



BELIEVING IN DEMOCRACY: PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY IN LIBYA

August 2013

JMW Consulting



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1 Acknowledgements

This survey and report could not have been conducted without a team of dedicated and hard-working individuals. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the contributions of Lindsay Benstead of Portland State University; Ellen Lust of Yale University; Nedal Swehli of Diwan Market Research; Lonny Paris, Nicholas Collins, and Toshiro Baum of the National Democratic Institute and Alexander Kjærum, Gustav Nedergaard, Line Fly Pedersen, and Jakob Wichmann of JMW Consulting.

2 Executive Summary

As Libya proceeds through its political transition, a process set in motion by the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and JMW Consulting are conducting a series of nationwide public opinion surveys with funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. These surveys will assess Libyan attitudes toward the transition, citizen confidence in political leaders and newly created institutions, and opinions on a range of issues facing the country. Diwan Market Research, a public opinion firm based in Tripoli, Libya, carried out the first survey in collaboration with JMW Consulting. NDI is incorporating survey findings in a broader program to support the development of democratic and representative Libyan political parties.

The report below contains findings from the first study, conducted nationwide from May 10 to 30, 2013. These findings aggregate the results of face-to-face interviews with 1,200 Libyan respondents. Respondents were randomly selected in a probability-proportional-to-size sampling and were interviewed in all 13 governorates of Libya.¹

The study provides detail on Libyan citizens' opinions on a range of topics, including: current affairs; democracy, institutions, and participation in elections; performance of elected institutions; awareness and perceptions of political parties; and gender issues. The findings yield several broad themes about the Libyan public's views:

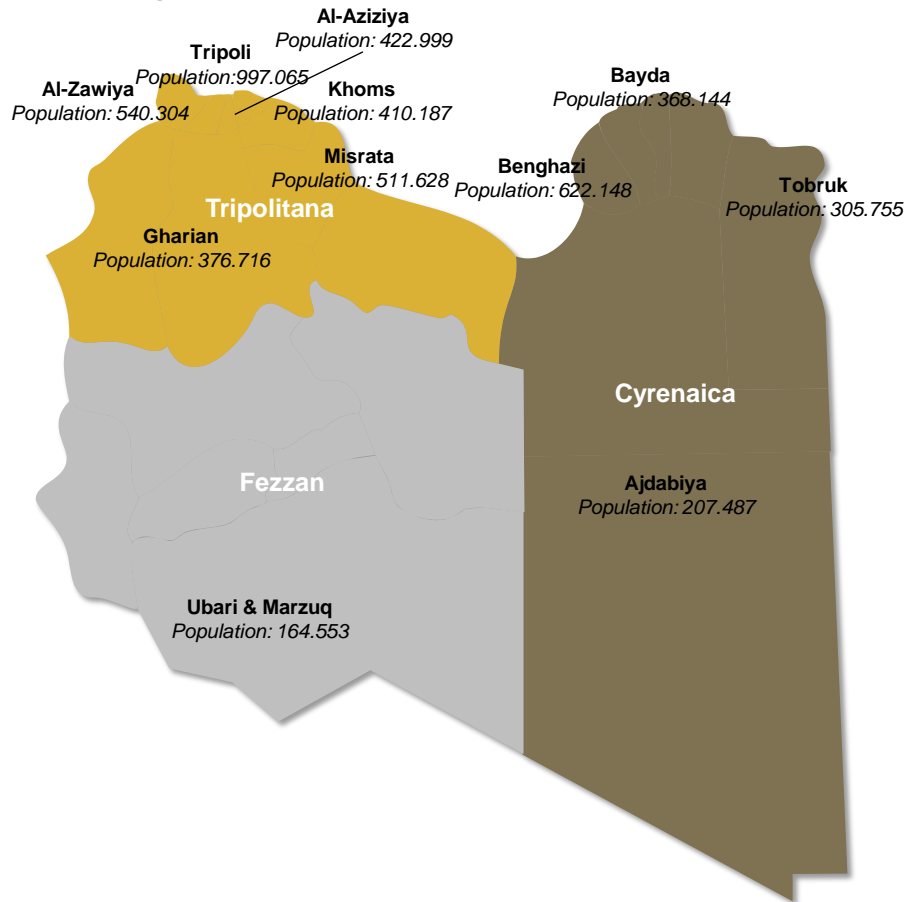
1. *Libyans are concerned but optimistic about the current situation facing the country.* Their primary concerns relate to political stability, disarmament of militias, and security. Eighty-one percent of citizens remain optimistic about the country in general.
2. *Libyans strongly support democracy and democratic institutions.* Eighty-three percent of Libyans view democracy as the best form of government, and closely identify democracy with rights, freedoms, and elections. Eighty-four percent of Libyans feel the 2012 elections for a General National Congress (GNC) were conducted in a free and fair manner. Sixty-three percent rate the performance of the GNC as good or very good.
3. *A majority of Libyans support some form of political exclusion for those affiliated with the Gaddafi regime, but remain divided on what that should mean in practice.* Sixty-nine percent of Libyans support political exclusion, but this majority is divided on whether high-ranking former regime officials or all former regime officials should be excluded. Supporters of political figures who could be subject to exclusion under current laws endorse the idea of political exclusion to the same extent as the broader population.
4. *Libyans see political parties as necessary for democracy, but mistrust many of them.* Eighty-six percent of Libyans characterize political parties as at least somewhat necessary for democracy, but 59 percent express mistrust in parties. Familiarity with political parties is low; for only one of five major parties could a majority of Libyans accurately identify the party's leader, political platform, and ideology.

¹ The sampling is based on census data from 2006.

5. *Libyans engage actively in elections.* Seventy-two percent of survey respondents voted in the 2012 GNC election. Younger Libyans were more likely to vote, as were well-educated Libyans. Respondents who did not vote cite a range of reasons for not casting ballots, including failure to register and disinterest in politics.
6. *When voting for a party list in 2012, Libyans' decisions were more influenced by the party's vision and ambition than by ties to family, tribe, neighborhood, or village.* The top four determinants in selecting a party relate to: ability to assure Libya's role in the international community; the party platform; extent to which the party represents a break from the former regime; and the effectiveness and organization of the party.
7. *Libyans generally hold conservative values on gender issues.* A majority of Libyans say that women should wear a hijab. Female respondents are more likely than men to support this view. Among those who believe women should wear a hijab, 92 percent feel the state should have a role in encouraging women to do so. Older Libyans perceive men as currently having priority over women in employment, while middle-aged Libyans are less likely to agree with this prioritization.

3 Political Context

Figure 1: Map of Libya



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Following the popular uprising in Libya and overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, the interim government or National Transition Council (NTC) issued a “constitutional declaration” that included a timetable for holding elections and drafting a new constitution. On July 7, 2012, Libyans elected 200 members to a General National Congress (GNC), a proto-legislature that replaced the NTC and is tasked with overseeing the constitution-drafting process. Despite concerns about election-related violence, the vote proceeded in a largely peaceful fashion, with an estimated 62 percent turnout rate, confirming Libyans’ enthusiasm for seizing the first opportunity in decades to elect national leaders. Libyan and international observers assessed the conduct of the election as credible and impartial.²

This report presents findings from a public opinion survey on a range of issues in Libyan politics and society. The survey was conducted from May 10 to 30, 2013, roughly nine months after the GNC’s inaugural session and during a period when it faced mounting pressure, including from armed militias, to adopt a political isolation law that would exclude those affiliated with the former

² Carter Center 2012 p. 4; New York Times 2012; European Union Election Assessment Team 2012 p. 5; Shahed Network 2012; High National Elections Commission (HNEC) official turnout rate.

regime from participating in Libyan politics for a certain duration. On May 5, the GNC passed a version of the law that barred a wide range of officials from holding political office or leading political parties for a period of 10 years. Controversy marred the vote, and sources later revealed that members did not receive the final version of the bill before voting began. Several GNC members also reported receiving threats of violent retribution if the Congress did not approve the law. Later in May, GNC president Mohamed Magariaf resigned, anticipating exclusion for his service as an ambassador during the early years of the Gaddafi regime.

During the survey implementation period, the GNC also worked on a draft election law for a national vote to elect a 60-member body, known as the “Committee of Sixty,” or C-60, that will be tasked with drafting a new constitution. Released to the public in late May, the draft was met with criticism from civil society over the lack of formal provisions to ensure women’s representation.

Security was a major concern throughout the survey period. Significant events included a car bomb attack against the French Embassy, ethnic clashes and the occupation of an airport in the southern region of Sabha, and targeted assassinations and attacks on police stations in Benghazi. Libya’s national army and police forces remain weak, allowing armed militias or rebel groups, some of which fought to overthrow Gaddafi in 2011, to continue to exert control in many parts of the country.

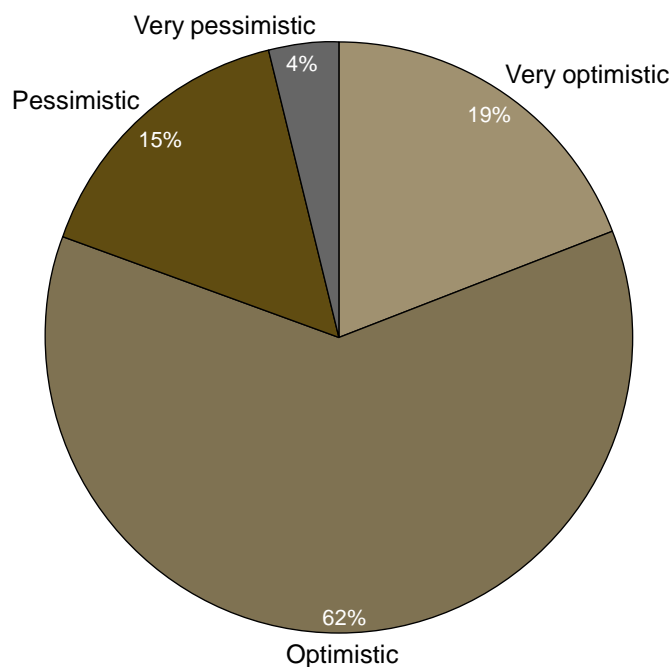
4 Current Affairs in Libya

Summary:

- The vast majority of Libyans (81 percent) are optimistic about the current situation.
- Seventy-three percent of Libyans view issues related to security such as stability, militia disarmament, and personal safety as the most important challenges currently facing Libya.
- Citizens demonstrated widespread support for some degree of political exclusion.
- Ninety-eight percent of Libyans believe that Sharia should be mentioned in the constitution as a source of legislation, although two-thirds of Libyans think it should not be the only source.

This section provides an overview of Libyans' attitudes towards various issues facing the country in May 2013. The vast majority of Libyans are optimistic: as shown in the figure below, 81 percent of citizens are optimistic or very optimistic, compared to 19 percent being pessimistic or very pessimistic.

Figure 2: Libyans are optimistic about Libya's current situation.
Generally speaking, how can you describe your feelings towards Libya's current situation?



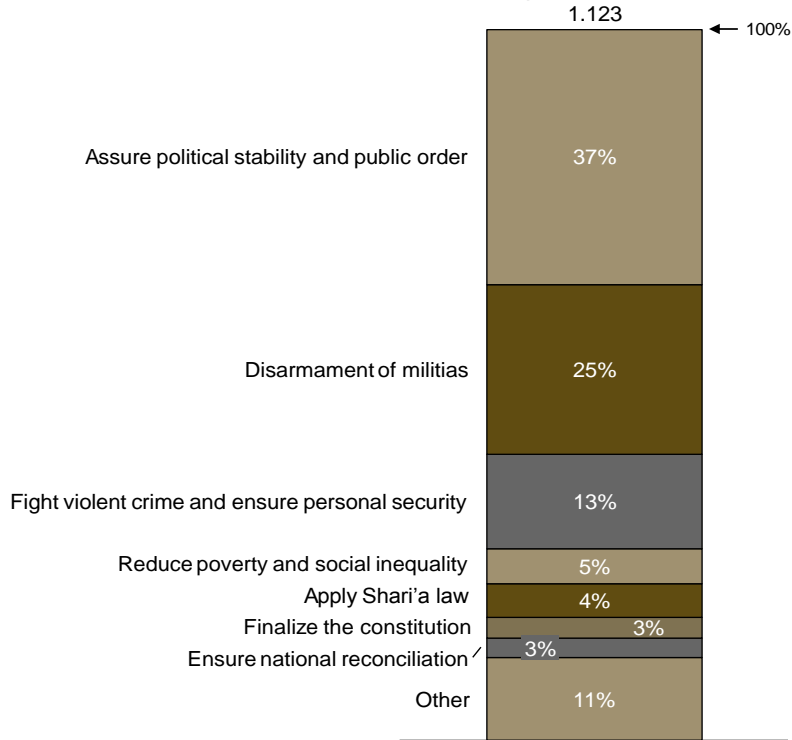
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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference range from 1.1 to 2.0 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Three-quarters of Libyans feel that the most important challenges facing the country are assuring political stability and public order, disarming militias, and ensuring security. Other priorities, whether related to economic or religious issues, or political concerns such as constitution-drafting or national reconciliation, are far less commonly identified as first-choice priorities.

Figure 3: Public order, disarming militias, and personal security are Libyans' top priorities.

What is the most important task facing Libya today? (Only one choice)



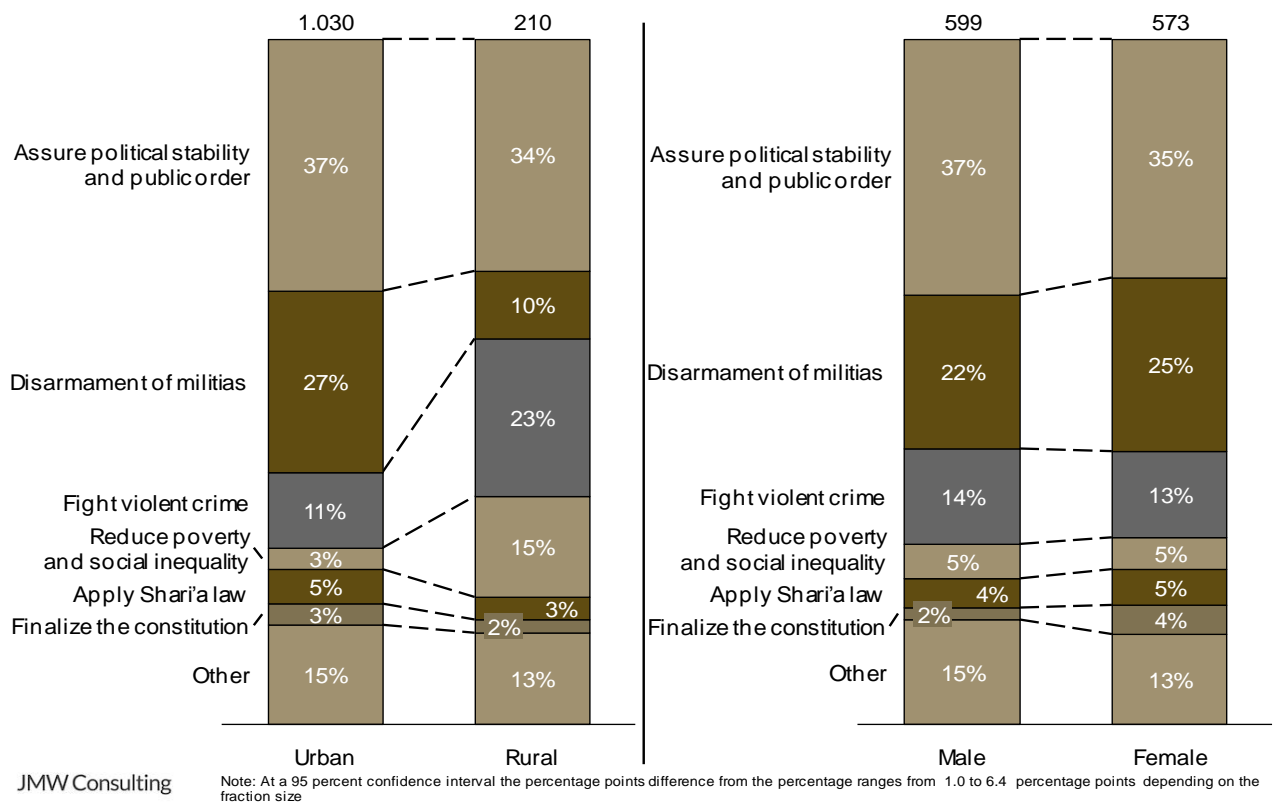
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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference range from 1 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Disaggregated survey data on the question of national priorities reveals a divide in opinions between urban and rural populations. Both populations prioritize assuring political stability and public order; however, rural populations appear more concerned about violent crime, while urban populations are preoccupied with militia disarmament. Moreover, rural populations place greater emphasis on reducing poverty and social inequality. The data does not suggest significant variations between men and women’s priorities for the country.

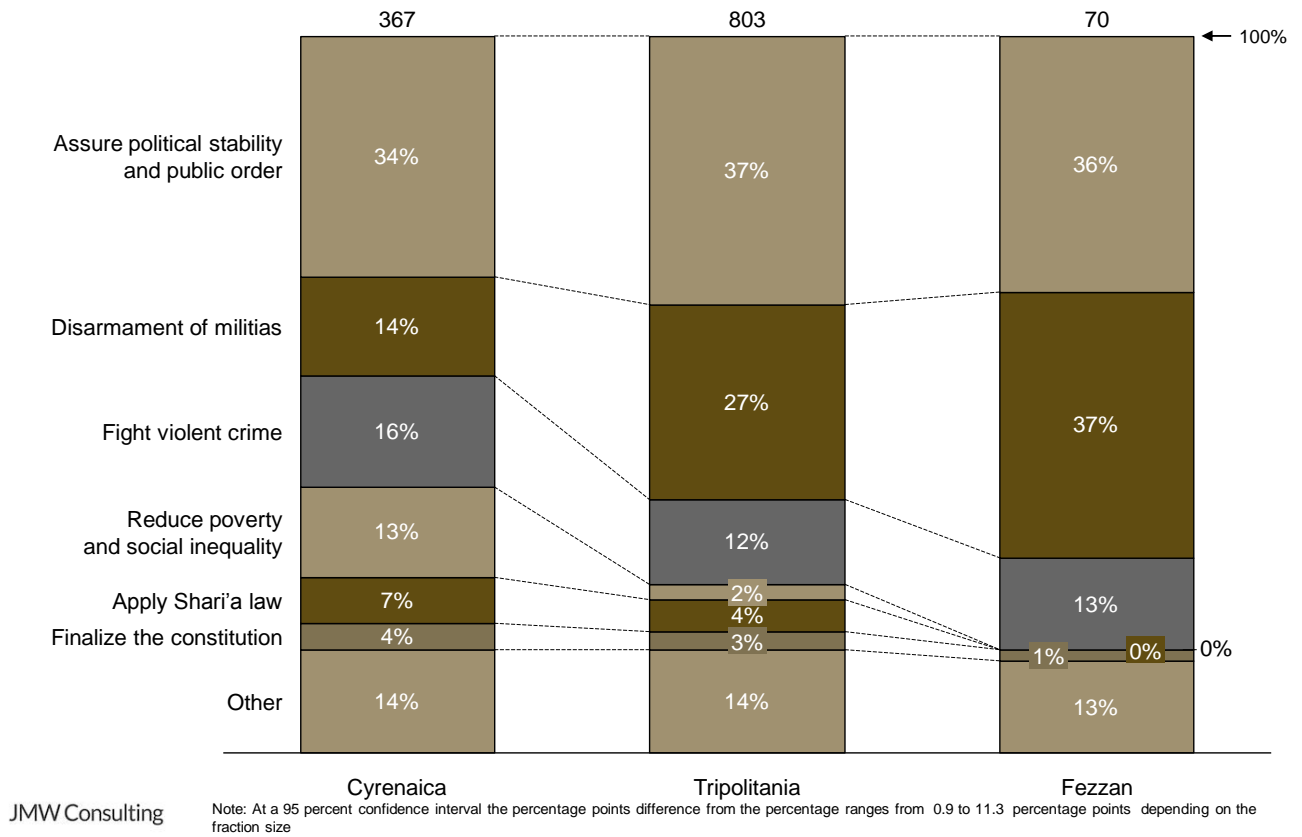
Figure 4: Rural and urban populations prioritize the current tasks facing Libya differently.

What is the most important task facing Libya today? (Only one choice)



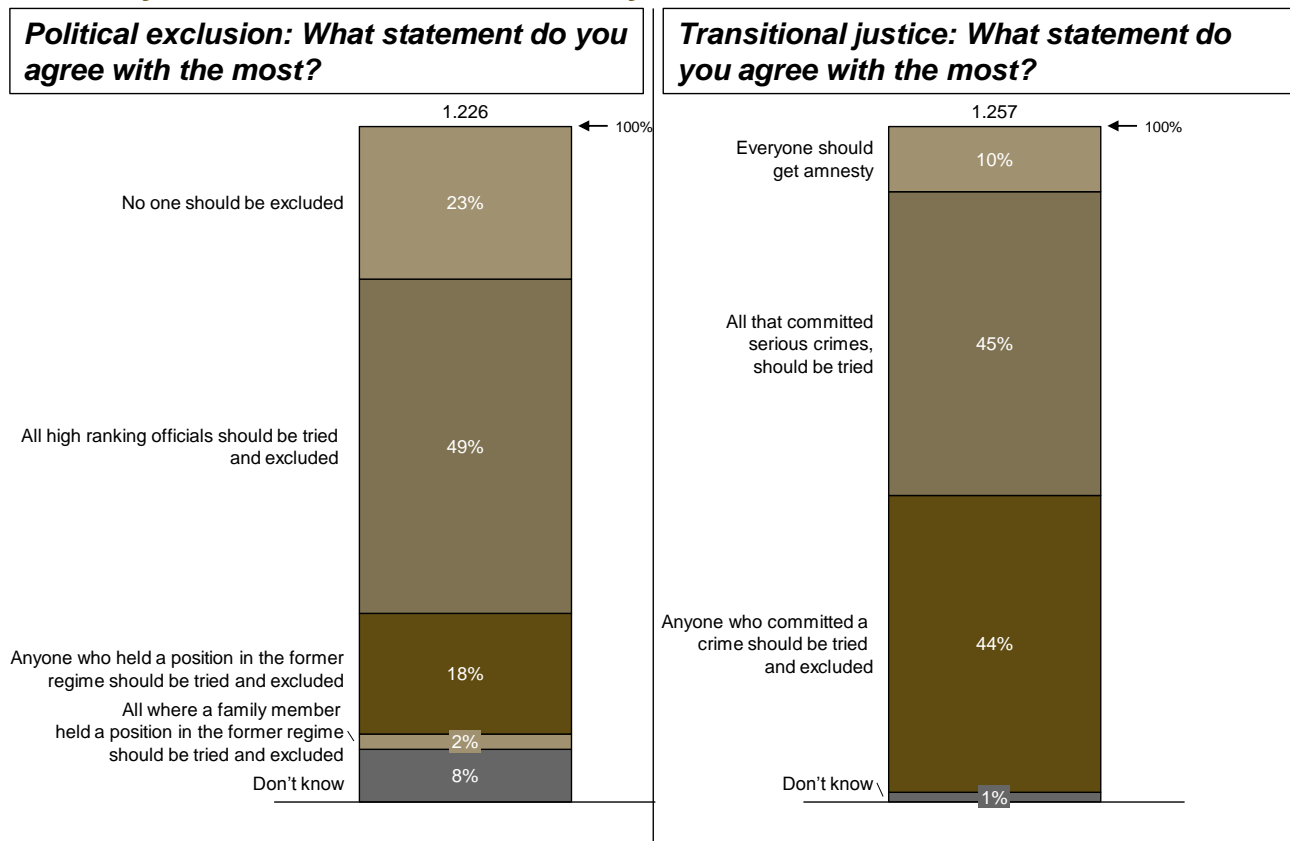
Residents of Libya’s three regions—Cyrenaica (East), Tripolitania (West), and Fezzan (South)—also demonstrate differing views on the main priority for the country. Those in Cyrenaica list militia disarmament as a top priority less often than residents of Tripolitania and Fezzan, but are more likely to see economic issues as the main priority.

Figure 5: Regional differences in national priorities.
What is the most important task that Libya is facing today? (Only one choice)



A strong majority of survey respondents favor some degree of political exclusion for those affiliated with the Gaddafi regime, though attitudes are somewhat divided. The 49 percent who believe that high ranking officials should be excluded are flanked by roughly equal portions of respondents who either believe that no one should be excluded from politics or that any association with the former regime should lead to exclusion. Likewise, 89 percent of Libyans agree that those who committed serious crimes under the Gaddafi regime should be prosecuted. Only a small proportion of respondents are in favor of amnesty.

Figure 6: Sixty-nine percent support some degree of political exclusion and very few are in favor of amnesty.



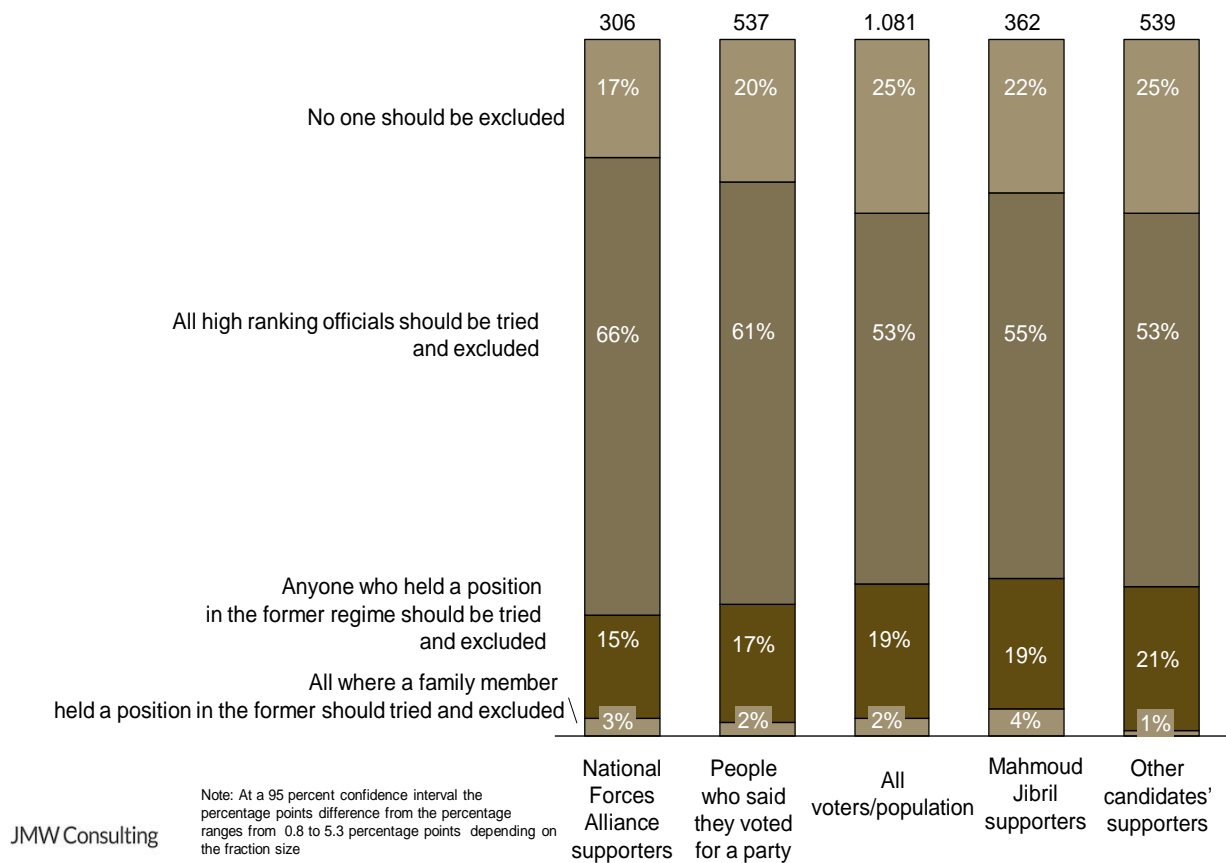
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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.5 to 2.7 percentage points depending on the fraction size

A comparison of self-identified supporters of political parties, candidates, and respondents as a whole reveals that there are no differences in levels of support for political exclusion. Supporters of former interim Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril support political exclusion at nearly the same level as the entire population, even though Jibril could be excluded from participating in future politics under the political isolation law due to his past positions under the Gaddafi regime. Additionally, supporters of Jibril’s National Forces Alliance (NFA) coalition support political exclusion at slightly higher levels than political party supporters in general and the population as a whole. These high levels of support contradict the common claim that supporters of political exclusion have less to lose from passage of a political isolation law (e.g., those who support leaders who did not hold positions under Gaddafi.) Instead, the findings point to a widely held desire for some form of political exclusion, regardless of its potential ramifications.

Figure 7: NFA voters have similar attitudes toward political exclusion as the electorate as a whole.

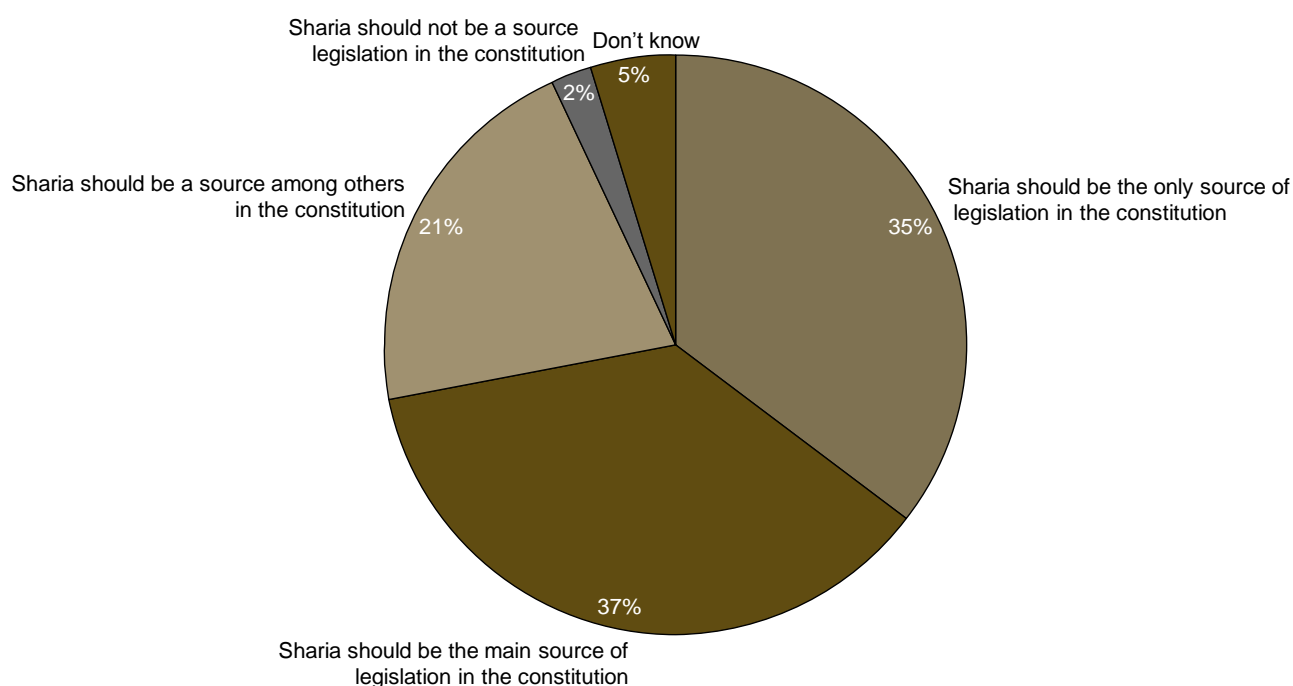
What statement do you agree with the most?



As Libya's leaders began to prepare for a national poll to elect a constitution-drafting committee, another issue gaining attention is how the future constitution will refer to the religious identity of the Libyan state. The vast majority of the Libyan public generally supports a reference in the future constitution to Sharia law as a source of legislation, with only 2 percent opposing this view. Libyans are divided, however, on whether Sharia should be the only cited source of legislation. One-third of respondents want to see Sharia identified as the sole source of legislation, while two-thirds think Sharia should not be the sole source.

Figure 8: A majority of Libyans support including Sharia as a source of legislation in the constitution.

What position should sharia have as a source of legislation in the constitution?



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.8 to 2.7 percentage points depending on the fraction size

5 Democracy, Institutions, and Participation

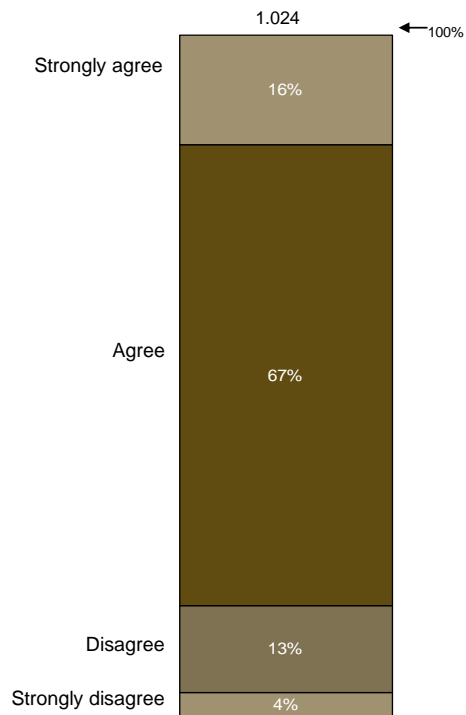
Summary:

- Libyans strongly view democracy as the best form of government, with 86 percent closely associating democracy with rights, freedoms, and elections.
- The most trusted institutions in Libya are law enforcement institutions—the military, police, and judiciary. Militias are distrusted by 87 percent of Libyans.
- Libyans view the July 2012 GNC election positively, with 84 percent perceiving the election as either completely free and fair or somewhat free and fair.
- Seventy-two percent of Libyans report having participated in the last elections; men and Libyans with more formal education were more likely to have participated.

More than two years into Libya’s political transition, which in 2012 included the country’s first credible elections, a strong majority of Libyans view democracy positively. Eighty-three percent of Libyans agree with the phrase ‘democracy is the best form of government.’

Figure 9: Libyans agree with the phrase that ‘democracy is the best form of government.’

To what extent to you agree with the following statement: democracy may have its problems but is better than any other form of government?



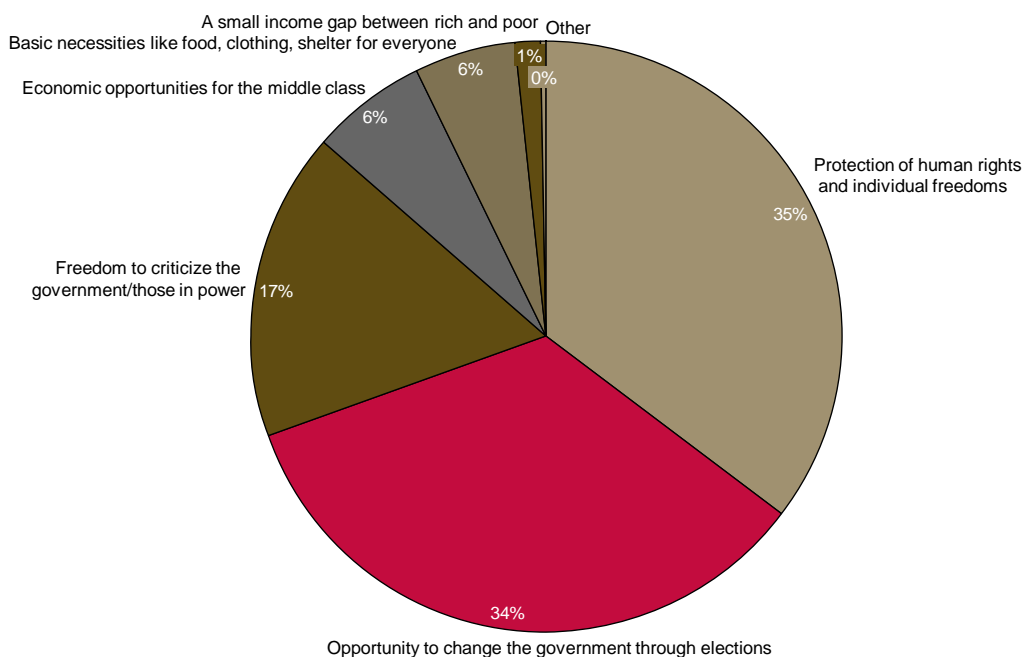
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.2 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The figure below probes the characteristics that Libyans attribute to democracy. Libyans overwhelmingly view the political characteristics of democracy—elections, rights, and freedoms—as most important. Only 13 percent of Libyans point to democracy’s economic characteristics, unlike poll respondents in Egypt and Tunisia, who are significantly more likely to emphasize the economic benefits of democracy when posed similar questions.³⁴

Figure 10: Libyans emphasize their political rights when identifying the main characteristics of democracy.

What would you choose as the most important characteristic regarding democracy? (only one choice)



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.6 to 2.9 percentage points depending on the fraction size

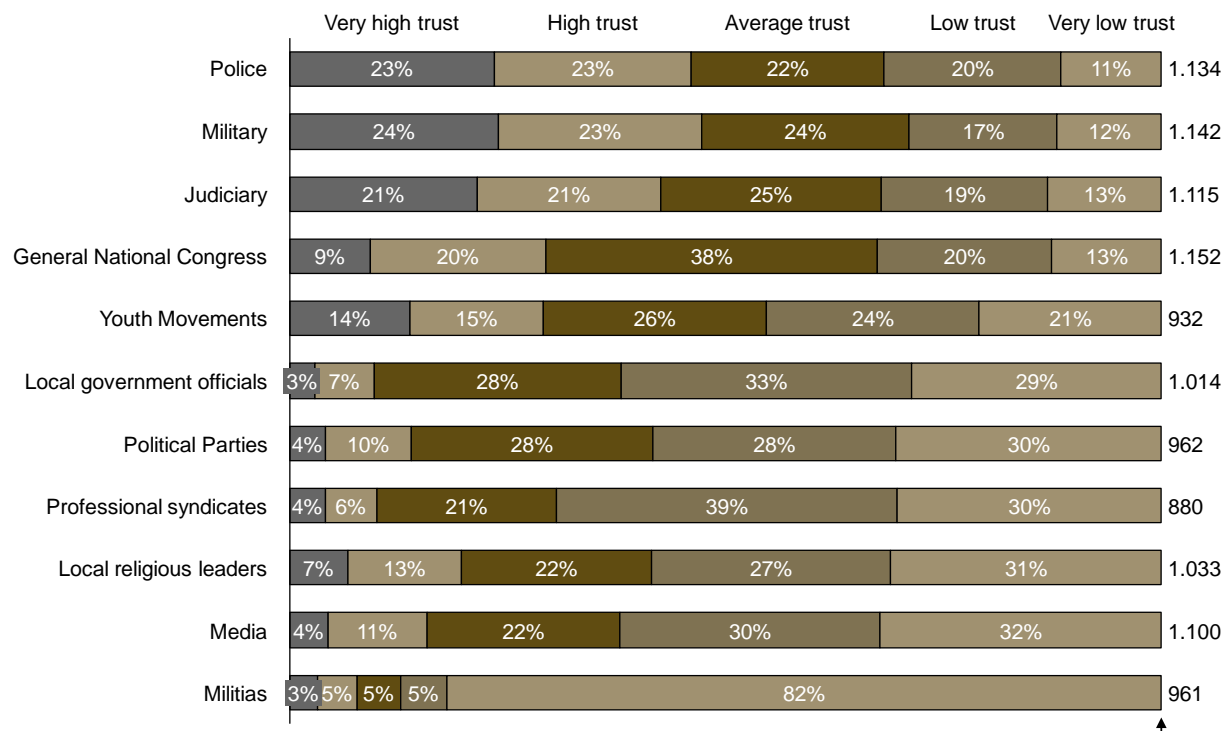
³ For example, six percent of Libyans perceive “basic necessities” as the most important characteristic of democracy, in contrast to 40 percent of Egyptians and 35 percent of Tunisians. Results on Egypt and Tunisia stem from the Egyptian Post-Election Survey (EPES) that was conducted among 4,080 Egyptians, September-October 2012 (Lust, Soltan, and Wichmann), and funded and implemented by Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, JMW Consulting and the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute. The Tunisian Post-Election Survey (TPES) was conducted among 1,202 Tunisians October-November 2012 (Benstead, Lust, and Malouche), and funded by the National Science Foundation, Yale University, Portland State University, Princeton University, and Centre d’études maghrébines à Tunis (CEMAT).

⁴ Libya’s economic advantages in comparison to Tunisia and Egypt—primarily in the form of the country’s natural resource wealth and higher per capita gross domestic product—may be a factor in explaining this divergence in views.

Libyans demonstrate varying levels of trust in various institutions' abilities to improve the country's future. Institutions such as the military, police, and judiciary are most trusted, though roughly a third of respondents do not trust these institutions. Youth movements and the GNC evoke at least average trust from a majority of respondents. Less than half of Libyans trust local religious leaders, media, political parties, professional syndicates, and local government officials. Finally, a vast majority of Libyans express distrust of militias, with only 13 percent expressing some level of trust in militias.

Figure 11: Libyans have the highest trust for law enforcement institutions.

To what extent do you trust the following institutions to improve Libya's future?



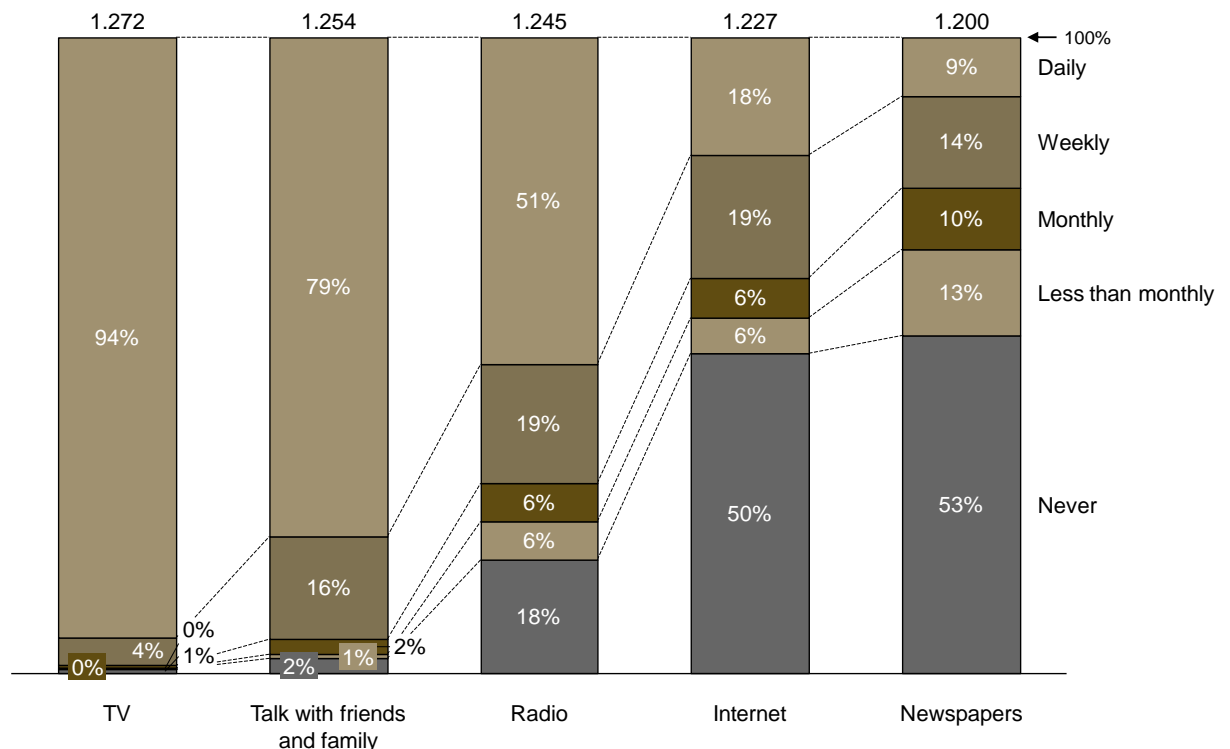
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.0 to 3.2 percentage points depending on the fraction size

While television clearly predominates as a source of information for Libyans, it is also worth noting that the second source Libyans most rely on for information is networks of family or friends. Additionally, 50 percent of respondents report that they never use the Internet to retrieve information. Despite high literacy rates in Libya in comparison to other countries in the region, Libyans appear to rely heavily on non-written sources of information.

Figure 12: Television, family and friends are the most common source of information.

For each of the following sources, please indicate whether you use it to obtain information daily, weekly, monthly, less than monthly or never



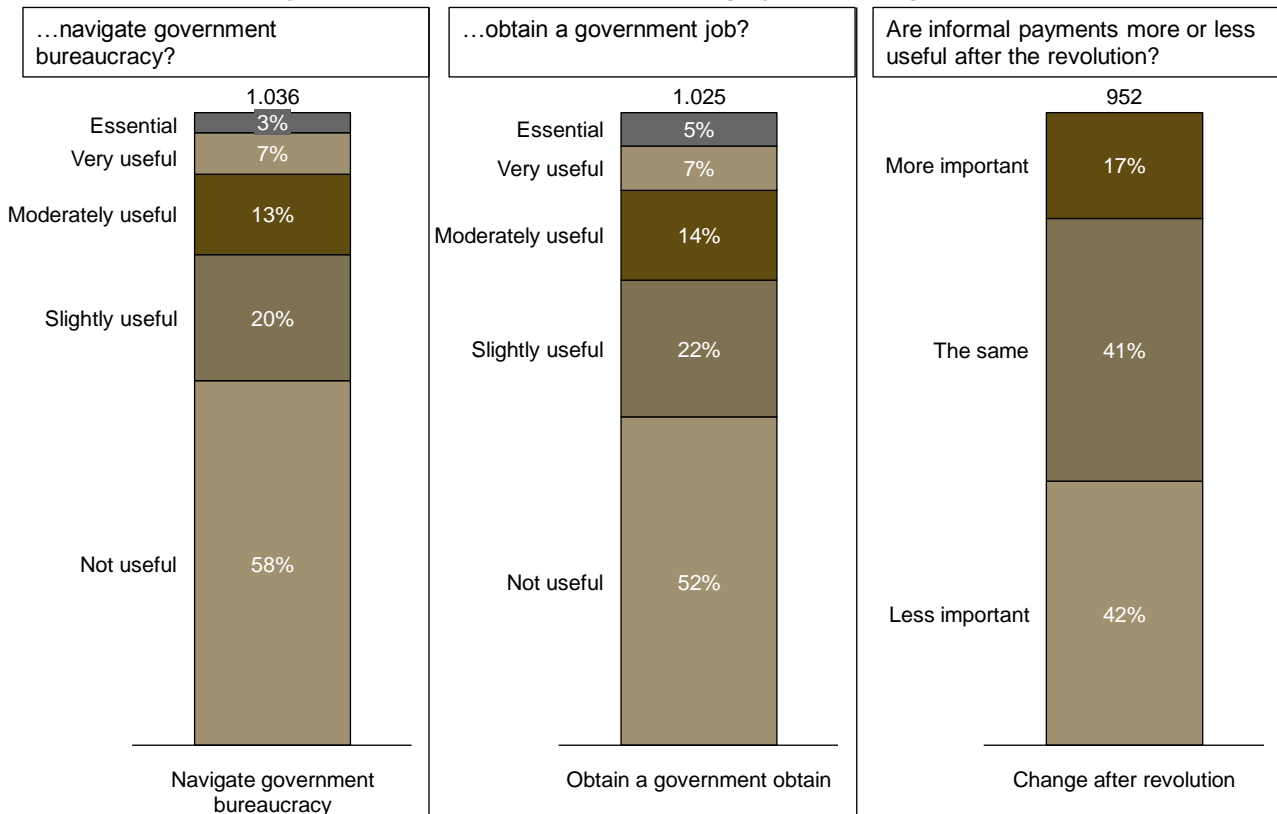
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.5 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Libyans are divided over whether informal payments—a form of corruption—are a useful way to navigate the government bureaucracy or to obtain a government job. Forty-three percent of respondents indicate that informal payments are at least slightly useful for navigating government bureaucracy, and 48 percent think such payments are at least slightly useful for obtaining a government job. Only a small proportion of participants (10 to 12 percent) see informal payments as very useful or essential. When asked whether the utility of informal payments had changed after the revolution, 42 percent think informal payments have become less important, 41 percent think informal payments have the same importance, while 17 percent consider them more important.

Figure 13: Libyans are divided on the usefulness of informal payments

How useful is it for you to make informal additional payments to government officials to...



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.0 to 3.1 percentage points depending on the fraction size

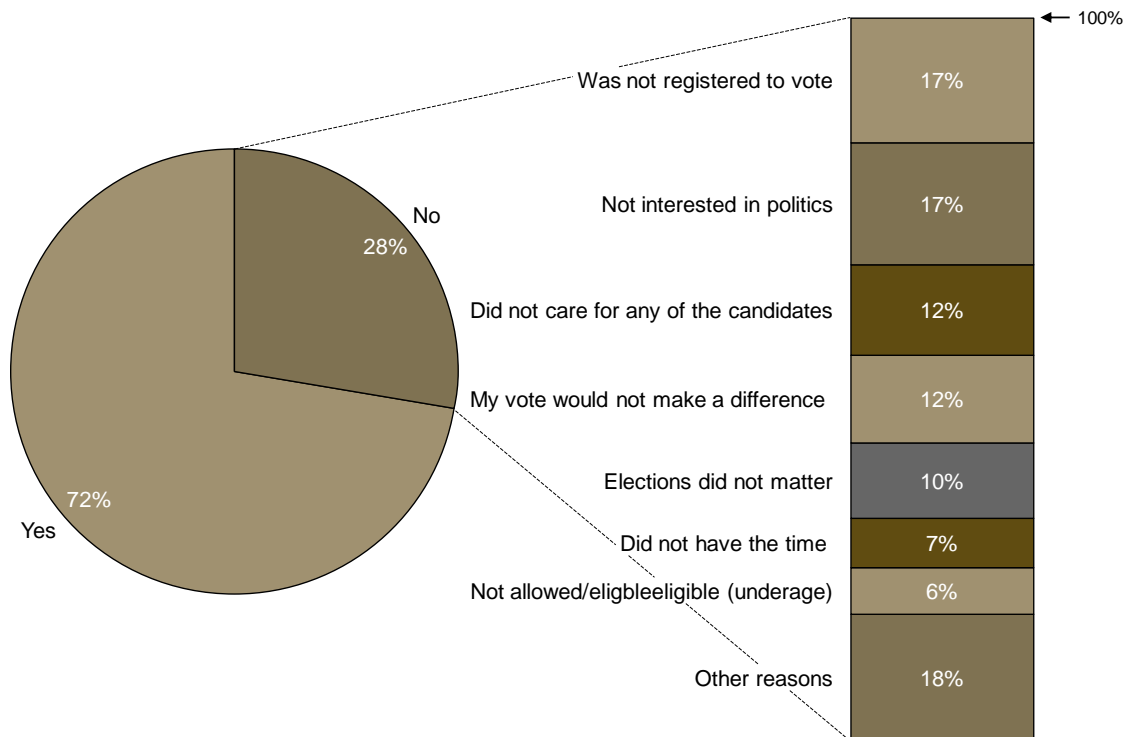
The July 2012 election for the 200-member GNC represented the first meaningful vote at the national level in Libya in decades, and featured high degrees of citizen participation. A total of 2,865,937 voters registered for the election in 1,548 registration centers, an average registration rate of 78 percent in the 13 districts.⁵ On election day, 62 percent of registered voters turned out to vote, according to official figures released by the Higher National Election Commission (HNEC).⁶ The following figures evaluate Libyans' participation in the election and their views of the electoral process.

The figure below confirms the high degree of participation in the historic vote.⁷ Motivations for voter abstention vary, although various themes emerge: a failure to register; disinterest in politics or the slate of candidates; or a belief that voting and elections were inconsequential.

Figure 14: A majority of Libyans report voting in GNC elections.

Did you vote in the recent elections for the General National Congress?

If no: What were the reasons you did not vote?



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 2.5 percentage points depending on the fraction size

⁵ European Union Election Assessment Team 2012 p. 14

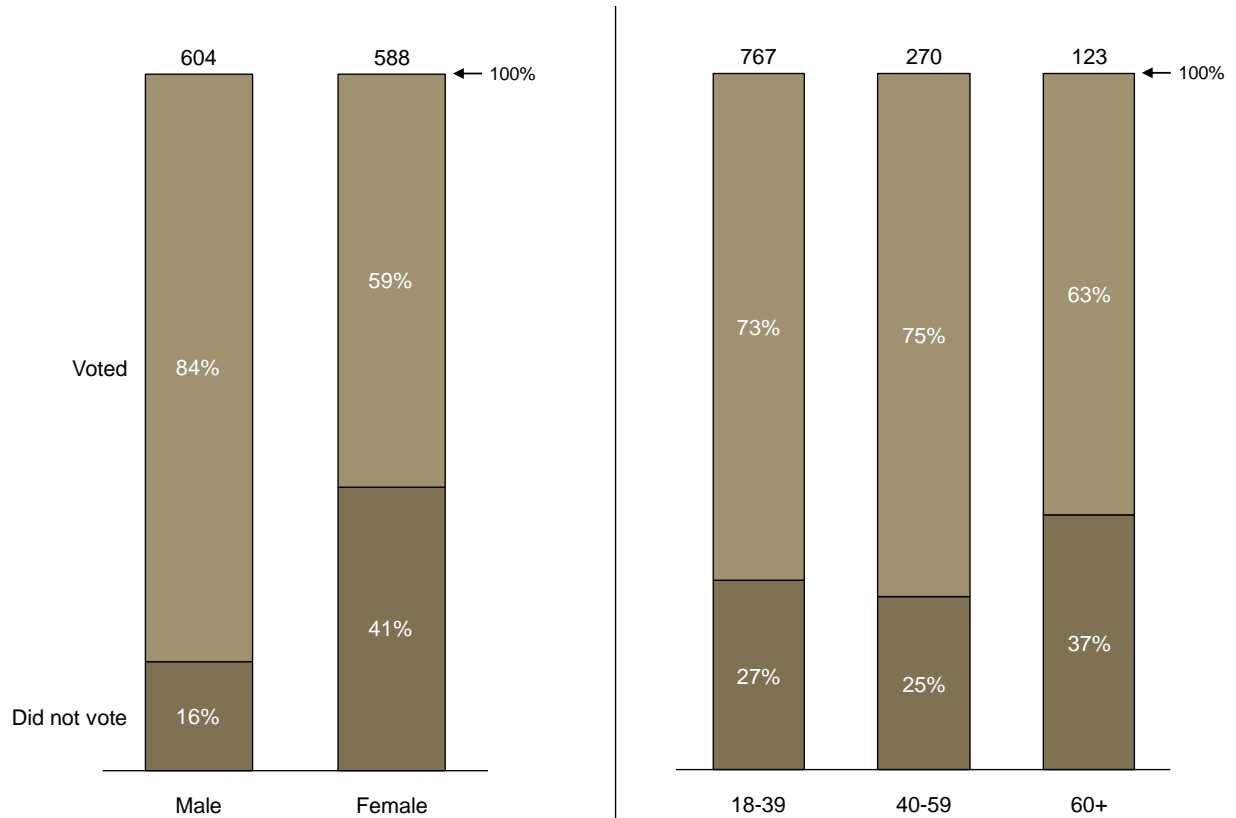
⁶ European Union Election Assessment Team 2012 p. 34; The Libya Report 2012

⁷ Seventy-two percent of survey respondents claim to have voted in the GNC election, a slightly higher figure than the actual turnout rate as reported by the HNEC.

Voter turnout was inconsistent across socio-demographic segments of the Libyan population, as shown in the following two figures. The figure below indicates respondents' participation rates disaggregated by age and gender. It shows that a higher percentage of men voted compared to women (84 percent vs. 59 percent). Among the different age groups, the oldest generation seems to be less represented in the pool of voters, as only 63 percent of respondents aged 60 and older report having voted. This share is between 10 and 12 percentage points less than the younger groups of Libyans.

Figure 15: Men are more likely to have voted in GNC elections.

Did you vote in the recent elections for the General National Congress?

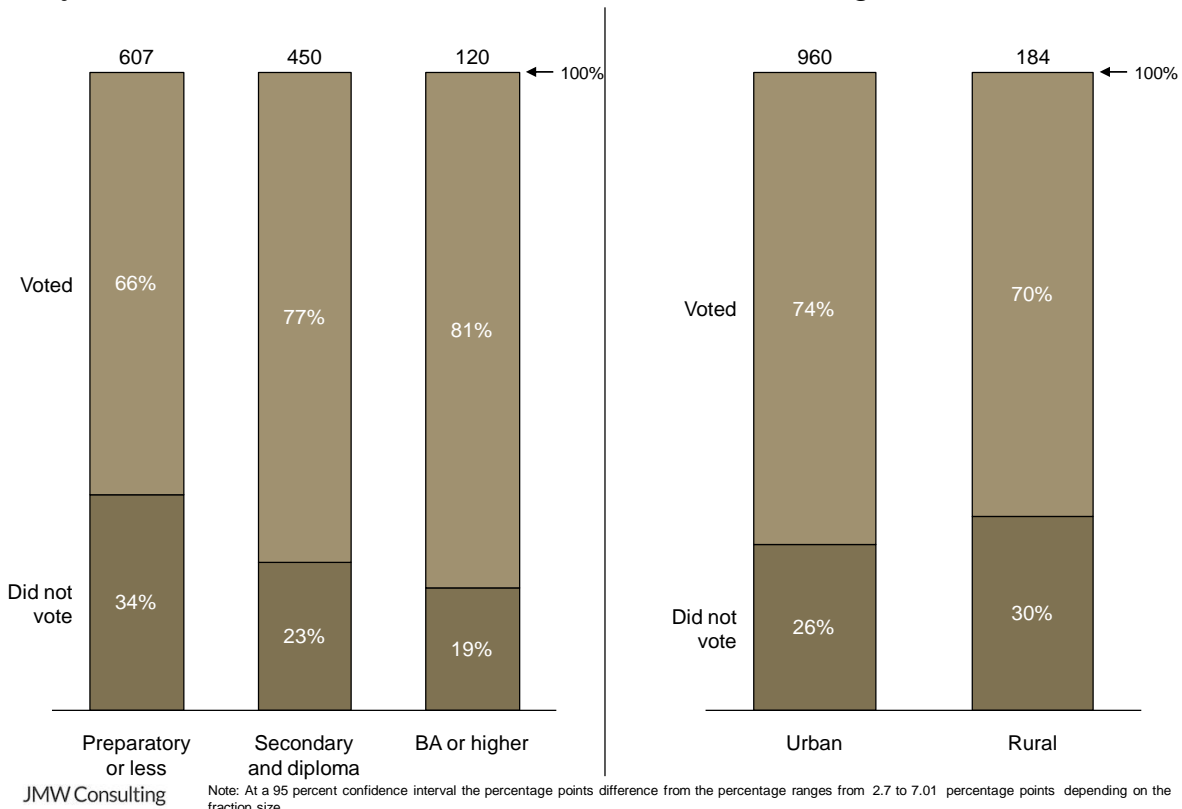


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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 2.5 percentage points depending on the fraction size

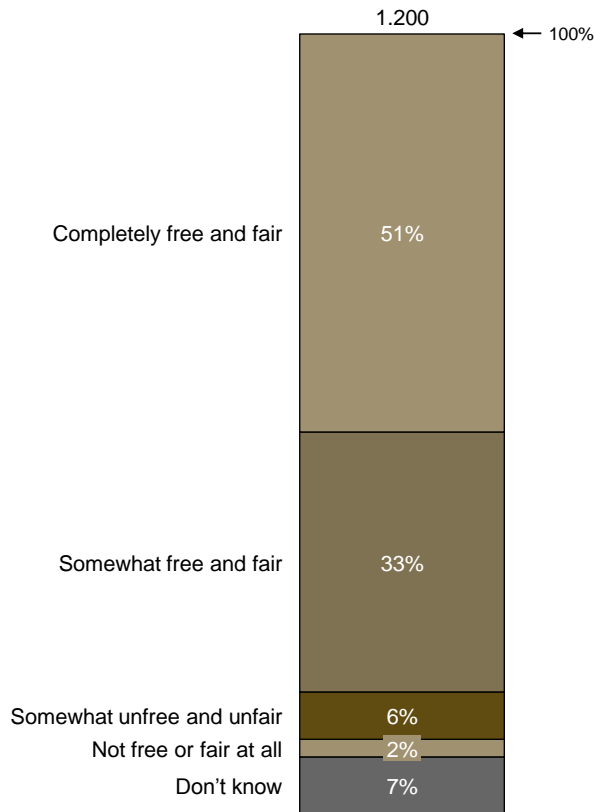
The following figure shows variations in voter turnout when evaluated across levels of education and urban/rural populations. More educated respondents were more likely to participate in the election, with a turnout rate of 81 percent for those with university degrees compared to 66 percent for Libyans who completed preparatory education or less. There is not any significant difference between the fraction of proclaimed voters and non-voters in rural and urban areas. Seventy-three percent of urban citizens reported having voted compared to 68 percent of rural citizens.

Figure 16: Better educated Libyans are more likely to have voted.
Did you vote in the recent elections for the General National Congress?



Libyans largely viewed the conduct of the GNC election as free and fair, mirroring assessments by Libyan and international observers. More than half of the population believes the election was completely free and fair, while 33 percent described it as somewhat free and fair. Only 8 percent believe the election was somewhat or completely unfair and not free.

Figure 17: Majority of Libyans believe GNC election was free and fair.
How free and fair do you believe the 2012 General National Congress election was?

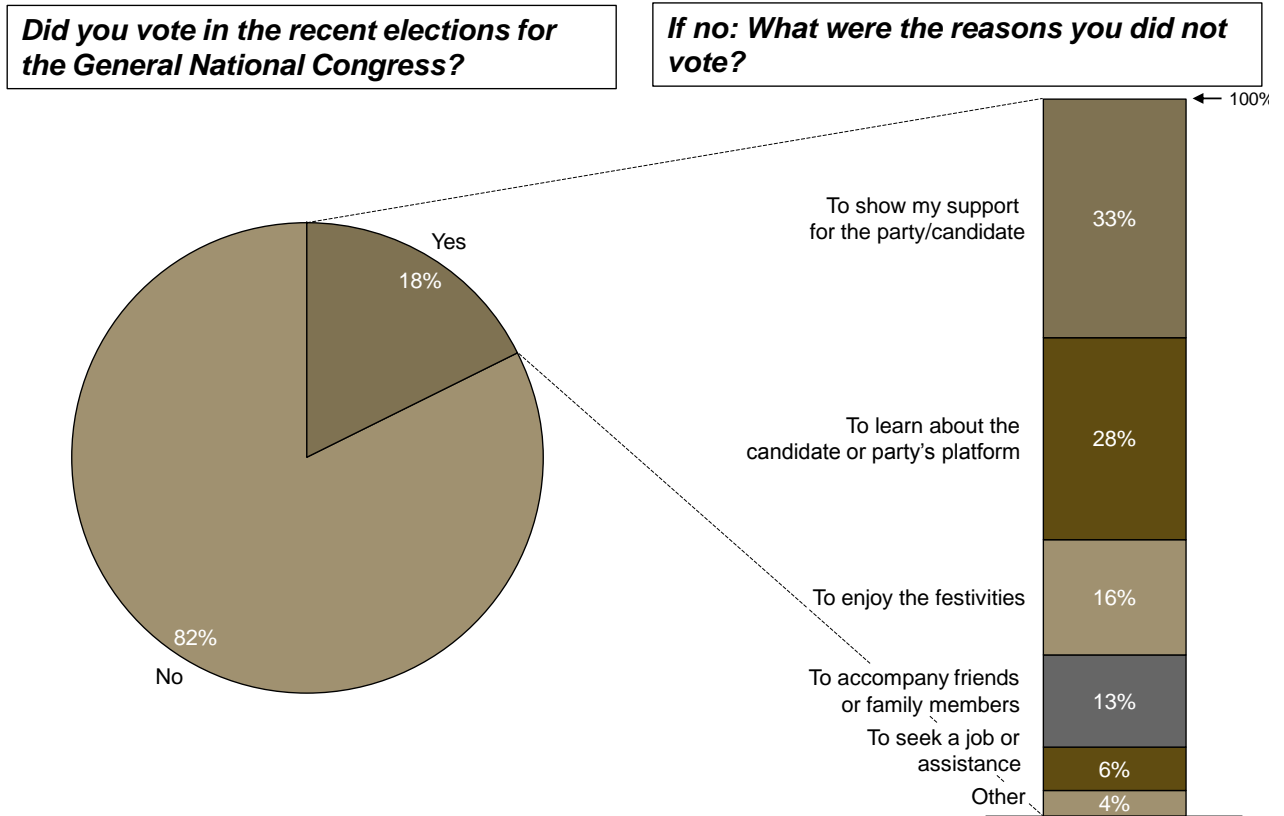


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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.7 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The figure below reflects the share of Libyans who attended a campaign event for the GNC election as well as their reasons for participating. While a vast majority of Libyans did not attend a campaign event, the 18 percent who did attend highlighted two reasons for attending: to show support for the party or candidate; or to learn about the political platform. These politically-motivated reasons were cited more commonly than more self-interested motivations.

Figure 18: Few Libyans participated in 2012 campaign activities

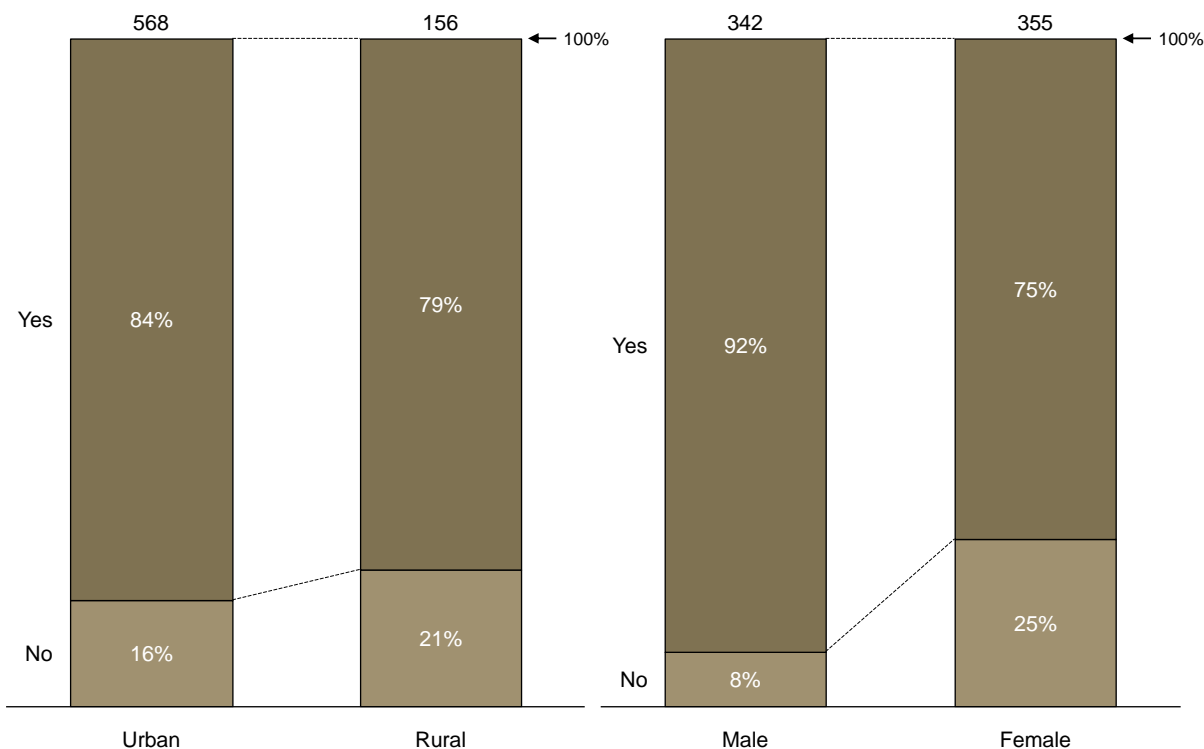


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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 4.4 percentage points depending on the fraction size

When examining intention to vote in future elections, men again express a greater willingness to participate than women. A quarter of the Libyan women surveyed answered that they would not vote if elections were held tomorrow. This noteworthy variance is particularly important as Libya plans elections for a constitution-drafting body.

Figure 19: Intention to vote less pronounced among women.
Would you vote if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow?



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 2.9 to 6.4 percentage points depending on the fraction size

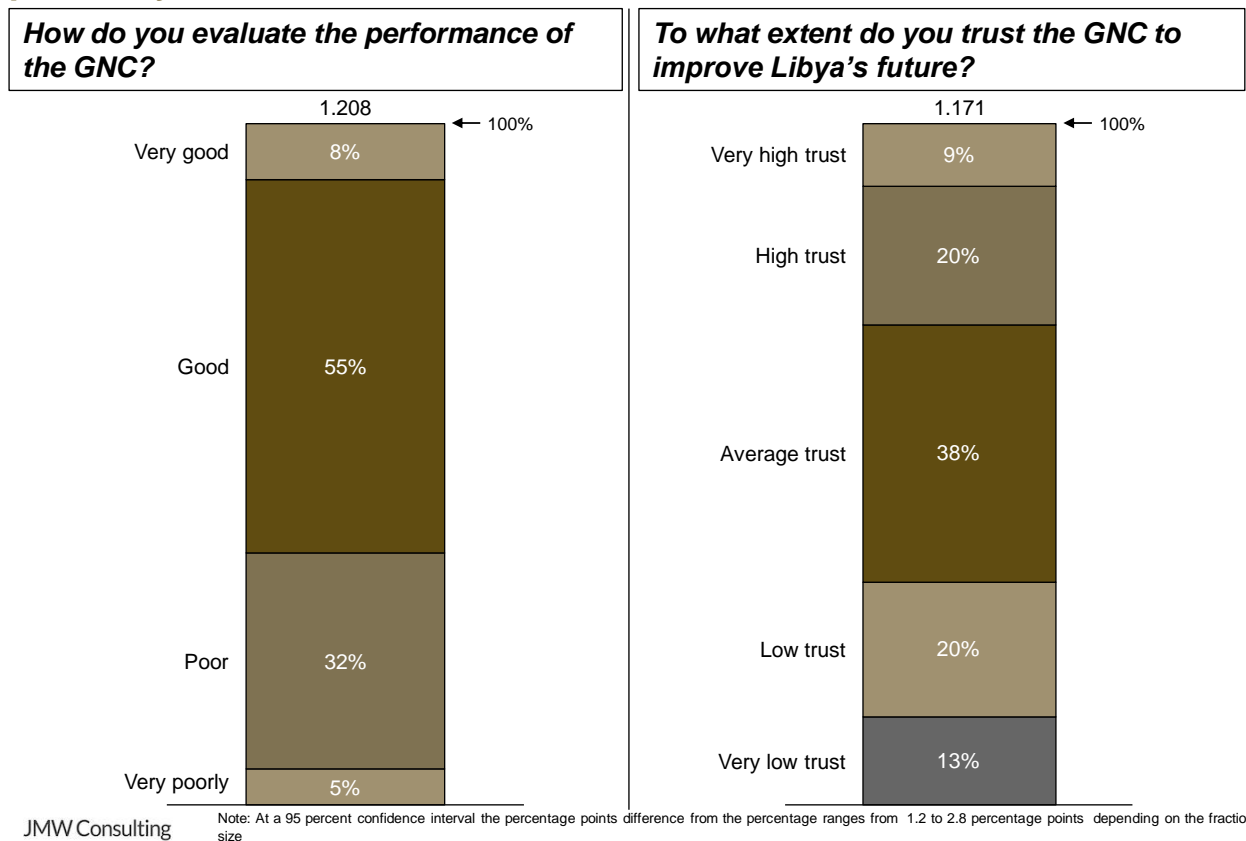
6 GNC Performance

Summary:

- A majority of Libyans rate the overall performance of the GNC positively. However, most Libyans believe the GNC has performed negatively on specific issues such as electing a constitution-drafting body, promoting national reconciliation, fighting corruption, and improving security.

A majority of respondents assess the GNC's general performance positively, with 63 percent of respondents categorizing the performance of the GNC as good or very good. Libyans also demonstrate average trust in the GNC's ability to improve Libya's future.

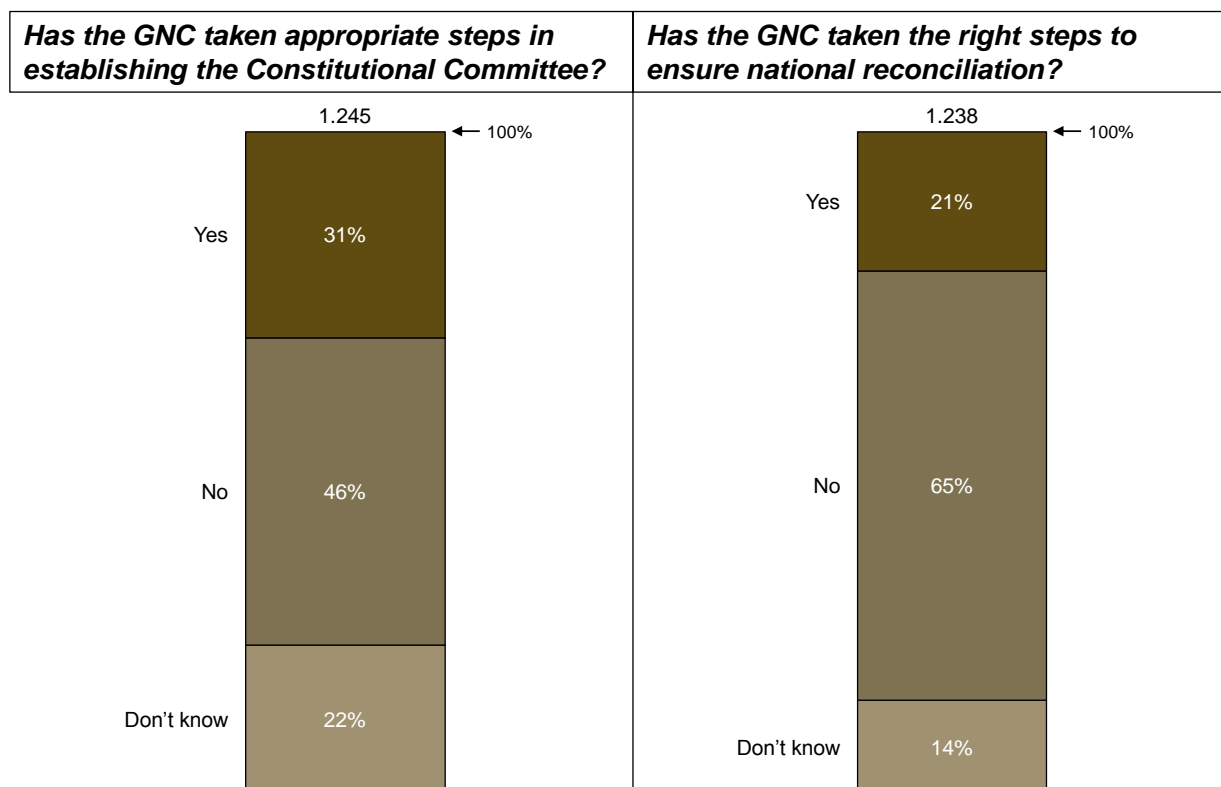
Figure 20: Majority of Libyans trust the GNC and rate its performance positively.



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Although Libyans rate the GNC’s general performance positively, they are dissatisfied with its efforts to address key transition issues: preparing for a new constitution through the establishment of a constitution-drafting body, and promoting national reconciliation. Among all questions about the GNC’s performance in specific areas, Libyans are most divided about their progress in establishing the Committee of Sixty, with a significant percentage (22 percent) unsure whether the GNC had taken the right steps in this respect.

Figure 21: Majority of Libyans are dissatisfied with GNC efforts to establish a constitutional committee and ensure national reconciliation.

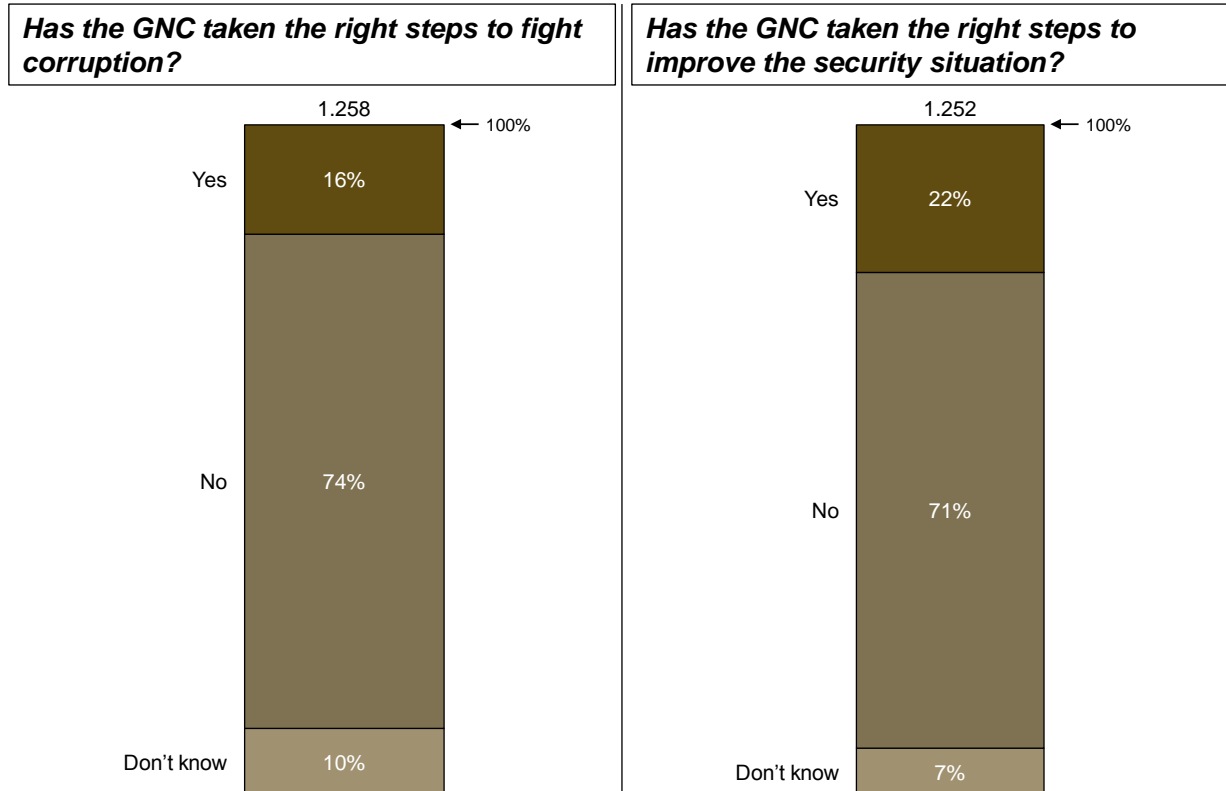


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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Libyans overwhelmingly disapprove of the GNC’s performance in combatting corruption and improving security. In comparison to the two political issues in the previous figures, respondents are more uniform in their opinions on these questions.

Figure 22: Majority of Libyans are unsatisfied with GNC efforts to improve security and fight corruption.



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.4 to 2.5 percentage points depending on the fraction size

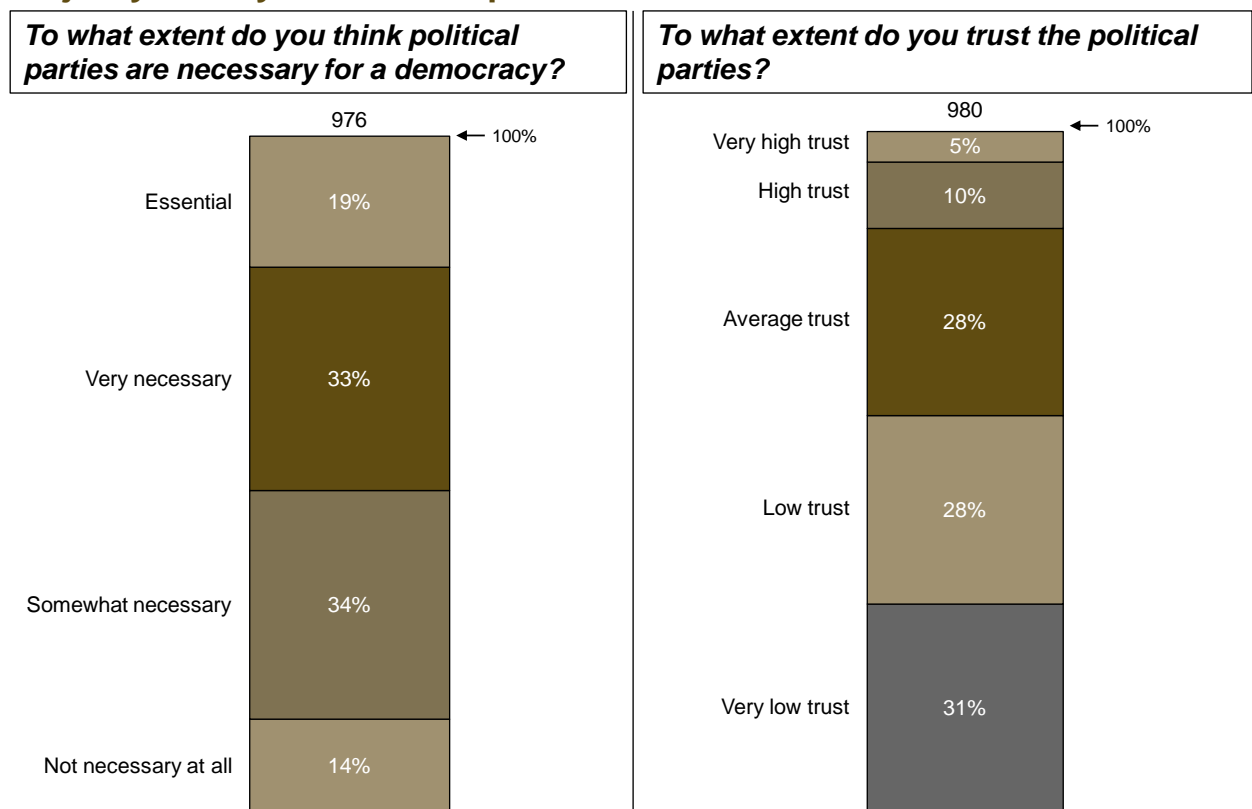
7 Political Parties and Leaders

Summary:

- Eighty-six percent of Libyans perceive political parties as important for democracy, yet Libyans do not trust the parties that are active in Libyan politics today.
- The degree of citizens' awareness of political parties depends on the party itself. Of Libya's five largest political parties, a majority of respondents expressed familiarity with the leaders, ideological orientation, and political platform of only one: the NFA.
- Respondents maintain that the most important role for a political party is to express citizens' demands to the government. Eighty-two percent of Libyans perceive this role as very important.

To varying degrees, nearly half of respondents perceive political parties as a necessary component of a democracy, a noteworthy finding given the Gaddafi regime's decades-long stigmatization of political parties. A 58 percent majority of Libyans, however, distrust the parties that are active in the country today. Only 15 percent characterized themselves as having high or very high trust in political parties.

Figure 23: Political parties are viewed as necessary for democracy, but a majority of Libyans distrust parties.



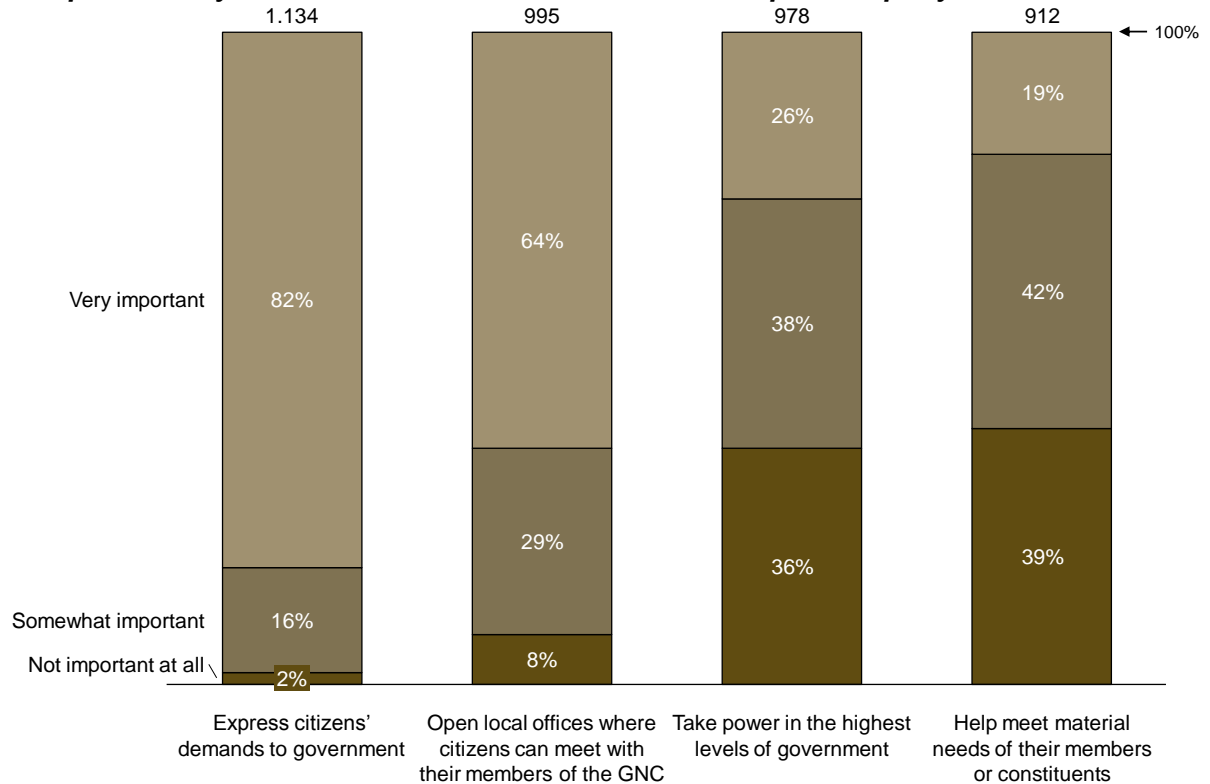
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.4 to 3.0 percentage points depending on the fraction size

A majority of Libyans believe that political parties have a very important role to play in expressing citizens' demands to government. The second most important role for a political party is to open local offices where citizens can meet with their members of the GNC. Libyans viewed an economic role for political parties—helping meet the material need of their members or constituents—as the least important role, although a 61 percent majority still ascribed it at least some importance.

Figure 24: Most Libyans place importance on parties' role in expressing citizens' demands to government.

How important do you believe these different roles are for a political party?



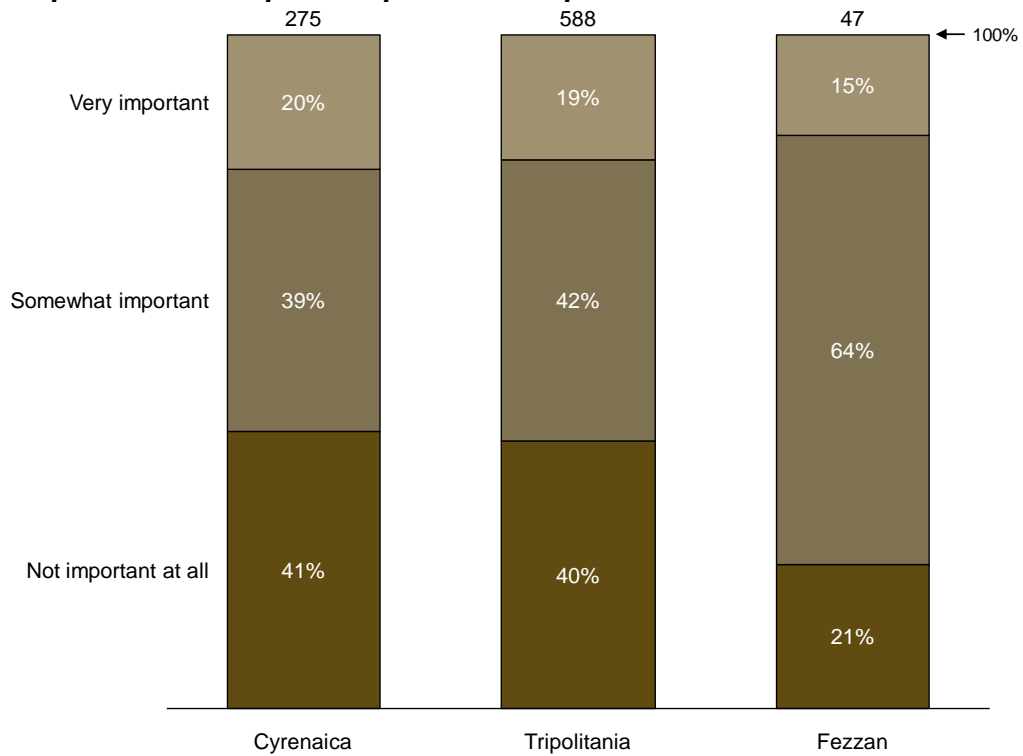
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.8 to 3.2 percentage points depending on the fraction size

In comparison to other regions, respondents from the southern region of Fezzan were more likely to attribute at least some importance to parties' roles in delivering material benefits to constituents, perhaps due to the region's relative economic underdevelopment compared to other regions. Only 21 percent of Fezzan respondents described this economic role for parties as not important at all, roughly half of the portion of respondents who expressed this view in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

Figure 25: Fezzan residents ascribe more importance to parties' role in helping constituents with material needs.

How important is it for political parties to help the constituents with material needs?



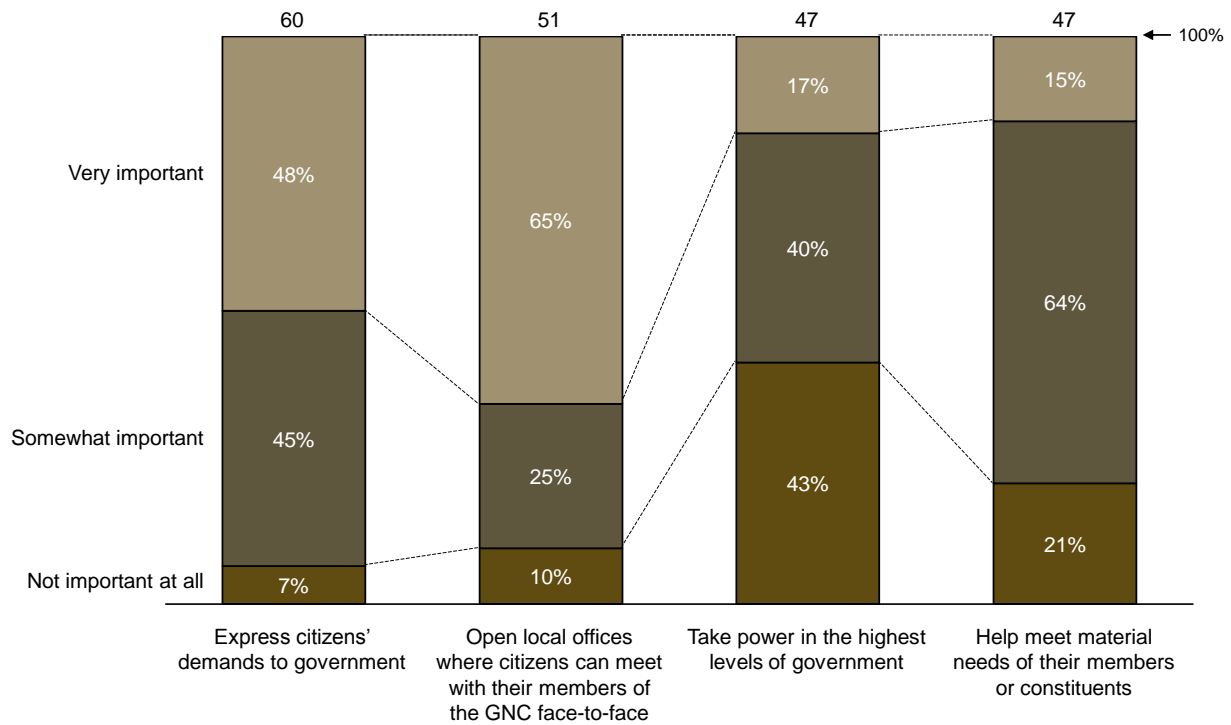
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 3.2 to 13.7 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Within Fezzan, a greater proportion of respondents find parties' efforts to open local offices to be very important. This finding may reflect the distance—both geographically and metaphorically—that Fezzan residents feel from the Tripoli-based GNC.

Figure 26: Fezzan residents emphasize party efforts to open local offices and meet constituents' material needs

How important do you believe these different roles are for a political party?

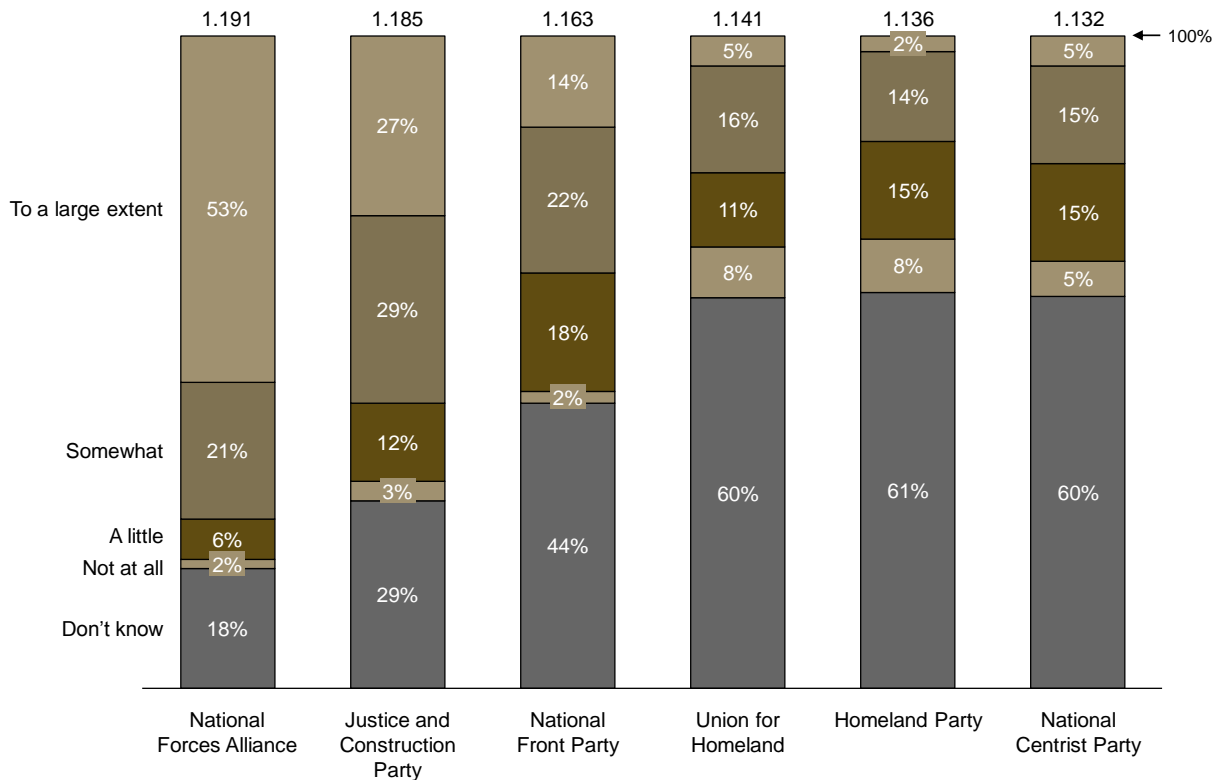


JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 6.5 to 14 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The figure below evaluates Libyans' familiarity with various political parties' platforms. The share of citizens who express familiarity and understanding of a party's program varies depending on the party. Only in the case of the NFA does a large majority express some familiarity with a party platform. Nearly a third of respondents are unaware of the platform of the Justice and Construction Party (JCP). A large percentage of respondents are entirely unfamiliar with the platforms of the Union for the Homeland, Homeland Party, and National Centrist Party.

Figure 27: Libyans are familiar with few political parties' platforms.
To what extent would you say that each political party has a clear political platform?



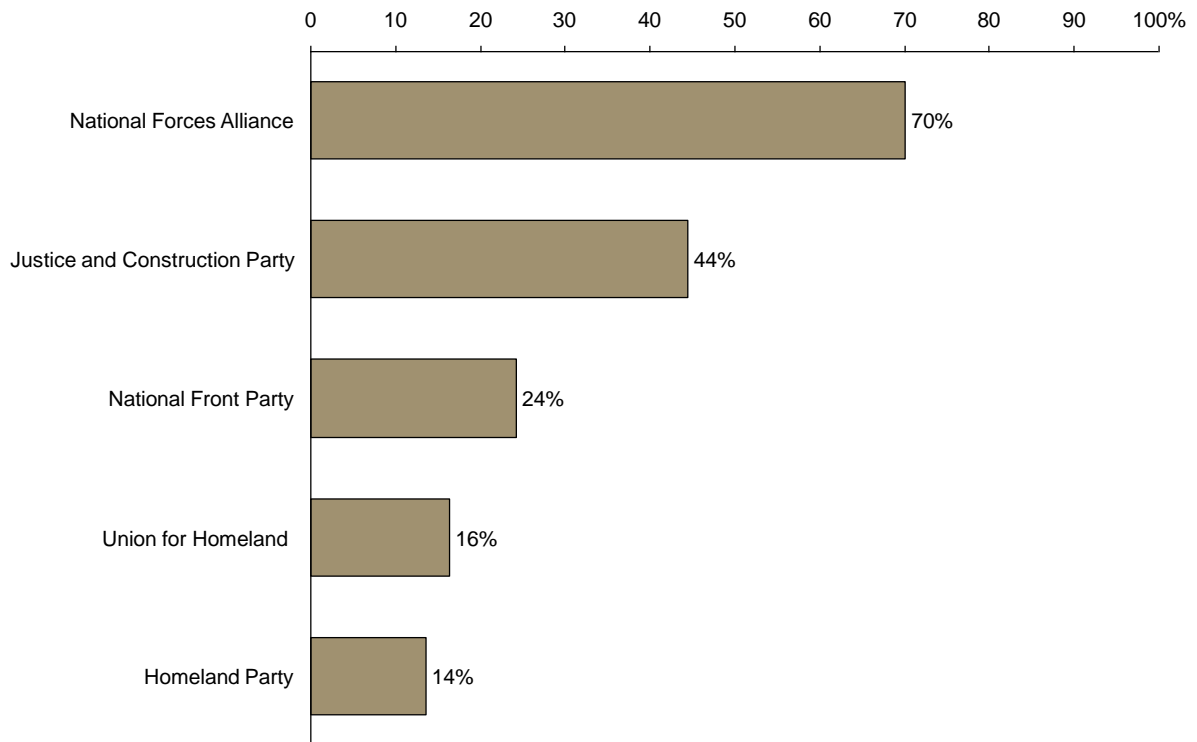
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 0.8 to 2.9 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Libyans' familiarity with party leaders varies substantially across parties, in similar fashion to the awareness of parties' platforms. The NFA is again the only party for which a majority of Libyans could name the party leader. As with Libyans' awareness of the party platforms, the JCP and National Front (NF) trail the NFA in terms of party leader familiarity.

Figure 28: A majority of Libyans are able to name the leaders of only one party.

Please tell me who the leader of the following party is:



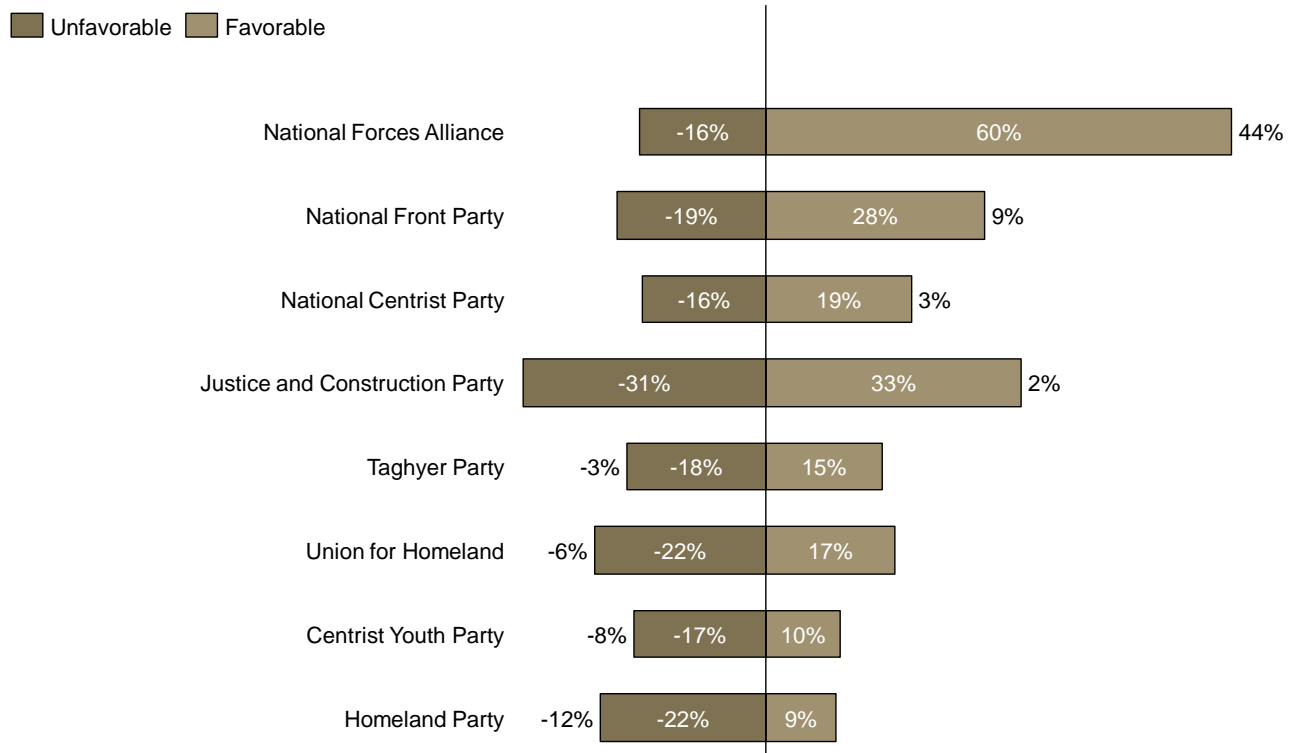
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The following figure shows Libyans' favorability ratings of various political parties, and reinforces citizens' low awareness and distrust of political parties in general. The NFA boasts the largest net favorability rating of the political parties by a wide margin, while in contrast views were divided on the favorability of the JCP.

Figure 29: The NFA has the highest net favorability rating (ranked by net favorability).

For each of the following, please tell me if you feel positively or negatively about the party, or if you don't know the party well enough to have an opinion



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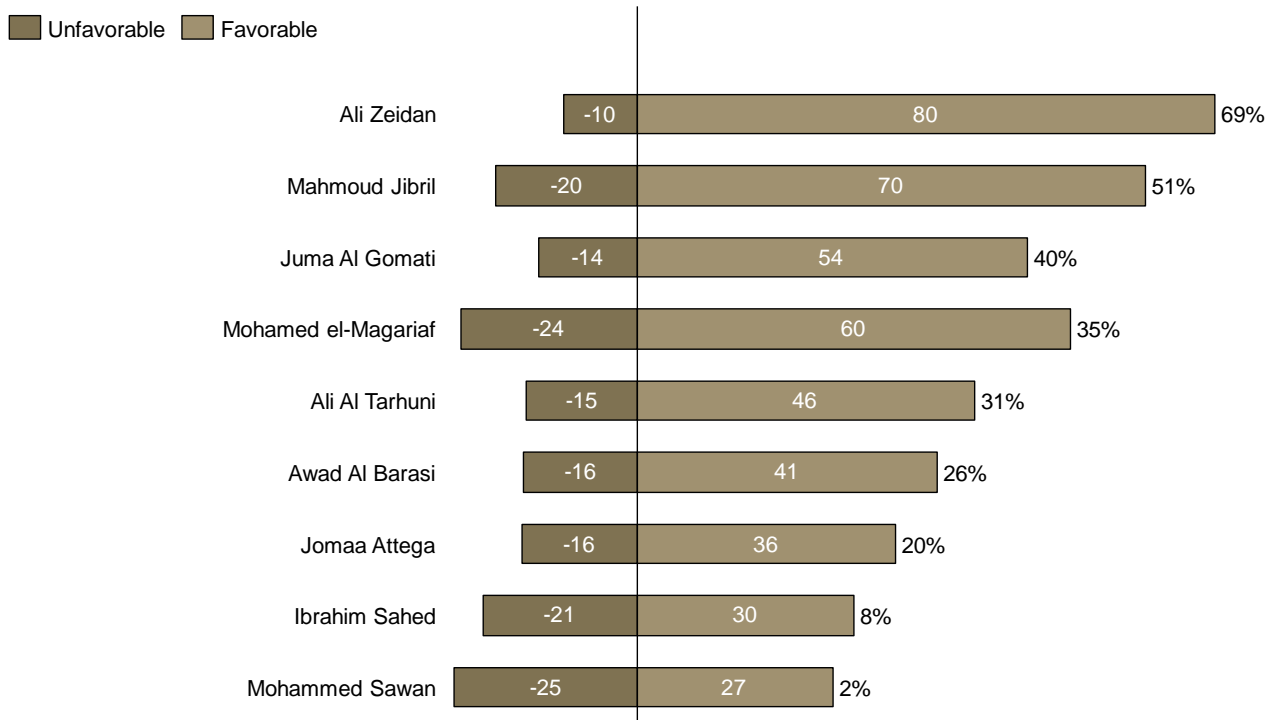
Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.6 to 2.7 percentage points depending on the fraction size

When asked to indicate their favorability toward current political leaders, Libyans tend to support Prime Minister Ali Zeidan. During the period in which the poll was conducted, militias continued to protest outside of ministries in Tripoli demanding Zeidan’s resignation.

Jibril and Zeidan are also the most recognized political leaders, with 90 percent of Libyans able to voice some opinion on the two men. Overall, there appears to be a direct correlation between recognition, based on the number of Libyans who gave responses on political leaders, and the leader’s net favorability. The only two political leaders whose support breaks this pattern are Mohamed El Magariaf, who was the President of the GNC throughout most of the poll period before his resignation on May 28, and Mohammed Sawan, the leader of the JCP.

Figure 30: Prime Minister Ali Zeidan is the most favored political leader (ranking by net favorability).

For each of the following, please tell me if you feel positively, negatively about the individual



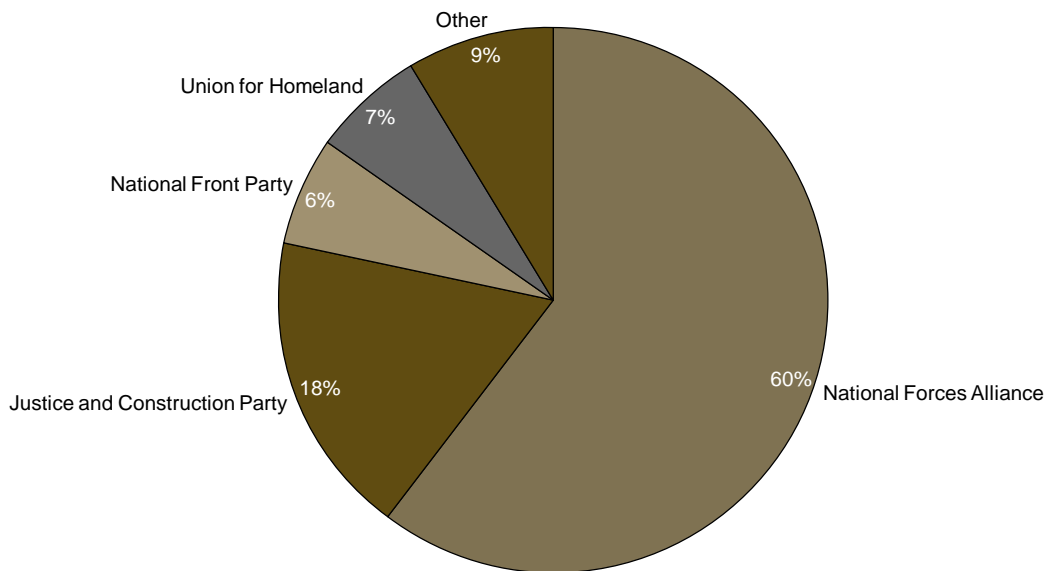
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.7 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The next section focuses on Libyans' preferences for various political parties. This figure shows the distribution of party support in the GNC election, and confirms that the NFA enjoyed the greatest support, followed by the JCP.

Figure 31: A majority of the Libyans voted for the National Forces Alliance.

Which party list did you vote for in the General National Congress election?



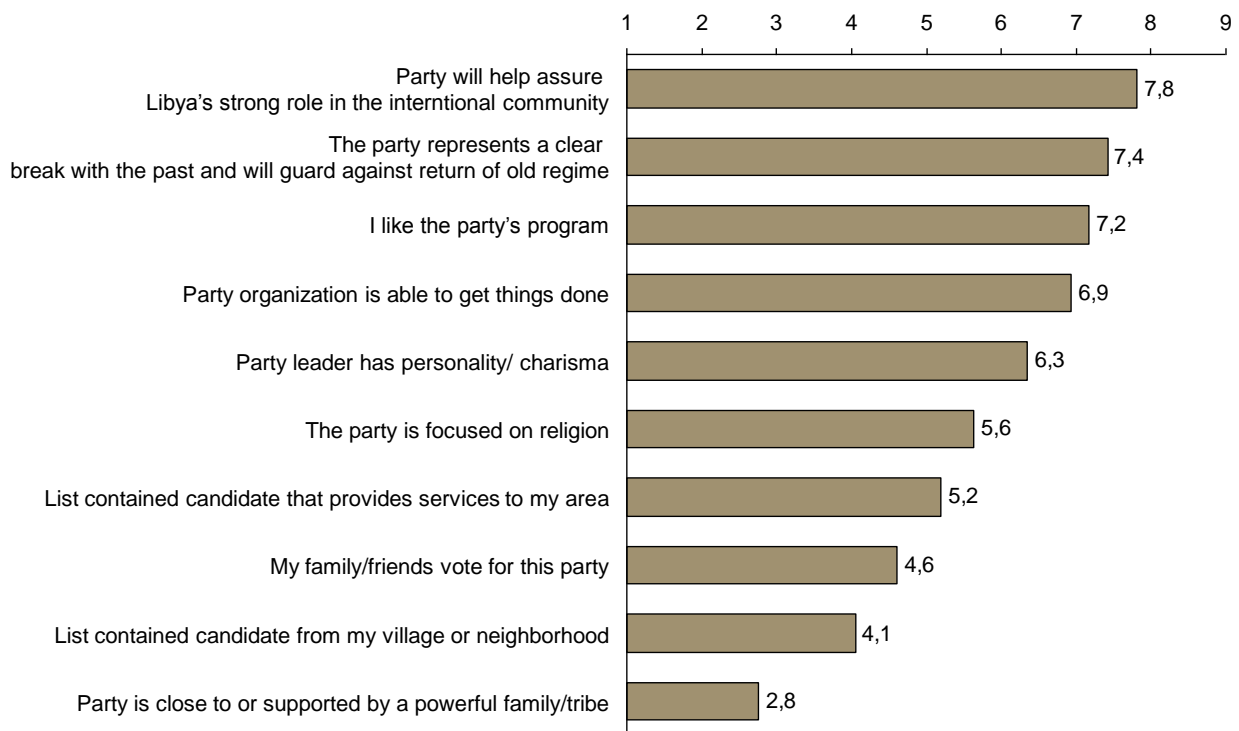
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 2. to 4 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The next figure analyzes the factors that determined voters' party choices in the GNC election. In selecting political party lists at the ballot box, Libyans were more focused on the parties' ambitions and vision than factors driven by local ties or relationships. The top four determinants in selecting a party relate to: ability to assure Libya's role in the international community; the party platform; extent to which the party represents a break from the former regime; and the effectiveness and organization of the party. In contrast, the four lowest determinants of party choice pertain to tribal/family support or ties to a voter's village or neighborhood.

Figure 32: Party support is more driven by the party's ambitions—both within Libya as well as abroad—than local or tribal ties.

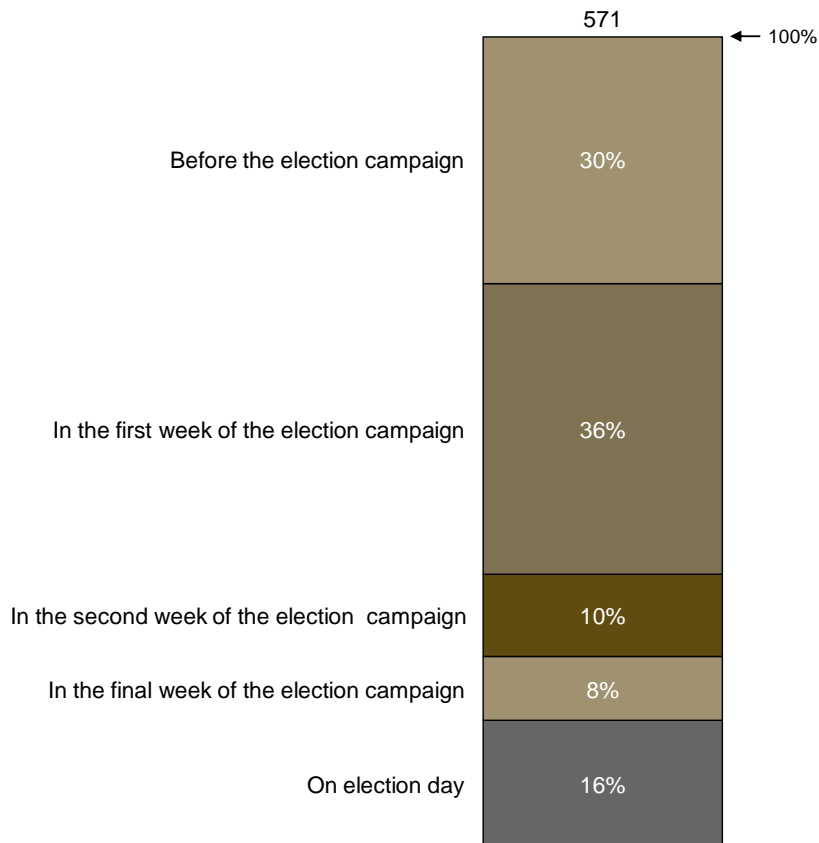
On a scale of 1 to 9, 1 being completely unimportant and 9 being very important, how important were the different elements in shaping your opinion of which party to vote for?



Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the difference from the average ranges from 0.16 to 2.7 depending on the average and the fraction size

The following figure assesses when Libyan voters made up their minds on which party to vote for prior to the GNC election. While two-thirds of voters decided prior to or in the first week of the election campaign, a significant portion (16 percent) remained undecided until election day.

Figure 33: Party voters decided who they would vote for early.
When did you decide on the party you voted for?



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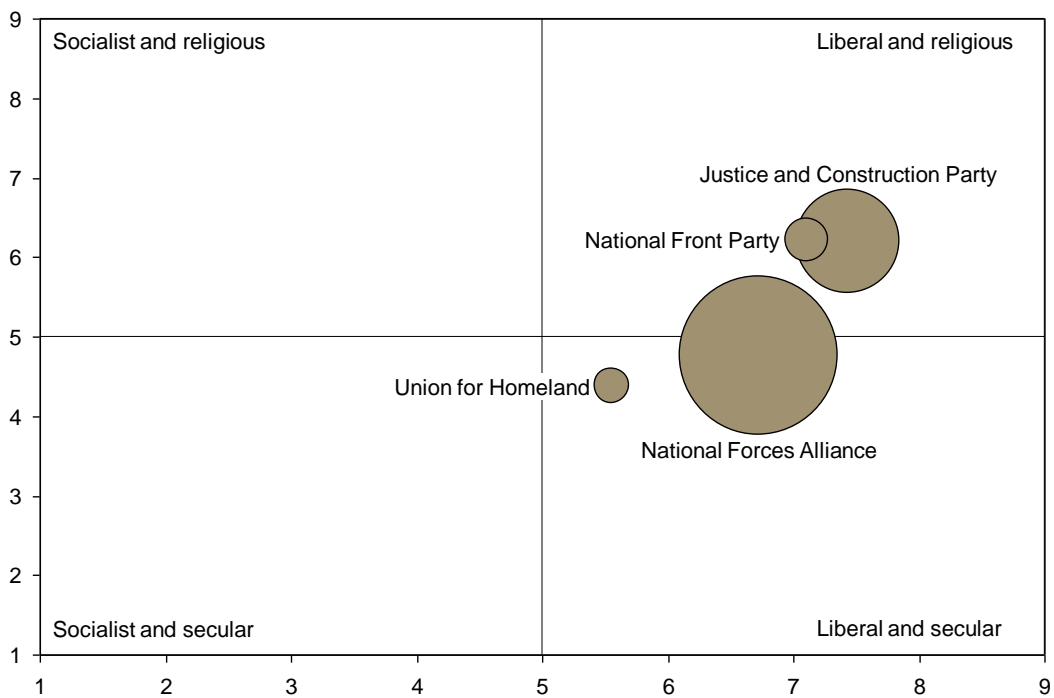
Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 2.3 to 4 percentage points depending on the fraction size

The following two figures examine how perceptions of party ideology conform to voters' personal positions. Those who voted for parties in the 2012 GNC elections were asked to position their personal views on two scales: with regards to the relationship between religion and the state (the religious scale) and on the state's role in the economy (the economic scale). The results indicate that Libyan voters tended to see themselves as economically liberal and ranging from slightly secular to slightly religious.

Figure 34: Party supports' personal ideological preferences.

Would you say that you prefer...

Personal preferences on position of a political party. 1 being a party that advocates a strict socialist system. 9 being a party that advocates a full fledge market capitalist system.
 Personal preferences on position of a political party. 1 being a religious political party. 9 being a strictly secular party



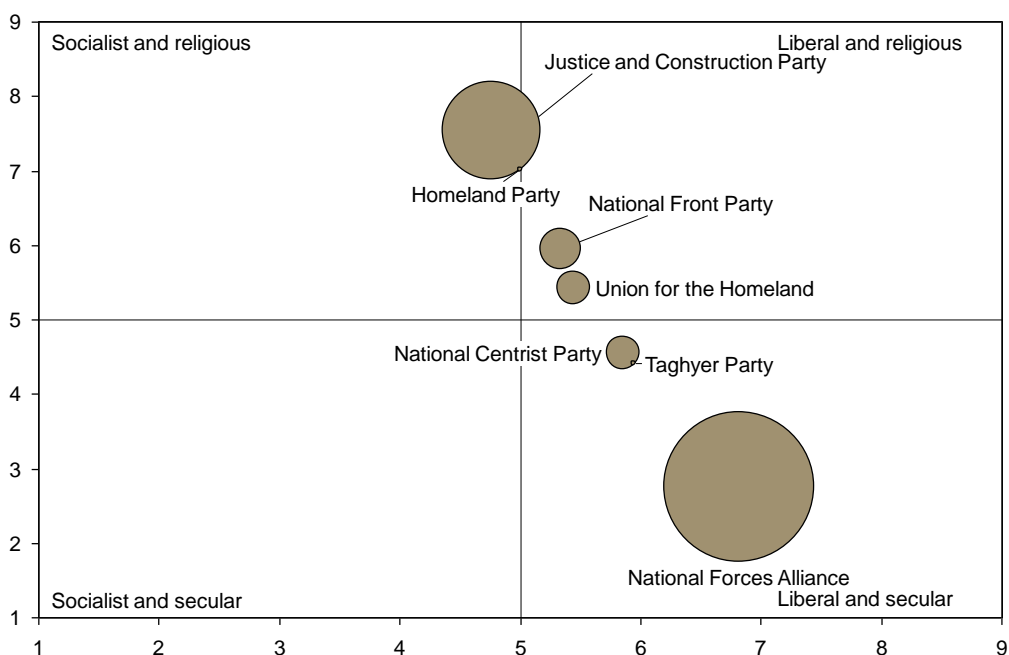
JMW Consulting Note: Circle size represents seats in GNC (2012).
 At a 95 percent confidence interval the difference from the average ranges from 0.3 to 1.1 depending on the average and the n

In comparison to their personal views, the voters in the 2012 election see a greater ideological variance among political parties, particularly on the religion-oriented axis. These voters view the JCP as more religious and the NFA as more secular than these parties' supporters see themselves. NFA supporters do not differ greatly with other voters in their perceptions of the party's economic views. In contrast, voters in the 2012 election more broadly perceive the JCP as slightly socialist, while its supporters place themselves on the liberal end of the economic spectrum.

Figure 35: Electorate's views of the different political parties diverges from party supporters' personal view

How do you rate the following parties?

On a scale of 1 to 9, 1 being a strictly religious political party and 9 being a strictly secular party, how would you rate the parties?
 On a scale of 1 to 9, 1 being a strict socialist system with the state running all economic affairs and 9 being a full-fledged free market capitalist system, how would you rate parties?



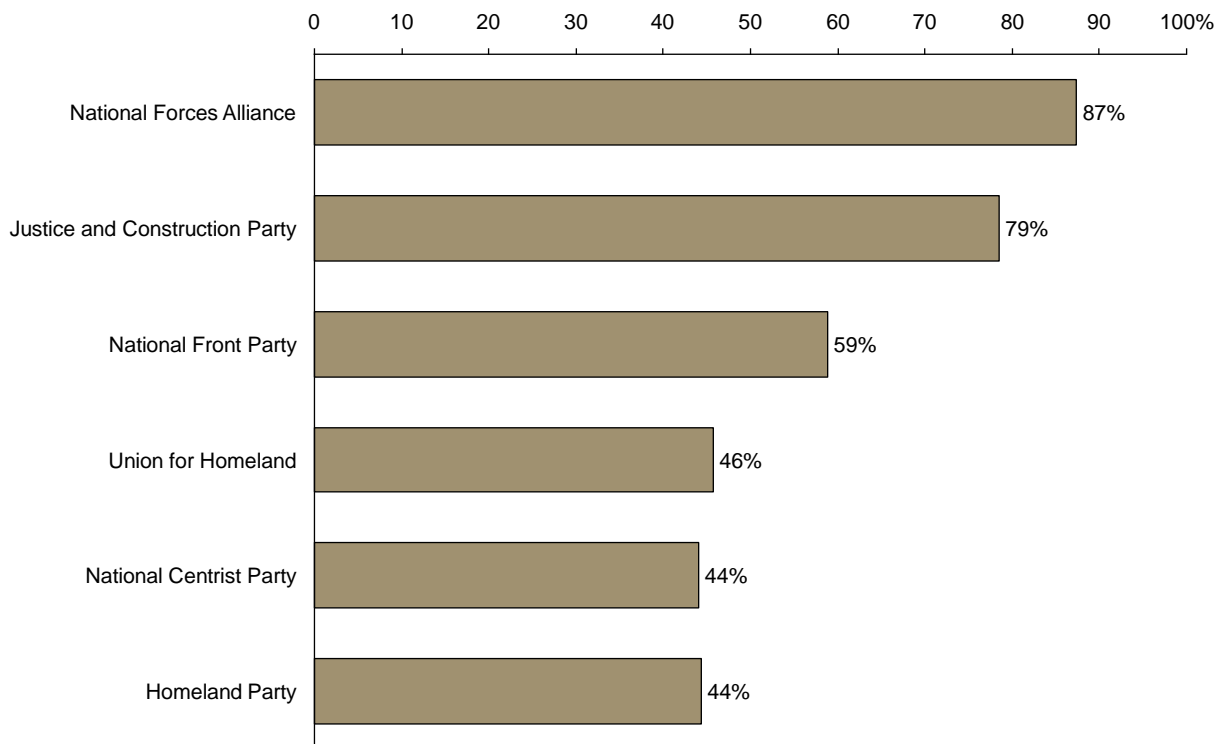
JMW Consulting

Note: Circle size represents seats in GNC (2012).
 At a 95 percent confidence interval the difference from the average ranges from 0.12 to 0.26 depending on the average and the n

The preceding figure may indicate that voters perceive a political spectrum grounded on either end by two large parties and a political center populated by smaller parties, however the following figure confirms that voters have difficulty distinguishing among many parties on the religious-secular axis of this scale. A majority of Libyans are only able to rate three national parties—the NFA, JCP, and NF—and struggled to rate the Union for Homeland, National Centrist Party, and Homeland Party.

Figure 36: Majority of Libyans only able to rate three political parties on religious-secular scale.

Percentage of Libyans who are able to rate the parties on religious-secular scale



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Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.9 to 2.8 percentage points depending on the fraction size

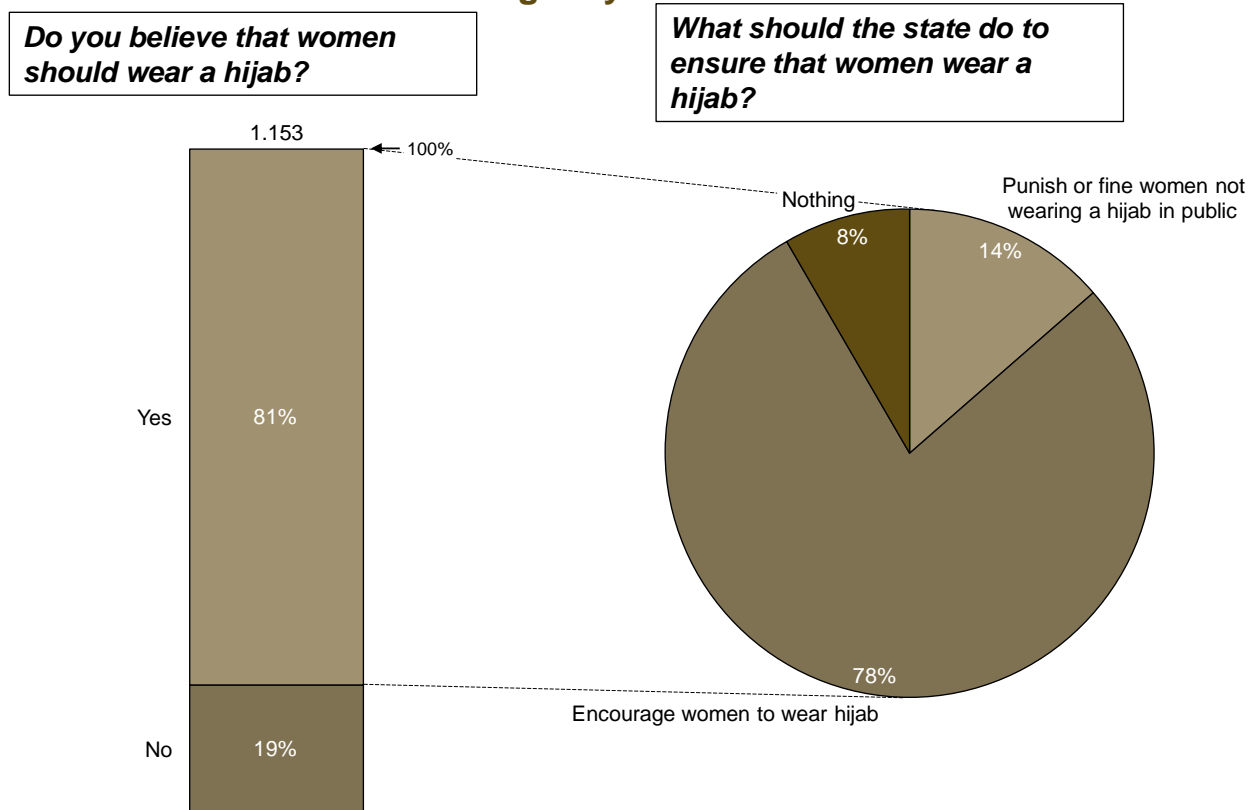
8 Gender Attitudes

Summary:

- Eighty-one percent of respondents believe women should wear a hijab.
- Older Libyans perceive men as having priority over women in employment, while middle-aged Libyans are more evenly split on this issue.

This section explores citizens' attitudes toward women in Libyan society and politics. Eighty-one percent of Libyans believe that women should wear a hijab. A large majority of those who hold this belief also maintain that the state should encourage women to wear the hijab. Two minority viewpoints exist on either side: those who believe the state should have no role and those who believe the state should punish women who do not wear a hijab in public.

Figure 37: Majority of Libyans believe women should wear a hijab and the state has a role in ensuring they do.

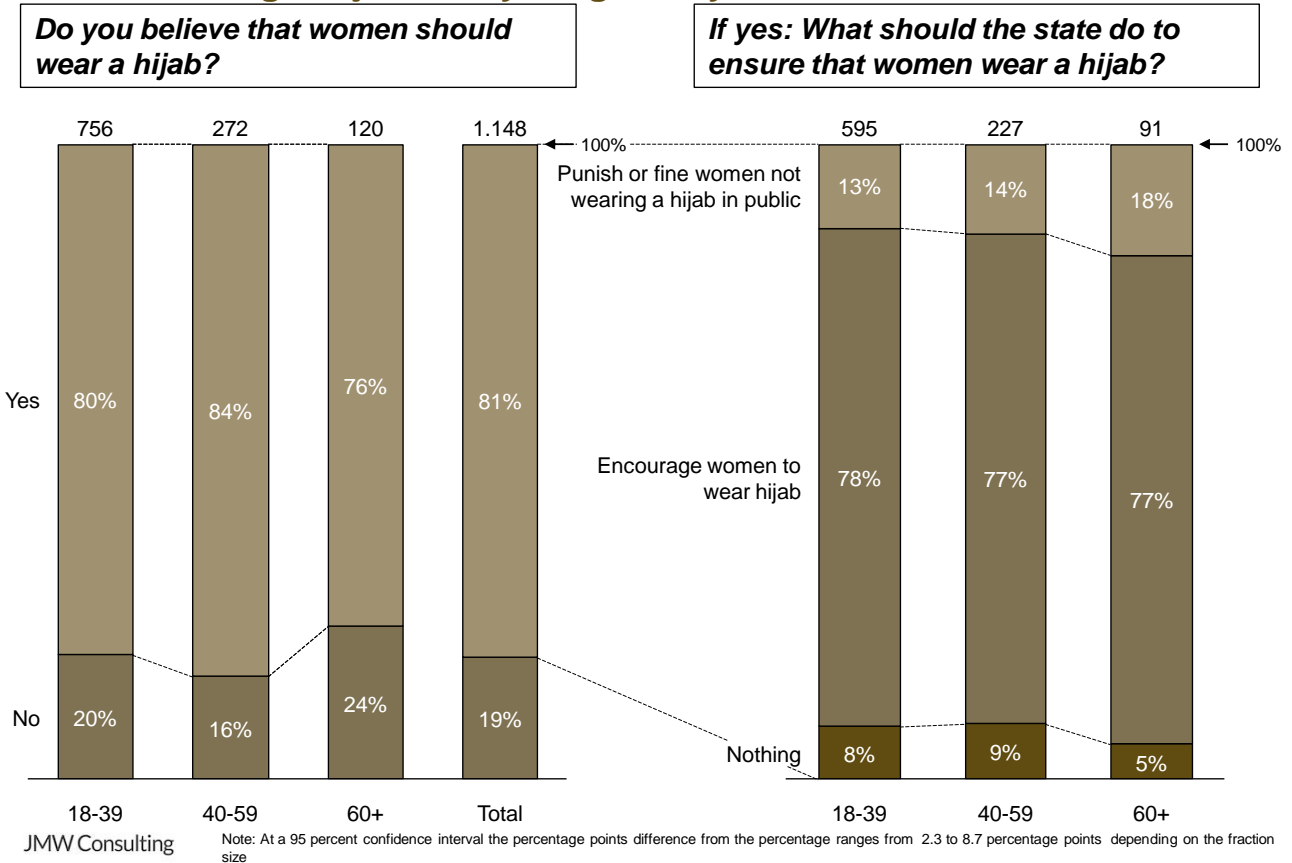


JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 1.8 to 2.7 percentage points depending on the fraction size

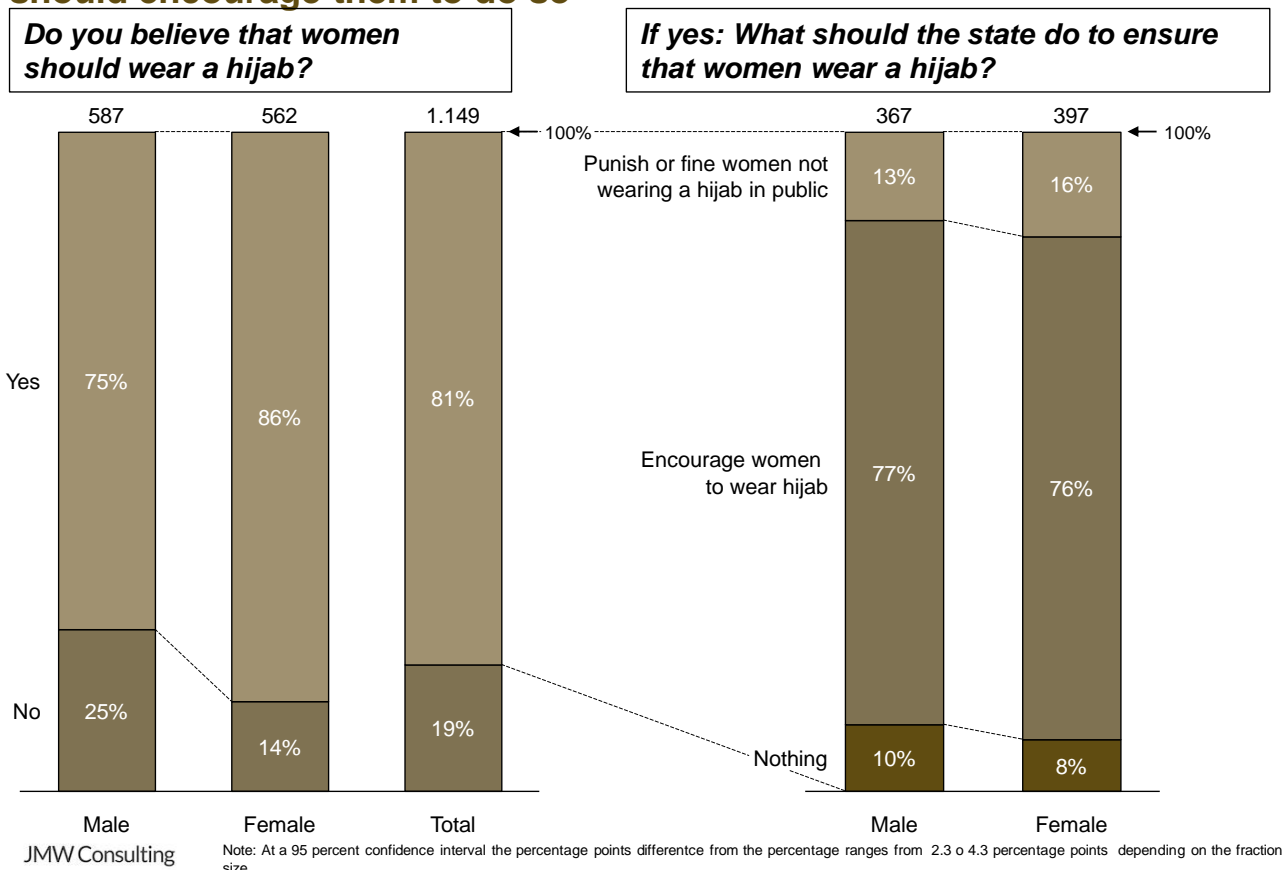
Younger Libyans do not necessarily hold differing views from older Libyans on the question of whether women should wear a hijab. Of those who believe women should wear a hijab, the role of the state also does not seem to differ by age; all three age groups believe the state should encourage women to wear it.

Figure 38: Older Libyans slightly less conservative with respect to women wearing a hijab than younger Libyans.



Although large majorities of both Libyan men and women believe women should wear the hijab, a higher percentage of women than men hold this belief.

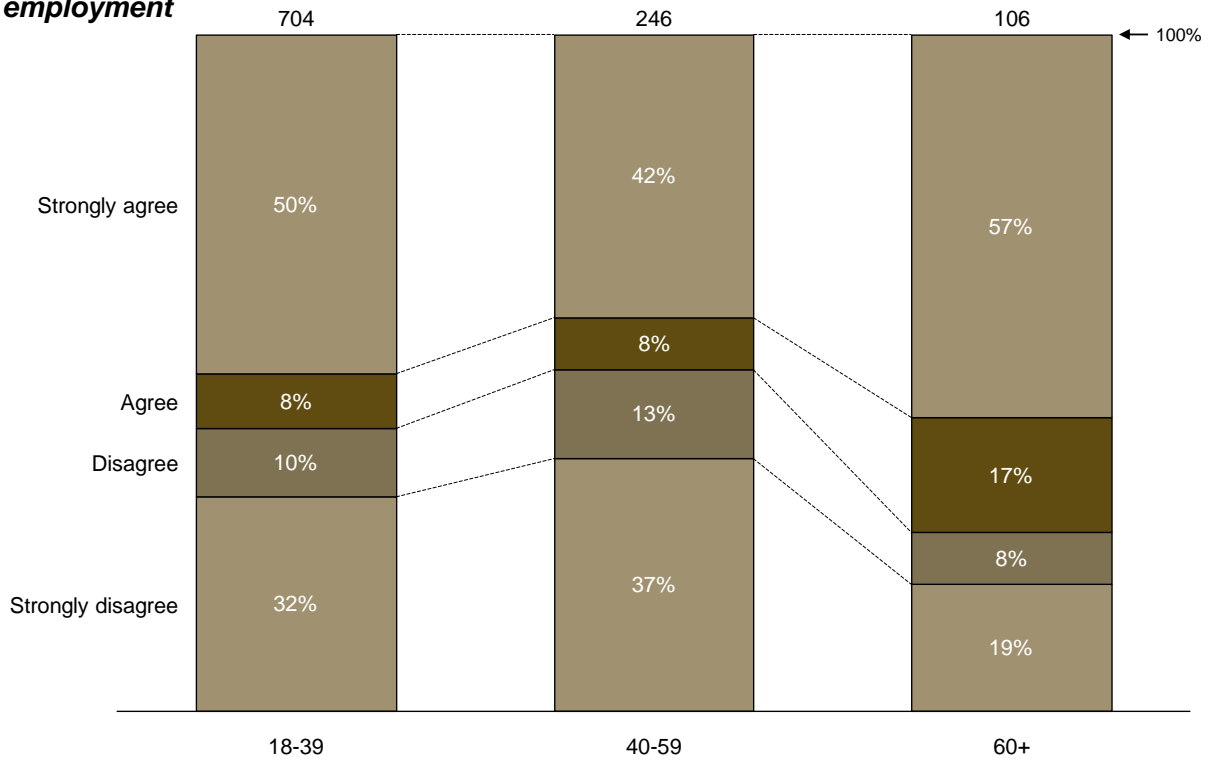
Figure 39: Majority believe that women should wear a hijab and the state should encourage them to do so



Both the eldest and youngest Libyans tend to agree that men should have priority over women in employment. However, the question seems to evenly divide middle-aged Libyans. In general, Libyans appear to hold polarized views on the issue with a quarter or fewer of respondents choosing the less extreme answers.

Figure 40: Majority of Libyans agree that men currently have priority over women in employment across age groups.

On a scale from 1 to 9, 1 being you strongly disagree, 9 being you strongly agree, how do you, in general, agree with the following phrase: Men have priority over women in employment



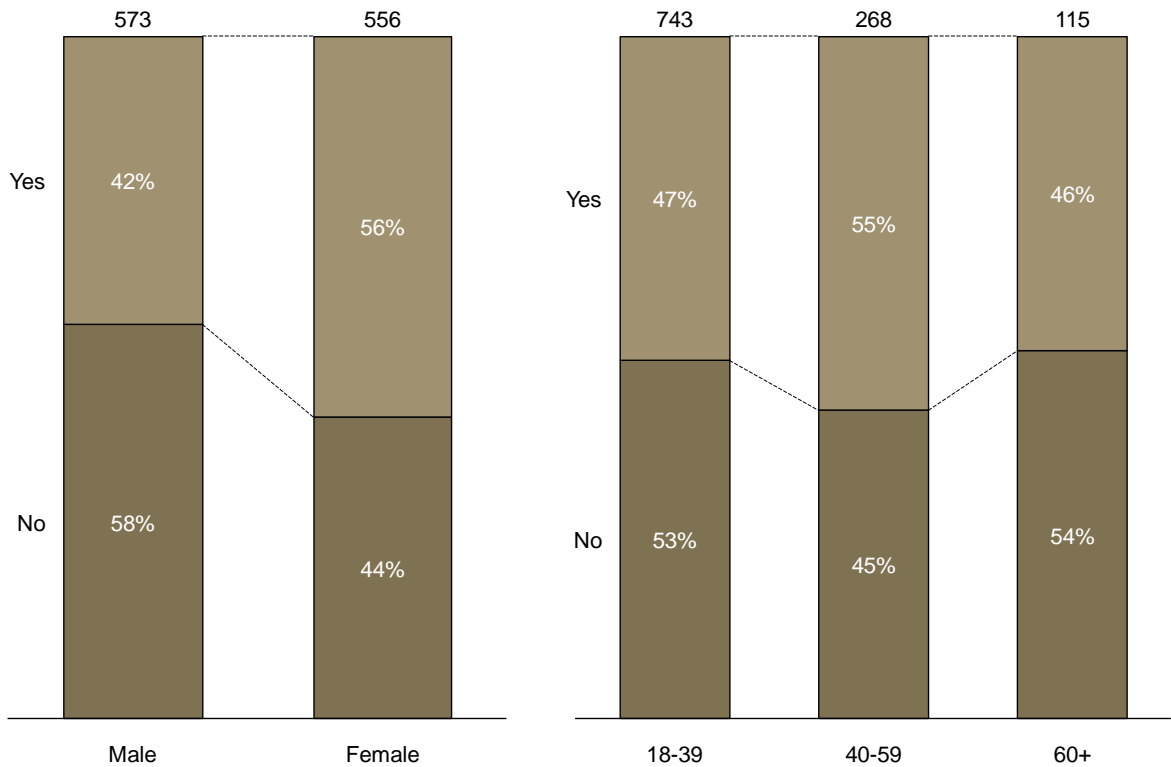
JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 2 to 9.4 percentage points depending on the fraction size

Libyans are almost evenly divided on the question of whether Libyan women should be able to marry non-Libyans. Libyan women appear slightly less conservative than their male counterparts on this issue. A majority of female respondents believe Libyan women should be permitted to marry non-Libyans, while a minority of male respondents approve of such an arrangement.

Figure 41: Male Libyans are more conservative on the question of marriage rights for women.

Should Libyan women be allowed to marry non-Libyans?



JMW Consulting

Note: At a 95 percent confidence interval the percentage points difference from the percentage ranges from 3.6 to 9.1 percentage points depending on the fraction size

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