In contrast to the previous round of focus groups—held approximately three months after the GNC took office—Libyans in summer 2013 expressed disenchantment with the country's proto-legislature. **Many participants are disappointed with the GNC's performance, asserting that members are disconnected from ordinary citizens and that the institution has failed to accomplish its mandated task of drafting a constitution or appointing a constitution-drafting body.** While most participants express a willingness to participate in future elections as an act of civic duty, those who say they would abstain are most likely to cite their disappointment with the GNC members they elected in 2012.

IV.   Constitutional Process

There was moderate awareness of efforts to organize an election for a constitution-drafting assembly (CDA). Some anticipate local elections prior to a CDA election. Libyans are generally confused about the respective roles of the GNC and the CDA.

Participants evoked concern about political parties running partisan campaigns in the CDA elections, but they support the idea of party members running as individual candidates. As long as members of the future CDA are elected in a transparent manner, Libyans express confidence in the constitution-drafting process, though they

differ on how long constitution-drafting should take and struggle to understand the role of citizens.

By a wide margin, women respondents support the idea of reserving CDA seats for women candidates, and believe that this would ensure greater sensitivity to women's rights and the importance of gender equality. A small minority of men oppose the idea of reserving seats, with most being supportive or indifferent. By contrast, fewer participants support—or are indifferent to—reserving CDA seats for ethnic minorities (Amazigh, Tabu, and Tuareg).

The constitution is seen as an essential foundational document, and participants seek references to rule of law, security, education, and health care. The idea of special constitutional provisions to confirm the rights of women elicits broad support, though men are more divided on the issue. Participants view a potential reference to minority community rights—in particular recognition of their languages—as an acceptable accommodation to contribute to national unity and democratic inclusion. Those who oppose these provisions believe that Libya's constitution should be founded on equality for all, and that special provisions are unnecessary or even unequal.

V.   Islam and Politics

Libyans continue to distrust any political manipulation of Islam and are re-evaluating the degree to which *Shari'a* (Islamic law) should figure in the constitution. In some cases, participants believe that political leaders have used Islam improperly to justify their actions, both under Gaddfi and at present. Previous focus group studies revealed a widespread belief amongst participants that *Shari'a* (Islamic law) should be the sole source of Libya's future constitution. Libyans continue to believe Islam is all encompassing—present in and guiding all aspects of life—but a significant number of respondents now worry that *Shari'a* would be open to interpretation and Islamic values could be manipulated for political ends if *Shari'a* is the sole source of the country's foundational document. A minority still holds that the tenets of the constitution should rest exclusively on *Shari'a*.

VI.   Role of the International Community

Though dissatisfied with the performance of the Libyan government, most participants still believe that building Libya is a sovereign concern. Many participants view the international community with suspicion, questioning their motives for supporting Libya. Some respondents perceive the international community as interested only in Libya's resource wealth. **Views differ over which countries and organizations are most trustworthy; the United Nations evokes greater trust for participants due to its perceived neutrality and the fact that Libya is a member state.**

VII.   Looking Forward

Participants ended their discussions by providing hypothetical advice to Libya's prime minister. Libyans seek a national leader who is assertive, politically objective, guided by

Islamic values, transparent and honest, and capable of guaranteeing progress on key priorities. **They advise all of Libya's leaders to be more present "on the street," learning and listening to what people think.**

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

I.   Current Situation

The majority of participants believe that Libya is now headed in the wrong direction, a noticeable shift from NDI's previous focus group research. Participants base their assessment on various causes, primarily rising insecurity associated with the proliferation of weapons, the presence of militias, and weak rule of law. **In contrast to earlier focus group research, several participants also see political discord as a contributing factor to insecurity.** Some participants also view pervasive corruption as a primary cause of concern.

> *"The problem is with security and the government's fear of militias. Libya needs national reconciliation so people can solve problems. In my neighborhood, the problems are armed youths, and the collapsed infrastructure."* Male, Tripoli

> *"Libya right now is moving on the wrong path, because there aren't people interested in building a nation."* Female, Misrata

> *"Corruption is a problem in Libya and we have all kinds of corruption—moral, administrative, financial—to an unimaginable extent that has made Libya sink deeply."* Female, Benghazi

> *"In my opinion there are a lot of negatives, but most importantly weapons. The government and the people are to blame."* Female, Zawiya

> *"There needs to be controls on products sold and their prices. There's huge manipulation of market prices, for example potatoes are sold from farms at one price and then sold at a significantly higher price in shops. The army and police need to be activated, and if someone was fined by the police that person shouldn't be able to find a way back to doing what they were doing through connections or being in a 'katiba'[1]- this needs to stop."* Female, Tripoli

Security and Rule of Law

Across all cities, focus group participants cite security as a pressing concern. For participants in Benghazi, Derna, and Misrata, insecurity is the primary cause of the worsening situation in Libya. **The single biggest problem identified by focus group participants is the proliferation of weapons.** Participants describe how the spread of weapons has rendered the police and army incapable of restoring security.

> *"There is a complete absence of state authority."* Male, Sabha

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[1] While the literal translation of 'katiba' in Arabic is 'brigade,' in post-Gaddafi Libya this commonly refers to a militia.

"[The biggest problem is] repeated assassinations, and I blame those in charge of security and government." Female, Benghazi

"The delay in revolutionaries and ordinary people handing over their weapons has prevented the establishment of and support for the army." Male, Sabha

When asked to describe the current state of security, respondents talk extensively about how easily weapons can be obtained. **Participants see militias operating outside the law as a source of instability, in contrast to official security forces.** Many participants observe that in the absence of these forces, individual citizens and families are now protecting themselves and their neighborhoods.

"The security situation is not good. Weapons alone are not the biggest security problem, militias pose the greatest danger. Weapons are now in every house for protection; Libyans keep these weapons to protect themselves not to use them. But it's the militias that are causing this fear and danger for the citizens." Female, Misrata

"All the problems are due to the militias, not the legal security forces." Male, Tripoli

"Security in Libya and Derna is non-existent. Homeowners are the ones that provide security. It should be the government's responsibility. If the city continues to be controlled by extremists, the security situation will get worse. The difference between Derna and other cities is that there is nothing but the proliferation of weapons which is demoralizing citizens, and because of the control by extremists." Female, Derna

Libyans believe the state should assert its authority to restore security and the rule of law. Several respondents point to the government's inability to form an army. According to many participants, the government is responsible for the degenerating security situation, in particular for tolerating the presence of militias operating outside the law.

"The main problem is the spread of weapons, drugs, and cold-blooded assassinations of innocent victims. No one is held accountable and laws are not obeyed. The solution is for the government to take action and stop the talk." Female, Derna

"Whoever uses their weapons or attempts a bombing should be punished with imprisonment or execution to discourage others from similar actions." Male, Benghazi

"[The biggest problem is the] rise in militias, and the fault belongs to the government." Male, Tripoli

"[The biggest problem is] the absence of safety and security, the spread of weapons, and the lack of unity among people as in the revolutionary period. This

is largely due to the government not being able to form an army." Female, Derna

"The prime minister should focus on security and activate the air force and navy to protect the coast and borders of Libya." Male, Benghazi

Participants increasingly see political infighting and rivalries as fueling insecurity. Leaders' perceived inability to set aside differences and promote national unity is seen as hampering progress toward national priorities and contributing to a divisive political atmosphere. Many participants believe that solutions to Libya's pressing issues will only be achieved if leaders can collaborate and place national interests first.

"A problem threatening Libya is that everyone is deceiving each other and accusing one another of betraying the nation. As an example, what is happening between the Brotherhood, Mahmoud Jibril's organization [the NFA], and the federalists. People can fix what is going on by fixing themselves." Male, Benghazi

"The army, ministries, and legislators have been greatly distracted from making progress, because they are fighting among each other." Female, Tripoli

"It is a must that the people and national figures work together, as one, to solve the problem of widespread weapons." Male, Misrata

"There is no system in place, nor army. There are no leaders to organize the country. Everyone is responsible for being part of the solution, but they must first change their own behavior before improving the nation." Female, Zawiya

Corruption

Almost all respondents believe corruption is a problem in Libya. The overwhelming view is that corruption—either in the form of administrative corruption, *wasta* (nepotism or favored service), or outright criminal appropriation—is widespread. Several participants view these practices as holdovers from the Gaddafi era that the revolution should have brought to an end.

When asked whether they had personally been affected by corruption, participants had mixed responses. Those who responded affirmatively described unequal access to employment and educational opportunities. **Male respondents tend to characterize corruption in terms of financial or property theft, whereas female participants view corruption as a barrier to their participation in the workforce, or denial of social services such as education or health.**

"[There is] administrative corruption, in particular in the oil sector. Corruption in the health care sector is very bad as the hospitals struggle with shortages of supplies." Male, Tripoli

"Of course [corruption] is a big problem. There is major corruption in all of the country's institutions, especially in employment matters, and yes, I have been affected." Female, Zawiya

"The rate of corruption has increased. There is no law and any person can steal your property." Male, Tripoli

"I have been affected by corruption a million times. One example is when my father had leukemia, may he rest in peace, and he was really sick …. he had a rare blood type and while other patients with the same rare blood type were given blood, we had to bring blood all the way from Tripoli. Life for Libyans has become cheap when corruption is concerned." Female, Benghazi

Positive Trends and Aspirations for the Future

Regardless of whether they are positive or negative about Libya's future in the broad sense, a number of participants attest to improvements in freedom of the media, speech, and opinion. Participants who believe that the country is headed in the right direction most frequently cite the freedoms gained since 2011. Some also identify the July 2012 GNC elections as a successful point in Libya's transition.

"Freedoms of media and expression [have improved]. Libyans and the February 17th revolution are responsible for that." Male, Tripoli

"The first positive thing I feel as an Amazigh is that I can now speak my language, and more and more people are getting used to it… There is freedom of expression and opinion and we can express our Amazigh identity." Female, Tripoli

"Unfortunately I don't see anything positive except for the freedom of speech." Female, Benghazi

"The only positive thing that happened was the elections, though there have been failures in achieving the will of the people." Male, Sabha

"When you look at it, there are many things we did not have before such as freedom of press, civil society, and there is a government and an elected GNC." Male, Benghazi

"Libya is on a better path, and the current situation seems to be good and encouraging. I don't think it is possible for Libya to be better off considering all the conflict the country has experienced. We are still at the beginning and are now in the building stage." Female, Misrata

In describing their idea of a "perfect Libya," male participants envision improved security, strong rule of law, and quality infrastructure on par with economically developed countries. Women participants focus more on quality of life issues and

government services such as education and health care. Benghazi participants are especially concerned with rule of law and security, while Misratan participants prioritize infrastructure development.

> *"The perfect Libya would have a strong economy that is not completely dependent on oil. The people would be patriotic… not putting their personal interests above the interests of the state."* Male, Benghazi

> *"[The perfect Libya would have] peace and security and modern schools, [and] companies in the city, civilized people, good health, and law."* Female, Benghazi

> *"The ideal Libya can be pictured with strong infrastructure, with trains, and every means of transportation comfortably available for the citizens."* Male, Misrata

> *"Libya will be ideal when the education and health sectors are developed. It is no secret that education is the foundation for developing the country, as well as improved access to better healthcare."* Female, Misrata

> *"[In the perfect Libya] the law is applied to everyone, and there is justice."* Male Sabha

> *"I want Libya to be very elegant and modern in its Islam. I want it to be a powerful country. I want improvements in health care, education and security. The difference between that image and now is that unfortunately we are a poor country even though we have oil, sea, and desert. [Libya] is viewed as an ignorant country lacking in healthcare and these problems can only be solved through the implementation of laws by the government and the people."* Female, Derna

> *"The government has to be controlling the country, and there must be a clear vision and goal for the country. [In the perfect Libya] I see the presence of an army and police, and the disappearance of widespread weapons. [But] this will not happen in the near future."* Male, Derna

Views on the Current Situation by City

Libyans' impressions of their home cities' situation in comparison to others vary significantly. Residents of Benghazi and Derna feel that they are worse off than the rest of the country, while in Tripoli and Zawiya participants are divided over whether they are better or worse off than elsewhere. Respondents in Misrata and Sabha feel their situation is comparatively better, but for different reasons.

Benghazi

Security remains the top issue cited in Benghazi, however some participants also raise concern over migration into the city from other areas, which they see as a cause of a perceived breakdown in social solidarity. Several respondents claim that conditions in

the city will only improve when there are competent and established security forces. Additionally, several Benghazi participants point to Misrata as an example of a more unified, stable city.

> *"I think Benghazi is suffering the most because people from other cities come here and add demands on our city [services]."* Female, Benghazi

> *"[There is a] lack of community bonding in Benghazi, compared to other cities, because of the amount of people."* Male, Benghazi

> *"People in Misrata are united, people in Benghazi are not. We don't trust each other like we did before."* Female, Benghazi

Derna

Among all focus groups, respondents in Derna were the most emphatically negative about their city's situation compared to the country as a whole. They emphasize the absence of security and the spread of weapons in the city. Many respondents describe security in Derna as non-existent, and express a desire for stability and the rule of law.

> *"Libya is going in the wrong direction because of assassinations and the spread of weapons, especially in the city of Derna."* Female, Derna

> *"In my opinion, Derna has become a lot worse. There is neither safety nor security, there is no active government, and the courthouse doesn't exist; its main office was burned down. When comparing cities, Derna is in by far the worst state because of poor security and assassinations."* Female, Derna

Tripoli

Tripoli respondents are divided over whether the city is better or worse than cities elsewhere in Libya. **Security is also a primary concern in Tripoli, and residents are more likely than others to attribute insecurity in part to political infighting.** Tripoli participants also raise corruption, nepotism, and poor infrastructure as additional issues facing the city.

> *"The police have no authority because of the proliferation of weapons. Everyone is armed and can impose their power."* Female, Tripoli

> *"[Leaders] are fighting among each other, distracting them from building the army, the ministries, and legitimizing the [authority of] the state."* Female, Tripoli

> *"I worked in an organization and saw all kinds of corruption. I personally witnessed a great deal of* wasta *[nepotism and favored service]."* Female, Tripoli

> *"The situation is heading in the wrong direction due to a lack of credibility in the [promises of political leaders]. Those in positions of power sit in their chairs and*

have not tried national reconciliation, and have not started drafting the constitution. And still, Libya is under the United Nation's guardianship." Female, Tripoli

"[The situation is] better in Tripoli because other cities are facing bigger problems, which we don't have, because [other cities] are more influenced by tribalism." Male, Tripoli

Zawiya

Like in Tripoli, Zawiya participants differ over whether or not the situation in their city has improved since the revolution. As in other cities, security is identified as the most pressing issue. **Zawiya participants, however, were more likely than other cities to identify additional barriers to positive change at the local level, including underdevelopment, poor infrastructure, criminal activity, and nepotism or corruption.**

"There has been a great deal of construction and development in other cities, but nothing has changed in my city. I don't see it as one of the best; on the contrary, it is one of the worst." Female, Zawiya

"With respect to poor infrastructure and lack of development, [Zawiya] is the worst Libyan city. Things are also bad from a security point of view, because everyone takes what they want by [force of] power. Citizens with Zawiya's low level of awareness have been unable to pressure and besiege the legitimate authorities to get the same treatment as other cities." Male, Zawiya

Misrata

A majority of Misratan participants believe their city is better off than other cities. They point to the city's stable security situation, which is viewed as unique among all Libyan cities and is attributed to strong social cohesion. Participants still see security as a challenge, but were more likely to lament the city's underdeveloped or poor infrastructure, including roads, electrical networks, and internet connectivity. Misratan participants also view political partisanship as a hindrance to progress.

"The situation is better from a security point of view because the majority of the people here know each other, we all know each other. We know exactly who belongs to which family and this is a comforting thing." Male, Misrata

"The major problem is Misrata's infrastructure." Male Misrata

"[Political parties] did not serve Libya at all; they have become rivals to each other to serve personal interests without considering any interests of Libya as a whole." Female, Misrata

"The crime rate in Misrata has greatly decreased because of the people and residents that are protecting [the city]." Male, Misrata

"Libya is currently improving and construction has started. Infrastructure, such as roads, is being developed." Female, Misrata

Sabha

Sabha participants tend to view their situation more positively compared to other cities, and attribute this to the city's tribal cohesion. Participants are divided over whether Libya is moving in the right direction, but those who are more worried about the future point to external forces, predominantly armed militants entering Libya through southern borders, manipulating the political and security situation. **A few participants also worried about the effect of porous borders on Libya's security.**

"Currently there is understanding and agreement between tribes as to how they will deal with conflict. However, it gets worse when non-Libyans from south of Libya come here." Male, Sabha

"In all respects, in terms of security, it may be better than Benghazi and even Tripoli. We [are ignored] because of our distance from the capital and because of nepotism and corruption." Female, Sabha

"The biggest security problem is smuggling, as a result of open borders." Female, Sabha

"After the revolution we felt, for the first time, the goodness and calm of the people, but it gradually changed. It is true that the state is weak. I do not deny that, but what makes the situation worse is that there are hidden hands from the outside or from the inside trying to destabilize Libya." Female, Sabha

II.   Political Isolation

Each focus group demonstrated a high degree of awareness of the May 2013 Political Isolation Law, though most participants did not demonstrate complete understanding of the law's provisions. **Most respondents approve of the idea of isolating Gaddafi-era figures, but qualified their support by saying there should be exceptions.**

"We heard a lot about the law and wanted to know more, and to see it actually applied. I am for this law but there are some who will be subjected to it even though they were forced to serve a tyrannical system. We would like to hear them defend themselves." Female, Benghazi

"I am for the Political Isolation Law. Others should be given a chance—whoever had a position in Gaddafi's era should step aside and give opportunities to others." Female Misrata

"The Political Isolation Law is for the people who worked with Gaddafi, they cannot take any positions in politics now." Female, Tripoli

Opponents of the law are concerned that its supporters are using it to target political opponents rather than exclude former regime officials from politics. They also worry about preventing more experienced politicians from contributing positively to the country.

> *"[The Political Isolation Law] is unsuitable because it will affect people with experience."* Male, Zawiya

> *"The law is payback by certain political figures to exclude certain political figures. I don't consider it legitimate because it was designed to exclude very specific people who are active today in politics."* Male, Sabha

Some participants who supported the Political Isolation Law without reservations changed their opinion when others suggested the current law would exclude those seen as contributing to the 2011 revolution, such as deceased rebel commander General Abdel Fatah Younis, former National Transitional Council Chairman Mustafa Abdul Jalil, and former transitional Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril.

> *"When I read the list of names to be isolated, I found that it included Sheikh [Sadek] Al Gheriani. I was surprised to find his name, because everyone knows that he played a very big role during the February revolution; he gave a lot to Libya, and still does. I honestly don't know how they isolate a person like him."* Female, Misrata

> *"We requested the Political Isolation Law but it should only be applied after looking at every individual separately and letting the people have a say."* Female, Tripoli

III.   Political Parties and the GNC

In each focus group, most participants view political parties negatively, on the grounds that parties are self-interested. Participants also perceive parties as contributing to division and instability in Libya. Those who express positive attitudes toward parties view them as important components of democracies. **Several participants acknowledge that parties remain inexperienced and must do more to demonstrate that they can put the interests of the nation ahead of their immediate political motivations.**

According to some, rising hostility between two of Libya's principal political forces—the National Forces Alliance (NFA) and the Muslim Brotherhood—is exacerbating the security and political situation in Libya. Some participants' mistrust in parties stems from their belief that parties have ties to armed groups. For others, disillusionment with parties stems from their inability to meet high expectations after the 2012 elections. Finally, some participants have difficulty envisioning how parties could play a positive role in Libya.

"Political parties are the reason for the deterioration of the country because they are focused on personal interests only." Male, Misrata

"I'm against [parties] as well. We voted and nothing we voted for was true." Female, Benghazi

"When I hear the words 'political parties,' I think it's something good for us. But what I have seen is that politically ambitious people will try to attain power by any means." Male, Misrata

"Political parties are the foundation of the security problem as they are the ones supporting the militias with money." Male, Tripoli

"I am against political parties because every party works for its own personal interests. I don't see any way they could help the country." Female, Zawiya

Very few participants say that they have made efforts to contact parties. **Those who have contacted parties described the experience as unsatisfactory, with a portion saying that they are unlikely to contact a party again.**

"I tried to communicate with a political party about the issue of women and how they should highlight women in Libya. Some expressed support and some have not; that is why I am against political parties and I no longer want to deal with them." Female, Zawiya

"I have seen many initiatives from the parties, mostly from the Justice and Construction Party.[2] I am not fully swayed by parties because there needs to be a law to organize them." Male, Derna

"I personally worked with several parties, but they only use the youth's power [to mobilize voters] and exploit it. When they get what they want, they get rid of the youth....I will be prepared to work with them when there is a constitution, one army for the country, and when the military wings of parties are disbanded." Male, Benghazi

"There are no reasons I would contact [parties]. I don't believe that they can help or make any difference in anything." Male, Misrata

Most respondents say that they would reconsider their view of parties if parties increase their engagement at the community level and show how they are contributing to Libya's democratic development. Many participants want parties to provide services and organize community-based projects.

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[2] The Justice and Construction Party (JCP) in Libya is affiliated with the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood.

"Any clear goal [from parties] will draw my attention, and specifically any goal that serves Benghazi in particular. Even planting a rose or a tree in a Benghazi street would be enough for me to join." Female, Benghazi

"[Parties] must have plans and visions. They should interact more with the street. They should be able to achieve the youth's needs and ambitions." Male, Zawiya

"[Parties should] implement their plans and projects, with no false promises." Female, Zawiya

"I am against political parties but if they want my attention they should implement their ideas on the ground." Female, Zawiya

Many participants voiced a desire for parties to clearly articulate their ideas for improving the situation in Libya. Some express difficulty in distinguishing between parties' platforms.

"To earn my interest a party would have to show that they care about Libya's interests first and not personal interests." Female, Misrata

"If you look into all the plans and objectives of all parties, you'll find that they are similar and sometimes identical, but there are parties that took a risk and campaigned on religion, and another that took a different path and focused more on liberal ideas." Male, Derna

"A party will gain my support when I see competitive plans to serve the country and not engage in conflict, also when I see the success of the party in my community, and they improve their communication." Male, Sabha

"[Parties] must present and clarify their ideas and their aims in a clear way so that we can understand them and know their goals." Male, Misrata

The desire to see parties increase public outreach is also mirrored in respondents' attitudes toward the GNC, Libya's proto-legislature. **Largely disappointed with the GNC's performance to date, participants want to see the institution act as a catalyst for the government to address critical issues such as restoring security and improving infrastructure.** Several participants believe that elected members need to more actively seek citizens' opinions.

"Politicians and people in the GNC need to engage with the people to know the problems of the people." Female, Tripoli

"In my opinion, it's more suitable that the GNC is dissolved because for a year-and-a-half they have done nothing. They have six months left." Male, Misrata

"[The GNC should] establish the rule of law, and ensure government transparency (and their own), control justice and the judiciary, and then improve

education and health. These are the basics of what we need. We want people from far and wide to see that we have good standards." Female, Benghazi

IV. Constitutional Process

Election for a Constitution-Drafting Assembly

Only a slight majority of respondents were aware of planned elections for a constitution-drafting assembly (CDA or Committee of Sixty). Participants demonstrated confusion over the respective roles of the CDA and the GNC, in particular the GNC's role in determining the membership of the CDA.[3] Several participants believed the next elections would be for municipal or local councils.[4]

> *"No, I don't know anything about the Committee of Sixty. There needs to be more awareness about this through advertising. What is the Committee of Sixty?"* Female, Derna

> *"I wish that [the constitution-drafting body] would have been appointed by the national assembly [GNC] directly."* Male, Derna

> *"I know that a committee of 60 members will be drafting the constitution, and they will be chosen by the national assembly [GNC]. I cannot presume now, until I know who the members of this committee are, how they will perform."* Female, Zawiya

> *"The national assembly [GNC] should choose the committee to draft the constitution to save time, because they will choose competent people."* Male, Derna

> *"I am aware of [a candidate] who will participate in the committee to represent women and he will try to maintain their rights through the constitution."* Female, Misrata

A majority of participants feel that the CDA elections should not be overly partisan in nature. They evoked concern about political parties running partisan campaigns in the CDA elections, but they support the idea of party members running as individual candidates. Some respondents reject political party participation altogether. More than participants in other cities, those in Benghazi were more likely to express the view that there should be no participation by parties. Participants also feel strongly that once elected, CDA members should act in a non-partisan manner.

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[3] This misunderstanding may reflect the complex and drawn-out process through which national leaders ultimately determined that the CDA would be popularly elected and not appointed by the GNC.

[4] This view may ultimately prove to be accurate depending on the respective timing of the CDA elections and an initiative to begin local elections.

"People running for elections should not be part of a party." Male, Benghazi

"I agree that parties should be able to nominate candidates, because the alternative will be tribal. With parties we will abandon tribes." Male, Sabha

"If one party was to lead this committee, then surely [parties should not participate]. I hope there will be different parties so that they represent all of the people." Female, Tripoli

"Yes [parties' participation] should be allowed if the members nominated are good and want the best for the country and the people." Female, Derna

The overwhelming majority of women respondents believe that there must be seats reserved for women in the CDA election. [5] Many women also feel that male representatives in the CDA would not be sensitive to the rights of women or take steps to address gender inequality. A small minority of men oppose the idea of reserving seats, with most being supportive or indifferent. Women respondents who oppose the idea of reserving seats for women either believe that women should compete equally with men as candidates, or that current and future Libyan laws should apply equally to all regardless of gender.

"Women must be present in the committee because men won't be able to represent women like they do." Female, Tripoli

"[Women] should have special seats especially for women because they had an effective role in the revolution." Male, Misrata

"There should be reserved seats for women, and for the woman to prove herself. There should be justice for minorities." Female, Derna

"I disagree [with reserving seats for women] because it does not fit with the principal of citizenship. Women and men have equal political rights. Nor do I think there should be [reserved seats] for minorities for the same reason." Female, Zawiya

In comparison to those supporting designated seats in the CDA for women, fewer participants support reserving seats in the CDA for ethnic minorities. Those who oppose a quota for minorities describe minority communities as inherently "Libyan" and point out that constitutional guarantees would apply equally to all citizens.

"There could be seats for minorities, but the law has to be applied to everyone." Male, Tripoli

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[5] The draft electoral law released in July 2013—after the focus groups were completed—ultimately reserved six of 60 seats for women, short of the 35 percent quota sought by civil society and women GNC members.

"I say women should have seats but minorities no. If Libyans aren't able to exercise their rights how do you expect minority communities to do so?" Female, Benghazi

While the majority of participants intend to vote in future elections, those who plan to abstain justify their decision by pointing to the perceived shortcomings of the GNC, Libya's most recently elected national institution. Women were more likely than men to say that they will not vote in future elections.

"No [I will not vote], because they disappointed us the first time." Female, Zawiya

"I might vote, and if I did not like the candidates I will put a blank ballot, I think that in this case it will be counted [as a statement of my dissatisfaction]." Female, Sabha

"I will participate in the local council elections. I'm waiting for them because it is easy to communicate with [locally elected officials] and hold them accountable in my area." Male, Tripoli

"I'm a Libyan so I will participate in the elections." Male, Misrata

"I will vote. Even though the previous candidates let us down, there is always hope… and the boat won't stop just because we were previously let down." Female, Benghazi

<u>**Constitutional Process**</u>

Participants struggle to define what the constitution-drafting process will be or should be, though a majority express confidence in the CDA as long as the election is legitimate and transparent. There is no consensus on the ideal amount of time for the constitution-drafting process; responses range from three months to two years, with many saying the time period should be long enough for citizens' input to be taken into consideration before the document is finalized.

"I think that six months is more than enough time to draft a constitution." Female, Zawiya

"The constitution has to be detailed and encompass everyone." Female, Tripoli

"I know nothing about the drafting process, and I blame civil society because their role is to raise public awareness about the constitution." Male, Benghazi

Participants struggle to understand the role of citizens in a constitution-drafting process. Some defer to the presumed expertise of the CDA, while others envision a limited role for citizens through a constitutional referendum.

"I think that [citizens] have a role but I don't know what it is exactly." Female, Zawiya

"[Citizens' roles will be to] elect the committee of sixty." Male, Sabha

"There is no role for the citizen in drafting the constitution. They only elect the committee that will draft it." Female, Misrata

"We must raise awareness and educate people and citizens about the constitution and the electoral process so as not to repeat the same mistakes when we elected the national assembly [GNC]." Male, Derna

Constitutional Issues

Participants generally view the constitution as an essential foundational document. When asked which issues should be priorities in the constitution itself, common requests include measures to secure the rule of law and establish security, and guarantees of education and health care. Women participants more frequently talk about protection of rights, while men more frequently referred to law and order.

"I want to see freedom, justice, and equality. I want to see all Libyans united." Female, Benghazi

"The law is the most important thing for security and stabilizing the country." Male, Misrata

"The constitution should place greater importance on justice and the judicial system." Male, Tripoli

Most women participants believe that there should be special constitutional provisions to protect the rights of women. In various groups, women participants support the constitution specifying citizenship rights for children born to Libyan mothers married to non-Libyans, and constitutional protections for women's employment and freedom of movement. Male participants were divided on whether special provisions for women's rights should be included but few offered detailed explanations for their views. Participants who oppose special provisions for women in the constitution believe that the document will be equally applied to all citizens. Those in favor respond that current laws are not applied equally, so special measures are needed. A small number of men and women respondents maintain that Islam inherently protects women's rights.

"They should give the children born from Libyan women married to non-Libyans the same rights as the Libyan children born to a Libyan man married to a non-Libyan. They should establish laws to implement women's rights." Female, Tripoli

"[The constitution] must have strict laws, and the people must respect these laws, and yes, women's rights must have a large role. For example, a woman's Libyan

citizenship should not be withdrawn from her if she marries a foreign man." Female, Derna

"Yes of course [there should be constitutional guarantees protecting women's rights]." Male, Misrata

"We are a very Middle Eastern society, which is a patriarchal society to the first degree. Women are placed at the very back, so it is necessary to support them, and men need to respect the law. There needs to be respect in everything; we can cover ourselves from head to foot yet women still receive verbal harassment and physical violence. The law should state that women must be respected so men understand and are controlled by the law." Female, Benghazi

Participants generally support constitutional provisions to ensure language and citizenship rights for ethnic minority communities. Proponents view minority communities as part of the Libyan national fabric and evoke the idea of fairness for all Libyans. Those who oppose the idea typically believe that special measures are not necessary since all Libyans will be afforded equal rights, or that special measures would infringe on their own language rights and impact their sense of identity.

"No [special measures for minority rights] because in the end we are all Libyans, we don't need more division between the people. I think the constitution should not interfere with race and religion." Female, Benghazi

"I agree to allowing for the preservation of the Amazigh language, but it shouldn't be necessary [for everyone] to learn the language in all Libyan schools." Male, Misrata

"Yes they should give the right of nationality to all of them." Male, Tripoli

V.Islam and Politics

Most respondents see an important role for Islam in Libya's political life, but express deep reservations about blending religion and politics. In some cases, participants believe that political leaders manipulate Islam to justify their actions, both in the Gaddafi-era and at present.

"The idea is that religion or Shari'a *must be the foundation from which we take guidance for our lives, but if it entered in politics it would be used and applied in the wrong way."* Female, Benghazi

"When Gaddafi ruled, Sheikhs were coming out and making fatwas *depending on what he wanted. They took advantage of religion and this is wrong."* Female, Benghazi

"It is true that [Islam] has an essential role however [some political leaders] leave the good aspects and take the bad things. They use religion as a cover, and underneath they do whatever they please." Female, Benghazi

Most participants believe that *Shari'a* should be an important source for the drafting of the constitution, but not the only source. Many participants express concern, however, that if *Shari'a* law is cited in the constitution, its provisions would be subject to interpretation by politicians and judges instead of by society as a whole.

"[Shari'a] must be an important source, but not the only one. Life has evolved and new laws must be developed that do not violate the law of Shari'a. *For example, traffic laws: cars did not exist in the past and if you drive fast you might cause the death of someone which is forbidden in the Quran."* Male, Derna

"Islam enters into all our lives but the problem is in the interpretation of religion by different groups. Each group has its own interpretation of the same religion." Male, Sabha

"Shari'a should be an important source but not the only one because I do not trust the people who would manipulate religion in politics." Male, Benghazi

Several participants believe that *Shari'a* law should govern all aspects of behavior, but feel it does not account for modern aspects of Libyan society. Some want to separate Islam and politics due to concerns about politicians manipulating Islamic values. Others feel that Libya's current identity as an Islamic country means that it is not necessary to include references to religion in the constitution.

"I am for the separation of the constitution from religion as we are historically an Islamic country, so there is no need to merge the two, except in some areas like [when] a robber gets his hand chopped off for stealing." Female, Derna

Conversely, several participants express the more conservative belief that *Shari'a* is all-encompassing and should remain the sole source behind the tenets of the constitution in an Islamic country.

"Shari'a should be the only source because religion does not lack anything." Male, Benghazi

"[Islam] is the foundation of everything. Life should be exercised under the umbrella of Islam." Male, Zawiya

"The Islamic religion must enter into all aspects of life, because we are an Islamic country." Female, Derna

VI.   Role of the International Community

On average, participants view the international community with suspicion. **Most participants questioned the motives behind international support for Libya, with many suspecting profit-driven motives.** However, some respondents, particularly those in Benghazi, believe that the involvement of foreign companies in Libya's economy will benefit the country through job creation. Those who view the international community positively most often cite international support for the 2011 revolution.

> *"I see that the international community stood with Libya during the revolution. Without their support we would still be living under the old regime, but their intervention was for their own interests: natural resources and oil. If their intervention was without any greed they would have intervened in Syria too."* Female, Derna

> *"Some countries have good will and are trying to help Libya. And the others are trying to intervene for their benefit but they have failed due to the presence of weapons."* Male, Zawiya

> *"I don't trust anyone. They all want to take advantage of the country but there is no harm in benefiting from [their knowledge and experience] in health, education, and tourism."* Female, Benghazi

> *"We still have a long way to go. The international community is still afraid of Libya. There are many companies that would love to come and work here but they're afraid of weapons, assassinations and bombings. The international community doesn't feel safe in Libya, and we should make them feel secure and safe so that they open companies here and improve our higher education."* Female, Benghazi

When asked who they trust within the international community and why, respondents most often name the European Union and its member states, the United Nations (UN), the United States, and the United Arab Emirates. The reasons for participants' trust vary from support lent by these countries during the 2011 revolution and during the struggle against the Gaddafi regime, to post-revolution assistance in developing democratic and economic institutions.

> *"The United [Arab] Emirates because they implement the laws of Shari'a and the Islamic religion–honestly and credibly, walk the straight path, and "amana" [faithfulness]—this is what makes me trust them."* Female, Derna

> *"For sure the West because they are more honest. From the beginning they were clear and said that they will be paid in return, even when they were using their rockets they always mentioned the price so all the Libyans know the cost."* Female, Benghazi

> *"[I trust] the United Nations because we have a membership there."* Female, Tripoli

"[I trust] the United Nations, because it is an independent organization with no political goals." Male, Zawiya

"[I trust] the United Nations and the European Union." Male, Sabha

Respondents gave varied answers when asked which countries they trust the least. **Participants who distrust Qatar, the West, and the United States describe them as having suspect motives.** Participants also voiced opposition to the Arab League and its member states, with some feeling that these countries did not support the revolution to the same degree as others. A few participants viewed Russia and China negatively because they were viewed as supporting Gaddafi.

"I do not trust Qatar. [But] we thank her for her help to us during the revolution." Male, Misrata

"USA, Qatar, and UAE because I feel that they want to intervene in Libya." Male, Benghazi

"Russia and China…they were with Gaddafi in the revolution." Male, Sabha

VII. Looking Forward

To conclude each focus group, participants were asked what they would say to the prime minister if given the opportunity. The majority would advise the prime minister to address Libya's severe security challenges. Many would also ask the prime minister to act more decisively on all issues, and to conduct himself and be guided by the values of Islam. Others asked for honesty and transparency, and to listen to the people.

"When you want to formulate a decision or want to give something, please visit the graves of the martyrs and then do something for the state." Female, Benghazi

"Do not be biased towards any political party, and stand with the people." Male, Derna

"Be more aggressive in dealing with the illegal militias, even asking them to cooperate with the state security structures." Male, Sabha

"Fear and be guided by God in your country and your [practice of] religion. Work for the wellbeing and prosperity of the Libyan people, and know that there is no good in a people that forget their identity." Female, Zawiya

"My advice to the prime minister is: to finish his mission and be brave." Male, Zawiya

"To have self-confidence and have more confidence in the people. And be more honest and show more courage." Male, Tripoli

"Try as much as possible to complete or accomplish all that he commits to."
Female, Sabha

"He should choose people because of their qualifications and not because of pressure from political parties." Male, Benghazi

"To come down to the people and listen to them and not just have reports handed to him – he needs to come and see how people are living to understand." Female, Tripoli

RECOMMENDATIONS

Libyans continue to express confidence that the February 2011 revolution will lead to a stable, prosperous, and democratic country. Despite increasing public concern over insecurity, corruption, and political in-fighting, citizens' views reflect a continued desire and belief that the situation in Libya can improve. In the previous round of NDI's focus groups, participants expressed trepidation that dissatisfaction with the slow pace of Libya's transition could translate into disenchantment. Participants' responses in this round of focus groups support this prediction and reinforce the pressing need to deliver tangible changes.

Moving forward, to begin responding to Libyan citizens' expectations, political leaders will need to address priority issues involving security, corruption, and the tone of political behavior. In particular, this will include controlling the proliferation of weapons, strengthening the government's ability to enforce law and order, and restoring public confidence in political parties as a vehicle to channel citizen desires. Participants' responses from these focus groups provide some guidance for how best to accomplish these objectives.

Recommendations to the executive government of Libya:
Focus groups respondents feel government leaders do not adequately understand the concerns of ordinary citizens. Political leaders should undertake efforts to engage more directly with members of the public and listen to their concerns. Respondents believe that the state has no reach and is incapable of addressing safety and security. Libyans also demonstrated confusion over the upcoming CDA elections, and the role of the constitution-drafting body.

- Prioritize efforts to establish and strengthen a structured national security force to stabilize the security situation and delineate responsibilities between local and national security authorities.
- Encourage security forces to be proactive and visible through community policing and other outreach programs.
- Clarify procedures between security forces and the judiciary to ensure that the detention and prosecution of criminals is handled in a legal fashion.
- Demonstrate a commitment to combatting corruption through robust investigative and enforcement methods. Make government processes clear and understandable, and enforce adherence to procedure.
- Launch a public awareness campaign in coordination with the GNC to clarify the role of the CDA and the CDA electoral process.

Recommendations to the GNC:
Overall, respondents in this round of focus group research expressed disenchantment with the GNC. Libyans are generally disappointed in the GNC's performance in terms of promoting security and advancing the constitution-drafting process. While participants express general support for the Political Isolation Law passed by the Congress in May 2013, they also believe that mechanisms should be created to grant exceptions. Focus

group respondents also demonstrated difficulty understanding the GNC's role vis-à-vis the constitution-drafting process and the CDA.

- Publicize the GNC's role—in coordination with the executive government— in efforts to improve the security situation.
- Use public outreach to continue clarifying the mandate of the GNC and justifying any changes to the duration of the GNC's mandate as part of the overall transitional timeline.
- Regularly engage constituents at the local level to explain GNC members' responsibilities, present initiatives to address priority issues, and record citizens' concerns.
- Consider amendments to the Political Isolation Law that establish a process allowing those who contributed to or supported the revolution to receive an exemption or appeal decisions.
- Coordinate a public awareness campaign with relevant government agencies— particularly the HNEC and Information Ministry—to clarify the role of the CDA as the constitution-drafting body, in contrast to the GNC. Include an explanation of the GNC's decision to call for elections for the CDA, rather than appointing CDA members themselves.

Recommendations to political parties:
Participants routinely expressed frustration with what they view as political parties' insufficient communication with citizens and lack of responsiveness. There is also growing disillusionment with parties on the grounds that they place partisan interests above the public interest.

- Reply to public disenchantment by demonstrating understanding of citizen concerns, and reiterating that differences of opinion can be addressed constructively through discussion and debate.
- Publicly defend the right of political association as a fundamental aspect of democracy which applies equally to the activities of political parties and civil society.
- Establish a presence in local communities by expanding branch offices and actively soliciting community input in the policy development process.
- Mobilize communities around grassroots efforts that have tangible positive local impacts and contribute to greater confidence in the overall transition process.

Recommendations to civil society:
Civil society groups continue to play an active role in Libya's political transition. These groups can expand their contribution by acting as a conduit for local communities' concerns and promoting greater trust between citizens and emerging political institutions. This will be especially pertinent once Libya launches its constitution-drafting process.

- Actively engage with citizens to effectively address concerns in their communities, and constructively relay these views to decision-makers in the government and the GNC.

● Engage Libyans in discussions about how to frame their values and priorities in the constitution.

Recommendations to the international community:
Public suspicion of the motives of the international community is a significant barrier to building partnerships and offering assistance during the Libyan transition. Members of the international community should take steps to overcome perceptions that foreign actors are solely motivated by economic self-interest.

● Stress that the international community is invested in supporting a secure and democratic Libya, and highlight to the Libyan public on-going initiatives to achieve this goal.
● Support and lead activities that facilitate greater exposure to the international community through experience-sharing and educational exchanges.

APPENDIX A – FOCUS GROUP LOCATIONS

Location	Gender	Age	Education
Benghazi	Male	18-35	More than secondary education
Benghazi	Female	18-35	More than secondary education
Benghazi	Male	35+	More than secondary education (University Education)
Benghazi	Female	35+	More than secondary education (University Education)
Derna	Male	18-35	More than secondary education
Derna	Female	18 – 40	Secondary education and more.
Tripoli	Male	35+	More than secondary education (University Education)
Tripoli	Female	35+	More than secondary education (University Education)
Tripoli	Female	18-35	More than secondary education
Tripoli	Male	18-35	More than secondary education
Misrata	Male	18-35	More than secondary education
Misrata	Female	18-35	More than secondary education
Zawiya	Male	18-35	More than secondary education
Zawiya	Female	18-35	Secondary education or less
Sabha	Male	18-35	Secondary education or less
Sabha	Female	18-35	More than secondary education