RESEARCH ARTICLE

What about the Civil Society? A Micro-Level Assessment of Crisis Response Mechanisms in Libya

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ABSTRACT

This study intends to highlight how a holistic approach to stabilization in providing services, improving security, and empowering local actors should pay particular attention to engaging every segment of the Libyan society, especially women. As it is fundamental for the future of Libya's governance to analyze what stabilization implies, the analysis discerns the individual determinants that shape civilians' perceptions of stability. The study employs data from the Third Wave of the Arab Democracy Barometer (2012-2014). Relying on OLS regression analysis, the research finds that including gender equality and women's empowerment in the stabilization agenda, as well as ensuring the promotion of democracy and human rights; the implementation of gradual reforms; establishing a trustworthy and effective government; and fighting corruption are core issues identified by Libyans as elements contributing to a successful stabilization approach, thus avoiding the risk of falling back into a violent path.

KEYWORDS: Stabilization, Libya, Gender mainstreaming, Local actors

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1. Introduction

The relentless nature of Libya's instability is plain for all to see as after several years of power contention of two opposed governments, conflict erupted again at the beginning of April 2019. Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar, leader of the self-styled Libyan National Army, launched a military campaign - Operation Flood of Dignity - to seize Western territories from the Government of National Accord (GNA), while UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres was in Tripoli to prepare a national reconciliation conference aimed at bringing together Libya's rival groups. The situation is getting more worrisome by the day given that allegiances in the Libyan context can swift very quickly, France and the US hold ambiguous stances, and the reawaken civil war rapidly assumed alarming proportions, edging forward a humanitarian catastrophe, that negatively affects especially women.

Overall, considering the complexity and the challenges of the whole situation, a comprehensive research on women's situation in Libya and on the gender dimension of stabilization is almost entirely absent in the scholarly literature. Even though post-conflict interventions can obviously be put in place only after the termination of hostilities, on one hand, it is still valuable to reflect upon the shortcomings of the international approach that set up since the ouster of Gaddafi, and on the other, it can offer useful insight on how to deal with the aftermath of the armed struggle.

While sometimes it is believed that silence on gender issues is useful not to antagonize conservative forces, this study supports the argument that in order for a stabilization process to be successful, the gender dimension needs to be addressed. Therefore, this paper aims to fill the gap in the scarce literature on stabilization through a gender perspective. It argues that a gendered mainstreaming approach to stabilization might prove crucial for laying the foundations of a locally-owned stabilization process. Furthermore, offering a preliminary evaluation of the individual support of socio-economic and institutional factors could foster the debate on the successes and challenges of the current strategies, in order to shed light on how stabilization can avoid the risk of falling back into conflict, especially in a fragile context, such as the case of Libya. The analysis

also reveals that the outcome of stabilization measures will rely on the extent to which women's inclinations and interests are fully accounted for.

Thus, the paper explores the intersection between the role of civilians as agents of change, the liberal template of conflict management, and crisis response mechanisms deployed in Libya. The main research question is: What are the individual determinants that shape support for stabilization measures in Libya? The aim is to provide a link between the micro-level dimension (civilians perspectives) and the macro-level one (institutional responses), paying particular attention to gender. Relying on the most recent data, this study builds on the extant literature to assess whether socio-demographic factors, as well as ideological ones, namely attitudes towards corruption, gender equality, human rights, the performance of the government, reforms and foreign actors, influence Libyans' perceptions of the country's stability. Of course, evaluating stabilization interventions is problematic because of the interplay of different dynamics; the time needed to implement the activities; the complexity of the case in question (van Stolk et al. 2011).

In Libya, stabilization policies and programs aimed at impeding that instability in a failed state becomes a driver for relapsing into conflict and eventually state collapse have been introduced since 2011. When humanitarian needs are ensured, stabilization processes can be set out to ensure the delivery of public services; provide security to the population; restart the economy (Megerisi 2018). The lack of a strong political authority, namely the Government of National Accord (GNA) established in 2015 and the elite's exploitation of instability for lucrative gains have so far hindered international community's efforts. Given the volatility and complexity of the post-2011 situation, stabilization-oriented responses addressed solely the micro and macro socio-political and security-related challenges, without paying particular attention to conflict sensitivity and contextual developments have been counter-productive (Adly 2018). Also, in developing a comprehensive strategy in order to foster a peaceful transition, the disruption or deterioration of social peace within the tribal community should have been avoided. In this regard, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have attempted to actively engage local actors, civil society and the municipalities in the implementation process to enhance the

sustainability of stabilization projects as well as to embed a sense of ownership transcending tribal and political differences.

The research is structured as follows: after discussing the current scholarly debates on the notion of stabilization, possible determinants for individual support are tested, and then some preliminary conclusion are drawn.

2. The Libyan Context

After 2011, Libya has faced a revolution, a civil war and the establishment of two rival governments fighting to control the territory at the expenses of Libyans who live in pervasive insecurity under militia rule and amidst unending conflict. A general absence of functional governance, services shortages, and steep inflation impact on Libyans' daily lives, while network of elites control access to public goods, smugglers concoct to inflate prices, and local militias collude to cut out the citizens from economic opportunities, public services and security structures (Megerisi 2018). The political vacuum favors groups that exploit disorder to profit from illegal trafficking. In the Security Council meeting held on 18 January 2019, Ghassan Salamé, Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) warned that without the international community's support in Libya, spoilers will sabotage the political process and unravel the fragile and easily reversible progress made amid an already grim backdrop of sporadic violence and rising humanitarian needs (UN SC/13669). Armed groups across Libya continue to commit violations of international humanitarian law in a climate of impunity, while civilians bear the brunt of the escalation of fighting and violence. The clashes between Tripoli-based armed groups and those from the neighbouring cities of Tarhouna and Misrata lasted for nearly the whole month of September 2019, resulting in the destruction of critical infrastructure, the loss of at least 120 civilian lives, the temporary displacement of hundreds of families, and the worsening of socioeconomic conditions. The localized conflicts, the displacement and infrastructure destruction, the interruptions in economic activities, and job loss have all taken their toll on the population. These are exacerbated by the poor conditions found in infrastructure, which was already the case under Gaddafi, and the utter dependence on oil for the generation of growth and state revenue, with little – if

any – links with the domestic economy. To add insult to injury, state collapse had further diminished official institutions' capacity to regulate (or prevent illicit) economic activities ranging from fiddling the fixed exchange rate to human trafficking and arms smuggling. Also, according to the UN Secretary-General Report on the situation in Libya of 7 January 2019, Islamist extremists, particularly those associated to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), continue to exploit the fragmentation in Libya, its open land borders and the persistent weakness of State institutions using remote areas of Central and Southern Libya for training, recruitment and the preparation of attacks (UN S/2019/19).

During renewed hostilities in the month of April 2019, Tripoli has been taken under assault, densely populated residential neighborhoods have been shelled, and more than 3300 migrants and refugees held in detention centers around conflict areas are at great risk for their safety. The UN reported that the fight has already killed 102 civilians[1] and forced more than 45200 to flee (OCHA 2019). Haftar was once a Commander under Gaddafi and his offensive echoes how he claimed power 50 years ago, through a military coup that took down King Idris, another leader installed by the UN. Haftar is pitching himself as a strongman capable of driving terrorists out of the country and with strong authoritarian means, he is trying to unite a country split in two, proclaiming that he will bring security and a stable government. Amid chaos, countries are taking sides because the country's ports not only are launch points for many of the migrants that end up in Europe and but also Libya has the biggest oil reserves in Africa and thus the power to shape global prices. The UN Security Council, which is desperate for a ceasefire, drafted an agreement overnight, but Moscow and Washington vetoed it. While General Haftar has rapidly gained territory, the Peace Talks promoted by the UN have been postponed, and the outcomes of his military campaign are difficult to foresee.

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[1] This figure includes only individually verified cases and does not represent the actual death toll.

3. Stabilization: a Working Definition

International interventions have transformed over time. If during the 1990s interventions were developed according to a liberal framing constructed upon the discourse of human rights protection enshrined in the moral imperative of acting according to higher laws, in the following decade the security paradigm shifted from the responsibility of Western powers towards the responsibility to protect (R2P), conceived as the mission to ensure resilience to those actors in fragile and failed states in need of capacity-building (Chandler 2012). This shift in the understanding of interventions leveraged on prevention, assuming that local actors should be empowered to become more resilient and the international efforts should focus on facilitating good-governance mechanisms and capacity-build actors and institutions. The case of Libya can be understood as the prime example of this paradigmatic shift, where the intervention was not waged to exert an external sovereign right to protect the population nor in terms of higher ethical and moral reasons, but rather in terms of "human security provision of preventive deployment of force" (Chandler 2012, p. 220) that does not challenge state sovereignty nor assumes full responsibility for the outcome to protect the Libyan population. The 2011-campaign to overthrow Gaddafi can therefore be seen as a way to facilitate the agency of the population which is tasked to secure itself, while no transformative claim, nor responsibility for the outcome was assumed by Western countries. The framing of human security, as the goal of foreign interventions which delegate the Libyan state and people as agents of their own security, is fundamental to understand the different premises that were put in place in the Libyan context and how the main rationale of the intervention cannot be framed as a liberal peace-building or state-building effort. Also, former president Barack Obama in an interview to Fox News aired in April 2016 openly acknowledged the lack of post-intervention planning. While he did not condemn the intervention per se, he said that the worst mistake of his presidency was a lack of planning for the aftermath of the 2011 toppling of Gaddafi, arguing that "Probably failing to plan for the day after what I think was the right thing to do in intervening in Libya" (The Guardian 2016). Thus, the military intervention left a vacuum behind, and the Western post-conflict approach did not willingly entail any societal metamorphic change.

Restoring security and establishing the rule of law in Libya is of the highest importance to the Libyan population (Abou-Khalil & Hargraves 2015). Western countries and international organizations in addressing the challenges posed by states emerging from conflict or experiencing extreme forms of violent organized crime have resorted to the implementation of stabilization operations. It is undisputable that each post-conflict scenario is characterized by its own specific interplay of local, national, regional and international drivers of insecurity and an effective international engagement in fragile states[2] requires a broad understanding of local politics. Nonetheless, in the scholarly literature there is often a misconception on what stabilization entails, because as it usually happens, reality is more convoluted than abstract conceptualizations, and there is yet no generally agreed upon definition. Although the term stabilization has been widely used by international actors and Western countries, it has been employed to refer to a different set of actions, in different contexts. Often the term has been combined with other ones adopted in discussions related to peacekeeping, peace-building, state-building, development and security (Lucarelli et al. 2017, p. 13). Among others, Muggah (2014a) argues "The conceptual and operational parameters of these stabilization interventions are still opaque". But even though the definitional effort has not yet produced an agreed upon conceptualization, there is a broader consensus on some key factors. First of all, it can be assumed that stabilization refers to situations of insecurity and instability in weak and fragile states that require a comprehensive and integrated approach to achieving stability (Muggah 2014b). Secondly, stabilization is pragmatic and problem solving (Lucarelli et al. 2017). It aims to support the delivery of basic services and maintain security when national authorities are not able to exercise effective control over the territory while, at the same time, strengthening the institutions (de Coning et al. 2017). Projects focused on the reconstruction of public services and the delivery of security are central elements for the people's lives on one side, and on the other, to increase the state's legitimacy in their eyes (Gordon 2010). Thirdly, stabilization needs to be a locally-owned process aimed at facilitating agency and empowerment of local actors. Stabiliza-

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[2] Although there is no consensus on the definition of the concept of "fragility", as it is still widely used, in this paper it will be used to identify an unstable situation.

tion intends to help state institutions to restore and further develop an effective political power and the ability to withstand external shocks (Mac Ginty & Richmond 2013; Rotmann 2016). As municipalities are delegated to the implementation of quick-impact projects of stabilization, empowering local actors can contribute to building consensus among the population, but local dynamics have to be carefully evaluated. In the East, Libya military officers have replaced some mayors; elsewhere, armed and informal groups have tried to replace democratically elected authorities (Loschi et al. 2018). Extra-legal economies flourish and it is fundamental that the international players do not contribute to the strengthening of these dynamics, rather than aiming at untangling networks of smugglers, local chiefs, and militias. Moreover, according to Marrone (Lucarelli et al. 2017), stabilization no longer entails ambitious transformative goals, but rather focusing on the local political context, where lower benchmarks and standards can be deemed as appropriate. So, the reference point for stabilization efforts has lowered and is based on the assumption that it should reduce and prevent the net harm done to people and polities (Zyck & Muggah 2015). Moreover, compared to liberal peace-building interventions, stabilization operations are generally less metamorphic. To put it more concretely, these operations aim at supporting the legitimacy of state institutions, while opening or enlarging the political space for a viable peace process to take root (Lucarelli et al 2017). Therefore, rather than transplanting liberal democratic institutions, stabilization is based on domestic actors and should take into account what works at the local level.

Thus, many doubts still emerge on what is stabilization in Libya. Is it peace-building or state-building? Is it a process or an end state? Stabilization is an international approach in post-conflict intervention aimed at bringing stability, which is an evolution of peace-building and state-building, and therefore it requires an integrated approach among different dimensions (Lucarelli et al. 2017). It is not a straightforward operation that goes from conflict to peace, or just reconstruction of what was destroyed and rebuilding from ashes, but it is rather a lengthy and complex political-economic process that involves also re-distributional dynamics, bargaining with the elite, and power struggles. If it merely reflects the balance of power on the ground, opposing winners and los-

er may enhance grievances and contribute to widen the base for future contentions. Even though stabilization is conceived to be a short-term process, the implications it bears at the political, social, institutional, and economic levels are long-term. Otherwise, there is the possibility of setting up the conditions for protracted conflict that may continue for decades along regional, ethnic and sectarian lines (Adly 2018). Thus, it is clear that there seem to be a contradiction between short-term goals focused on the immediate reconstruction of public services and security infrastructure, with more long-term attainments related to development activities.

As there is no established definition of stabilization in the literature, in this paper the concept of stabilization will be broadly operationalized as follows: a set of activities aimed at reestablishing security priorities, service delivery, rule of law; kickstarting the economy; and putting in place measures towards democratic transition. The analysis takes into account the individual perception of stability by the population in order to assess which are the determinants that influence their attitudes, and evaluate which factors are important for the local population and need to be taken into account in the stabilization approach towards Libya.

4. Women in Stabilization Processes

Nearly 18 years have passed since the adoption of the United Nation Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security, which calls for the protection of women and girls in conflict and for the participation of women in peace processes. On one hand, emerging scholarship on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda is increasingly contributing to security studies and IR literature, and on the other, in policy-making there is the growing recognition that gender equality should be included as a pivotal element fostering sustainable peace and development (de Jonge Oudraat 2013). Nonetheless, gender hierarchies are reproduced as gender-inequality in post-conflict countries remain an issue and peace-building practices continuously fail to include women in the decision-making process (Anderlinini 2007; Bell & O'Rourke 2010). In this context, it is relevant to reflect on how gender is informed and reproduced by practices and processes in post-conflict scenarios. It is very complicated to separate

post-conflict peacekeeping, peacebuilding, security sector reform and stabilization as distinct phases, indeed "the various processes relate to each other and are deeply integrated" (Ní Aoláin et al. 2011, p. 86). Stabilization also entails reflecting upon gender dynamics, and on the extent to which the possibility to reconstruct communities that have been shattered will be based on the reproduction of old exclusions and oppression or will be open to reshaping gender relations. Post-conflict stabilization, a heuristic device that can be only conceptualized in fuzzy temporal terms, entails a timing that comes after the end of conflict, but is not necessarily a time alien to violence, insecurity, militarization (Handrahan 2004). Labelling a post-conflict effort as peace-building, state-building or stabilization bears consequences not quite in terms of which response mechanism is better equipped to bring about the sought-after result, but rather in relations to the mandate, resources and network that international actors have. Thus, the kind of intervention chosen intrinsically bears a specific configuration of the post-conflict scenario, that in turn has gender repercussions (McLeod 2011). Therefore, it is important to ponder on the extent to which stabilization entails transformative goals of the society to be rebuilt and normative assumptions on the kind of society, which include gender relations as well. Efforts to include gender dimensions are generally threefold and include women-focused activities; gender aware-programming; and gender transformation (McLeod 2019). The first entails recognizing that conflict affects women differently and developing ad hoc programs on one side, while on the other aiming at developing strategies to increase women's participation in the political arena. Gender-aware programming refers to idea of gender mainstreaming, where gender issues are considered in all policy formulation and implementation across all areas. Gender transformation requires a pluri-dimensional metamorphosis of society freed from "violence, whether it be military, economic or sexual" (Tickner 1992, p. 66), and therefore a more secure society. Moreover, this analysis wishes to reflect on the interaction between local and international actors, and how different understanding of gender might impact the process of post-conflict stabilization. Within the conceptual model of hybridity in peace and conflict studies, the reflection has been brought on the ways that "local actors subvert, exhaust, renegotiate and resist the liberal peace" (Mac Ginty 2011, p. 6). Thus, different

actors might have different agendas, and it can be a useful analytical tool to understand that there are context-specific power dynamics at play.

In post-reconstruction efforts, it is crucial to highlight possible "gender gaps" through the installation of institutions capable of drafting and implementing gender equality policies (Gizelis & Pierre 2013). Research also points out how states where gender equality is guaranteed are less likely to fall back into internal conflict (Caprioli 2005). At the same time, when transitioning from conflict to post-conflict, implementation of gender rights is slow and complicated, ending in a de-prioritizing of a gender dimension, therefore reinforcing tacitly or explicitly gender hierarchies (Selimovic & Larsson 2014). Thus, the aim of gender mainstreaming is to ensure that men and women are not discriminated against and that they can both benefit from policies and actions and be equally empowered, regardless of their gender. Increasing women's participation is not only a matter of ensuring equal rights to women but also it has developed into a functionalist argument about improved operational effectiveness of crisis management and sustainability of conflict resolution (Meiske 2015). Participation of women in stabilization process implies also inclusion in the various national and transitional forums in which roadmaps for societal transformation are drawn up. It means involving women in the decision-making process of formal structures and informal spaces (such as civil society organizations). Taking into account a broader gender dimension, accounting for how men and women construct their masculinity and femininity (in their daily lives as well), and acknowledging the role of gender norms, constructions, and relations that shape gender inequalities within society risks is deemed to be crucial to understanding opportunities and obstacles to stabilization. Moreover, understanding how the insecurity is framed (from civil and military standpoints) is also functional to shed light on how the latter is related to gender. Adopting a gender dimension to post-conflict settings entails taking stock of women's activities aimed at increasing the overall security of their societies, but it also means recognize that women and men are differently affected by post-conflict destabilization in terms of discriminatory policies, basic human rights violations, poverty and access to justice. It is also fundamental to identify how gender imbalances in stabilization policies produce related deficiencies, which either overlook or actively

marginalize women, moving past a traditional security studies framework that structures the discourse in binary biased conceptualization terms: women as helpless victims *vs.* men as active perpetrators of violence or rights' violations. Focusing on women as agents of social transformation and change, instead of as victims of violence only, presuppose enriching the analytical perspective in order not to underestimate the importance of gender in stabilization policies. Therefore, effective tools to make the gender balance less unfavorable to women could entail (i) promoting women's access to finance (ii) establishing baselines with a gender focus on helping the government to formalize women's participation in national reconstruction efforts (iii) using legal reform initiatives to ensure that existing gender-discriminatory legislation is revised and that new legislation provides a level playing field for women (World Bank 2011). Helping women to recover socially and economically from violence is beneficial for women themselves, but also their families and communities, as involving women in security, justice, and economic empowerment programs can deliver results and support stabilization in the short-term and institutional change in the longer-term.

5. Women's Role in Stabilization in Libya

Alexander and Welzel (2011a) argue that there is strong and pervasive gender inequality in the Muslim countries. The same authors (2011b) also claim that women's empowerment is inherently emancipative and a belief-mediated process. Therefore, those people who support women's empowerment are more likely to support liberal democracy (Kostenko et al. 2015). Inglehart and Norris (2003), in their seminal work, find that attitudes towards gender equality are strong predictors of democratic aspirations around the world. Fish (2002) finds large gaps between female and male literacy in the region, imbalanced sex ratio and segregation at school, work, and leisure places and argues that gender disparity and oil-based economy are the major explanatory factors explaining the lack of democracy in the Muslim countries.

Still, during the anti-regime uprising in Libya, women were at the forefront in the protests against the country's government, as much as their male counterparts. In particular, young women were demonstrating for the creation of a new Libyan society

and were calling for an inclusive and just transition to democracy and national reconciliation (Langhi 2014). Women took active part in the revolution, as they were involved as spokesperson, weapons smugglers, nurses, and fighters (Langhi 2014; Stephen et al. 2011). The operative role that Libyan women played in the revolution, as they did in Tunisia and Egypt, seemed to lay the foundation for their active participation in the rebuilding of the country. But in the following months after the revolution, Libya descended into religious and tribal chaos, reaching a new low with the start of the second civil war in 2014. Acts of violence against women happened routinely, as they suffered threats by Islamist militias, human traffickers and tribal violence - putting the feminist battle back where it started (Bocchi 2017). But if the general feeling is that women don't regret taking part in the revolution, after the second civil war the situation for Libyan women varies according to which group, tribe, family, she belongs to, and where she resides. They hold different roles throughout the country, and it is very hard to divide them among geo-political, religious or tribal lines. The 2014 civil war split the country into various factions, and while in the East, the self-proclaimed anti-Islamist government has in fact many Salafist influences within its ranks whom try to limit women's freedoms, in the South traditionalism has given women stronger roles, as they are customarily the family and tribe decision-makers (Bocchi 2017). Moreover, presently from a legal point of view, Libyan law doesn't consider domestic violence as a criminal offence. Concerning marriage, divorce and inheritance women are discriminated against, as they don't benefit from the same protection accorded to men. Also, the penal code provides that a man killing or injuring his wife or another female relative if she is suspected of having a relationship outside the bond of marriage can be subjected to a reduced sentence. What is more, article 424 of the penal code stipulates that if a rapist marries her victim, the culprit can escape prosecution. On 16 February 2017, the chief of staff of the LNA, Abdelrazeq al-Nadhouri, issued a travel ban for women who wished to leave the country, unless accompanied by a man. After a week, following a wave of public condemnation, the order was replaced by another one, compelling all women and men from 18 years old to 45 to obtain security clearance ahead of any international travel from east Libya (HRW 2018). In terms of political representation, women represented less than

6% in Libya's first post-revolution government and only 3% of the candidates in the first election post-revolution. In fact, women's participation as candidates, registered voters, voters, and observers declined between 2012 and 2014. Consistent with the general rolling back of political gains for women between 2012 and 2014, women's participation during this period declined in the GNC, CDA and HoR elections (UNDP 2014). Evidence indicates that the drop can be attributed to general factors, such as disillusionment with the political direction of the country, security, mobility, access, and social constraints (UNDP 2014). Thus, even though the civil role that women play in the country is more frequently acknowledged, the political role that women could play is less accepted.

After 2014, with the deterioration of the security situation, to support Libyan women in advancing their rights and fostering their inclusion in conflict resolution has become critical. The UNDP contributed to the set-up of the "Libyan Women's Minimum Agenda for Peace" and since 2016 it carries out a project called 'Advancing Libyan Women's Participation During the Transition' to back the Women's Empowerment and Support Unit in the Office of the Prime Minister and play an active role in ensuring that women's rights are integrated in transitional policies and legislations, and to assist women's organizations to provide an effective lobby for women's rights. In this context, two events were organized to ensure a safe space for women for discussion about political decision-making processes and how gender equality can be reflected in the outcomes of political dialogues[3]. In September 2017, a gathering brought together women, policymakers and civil society to share their experiences and expertise in order to review the draft proposal of the Constitution from a gender perspective and propose gender provisions. In November 2017, a three-days round table discussion was organized to draw up a roadmap for how Libyan women can build peace in their daily life[4]. Some participants explained that there are Libyan laws that support women's rights but need to be rewrit-

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[3] UNDP Libya, Press Release, 21 Novembre 2017, http://www.ly.undp.org/content/libya/en/home/presscenter/articles/2017/11/21/women-review-libyan-legislation-within-a-gender-perspective.html
[4] UNDP Libya, Advancing Libyan Women's Participation During the Transition, http://www.ly.undp.org/content/libya/en/home/operations/projects/democratic-governance-and-peacebuilding/advancing-libyan-women-s-participation-during-the-transition.html

ten in a more detailed way, so tradition does not manipulate the law[5]. For instance, in the South women are not allowed to drive because of the conservative culture, even though the law stipulates that every adult person has the right to drive. The UNDP efforts show that taking into account gender issues is crucial, as in a transition process which involves rebuilding society, if given the opportunities and the means, women can assert their presence, voice their concerns, and bring different and constructive perspectives to the table.

Moreover, as women bring different visions on how to share power, address security concerns, and promote human rights (OECD 2007), the Women's Empowerment Section of UNSMIL, through a two-year strategy (2017-2018), promotes women's participation in the security sector and in formal delegations and provides safe spaces for Libyan women from Civil Society Organizations and activists to make their voice heard in peace processes and work towards specific gender provisions. It also advocates for one third of women representation in all governance structures. This is the only venue where women's voices are heard. Indeed, the Stabilization Facility of Libya (SFL), for instance, has not developed a specific gender analysis and its Project Document does not contain gender equality markers, nor sets out a commitment for spending a certain % for gender specific activities (UNDP 2019). Some work is underway on gender mainstreaming in the conflict analysis of local peace structures and through a second initiative on the potential for establishing women's networks for local peace under the SFL (UNDP 2019). Thus, initiatives supporting gender mainstreaming are being initiated by individual partners and they are still too scarce and deprioritized.

6. Data and Method

The next section of the paper will be devoted to the examination of determinants of a bottom-up stabilization approach taking into consideration the preferences of local actors. Relying on OLS regression analysis, the study provides insights on the impact of predictors that influence Libyans' perception of stability. The study tests the hy-

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[5] UNDP Libya, Press Release, 21 Novembre 2017, http://www.ly.undp.org/content/libya/en/home/presscenter/articles/2017/11/21/women-review-libyan-legislation-within-a-gender-perspective.html

pothesis of certain ideological attitudes against another hypothesis concerning gender equality that so far has not received sufficient attention. As in general women, along with children, are the most affected group by violent conflict (Crespo-Sancho 2017) and they tend to value more stability and predictability to protect their family's environment (Golebiowska 1999), it is assumed that men and women have different perceptions of stability, with women being more likely to have a perception of instability in a context of fragility. Moreover, attitudes towards corruption, human rights, the government, the implementation of reforms, and foreign intervention are considered as explanatory variables and are hypothesized to contribute in defining the attitudes towards stability in Libya. It is expected that the more people have negative attitudes towards corruption, the government, democracy and human rights and foreign intervention, the more likely they are to perceive a sense of instability. Also, it is hypothesized that the more people have negative attitudes towards gender equality the more likely they are to have a negative perception of stability, due to the fact that gender equality and women's empowerment are considered as predictors of a country's stability and security. Socio-economic variables such as age, level of education, income level, tribal association and area of residence are used as controls.

This study uses data from the Third Wave of the Arab Democracy Barometer[6] (2012-2014)[7]. The survey is based on a nationally representative multi-stage area probability sampling of the population aged 18 and above. The Libyan sample comprises interviews with 1,247 citizens. It is appropriate for this analysis, as it includes information

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[6] Arab Democracy Barometer Wave III (2012-2014). The data collection was carried out from 29th March 2014 to 18th April 2014. For online data, see Arab Barometer website: http://www.arabbarometer.org/waves/arab-barometer-wave-iii/#technical-reports. After the Arab Spring surveying became possible in Libya, and to date only two public opinion polling exist on Libya. One is the Arab Democracy Barometer, and the other is the Wave 6 (2010-2014) of the World Value Survey. The first has been preferred as its battery of questions is explicitly designed to be comparable with Barometers in Latin America, Africa and Europe, and can therefore be exploited for future comparative analysis.

[7] This is not the most recent Arab Democracy Barometer, as a fourth wave has been carried out in 2016-2017, but due to internal turmoil the survey doesn't include Libya. Therefore, as of January 2019, Arab Democracy Barometer Wave III is the latest source available for Libyan public polling. The data were conducted in face-to-face public opinion surveys (PAPI). Even if the situation has changed since the survey was conducted, not only it is the most recent data available, but also it is a useful source of information to gauge individual perceptions. The security, political and economic situations have largely deteriorated since 2014, so the discussion of the results refers up until that period.

regarding the opinions of Libyans on the perceived level of security, rule of law, democracy, governance and state of the economy. Moreover, the sample size ensures that there are a sufficient number of cases to be analyzed.

In order to grasp what are the dimensions influencing the perception of stability four regressions models are presented in Table 2. The selected variables are included according to the salience evidenced in previous studies on post-conflict intervention.

To appraise the perception of stability by Libyans, the outcome variable is assessed with an index measuring the aforementioned six dimensions[8]. It is a pseudo-interval variable, whose lower values indicates the respondents have a positive perception of stability and higher values denote a perception of instability [9]. According to the relevant literature mentioned earlier, several dimensions of the perception of stabilization have been taken into account: security; rule of law; economic situation; services delivery and efficiency; performance of political institutions; and democratic transition.

- The security dimension has been assessed through several questions: "Do you currently feel that your own personal as well as your family's safety and security are ensured or not?"; "Based on your actual experience, how difficult or easy is it to obtain assistance from public security when needed"; "Generally speaking, how would you evaluate the performance of the police in carrying out its tasks and duties?; "How would you evaluate the performance of the national army in carrying out its tasks and duties?".

- The opinion on rule of law[10] has been measured using a different set of questions: "How would you evaluate the performance of the judiciary in carrying out its tasks and duties?; "Based on your actual experience, how difficult or easy is it to obtain access the relevant official to file a complaint when you feel that your rights have been violated".

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[8] The six variables have all been scaled on a continuum from 0 to 1 to allow comparison among scales. The code is available in the appendix.

[9] Respondents that refused to answer, or replied don't know, or didn't provide an answer have been recoded as missing cases.

[10] The variable created to measure the perception on rule of law has been scaled and '0' represents a good situation and "1" is a negative one.

- To grasp the satisfaction of the interviewees with the state of the economy[11] in Libya the following question has been taken into consideration: "How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country";

- "How would you evaluate the current government's performance on improving basic health services" is the selected query employed to estimate the satisfaction with the provision of services[12].

- Three inquiries have been used to create a variable on the perception of the performance of political institutions[13]: "How would you evaluate the performance of the government"; "How would you evaluate the performance of the Parliament"; "How would you evaluate the performance of the local government".

- Concerning democratic transition[14], a question has been included to delve into this dimension as well: "How would you evaluate the government's performance on managing the democratic transition process".

All these factors have been merged to create the dependent variable measuring the perception of stability[15]. Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of the dependent variable. It also shows that women perceive Libya as more stable than men, and also less than one fourth of population think that their country is stabilized.

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[11] The variable accounting for the economic situation in the country has been scaled and '0' indicates a good situation and "1" stands for a negative state.

[12] No other question concerning the delivery of public services was included in the questionnaire.

[13] A new index variable has been created and scaled from '0' which is the estimation of a good performance of political institutions towards '1' which implies a negative perception of the political bodies' actions.

[14] The scaled variable on democratic transition goes from '0' for a good assessment to '1' for a negative one.

[15] The value of Cronbach's alpha of the stabilization variable is 0.81. The factor analysis reports that all factors load above 0.50, and the p value is significant ($p < 0.001$). The Eigen value for the first factor is 2.72, which is well above the common rule that entails an Eigen value > 1. All statistical measures are available in the appendix.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of the perception of stability according to gender
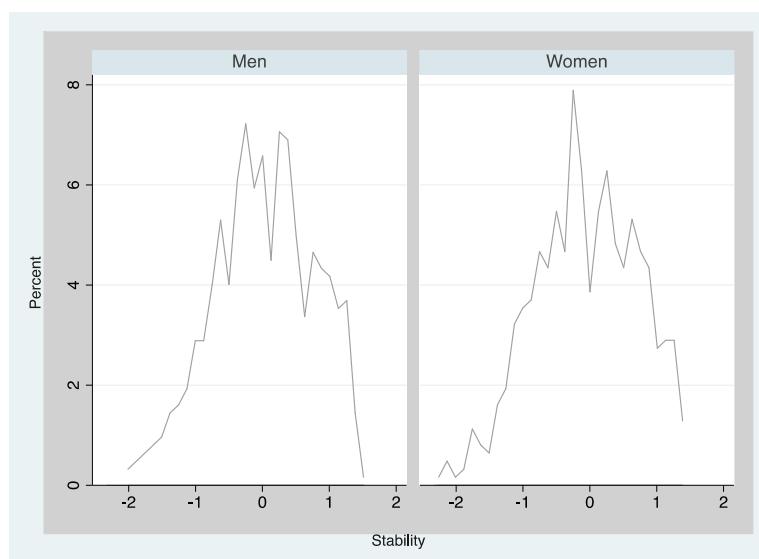
Source: author's elaboration

The models take into account socio-demographic factors, including gender[16], age[17], level of education[18], income level[19], employment[20], tribalism[21] and place of residence (urban or rural area)[22]. This study considers as ideological variables corruption, gender equality, respect of human rights, satisfaction with the government, preference for a gradual reform process, and attitudes towards foreign intervention. All continuous variables have been scaled from 0 to 1 to allow comparison among coefficients.

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[16] Dummy variable for gender, coded '0' for men and '1' for women.

[17] This is an interval variable going from 18 years old to 85 years old.

[18] This variable is a pseudo-interval variable with seven categories ranging from illiterate; primary school; middle school; secondary school; professional training; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree.

[19] This variable is a dummy variable coded '0' for 'our household income does not cover our expenses and we face difficulties in meeting our needs', and '1' for 'our household income covers expenses without difficulties'.

[20] Dummy variable for occupation coded '0' for unemployed and '1' for employed. The unemployed category applies to all the respondents that do not perceive a source of income from paid work (unemployed, students, housekeepers, pensioners) while employees, self-employees, and workers for a family business are categorized as employed.

[21] Socio-politically Libya is cluster of different ethnic, cultural, religious and tribal backgrounds, which play a significant role in terms of political disintegration, cultural schism and ideological polarization (Langhi, 2014). Therefore, a variable concerning the respondents belonging to a family or tribal association has been comprised in the model to assess whether membership in such a community can be a factor influencing stabilization. It is a dummy variable coded '0' 'not belonging to a family/tribal association' and '1' for 'member of a family/tribal association'.

[22] This is a dummy variable coded '0' for 'living in a rural area' and '1' for 'living in an urban area'.

6.1 Support for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment

In order to determine the respondents' attitudes related to the status of women within society, a variable on gender equality has been created merging several questions: "Tell me the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each statement: A married woman can work outside the home; University education for males is more important than university education for females"; "Considering your own country's constitution, what is the importance of insuring equal rights between men and women". This indexed variable is measured continuously (10 positions scaled from 0 to 1) where '0' indicates support for gender equality and women's empowerment and '1' implies more negative attitudes.

6.2 Corruption

Corruption was rampant under Gaddafi's rule, and in the post-revolution period the situation has only worsened. All sectors of Libyan economy suffer from widespread corruption, due to lack of transparency, weak institutional framework and political instability and violence, which undermines the rule of law (Kamba, 2012). Bribery and favoritism are common practices, which coupled with weak judicial authorities, make it difficult to enforce a truly equitable, fair and just system. This variable has been assessed through the item: "Do you think that there is corruption within the state's institutions and agencies?" that aims to gauge into the extent to which corruption influence the perception of stability[23].

6.3 Democracy and Human Rights Situation

Stabilization process involves efforts in different sectors that seek to secure basic needs of the population and support the state-building efforts to strengthen structures that solidify peace in order to prevent relapse into conflict. The aim is to invest post-conflict societies with several elements, including some form of democracy to reduce the ten-

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[23] It is codified as a dummy variable, where '0' implies that the respondent doesn't believe that state's institutions and agencies are corrupted and '1' for the interviewees whom think that their actions are tainted by fraud.

dency towards arbitrary power and give voice to all segments of society, and rule of law to reduce human rights violations. To this end, a categorical variable[24] concerning the state of democracy and human rights has been included in the model.

6.4 Satisfaction With the Government

Mounting grievances towards the government and general dissatisfaction and disappointment with its actions are expected to influence the perception of stabilization. A Likert scale 0-10 has been used to appraise the people's attitudes towards the government[25], where '0' is absolutely unsatisfied and '10' is completely satisfied[26].

6.5 Gradual Reform

As reforms after revolutionary events, such as the Arab Spring followed by foreign intervention and the deposition of General Gaddafi in 2011 can bring swift changes within the political system framework, a variable[27] concerning political reforms has been included in the model. It gauges into citizens' preference for gradual reforms rather than immediate ones.

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[24] Question q504 recites: "If you were to evaluate the state of democracy and human rights in your country today, would you say that they are: very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, very bad". The variable has been coded in a categorical variable where '1' stands for a positive situation and '3' for a negative one and the baseline is 2 'neither god nor bad".

[25] The question states: "Suppose that there was a scale from 0-10 to measure the extent of your satisfaction with the government, in which 1 means that you were absolutely unsatisfied with its performance and 10 means that you were very satisfied. To what extent are you satisfied with the government's performance?".

[26] This interval variable has been scaled from 0 to 1.

[27] The item asks: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Political reform must be implemented in stages (gradually) (step by step) rather than immediately?". It has been recoded into a dummy variable, where '0' indicates a preference for gradual reforms, and '1' predilection for immediate political reforms.

6.6 Foreign Interference[28]

Since 2011, the interference of regional actors and international powers contributed to dividing the country and made it harder to engage in a true process of national reconciliation (Mezran & Varvelli 2017). The UN established the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) in September 2011, as the main international institution that seeks reconciliation between various revolutionary groups. Then, Egypt, the UAE and Russia formally support the UN-led negotiations and al-Sarraj's government, while unofficially they are loyal to Haftar's forces. Turkey, Qatar and Sudan back forces grouped under the Libya Dawn coalition. Western countries, especially the Italy, endorse UN-backed Tobruk based Government of National accord led by al-Sarraj. Therefore, diverging interests and approaches are assumed to influence Libyans' perception of stabilization. Hence, a variable looking into the attitudes towards foreign intervention in the country is taken into account "To what extent to you agree that foreign interference is an obstacle to reform in your country"; "Foreign investment in your country is very positive; somewhat positive; has no impact; negative; very negative"; "Foreign investment people at a similar employment condition as yours is very positive; somewhat positive; has no impact; negative; very negative". This index variable consists of twelve positions, measured on a scale from 0 to 1.

After having defined and coded the variables[29], a multi-variate regression equation[30] is estimated and Table 2 shows the results of the regression.

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[28] It has to be stressed that the codebook does not specify whether international interference refers only to State actors or also to international institutions such as the UN and the EU. As the question is inserted in the subset of questions titled "The Arab World and International Relations", which comprises queries on regional actors, Western countries, and the European Union, it is assumed that the question refers to all of the above.

[29] A post-stratification weight has been applied to the model as it adjusts for sampling error and non-response bias as well as different selection probabilities.

[30] The outcome variable meets the measurement assumption, as it is a pseudo-interval variable. Predictors include several dummy variables, interval variables, and one categorical variable taken into consideration as three dummy variables, so they fit the measurement assumptions for independent variables. A multicollinearity check has been carried out. Scores on the outcome variable are statistically independent of each other. The model includes all the relevant predictors, based on the analysis of the relevant literature. The categories of the outcome variable are exhaustive and mutually exclusive, because each case in the study is shown to be a member of one group or the other but not both. All the missing data 'refusals' and 'don't knows' that were present in each variable have been coded in order to exclude them from the analysis.

Table 2. Multi-regression models with standardized regression coefficients on the perception of stability

Predictors	Gender gap Model 1	Socio-demographic Model 2	Gender Equality Model 3	Ideological Model 4
Gender	**-0.12****	**-0.12****	-0.08	**-0.09***
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Age		-0.23	**-0.25***	-0.19
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Education		0.14	0.11	0.08
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Income		**-0.16*****	**-0.17*****	-0.04
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Tribalism		**-0.14***	**-0.16***	-0.11
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Rural/Urban		**0.14***	**0.12***	0.11
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Gender equality			**0.56*****	
			(0.14)	
Corruption				**0.18***
				(0.09)
Human rights 1 *(baseline human rights 2)*				**-0.31***** (0.06)
Human rights 3 *(baseline human rights 2)*				**0.30***** (0.05)
Government satisfaction				**-0.73*****
				(0.08)

Gradual reform				**0.26*****
				(0.07)
Foreign interference				-0.18
				(0.13)
Constant	0.05	0.00	-0.17	-0.08
	(0.03)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.14)
N	1247	1165	1108	864
R^2	0.006	0.031	0.045	0.304
adj. R^2	0.006	0.026	0.039	0.295

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001 in two-tailed test of significance

Source: Arab Democracy Barometer Wave III

7. Discussion of the Results on the Perception of Libya's Stability

The first model shows that women have a slightly less negative perception of stability than men. The coefficient doesn't show a very substantial gender gap but still women have a better perception of the country's stability than men.

The second model accounts for socio-demographic factors influencing the perception of stability. First of all, gender is again a significant element, thus indicating a gender gap, with women being less likely to perceive instability as compared to men. Moreover, the level of household income, which has been used as a proxy for social class, is another statistically significant variable, suggesting that those who have a higher level of income are less likely to feel their country is unstable. Therefore, wealthier people perceive less the consequences of instability, as they have the means to better readjust to adverse security, service provision, and economic concerns. As far tribalism, the people that belong to tribal association have a better perception of stability of the country. Also, those living in an urban area are more likely to perceive the instability of the country as compared to those living in a rural zone. Thus, to sum up, men who don't belong to a family or tribal association, live in urban districts and have lower incomes, are more likely to perceive a worse stability situation in the country. Age and education do no account for any statistically significant variation in the dependent variable[31].

The third model shows that controlling for socio-demographic determinants, gender equality is statistically significant. Gender equality is an essential component in any country's security and stability, as excluding women from actively participating in society can increase the risk of instability. Research has shown that it is also an important element in economic development and a critical predictor of stability and security, which can inform and improve work on conflict prevention (Crespo-Sancho 2017). The respondents who believe in the importance of promoting women's rights tend to have a better perception of stability compared to those who don't support equal opportunities for women and their empowerment. Therefore, it can be argued that policies towards women's empowerment influence the perception on the country's stability, and

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[31] The insignificance of the age variable can be explained with the insufficient variation in the variable itself, as notwithstanding the fact that it goes from 18 to 85 years old, the respondents are distributed in the first half of the scale as the population tends to be very young.

gender equality is a factor that is considered by the population as important for the re-construction of the socio-political system.

The fourth model demonstrates that four ideological attitudes are statistically significant, controlling for socio-demographic variables. First, corruption emerges has a significant variable that has a meaningful impact on the perception of stability. Libyans who believe that corruption is an issue in their country are more likely to have a negative perception of stability as compared to those who believe that there is no corruption within the state's institutions and agencies. Also, Libyans, who evaluate the state of democracy and human rights in the country as poor, have a more negative perception of stability as compared to those who think the state of democracy and human right is neither good nor bad. In contrast, those who evaluate that the situation of human rights and democracy as good have a less negative perception of stability in Libya. To this end, it could be claimed that ensuring the promotion of fundamental human rights is an element contributing to the stability of the country. Furthermore, those who are completely satisfied with the government actions are a lot less likely to perceive instability of the country as compared to those who have a negative image of the government[32]. Hence, in line with the literature and common understanding of crisis management, the model shows that satisfaction and support of the government helps to predict a more stable outcome. Furthermore, those who favor an immediate reform process have a more negative perception of stability, compared to those who support more gradual reforms. Therefore, it can be argued that a step-by-step approach of gradual reforms might give Libyans a more positive perception of the country's stability, rather than immediate, all-encompassing and swift political reform. Interestingly, the model shows that foreign interference is not a significant factor for stabilization.

To sum up, a positive perception of stability of the country is driven by addressing the rampant corruption, promoting gender equality, ensuring the respect of democ-

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[32] As the survey was conducted at the beginning of 2014, it should be reminded that the General National Congress (GNC) was the legislative authority following the first Libyan civil war and was tasked primarily with transitioning the country to a permanent democratic constitution, and it was given an 18-month deadline to fulfil this goal. In June 2014, elections (18% voter turnout) to a new House of Representatives were held as the deadline passed and the work on the Constitution had barely started. Since then, the country is split between the House of Representatives in Tobruk in the East and the internationally recognized Presidential Council and Government of National Accord led by Fayez al-Sarraj in Tripoli.

racy and human rights, fully trusting the government and implementing gradual political reforms. After the end of the hostilities, these elements should be taken into account in any stabilization approach in Libya in order to account for citizens' concerns, interests and inclinations.

Conclusions

The security situation in Libya has deteriorated at a fast pace. In the South, the lack of investment in basic public infrastructure, the insecurity posed by ISIS, the presence of foreign mercenaries and common criminals plague the population. In the North-West conflict continues and it is difficult to foresee how and when it will finally end. The political deadlock has been underpinned by a complex web of conflicting interests, a broken legal framework and the plundering of the country's considerable wealth. On one hand, the lack of regional ceasefires between military actors, and on the other, the scant efforts to fight against terrorism hindered the stabilization process. As on 18 January 2019, the Head of the UNSMIL declared that "Only Libyans themselves can plot a path out of this malaise, towards stability and prosperity" (UN 2019), this study examined Libyans' what are the most relevant socio-demographic and ideological factors that shape their perception of stability. Since 2011, several centralized, top-down approaches have systematically failed. Therefore, a bottom-up stabilization approach, deriving from local actors, accounting for the civilians' will and needs is something that has been missing so far. This study showed that adopting a comprehensive agenda concerning women's rights and empowerment, providing equal opportunities for women and their full participation in the Libyan social and political arenas, are aspects that foster positive attitudes towards stability. Also, ensuring full trust in the government's actions correlates to the perception of stability of the country. It is therefore crucial that political institutions have the capacity to rule over the country. It seems also that in order for stability to be appraised by local actors, Libyans would be more inclined to support graduate reforms rather swift ones. Corruption in state's institutions and agencies is another aspect that has a negative impact on stability's perceptions, and it should be an element to be addressed in policy-making. In conclusion, a holistic approach to gender

mainstreaming; a full support for a democratic system ensuring the promotion of human rights; the implementation of graduate reforms establishing a trustworthy and effective government; and fighting corruption are core issues identified by Libyans as components contributing to the stability of the country and should be taken into account in the stabilization approach that will be put in place. Also, ensuring a full participation of all Libyan social groups is crucial to make sure that stabilization measures bring fruitful results. Including women can also enhance international actors' image as a post-modern 'state', sensitive to gender issues rather than reinforcing traditional gender roles of hyper-masculinized organizations of the military, the police, and the diplomatic service that acts to protect the weak.

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Appendix

Variables descriptive statistics

Statistics	**Stability**	**Gender**	**Age**	**Education**	**Income**	**Tribalism**	**Urban/Rural**
Mean	-.008	.499	.299	.686	.556	.134	.844
Variance	.554	.250	.041	.099	.247	.116	.131
Standard Deviation	.744	.500	.204	.314	.497	.341	.362

Statistics	**Corruption**	**Human Rights**	**Government satisfaction**	**Gradual reform**	**Foreign interference**
Mean	.941	2.223	.193	.115	.424
Variance	.054	.690	.077	.102	.028
Standard Deviation	.233	.830	.278	.319	.167

Cronbach's alpha and correlation matrix of dependent variable (Stability)

Average covariance: .0304956

Number of items in the scale: 6

Scale reliability coefficient: .8183

	Observations	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average Interitem correlation	**Alpha**
Security	653	+	0.7472	0.5996	0.4230	0.7856
Rule of law	720	+	0.7638	0.6230	0.4163	0.7810

Economic situation	1230	+	0.6373	0.3991	0.4948	0.8304
Service	1216	+	0.7607	0.5855	0.4210	0.7843
Political performance	1138	+	0.7926	0.6327	0.3962	0.7664
Democratic transition	1091	+	0.7446	0.5751	0.4258	0.7876
Test scale					**0.4287**	**0.8183**

Code

```
**************************************************************
********************IdPS PAPER****************************
*****************LAURA BERLINGOZZI*******************
gen COUNTRY = country
drop if country == 1 | country == 5|country == 7| country == 8 | country == 9|
country == 10 | country == 13| country == 15| country == 19| country == 21|
country == 22
*STABILIZATION - DEPENDENT VARIABLE*
*security*
gen sec1=q105
recode sec1 (8=.a) (9=.b)
gen sec2=q2054
recode sec2 (8=.a) (9=.b) (5=.c)
gen sec3=q2034
recode sec3 (8=.a) (9=.b)
gen sec4=q2034
recode sec4 (8=.a) (9=.b)
gen sec1gp01=(sec1gp-1)/(4-1)
gen sec2gp01=(sec2gp-1)/(4-1)
gen sec3gp01=(sec3gp-1)/(5-1)
gen sec4gp01=(sec4gp-1)/(5-1)
gen secgp2=sec1gp01+sec2gp01+sec3gp01+sec4gp01
gen secgp01=(secgp2-0)/(4-0)
*rule of law*
gen rl1=q2033
recode rl1 (8=.a) (9=.b)
gen rl2=q2055
recode rl2 (8=.a) (9=.b) (5=.c)
gen rl101=(rl1-1)/(5-1)
```

gen rl201=(rl2-1)/(4-1)

gen rl4=rl101+rl201

gen rl501=(rl4-0)/(2-0)

economic situation

tab q101,nolabel

gen ecsit=q101

recode ecsit (8=.a) (9=.b)

gen ecsit01=(ecsit-1)/(4-1)

services

tab q2044,nolabel

gen service=q2044

recode service (5=.a) (8=.b)

gen service01=(service-1)/(4-1)

performance

tab q2031

gen perfopol1=q2031

recode perfopol1 (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab q2032

gen perfopol2=q2032

recode perfopol2 (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab q2035

gen perfopol3=q2035

recode perfopol3 (8=.a) (9=.b)

gen perfopol101=(perfopol1-1)/(5-1)

gen perfopol201=(perfopol2-1)/(5-1)

gen perfopol301=(perfopol3-1)/(5-1)

gen perfol4=perfopol101 + perfopol201 + perfopol301

gen performancepol=(perfol4-0)/(3-0)

dem transition

tab q20412

gen democtrans=q20412

recode democtrans (5=.a) (8=.b)

gen democtrans01=(democtrans-1)/(4-1)

DEP VARIABLE

alpha secgp01 rl501 ecsit01 service01 performancepol democtrans01, std asis item generate (Stability)

factor secgp01 rl501 ecsit01 service01 performancepol democtrans01

INDEP VARIABLES

gen GENDER = sex

recode GENDER (1=0) (2=1)

*age*18-85

tab q1001, nolabel

gen age= q1001

recode age (0=.a)

gen age01= (age-18)/ (85-18)

level of education

tab q1003, nolabel

gen levedu=q1003

recode levedu (99=7)

gen levedu01 = (levedu -1)/(7-1)

economic level

gen eclev2 = q1016

recode eclev2 (3 4=0) (1 2 =1) (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab eclev2

tribal association

gen tribalass3 = q5015

recode tribalass3 (1=1) (2=0) (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab tribalass3

urban/rural

tab q13, nolabel

```
gen Urb_Rur = q13

recode Urb_Rur (1=1) (2=0)

tab Urb_Rur

*gender eq*

gen Gq01=q6012

recode Gq01(8=.a) (9=.b)

tab Gq01

gen Gq02=q6014

recode Gq02 (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab Gq02

gen Gq03=q812a1

recode Gq03 (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab Gq03

gen Gq04 = Gq01 + Gq02 + Gq03

gen Gq05=(Gq04-3)/(12-3)

*corruption*

tab q210

gen Corr1=q210

recode Corr1 (8=.a) (9=.b)

tab Corr1

recode Corr1 (1=1) (2=0)

*Human rights*

gen H3 = q504

recode H3 ( 1 2 = 1) (3 =2) (4 5 =3) (8=.b) (9=.c)

*satisfaction government*

tab q513, nolabel

gen govsatisf = q513

recode govsatisf (96 =.a) (98 =.b) (99=.c)

gen govsatisf01 = (govsatisf - 0) / (10)

*gradual political reforms*
```

tab q514, nolabel

gen Gradual_reform = q514

recode Gradual_reform (1 2 = 0) (3 4 =1) (8=.b) (9=.c)

tab Gradual_reform

foreign interference

gen Foreign_int = q7113

recode Foreign_int (8=.b) (9=.c)

gen Foreing_int2 = q701d6

recode Foreing_int2 (4=1) (3=2) (2=3)(1=4)(8=.a) (9=.b)

gen Foreing_int3 = q701d5

recode Foreing_int3(4=1) (3=2) (2=3)(1=4)(8=.a) (9=.b)

alpha Foreign_int Foreing_int2 Foreing_int3, asis item generate (fi)

factorForeign_int Foreing_int2 Foreing_int3

gen F_I2 = Foreign_int Foreing_int2 Foreing_int3

gen forint01 = (F_I2-3)/ (14-3)

***

tabstat Stability GENDER age01 levedu02 eclev2 tribalass3 Urb_Rur, statistics (range mean var sd)

tabstat Corr1 H3 dem_satsf01 Gradual_reform forint01, statistics (range mean var sd)

MODELS

Model1

regress Stability GENDER

est table, star b (%8.3f) stats (N) varwidth (40)

fitstat

estimates store mod1, title(Model 1)

Model2 socio-dem

regress Stability GENDER age01 levedu01 eclev2 tribalass3 Urb_Rur

est table, star b (%8.3f) stats (N) varwidth (40)

fitstat

estimates store mod2, title(Model 2)

*gender equality*model 3*

regress Stability GENDER age01 levedu01 eclev2 tribalass3 Urb_Rur Gq05

est table, star b (%8.3f) stats (N) varwidth (40)

fitstat

estimates store mod3, title(Model 3)

*Complete model*model 4*

regress Stability GENDER age01 levedu01 eclev2 tribalass3 Urb_Rur Corr1 ib2.H3

govsatisf01 Gradual_reform forint01

est table, star b (%8.3f) stats (N) varwidth (40)

fitstat

estimates store mod4, title(Model 4)

estout mod1 mod2 mod3 mod4, cells(b(star fmt(3)) se(par fmt(2)))///

legend label varlabels(_cons constant) ///

stats(r2 df_r bic)fmt(3 0 1) ///

label(R-sqr dfres BIC))

esttab mod1 mod2 mod3 mod4 using

"/Users/lauraberlingozzi15/Desktop/modelli1.rtf", b(2) se(2) r2 ar2