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PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY IN LIBYA
INSTITUTIONAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTORS

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UNITED STATES
INSTITUTE OF PEACE

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ABOUT THE REPORT

This report assesses the popular legitimacy of Libya's cur-
rent security providers and identifies their vectors of local,
religious, and legal legitimacy to better understand Libyan
needs in terms of delivery of security services. Derived
from a partnership between the United States Institute
of Peace and Altai Consulting to carry out multifaceted
research on security and justice in postrevolution Libya,
the report develops a quantitative and qualitative research
approach for gathering security and justice perceptions.
It is accompanied by a Special Report on the influence of
Libyan television on the country's security sector.

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Summary

- Libya's security sector landscape is characterized by a myriad of security actors of differing political orientations and areas of geographic control and by the relatively minor role of prerevolutionary security institutions, such as the National Police and National Army.

- The two key sector dimensions are the nature of the actors' de jure command and control lines and religious-political orientations.

- One of the main causes of the fragmentation within the sector is the struggle between those who support the substitution of institutional actors by Islamist-leaning revolutionary brigades and those who want to exclude them.

- Libyans still seek state-sponsored security forces. Support for the National Police dropped to 19 percent in the summer of 2014, yet 52 percent support its being in charge of security provision.

- Short-term security solutions have had little impact on citizen desires to see development of a modern and institutionalized police and army. Libyan Shield Forces and other post-revolutionary security actors are unpopular and considered by a small minority to be part of the National Army.

- Four conclusions are clear: Libya's security landscape has further fragmented in 2014, public confidence in the security situation has decreased, support for institutional actors remains strong, and auxiliary actors have become more visible.

Introduction

Libya's security landscape is becoming increasingly fragmented as the various players try to establish local and national legitimacy on the basis of tribal, territorial, and ideological credentials. The long-term absence and inefficiency of prerevolutionary institutional actors has contributed to the rise of competing postrevolutionary auxiliary security actors who have a de jure connection to the state but operate largely independent of state authority and who often harbor political ambitions and are working to build up their own constituencies.[1] Similarly, the paralysis of the justice system in large parts of the country, notably due to the lack of adequate security conditions following numerous attacks against judiciary and judicial infrastructure, has led to a justice vacuum that is in turn leading to the emergence of nonstate and often sharia-based justice systems. If Libyan authorities do not reinforce their authority over security and justice stakeholders and deliver adequate security and justice services to their citizens, the fragmentation of these sectors will threaten not just Libya's political transition but also the fundamental cohesion in Libyan society and customary governance that has largely held the country together since the 2011 revolution.

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Security Sector Landscape

Libya's security sector landscape is defined in part by the many security actors of differing postures, political and ideological orientations, legalities, reporting structures, and areas of geographic control. It is also defined by the relatively minor role the National Police and National Army play. Unlike in 2013, which demonstrated some success in developing a national security landscape, increased fragmentation of the sector over the course of 2014 appears to have contributed to the development of regional—more precisely, city-based—security sector landscapes. This report thus focuses on Tripoli and Benghazi.

The most important dimension to consider in assessing Libya's security sector is the nature of de jure command and control lines. The actors studied typically report to either the Ministries of Interior or Defense or to the chief of staff or are mandated without reference to any Libyan authority.[2] In reality, the command and control lines may be rather different (see appendix B). This report, however, uses the de jure lines as a starting point for analysis.

The next key dimension, closely linked to command and control, is religious-political orientation for which actors have been categorized in four ways:

- institutional—Gadhafi-era security institutions, such as the National Police and National Army, that generally aim to preserve the prerevolutionary security order
- conservative—conservative postrevolutionary security actors, notably brigades (including those from Zintan, Warshefana, Warfalla, and other prominent eastern tribes) affiliated with communities that have opposed the postrevolutionary order they perceive to be dominated by Misrata[3]
- Islamist—security actors that share a desire for a political Islam and accept the political process, often belonging to communities that backed the 2011 revolution, such as Misrata, Zawiya, and Gharyan
- jihadist—security actors claiming to wage jihad to establish Islamic sharia in Libya, commonly opposing the political process and democracy, often citing democracy as a Western innovation

The last three categories are referred to in this report as *auxiliary security actors* and contrasted with institutional security actors.

Finally, groups have been classified by their posture—whether they are military-leaning (adopting a combative posture, often operating away from their home base), police-leaning (adopting a more security focused posture, often operating in areas around their home base), or mixed. Several groups, such as the Supreme Security Committee (SSC), played key roles in Libya's security landscape in 2014 but have since—on paper at least—disbanded.[4]

Dynamics

One of the main causes of the fragmentation of Libya's security sector is the struggle between supporters of integrating revolutionary brigades into institutional actors, supporters of substituting institutional actors with revolutionary brigades, and supporters of marginalizing Islamist-leaning revolutionary brigades.

Integration

Shortly after the revolution, anxious to avoid a security vacuum similar to that in Iraq after the Iraqi Army was disbanded in 2003, internal and international actors advocated to preserve prerevolutionary, institutional security institutions, such as the National Police and National Army. Part of this strategy aimed to integrate revolutionary brigades that had fought against the Gadhafi regime into these prerevolutionary institutions. The defection of a large number of National Army units to the revolutionary forces during the revolution bolstered the case for integration.

Implementing the strategy has proved particularly challenging, however, because expectations about how Libya's security sector should be shaped in the post-Gadhafi era differ dramatically. Divisions between the institutional and revolutionary camps started to appear as early as July 2011, following the assassination of the commander of the Special Forces, Abd Al Fatah Younis, likely by Islamist hard-liners who were distrustful of an army against which they had waged an insurgency in the 1990s.[5]

From the institutional perspective, it was hoped that the integration strategy would strengthen the vulnerable National Police and National Army. However, thus far it has had little impact other than aggravating the sense of marginalization felt by soldiers and policemen. The police, for example, expected the fall of Gadhafi's regime to improve their conditions and have been disappointed by the lack of progress in this regard. From the revolutionary perspective, the integration strategy has been particularly difficult because revolutionaries have often been perceived as having little value and being Islamist. An Islamist figurehead interviewed in Benghazi in June 2014 argued that "the lack of political will from both political and military authorities has largely explained the failure of the integration strategy." These statements were corroborated by a Benghazi local council leader, who confirmed a reluctance among local police commanders to task revolutionaries with policing activities in the weeks and months after the fall of the regime.[6]

The failure of the integration strategy has led to the emergence of two others that both aim to achieve ideological dominance over Libya's security sector. The revolutionaries' approach can be described as a substitution strategy—revolutionary actors for institutional security actors. The institutionalists' approach can be described as an exclusion strategy—designed to exclude revolutionary elements from the sector.

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Substitution

Since the early stages of the transition, several initiatives were undertaken to promote new security actors to operate in parallel with institutional actors, arguably with the long-term objective of replacing them. Revolutionaries and Islamists in particular supported these initiatives, which culminated in the creation of the SSC and the Libya Shield Forces (LSF). If the establishment of these new security actors was motivated by the necessity to fill the security vacuum, it also answered the desire of some political figures to build wholesale a new army and a new police force. Abderrezak Al Aradi, a leading Muslim Brotherhood figure in Tripoli who openly promoted the idea of a substitution strategy, was one of the main founders of the SSC.[7] Deputy Minister of Defense Khaled Al Sharif, a former Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) commander, designed the National Guard as a reservoir of recruits for a new national army.

Likewise, the first postrevolutionary Army chief of staff, Youssef Al Manqush, pursued the substitution strategy when creating the LSF, which was conceived as a substitute to the National Army. However, the opposition of National Army officers to the substitution approach and the divisions within the revolutionary camp between Islamists and conservatives meant that the plan had to be downgraded and the LSF given a temporary mandate while the National Army was reformed. However, with regard to the LSF, the substitution strategy has achieved some of its long-term objectives in that the LSF now claims to be the National Army and have a monopoly over the legal use of force.

Exclusion Strategy

The Youness assassination in July 2011 was a pivotal moment in the fight for the control of the Libyan security sector.[8] From then on, disagreements between Islamist- and institutional-leaning actors regarding the command of the security apparatus in Libya became increasingly violent. Initiatives to promote new or parallel security actors were perceived as attempts by the institutionalists to take over the security sector in Libya, and opponents described the SSC, LSF, and National Guard as "the Islamist camp's military wings."[9] This has led to retired Libyan Army General Khalifa Haftar's exclusion strategy.[10]

Those in favor of the exclusion approach are mostly eastern-based National Police and National Army officers who worked under the former regime and feel unfairly treated even though they joined the revolution.[11] Conservative security actors (such as the Zintani brigades) and tribes that made up the Gadhafi regime's social base (such as the Warshefana, the Gadhadfa, and certain components of the Warfalla) are also supporters of the strategy in that they share Haftar's negative perception of Islamist or revolutionary groups. Although the General National Congress (GNC) considers Haftar an outlaw, and despite the explicit objection of Army Chief of Staff Jadallah Al Obeidi, some army officers and army units, including the special forces, the navy, and the air force, openly joined Haftar's camp when he announced the start of his Operation Dignity campaign against presumed Islamist terrorist groups. As a former LIFG member noted, "Haftar's latest fighting has brought the different Islamist groups together. They're now facing the same enemy despite the fact that in many cases they do not share the same ideas." Despite making little progress on the military front, Haftar has built up his popular legitimacy thanks to a simplistic anti-Islamist discourse accusing the Muslim Brotherhood of being an externally funded terrorist movement.

Security Situation

Perceptions of the security situation in Libya are deteriorating steadily, with 58 percent reporting security to be "rather good" or "very good" in their area in summer 2014 versus 67 percent in summer 2013.

However, though this deterioration remains modest at the national level, it has been substantial in certain cities. In Tripoli, for example, 27 percent of residents believe that security is "rather bad" or "very bad" compared with 15 percent in 2013. Even more negative tendencies can be seen in Benghazi and Sabha districts. Whereas 20 percent of the population in Benghazi assessed security as being "very bad" in 2013, 48 percent did in 2014 (a result surpassed only by 52 percent in Darnah). In Sabha, the percentage of the population ranking security as "very bad" has almost doubled over the last year, from 27 percent to 49 percent (see figure 1).

Figure 1. How would you evaluate security in your area?*
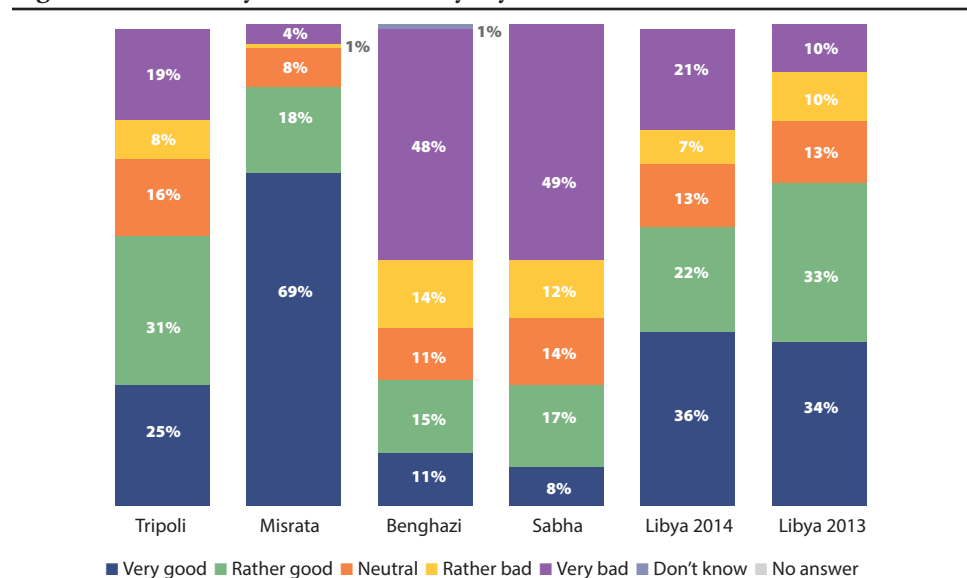
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

These results reflect the notable changes in security conditions in Sabha and Benghazi districts between 2013 and 2014. Both districts have seen repeated clashes for control of key assets and lucrative legal and illegal economic activities: Clashes for the port in Benghazi between LSF Shield and units operating under Khalifa Haftar in June 2014 left several wounded or dead.[12]

Interestingly, districts that are ethnically homogenous and have no sharp internal political divides appear to be much safer than their heterogeneous counterparts, and perceptions of security are clearly more positive than they were. In Misrata, which appears singularly safe compared with other major Libyan cities, perceptions are very positive and improving—with 69 percent considering the security situation to be very good in 2014, versus 46 percent in 2013.[13]

Based on these perceptions, Misrata is Libya's safest large city by a substantial margin, bettered only by Hun city in Jufra district at 81 percent. Outside big urban agglomerations, security perceptions tend to be substantially better. In districts such as Jufra, Marj, Al Butnan, and Al Jabal Al Akhdar, more than 50 percent of the population perceive security as very good (see appendix C).

Focus on Tripoli

Whereas perceptions of security in Tripoli district were relatively positive in the summer of 2013 (just 15 percent of the population considered the situation very bad or rather bad), levels of dissatisfaction almost doubled, to 27 percent, by summer 2014. This change is likely related to the relatively high number of fatal clashes between rival armed groups that occurred in certain parts of the city over the last year. However, perceptions of security vary significantly within Tripoli depending on the urban sector (see figure 2).

Figure 2. How would you evaluate security in your area?

Legend: ■ Very good ■ Rather good ■ Neutral ■ Rather bad ■ Very bad
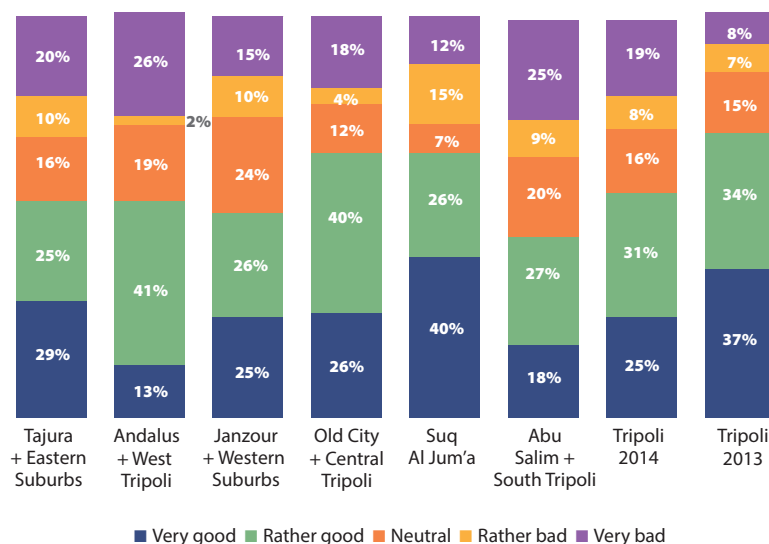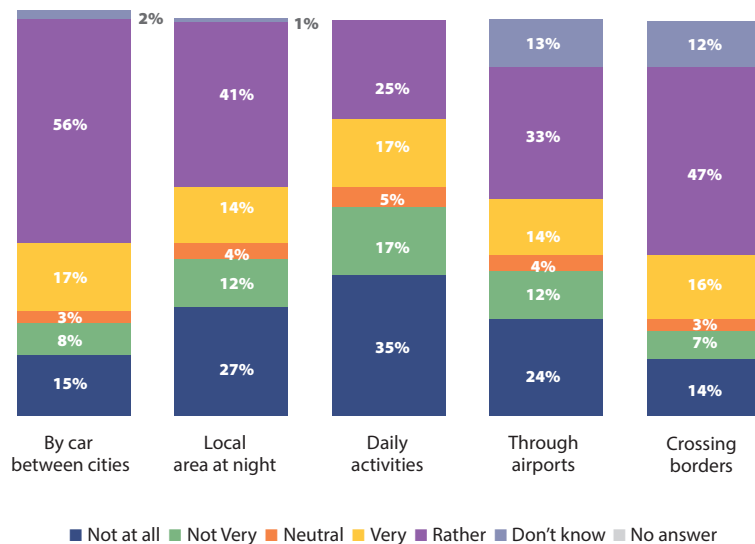
Note: 384 people surveyed.

Residents from areas that have been through several rounds of clashes feel less secure. Among respondents interviewed in the South Tripoli zone—including Abu Salim, Salaheddine, Al Hadba, Al Dreibi (Hay Sana'i), Airport Road, and Qasr Ben Ghashir—34 percent consider their local security to be rather bad or very bad, making it Tripoli's most unsafe zone.[14] That South Tripoli residents should report the worst security situation is not surprising given the demarcation line between Zintani groups on one side and Islamist-affiliated and revolutionary armed groups on the other that runs through the area. No fewer than seven rounds of fighting have occurred in these neighborhoods since June 2013. In many cases, districts in the Abu Salim and South Tripoli zone are populated by tribal groups that migrated from Tarhuna, Bani Walid, or southern areas; have been traditionally loyal to the former regime; and to date have generally rejected the authority of revolutionary groups in charge of policing and security tasks. Since the toppling of the Gadhafi regime, postrevolutionary Islamist groups, such as the Ghnewa SSC unit or the Salah Bakri's Support Branch in Salaheddine, have been in charge of policing tasks in the Abu Salim and Salaheddine areas and reportedly have been involved in arbitrary arrests and instances of torture.[15] Hence, when the Al Qa'qa' Brigade, a Zintani-affiliated group, attacked Ghnewa's headquarters in Abu Salim in June 2013, local armed elements joined the assailants to expel the SSC unit from their area. This breakdown in security often occurs when the population and superimposed local policing forces are not politically aligned.

It is instructive to compare Suq Al Jum'a zone in Tripoli with West and South Tripoli. Some 40 percent of Suq Al Jum'a residents feel very safe versus only 18 percent and 13 percent, respectively, in South and West Tripoli. This strong perception of security in Suq Al Jum'a is well founded. First, despite a relatively heterogeneous tribal composition, residents have a strong sense of local identity and only minor internal political divides. Second, the zone has two powerful and cooperative brigades, Al Nawassi (a former SSC unit that includes a special deterrence force) and the Suq Al Jum'a Martyrs, which are de facto in charge of policing the neighborhood and have strong military capabilities that deter outside interference. Finally, the local brigades benefit from both religious and revolutionary credentials—the heads of both brigades style themselves as sheikhs, and Suq Al Jum'a was one of the first areas in Tripoli to join the revolution.

Causes of Worry

In general, the level of threat Libyans reported increased dramatically from 2013 to 2014. Activities that involve movement outside their neighborhoods are the most worrying—traveling by car between cities in particular (56 percent very worried), followed by movements at night in their areas (41 percent). Paired interviews in Tripoli revealed an increasing fear of night movements to the extent that people were changing their traditional routines to be at home before dark. Intercity movement in fact ranks as significantly more worrying than night movement (see figure 3).

Figure 3. How worried are you when traveling between cities?

	By car between cities	Local area at night	Daily activities	Through airports	Crossing borders
Don't know / No answer	2%	1%		13%	12%
Rather	56%	41%	25%	33%	47%
Very	17%	14%	17%	14%	16%
Neutral	3%	4%	5%	4%	3%
Not Very	8%	12%	17%	12%	7%
Not at all	15%	27%	35%	24%	14%

■ Not at all ■ Not Very ■ Neutral ■ Very ■ Rather ■ Don't know ■ No answer
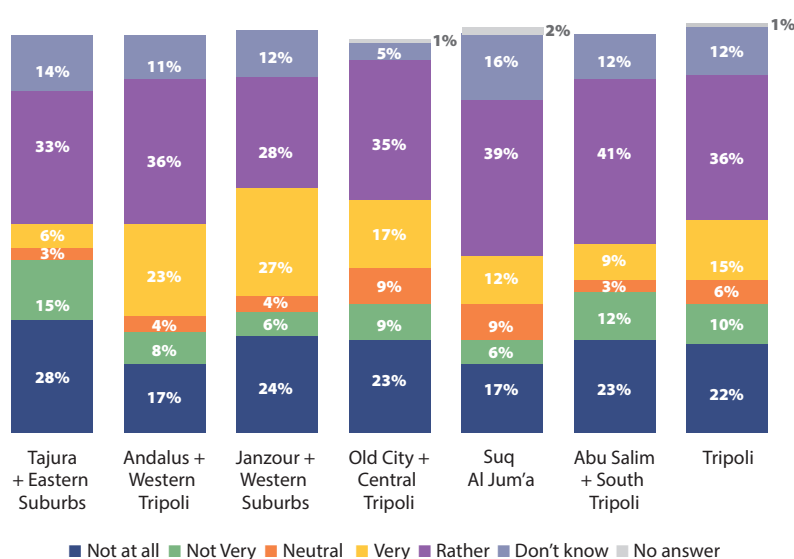
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

Political Tensions

In areas with strong political identities, such as Misrata or Suq Al Jum'a, the population is more subject to politically related concerns. Relatedly, 58 percent of Misratans, who feel very safe within Misrata, feel highly insecure when outside it (for full district detail, see appendix C).

This change is a significant increase from the 46 percent in summer 2013. Although these fears can be partially explained by repeated criminal attacks, such as carjacking, they are also based on considerations related to political affiliation. For example, paired interviews conducted in Misrata revealed numerous cases of political attacks on Misratan truck drivers when driving outside Misrata: "Truck drivers are an important component of the city's economic activity and have a powerful syndicate. They have been victims of attacks in certain localities, we think for political reasons."

Similarly, even though inhabitants of Suq Al Jum'a have better perceptions of security in their area and in conducting daily activities than their counterparts elsewhere in the capital, 39 percent are very worried about travel through Tripoli Airport, which is under the control of a Zintani brigade, which is at the opposite end of the political spectrum. However, this is only slightly more than the 36 percent who report to be very worried when they pass through the airport, showing a broad concern over the repercussions of the airport being under control of political factions other than their own (see figure 4).[16]

Figure 4. How worried are you about traveling through the airport?

Legend: Not at all · Not Very · Neutral · Very · Rather · Don't know · No answer

Note: 384 people surveyed.

The capital's neighborhoods are increasingly perceived as divided along political and ideological lines. A senior tribesman from the Warfalla tribe compared Tripoli with Beirut during the Lebanese civil war, when the city was divided into western and eastern sectors.[17] Although this parallel is probably exaggerated, the reported proliferation of unidentified checkpoints, especially at night, is indeed reminiscent of that conflict. Interview respondents from Tripoli, especially females, reported worries about nighttime checkpoints. As a female student said,

> A month ago my mother and I were driving home in Al Siyahiya neighborhood when we were asked to pull over by bearded gunmen running a checkpoint in Tariq Al Shat, who ordered us not to drive at night alone without a male presence. We don't drive to that part of the city at night anymore.

Crime

Checkpoints and harassment are not the only explanation for the notable deterioration in perceptions of security. Fear of crime, always a determinant factor, has increased dramatically since 2013. Compared with summer 2013, concerns about a range of crimes, such as carjacking, kidnapping, and house burglary, have increased considerably. Interview respondents in Hay Al Andalus confirmed this trend and reported the presence of gangs and bandits in the neighborhood released by Gadhafi before Tripoli was liberated. In addition, small groups of young men, usually affiliated to armed groups, have reportedly squatted in villas abandoned by pro-Gadhafi families, notably in the neighborhoods of Gharghour, Hay Al Andalus, and Gurji. Originally from cities such as Misrata, Nalut, and Zintan, these young and armed men fill a military role and are usually affiliated with armed groups in their hometowns. Empowered by this position, and outside of any form of social or family control, some of these young men are reportedly involved in criminal activities, a trend that increased after they stopped receiving salaries.[18]

56 percent of respondents reported to be very worried about kidnapping in 2014, in comparison with 33 percent in 2013.

Examining the fear of kidnapping in greater depth is worthwhile because it shows that the fear of crime more generally is on the rise in Libya. For example, 56 percent of respondents reported to be very worried about kidnapping in 2014, in comparison with 33 percent in 2013. Several high-profile cases of political kidnapping were well publicized in 2014. Among others, the sons of the minister of defense and the head of Al Saeqa Special Forces were kidnapped in Tripoli and Benghazi, respectively. GNC member Suleiman Zueibi was kidnapped at a Tripoli checkpoint run by a group from Zintan. Many criminal kidnappings, usually targeting young women and wealthy individuals, were also reported. Interviews with ordinary Libyans revealed that most cases are dealt with through private channels, and victims' families avoid referring to the National Police for fear of retaliation.

Populations in Tripoli and Sabha are more worried about kidnapping than respondents from other parts of the country, with 74 percent and 65 percent, respectively, very worried, which is even higher than the 60 percent in Benghazi, where the population expressed the strongest overall perceptions of insecurity. Within Tripoli, wealthy zones such as West Tripoli and Central Tripoli appear to be more exposed to criminality, and residents there are significantly more worried about kidnapping (83 percent and 79 percent) than in other areas, such as Suq Al Jum'a (70 percent). This is likely because Central Tripoli and West Tripoli have more businesses, both international and diplomatic premises, and a wealthier population. Indeed, residential West Tripoli saw a number of kidnappings over the past year, including two South Korean diplomats in January (see figure 5).[19]

However, the rate of kidnappings reported in the survey has not statistically changed in the last year: The number of Libyans who said they or a member of their close family had been kidnapped was 4 percent in 2013 and 5 percent in 2014. Tripoli respondents reported similar numbers. In one sense, this is reassuring because it suggests that the crime level overall has been stable despite the political turmoil, the fragmentation of the security sector, and the paralysis of the justice system in certain parts of the country. Other crimes, such as theft from illegal checkpoints, have also not changed since 2014. The static results also highlight how rumors in Libya elevate fear of crime above the level commensurate with actual crime rates.

Figure 5. How worried are you that you or a family member might be kidnapped?

■ Not at all ■ Not Very ■ Neutral ■ Very ■ Rather ■ Don't know ■ No answer
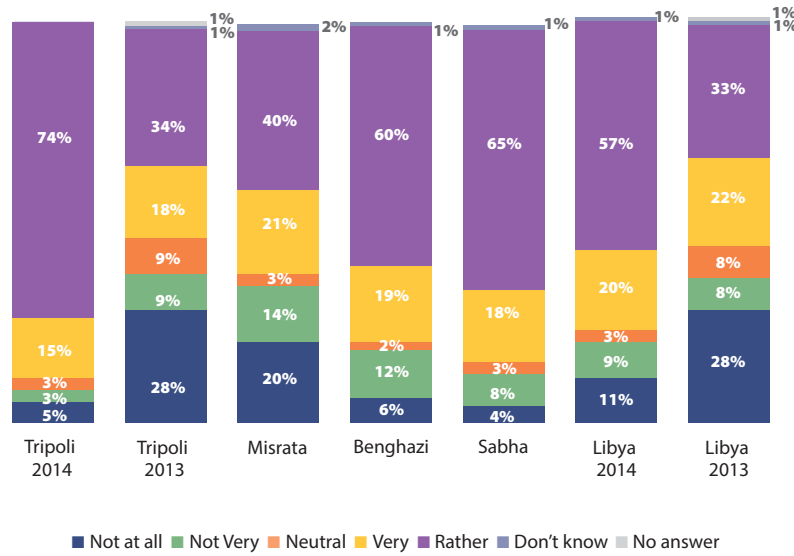
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

Perceived Causes

An understanding of what is driving these perceptions of insecurity and the extremely high levels of concern over certain scenarios can be better understood by examining table 1. The table shows that political considerations are perceived as main causes of insecurity, notably the absence or lack of National Police and presence of militia or undisciplined brigades rather than societal causes, such as drugs addicts and dealers.

Table 1. What are the main sources of insecurity in your area?

Survey Response	Tripoli	Misrata	Benghazi	Sabha	Libya	
					2014	2013
Militia or undisciplined brigades	14	12	13	13	12	10
Drug or alcohol addicts and dealers	10	9	4	6	7	14
Armed individuals or proliferation of arms	26	21	19	22	23	23
Religious fanatics	7	7	12	2	6	2
Unemployed youth	3	4	2	1	3	1
Absence or lack of police	25	19	28	29	28	28
Former regime elements	3	3	1	2	2	2
Tribalism	2	2	2	11	2	2
No answer	1	3	–	–	2	1
Don't know	2	13	2	1	4	4
Lack of social cohesion	3	1	2	4	2	0
Illegal migrations or smuggling activities	–	–	1	2	1	0
Government policies	7	6	12	7	8	13
Foreign intervention	–	–	1	–	–	–

Note: Responses in percentages. 2,256 people surveyed.

Perceptions across most districts are strongly homogeneous about the causes of instability: a lack of police (28 percent), armed individuals (23 percent), militias (12 percent), drug addicts and dealers (7 percent), and religious fanatics (6 percent). In Darnah, an acute lack of institutional security actors is visible, with 42 percent of respondents pointing to the lack of police as driving insecurity. In both Darnah and Benghazi, some 12 percent identify religious fanatics, which correlates with the rise in jihadist movements in these cities. In Sabha, tribal clashes are people's fourth largest worry (11 percent), more than in other cities where it gathers no more than 2 percent.

Overall, perceptions of security have substantially worsened in Libya since 2013. The deterioration appears to be primarily related to heightened intercommunity political tensions, but also to a rising fear of crime within big cities, especially in neighborhoods where police actors are absent. The presence or absence of policing actors, institutional or otherwise, strongly influences perceptions of the population.

Institutional Security Actors

One of the key results of the 2013 survey was that most Libyans supported institutional security actors over competing informal actors who emerged during the revolution and immediately after. This support was moderated, however, by the general perception of institutional actors as ineffective and lacking in integrity. The 2014 survey aims to revisit levels of support for the National Police over the past year; its goal is to track and qualify any notable changes. In addition, the 2014 survey includes a new component specifically assessing perceptions of the National Army due to its increased involvement in shaping the Libyan security sector.

National Police

In 2013, the National Police were recognized as the most active local security provider—32 percent of respondents reporting that it was in charge of security in their area. In 2014, only 19 percent did so (see table 2), making it the second most popular provider after the community.

The decreasing popularity of the police has done nothing to improve perceptions of other security stakeholders, such as the SSC and the LSF, both of which have seen sharp decreases in popularity since 2013. At the same time, local brigades have benefited from the security vacuum: The number of Libyans reporting their existence increased substantially, from 3 percent to 12 percent. These results highlight a security vacuum across Libya, a few districts—such as Misrata—excepted. Overall, 49 percent of Libyans believe that either no one (28 percent) or the community itself (21 percent) is in charge of security. This key finding shows a significant degradation since 2013, where "no one" and "we do" accounted for only 24 percent of the total. This security vacuum leaves room for the growth of criminal networks and new policing actors espousing jihadist ideologies.

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Local realities are often more nuanced. In Misrata, considered Libya's most secure major city, perceptions of the National Police have remained largely unchanged, with 28 percent of the city's inhabitants considering it the most dominant security actor and only 13 percent saying that no one is in charge. This is partly because the dichotomy between pre- and postrevolutionary security actors that underlies much of the tension in other cities does not exist in Misrata and because of Misrata's more advanced integration of revolutionary elements into institutional actors.[20] As a Misratan revolutionary figure within the new local council explained, "The *thuwwar* of Misrata are the police, and the police are the thuwwar of Misrata."[21]

Table 2. Who is in charge of security in your area?

No one 2014	28%
No one 2013	12%
Community 2014	21%
Community 2013	12%
National Police 2014	19%
National Police 2013	32%
Local brigade 2014	12%
Local brigade 2013	3%
National Army	8%
Local military council	3%
Don't know	2%
Supreme Security Committee 2014	2%
Supreme Security Committee 2013	5%
Libya Shield Forces 2014	1%
Libya Shield Forces 2013	3%
Government	1%
Ansar Al Sharia	1%
Al Saeqa forces	1%
Khalifa Haftar	0%
Militias	0%
Border Guards unit	0%
Preventive security apparatus	0%

Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

Although the community self-policing model shows some signs of success, it may well be contributing to increased fragmentation of the security sector. Table 2 shows the huge diversity of security actors operating in Libya. This diversity is also seen at local levels, which may be because security actors operate according to a logic of territorial control and rarely go beyond their territory.[22] For example, when the Special Deterrence Force (SDF)—also known as the Al Nawassi Brigade—which has a reputation for efficiency, operates outside its home territory, it suffers from a lack of local legitimacy that has led to deadly clashes with groups in Fashloum, Abu Salim, and Garagsha.

Despite their decreasing role on the national level, a majority of Libyans continue to support the National Police, much as they did in summer 2013. It appears that short-term solutions, such as the SSC or the LSF, that have emerged as a response to the postrevolutionary security vacuum have had little impact on Libyans' desires to see the development of a modern and institutionalized national police and army. Table 3 confirms this trend, showing 52 percent of Libyans wishing to see the National Police in charge of security provision.

As table 3 also shows, community self-policing increased from 4 percent to 9 percent, most responses being concentrated in cities characterized by tribal predominance, such as Sirte (21 percent) and Bani Walid (19 percent). Both cities' notables were loyal to the former regime and have conflicting relations with the new authorities in Tripoli and are thus reluctant to accept police forces reporting to a centralized authority. A member of the Social Council of Bani Walid—the city's highest political authority—interviewed in 2013 and in 2014, confirmed that a certain number of guarantees must accompany the return of institutional actors in the

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Table 3. Who should be in charge of security in your area?

National Police 2014	52%
National Police 2013	62%
National Army 2014	28%
National Army 2013	18%
Community 2014	9%
Community 2013	4%
God	3%
Local military council	2%
Supreme Security Committee 2014	1%
Supreme Security Committee 2013	1%
Libya Shield Forces	1%
Local brigade 2014	1%
Local brigade 2013	0%
Preventive Security Apparatus	0%
Al Saeqa Forces	0%
Border Guards Units	0%
No one	0%
Internal Security Appartus	0%
Don't know	3%

Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

city. The population, he explained, "don't want a force that will be in charge of arresting our children"—referring to the detainees from Bani Walid held in Misratan prisons without trial, a situation the government has done little to address.[23]

Another noticeable development since 2013 is the increase in Libyans who believe that the National Army should be in charge of local security, from 18 percent to 28 percent. This strengthening desire for military presence at a local level reflects growing despair at Libya's worsening security situation and helps explain the 56 percent who support Khalifa Haftar's military campaign in Benghazi.

Visibility

A strong positive correlation certainly exists between the visibility of the National Police and perceptions of their effectiveness. The correlation between the perceptions of visibility of the Traffic Police and of the National Police is also very strong.[24] Specifically, better deployment of the Traffic Police, a less political unit and hence less provocative for competing armed groups, could contribute to increasing the perceptions of the efficiency of the National Police in general.

The visibility of the National Police decreased between 2013 and 2014, from 54 percent to 41 percent. In line with 2013 results, male respondents (47 percent) reported seeing the National Police more often than their female counterparts did (35 percent), little surprise given that the conservative nature of Libyan society means that males are more inclined to conduct activities outside the home. Misrata is once again an exception when compared with other Libyan cities: the National Police there seeing little change in visibility (63 percent in 2013 and 64 percent in 2014). This is a strong contrast with most other Libyan cities, especially Benghazi, where the National Police are half as visible as they were in 2013 (see figure 6).

Photo 1. Police chief workshop, February 2014 (Media Square Multimedia).

Figure 6. How often do you see the National Police?

Female 2013	Female 2014	Male 2013	Male 2014

■ Daily ■ Weekly ■ Montly ■ Once a year ■ Never ■ Don't know ■ No answer
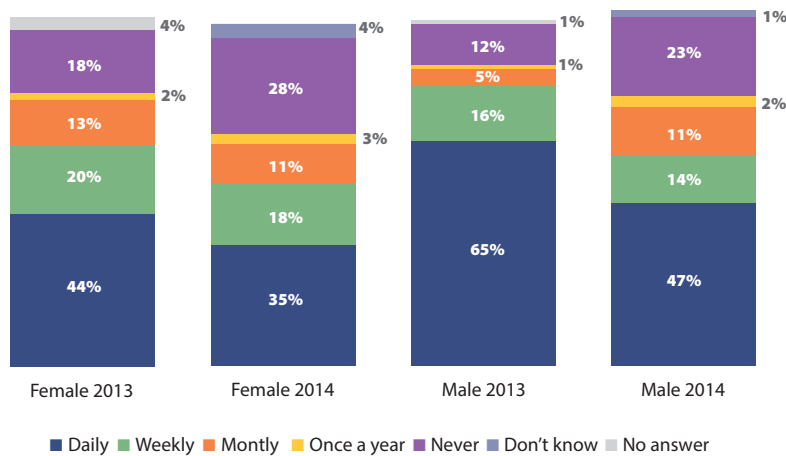
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

In spring 2013, Minister of Interior Ashour Shuwail triggered a wave of enthusiasm within the ranks of the police as he boosted the police's media profile and asserted his will to reform the service and tackle the proliferation of armed groups. Given the reduction in police visibility since 2013, the effect of improving police visibility in this manner appears to have been short lived. This may be explained in part by the inability of the National Police to deploy in areas of civil conflict, as can be seen in Benghazi or Sabha and certain neighborhoods of Tripoli. The difference in visibility between the South Tripoli zone (28 percent), the scene of repeated clashes, and West Tripoli's residential zone (47 percent) is telling of this divide.

Effectiveness

Perceptions of effectiveness of the National Police have also declined substantially, from 26 percent in 2013 to 15 percent in 2014 (see figure 7). Of the 72 percent ranking the National Police as ineffective, an extremely critical 29 percent score the effectiveness at 1 of 10.

Examining the results by location shows that perceptions have fallen in nearly all districts. Even in cities such as Misrata, where the National Police have proved to be a visible security actor, just 24 percent rate them as effective, a significant drop from the 35 percent in 2013. In Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sabha, 82 percent consider them ineffective. In Darnah and Sirte, 89 percent and 66 percent do. In these last two districts, 68 percent and 43 percent, respectively, give the lowest possible score (1 of 10). This suggests that in cities where competing policing actors exist, such as Ansar Al Sharia, which is present in Darnah and Sirte, perceptions of National Police efficiency are undermined. However, paired interviews in both 2013 and 2014 revealed that Libyans often believe reporting crime to the National Police is the right thing to do.

Figure 7. How effective are the National Police?

	Tripoli	Misrata	Benghazi	Sabha	Darnah	Sirte	Libya
Effective	8%	24%	8%	8%	6%	26%	15%
Neutral	10%	19%	10%	10%	5%	8%	13%
Ineffective	82%	56%	82%	82%	89%	66%	72%

■ Ineffective ■ Neutral ■ Effective
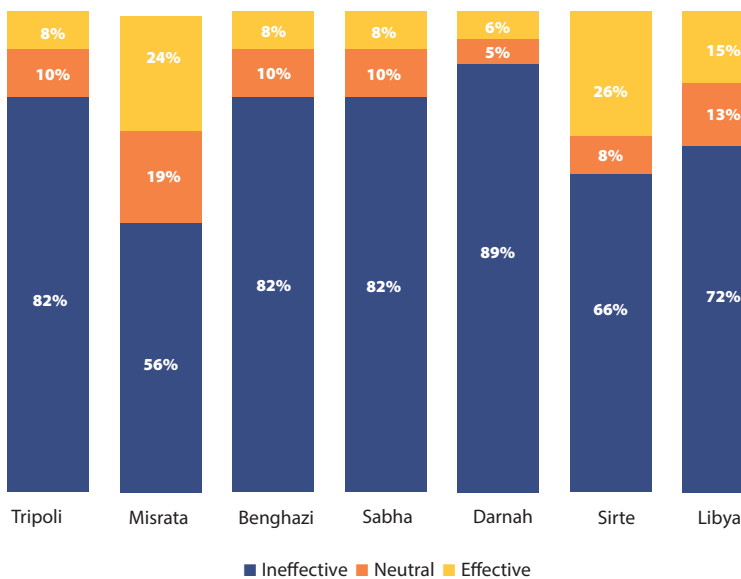
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

This slump in perceptions of effectiveness shows that the drive for police reform seen in 2013 under Ashour Shuwail has largely disappeared. The story of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) is worth examining to understand the limitations of police reform in Libya. Shuwail decided to merge the CID and the newly formed Counter Crime Agency (CCA) to better control the CCA while reinforcing the National Police's capacity for investigations.[25] However, this reform did not succeed once again due to a rift between institutional and revolutionary actors. The CCA was founded to work under the authority of the SSC, and

some institutional CID staff perceived it as "a group of thugs and bandits."[26] The CID more generally, meanwhile, perceived the reform itself as an attempt to weaken the National Police. A police reform expert in Libya explained that the lack of willingness of the National Police to implement reforms and integrate revolutionary actors could be explained by a feeling among police officers of being marginalized by postrevolutionary actors. The police expert gave an example where a group of revolutionary trainees were not officially transferred to their police unit, and left without guidance, they had drifted back to their revolutionary brigades.[27]

National Army

The concept of a Libyan National Army is highly contested, as later results make clear. Many Libyans perceive today's entity to be the remnants of the Gadhafi regime army. Islamist-leaning, Misratan, and other revolutionary brigades think differently, defining the National Army as any groups operating under Army Chief of Staff Jadallah Al Obeidi. This report uses the first definition (for detail, see appendix B).

Historically, the Libyan National Army's relative absence from public and political life, especially after its defeat in the war with Chad, meant that the public often saw it as a neutral and low-profile body. This perception changed during the revolution, when many eastern-based units defected to the revolutionary brigades, creating positive support for the National Army. The assassination, it is believed by Islamist hard-liners, of Special Forces commander Abd Al Fatah Younis during the revolution triggered a further wave of support. The National Army's profile has been raised once again by General Khalifa Haftar, who is supported by certain eastern-based National Army units.

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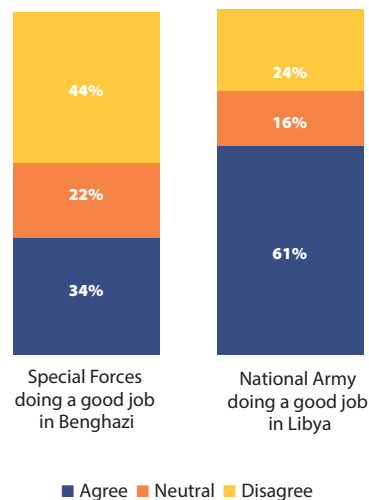

Photo 2. Army parade, Salah Al Din, Tripoli. September 2013 (Media Square Multimedia).

Perceptions of the National Army remain relatively poor, with 61 percent thinking that it is not doing a good job (see figure 8). Support is for the most part substantially higher in eastern districts—52 percent in Tobruk, 46 percent in Marj, 43 percent in Kufra, and 31 percent in Al Jabal Al Akhdar, though only 25 percent in Benghazi—than in western or southern districts—such as Tripoli at 18 percent and Sabha at 27 percent. The lack of awareness concerning its role, as well as some negative perceptions, can be explained by its historically selective recruitment policy, which was limited to tribes such as the Gadhadfa or Warfalla in the west and certain branches of Al Obeidate in the east.[28]

Perceptions of the Special Forces (Saeqa) are better than those of the National Army, with 44 percent of Libyans believing that they are doing a "good job in Benghazi" and supporting its actions against Islamist groups there. Support in Benghazi, at 52 percent, is higher than the national average. Rather than being based on performance or professionalism, support for the Special Forces is largely political, given their vehement opposition to Ansar Al Sharia.[29]

Figure 8. Perceptions of the National Army and Special Forces

Special Forces doing a good job in Benghazi: 34% Agree, 22% Neutral, 44% Disagree

National Army doing a good job in Libya: 61% Agree, 16% Neutral, 24% Disagree

■ Agree ■ Neutral ■ Disagree

Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

Overall, the National Army and its Special Forces enjoy strong popular support in their "war against terror."[30] This support is fragile, however, and could fall if the campaign led by Haftar does not succeed. As one Benghazi resident noted,

> We know Ansar Al Sharia. They have undertaken a number of policing tasks successfully in the city, guarding schools and hospitals, whereas Al Saeqa forces failed in providing security. Al Saeqa are less organized and badly behaved. However, if Ansar Al Sharia is proved to be behind the assassinations, we are completely in support of Bou Khamada and Haftar.

So far, all assaults launched by Haftar appear to have failed, and his attempt to take control of Benghazi's port in late June 2014 caused a number of deaths. It is possible that further casualties could trigger anger against Haftar as well as against Islamist-revolutionary brigades. Islamist figureheads with links to Ansar Al Sharia confirmed that "revolutionaries and Ansar Al Sharia are still in control of the city in spite of their modest military means."[31]

Auxiliary Security Actors

Most of the brigades that emerged during the Libyan revolution benefited from a process of legalization as postrevolutionary authorities, particularly the National Transitional Council (NTC) and the Al Kib government, attempted to fill the security vacuum created by the fall of the Gadhafi regime and return to a state of normalcy. As described earlier, many brigades joined the newly created Ministry of Defense, others identified with the Ministry of Interior, and many more became affiliated with the Army Chief of Staff.

However, a few exceptions aside, this transformation has not prevented the majority of revolutionary brigades from becoming increasingly unpopular. This trend was noticeable in 2013 but has become increasingly obvious since then. The two actors that have taken the brunt of unpopular sentiments have been the brigades that developed contracts with the SSC and the LSF, which have charted rather different paths over the last year. While the SSC has dissolved—with brigades either merging fully into institutional actors, such as the Special Deterrent Forces and the Rapid Intervention Force, or reforming outside the state, such as Ansar Al Sharia in Sirte—the LSF is still alive and is reported to be increasingly organized and well equipped (see appendix B).

The aim of this section is to measure change in perceptions regarding informal security providers and to understand how their evolution over the past year has affected perceptions of their visibility and effectiveness. In spite of the SSC's official disbandment, the research team decided to reassess perceptions of it and compare them against 2013, because SSC-affiliated groups that now respond directly to the Ministry of Interior have largely kept the same structure and hierarchy, such as the SDF in Tripoli. Furthermore, paired interview respondents from several locations cited the SSC as an existing and active force.

Supreme Security Committee

The SSC was created by the NTC in late 2011 on the initiative of revolutionaries—including Abderrezak Al Aradi, Omar Al Khadrawi, and Fawzi Waniss Al Gadhafi—and by design reported to the Ministry of Interior. It aimed to bring together many local military councils and revolutionary brigades under one command and control structure to better provide security as the National Police and the National Army weakened.[32] Whereas most security initiatives born from the security vacuum in Libya were implemented only at a local level, the SSC had a national reach and numerous branches across the country. In many cases, it took over police personnel and equipment.[33] In some towns, the local police station was simply reformed as a branch of the SSC.[34]

Perceptions of the SSC have substantially worsened (see figure 9). In 2013, 23 percent of Libyans considered the SSC effective, but only 8 percent did in 2014. This is due partly to the disbandment of the SSC in many locations but mostly to a genuine and large drop in popularity. This assertion can be inferred because in Misrata, where the SSC had been disbanded for well over a year, positive perceptions still reached 19 percent, well above the national average of 8 percent and statistically similar to the 25 percent in 2013. In Tripoli, where the SSC is also disbanded, just 7 percent believe it is effective, which demonstrates marked dissatisfaction with the auxiliary policing body. Reasons include perceptions of corruption, involvement in drug trafficking, kidnappings, and growing Islamization.

Despite such extremely poor perceptions, many former SSC units live on, such as the SDF in Suq Al Jum'a and the Ghnewa Brigade in Abu Salim (see appendix B). The prolonged

In 2013, 23 percent of Libyans considered the Supreme Security Council effective, but only 8 percent did in 2014.

existence of unpopular brigades such as Ghnewa indicates the military strength of many SSC units that allows them to survive in a hostile environment. However, in nearly all cases, these units distance themselves from the SSC brand.

Figure 9. Is the SSC effective?
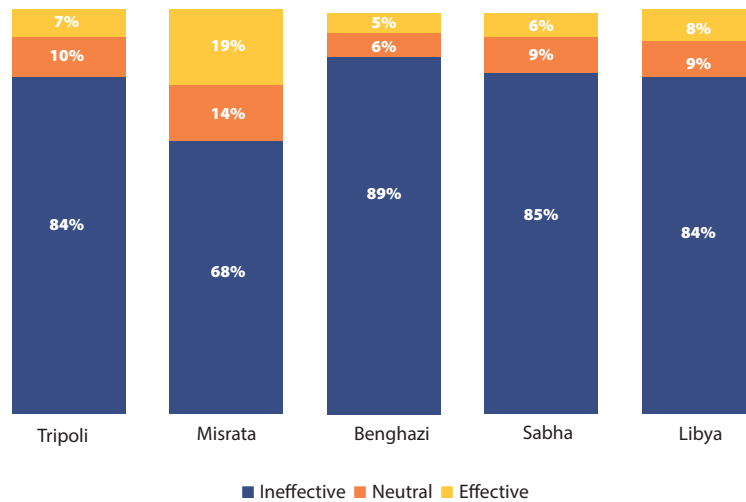
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

Table 4 clearly maps the perceptions of a Libyan security vacuum. Some 67 percent of respondents reported that no one is in charge apart from the National Police and National Army.

Table 4 also underscores the perceived importance of auxiliary security providers. In Misrata and Tripoli, 12 percent and 15 percent of respondents, respectively, reported the SSC as the most active brigade. The first reason for the perception is confusion over the identity of certain brigades that had been under the SSC and keep the same name today, such as the Al Nawassi Brigade. The second reason is that some groups continue to operate under the command of the Ministry of Interior but still enjoy a high degree of autonomy, such as Salah Bakri's and Ghnewa's brigades in Abu Salim.

The survey also reveals that younger generations were more inclined to identify with postrevolutionary actors than their older counterparts. Approximately 82 percent of older Libyans (age fifty-five and older) were unable to recognize a security actor in their area outside the National Police and the National Army. This percentage decreased to 62 percent among those between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-four, who are most likely to have personal connections with revolutionary brigades, given that brigade commanders and members are typically in the same age group.

Table 4. What is the most active brigade in your area?

|	Tripoli	Misrata	Benghazi	Sabha	Darnah	Sirte	Libya
Supreme Security Committee	15	12	2	3	–	3	8
Libya Shield Forces	4	23	1	16	–	–	6
Local brigade	10	9	4	4	13	2	7
Ansar Al Sharia	–	–	4	–	16	38	2
Tribal armed group	–	2	–	4	–	–	2
No one	63	46	82	68	71	46	67
Anti-crime unit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Community	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Army Chief of Staff	3	6	5	3	–	7	4
Ministry of Defense	2	–	–	–	–	–	1
Militias	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Don't know	1	3	1	3	–	4	3

Note: Responses in percentages. 2,256 people surveyed.

Libya Shield Forces

The Libya Shield Forces were proposed in early 2012 by a popular colonel from Misrata, Salem Jeha, in an attempt to group former revolutionary brigades into a cohesive national force able to support the National Army in its peacekeeping missions, notably in Kufra, Sabha, and Zuwarah. The LSF were authorized the same year, are paid by the state, and nominally respond to an official chain of command, at the top of which is the Army Chief of Staff.

Unlike the SSC, which was disbanded beginning in 2013, the LSF role has been confirmed and supported by a number of government and GNC decisions, such as the mandate to secure a number of locations, notably Tripoli in November 2013 and Sabha in January 2014.

Only 15 percent of respondents believed the LSF effective, a result comparable to reported perceptions of the SSC, also a postrevolutionary security actor with an Islamic orientation (see figure 10). In spite of its national reach through its four Shield Divisions, the LSF seems to enjoy only local legitimacy in some areas. Whereas it was unpopular in Tripoli, Sabha, and Benghazi (15 percent, 15 percent, and 5 percent efficiency rating, respectively), it remained rather popular in Misrata (40 percent) and to a limited extent in other cities where it has a strong recruitment platform, such as in Zawiya (25 percent). Its open involvement in the fighting in Benghazi alongside Ansar Al Sharia has not helped the LSF's image, despite repeated television commercials aiming to distance the group from the jihadist movement and to explain its motivations.

Figure 10. Is the LSF effective?
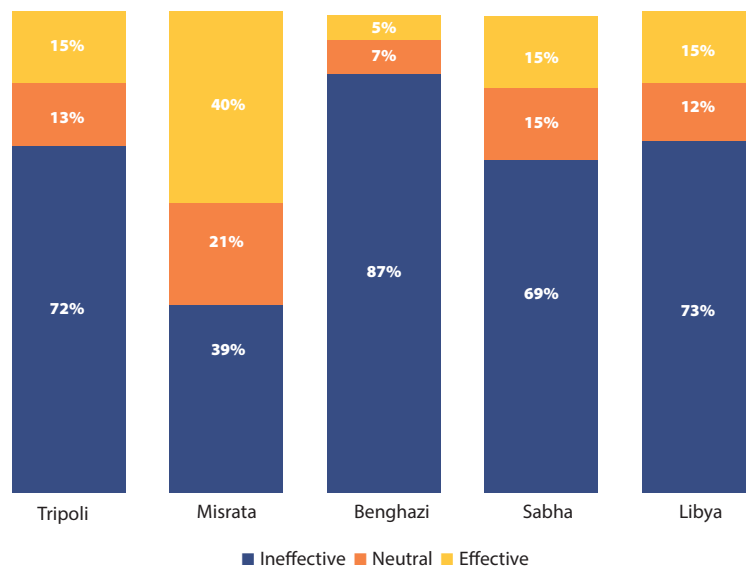
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

The LSF's extremely poor results in Benghazi and Tripoli were most certainly driven by the LSF's involvement in fatal clashes with armed demonstrators in Benghazi in June 2013 (Shield 1) and in Tripoli in November 2013 (Shield 6), which resulted in more than a hundred deaths.

Regarding Tripoli, it is surprising that the LSF did not enjoy strong support even within revolutionary strongholds such as Suq Al Jum'a, in spite of the area's postrevolution political and military alliance with Misrata. This lack of support is likely related to the powerful Misratan identity of Shield 6, which has deployed in Tripoli on several occasions and thus reduced its credibility as a national force. Additionally, in November 2013, brigades from Tajura and Suq Al Jum'a clashed with Misratan-affiliated brigades within Shield 6 based in Tripoli. The head of Al Noussour Brigade from Suq Al Jum'a was killed in one of these incidents.

Interestingly, given that 15 percent of Sabhans believe that the LSF is effective, and 21 percent of Sabhans believe that Shield 3 (Central Shield, from Misrata) in particular was doing a good job of securing Sabha, the LSF was the most popular security actor in Sabha, leading the National Army (12 percent) and the National Police (8 percent). One Shield 3 soldier noted, "Unlike our intervention in Sabha in 2012, we're now more organized and have fixed term rotations. We're not allowed to use our personal vehicles, and we're transported by air to Tamenhent airbase near Sabha."

Unsurprisingly, Misrata opinions of Shield 3's operations in Sabha were at 37 percent, the highest in Libya, and at 20 percent Shield 3 had an above-average reputation in Tripoli as well. Key informant interviews with Shield 3 members indicate that the unit has indeed professionalized, which may explain the increased perceptions of its effectiveness.

These approval ratings remain very modest, however, and the main message is clear: Libyans have a very poor perception of both the LSF and the SSC. The tarnished images coupled with the security vacuum likely has created space for more disciplined independent security actors with alternative narratives to progressively impose themselves as key security actors in certain locations.

Ansar Al Sharia

Ansar Al Sharia has two facets, a military wing increasingly visible as a Jihadist-Salafist violent extremist group and a rather less well-known philanthropic organization involved in providing social assistance. The movement's philanthropic activities have allowed it to gain a foothold in several cities, including—from east to west—Darnah, Benghazi, Ajdabiyah, Sirte, Tajura, and Sabratha. Despite close ties with some revolutionary groups, such as Shield 7 in Benghazi, Ansar Al Sharia does not rely on a revolutionary narrative but instead on a discourse of Islamic unity that goes beyond the revolutionary fault lines. It has proved a particularly powerful recruiting tool in cities that were strongly divided in the revolution.

Eastern Regions

Ansar Al Sharia appears to have reached its most mature state in Darnah, where it has met with a large degree of success imposing itself as the sole security and justice actor in that city after the defeat of the National Police and National Army and the suspension of the judicial system.[35]

Ansar Al Sharia's position in Benghazi is far more contested, though it is following a clear strategy to improve its foothold. The strategy relies first on developing a strong military capability in order to dominate as the sole security provider, as in Darnah and Sirte. Ansar Al Sharia in Benghazi tends to show off its military power and broadcasts videos and images of its convoys and military equipment on its Facebook and Twitter accounts and certain jihadist websites.[36] Second, it has an active social policy with activities including distributing food to the needy, providing fighters with psychological support, and providing schools with teaching equipment. Third, it markets itself as having disciplined and efficient security and policing actors. Several paired interviews in Benghazi confirmed that its forces are generally regarded this way, despite broad support for Haftar. Also in Benghazi, Ansar Al Sharia aims to provide protection for visible infrastructure, such as universities and hospitals (such as the Jela Hospital), which helps it gain respect across the population. Finally, it also uses media effectively to broadcast the effects of its social, policing, and justice policies; that its radio station in Benghazi was bombed (as well as in Sabratha) reveals the power of local radio to Ansar Al Sharia.

Central Regions

Ansar Al Sharia's Sirte branch, which is made up mainly of former SSC elements, appears to have learned lessons from the SSC, which was perceived as a revolutionary actor, rejected by most local tribes, and forced to leave the city in late 2012.[37] It returned to Sirte in May 2013, however, after restructuring and rebranding and coming to an agreement with local tribes.[38] Its ability to militarily impose order, mediate between tribes, and enforce their strict social code as a solution to the proliferation of drugs and weapons in Sirte contributed to the invitations for its forces to return.[39] Since then, Ansar Al Sharia has been cautious to develop a good public image and build influence in a number of public services, including policing and education. Ansar Al Sharia has also established its own radio station in Sirte, which plays an important role in communicating the group's alleged achievements and engaging with the population. After receiving calls by some members of the community publically denouncing what they described as Afghan uniforms, the movement has provided its members with modern and disciplined uniforms.[40]

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Western Regions

In the west of Libya, Ansar Al Sharia's branches in Tajura and Sabratha have a more moderate discourse limited to religious issues. Key informant interview respondents reported that Ansar Al Sharia engages successfully with youth who are often disappointed by their experience in the other militias and who no longer receive state salaries.[41] Its stance is rather moderate even in politics: Following the bombing of its radio station Al Tawheed in Sabratha in May 2014, Ansar Al Sharia issued a moderate statement in which it refused to excommunicate members of the government or the National Police and National Army, an attempt to distance the movement from the head of Ansar Al Sharia in Benghazi, Mohammed Al Zahawi, who excommunicated the Libyan government in late June.[42] While promoting this moderate discourse, Ansar Al Sharia in Sabratha, along with other branches, benefits from popular discontent toward institutional, traditional, and postrevolutionary security actors and portrays itself as an independent actor not involved in corruption or struggles over power, reminiscent of its successful strategy in Sirte and Benghazi. The movement's Salafi credentials also help it build a constituency within a Libyan population deeply influenced by a quietist Salafi ideology.[43]

Policing Role

Survey respondents were asked to whom they would refer if they were a victim of a burglary (see table 5). Examining the responses by location shows that in areas where the Ansar Al Sharia presence is strong, particularly Benghazi, Darnah, and Sirte, most replied "no one" and were less likely than average to refer to the National Police: 26 percent, 12 percent, and 10 percent, respectively, against a national average of 40 percent. Key informant interviews showed that tribal structures are increasingly unable to provide security and justice in today's Libya. For example, even in Al Wahat (Ajdabiyah city), a very tribal area where 19 percent of the population reported they would refer to their tribe or family after a burglary, interviews with elders confirmed a state of societal weakening. The elder lamented this as "an inability to control our sons anymore."[44] This trend could lead to a vacuum, a potential entry point for groups, such as Ansar Al Sharia, to intervene and provide policing and justice services where the tribes and institutional actors are failing. As a powerful symbol, Ansar Al Sharia in Sirte occupies the headquarters of the local branch of the SSC, which was the Internal Security Department under the Gadhafi regime.[45]

Table 5. Who would you go to if your or your family's house were burgled?

	Local Civil Council	National Police	Nobody	SSC/PSA/LSF	Local military council	Tribe/Family	Government/Ministries	Local brigade	National Army	Don't know	No answer
Tripoli	1	38	43	1	2	5	1	4	2	4	–
Misrata	1	56	19	9	2	3	–	5	2	5	–
Benghazi	–	26	59	1	–	6	–	1	5	2	–
Sabha	–	37	42	3	1	13	–	1	2	1	–
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	2	53	25	–	–	12	–	–	6	2	–
Darnah	–	12	74	–	–	5	2	4	–	3	–
Al Wahat	–	38	36	2	–	19	–	–	2	2	–
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	–	50	34	1	4	3	1	5	–	2	–
Zawiya	1	45	31	3	1	7	1	4	4	1	–
Sirte	–	10	59	2	–	20	–	7	2	–	–
Al Margeb	2	37	51	1	1	7	–	–	–	2	–
Marj	2	57	30	2	–	5	–	–	4	–	–
Kufra	–	53	35	–	–	12	–	–	–	–	–
Nalut	–	61	32	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Al Butnan	–	67	25	–	–	–	–	5	3	–	–
Al Niquat Al Khms	–	50	42	3	–	–	2	1	2	–	–
Aziziya	1	25	54	2	2	9	–	3	2	1	1
Bani Walid	5	45	39	–	–	4	–	2	5	–	–
Jufra	–	42	28	–	16	5	–	10	–	–	–
Murzuq	–	36	36	–	4	–	–	24	–	–	–

Note: Responses in percentages. 2,256 people surveyed.

Informal Security Actors

Beyond revolutionary and religious credentials, most informal or extra-legal security actors assert their legal legitimacy and dispute the legal status of other groups. One of the most controversial subjects in Libya today is defining the boundaries of the National Army, which depends heavily on personal convictions and generational grouping. Perceptions of legal legitimacy of the LSF and the Petroleum Facilities Guards (PFG) illustrate this dynamic.

The LSF is a legal security actor under the command of the Army Chief of Staff. Libyans have not reached any consensus that the LSF is actually part of the National Army, however, and from this lack of consensus, perceptions of legality can be inferred.

Although 27 percent of Libyans consider the LSF to be definitely part of the National Army, 39 percent did not (see figure 11). Perceptions are notably uneven among districts and are a function of the predominant political identity. For example, in Misrata and Zawiya, both known for being reservoirs of recruitment for the LSF, greater than average proportions of the local population believe the LSF is part of the National Army (60 percent and 48 percent, respectively). In Benghazi, however, 61 percent consider it not to be part of the National Army, despite its important physical presence there, and this negative perception is undoubtedly influenced by recent clashes involving the LSF. Similarly, poor figures were seen in Kufra, suggesting that Shield 7 is poorly perceived there as well, though these results are not as robust statistically. Sabha, where 38 percent of the population considered the LSF to be part of the National Army, is an interesting case in which the reputation of Shield 3 appears to be rather better than other LSF units.

Figure 11. Is the LSF part of the National Army?

Legend: ■ Definitely ■ Somewhat ■ Neutral ■ Not really ■ Not at all ■ Don't know ■ No answer
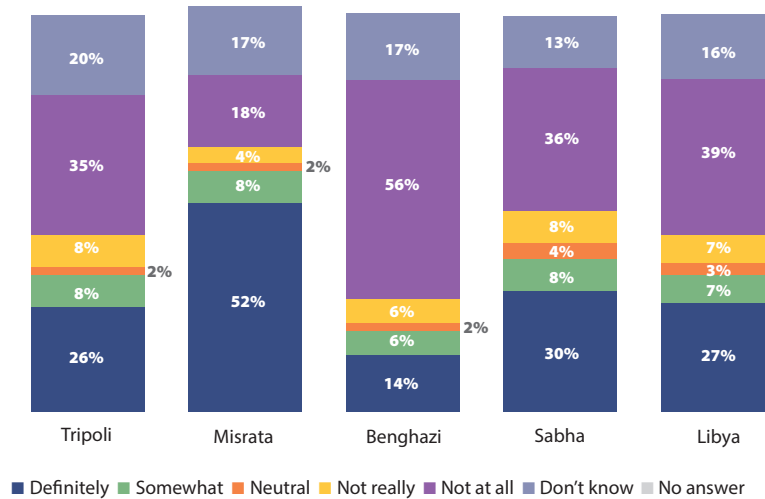
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

The PFG was founded in 2007 as a unit of the Libyan Army and was based in Al Brega. Now it is based in Tripoli, in the Salaheddine area. However, it is only after the revolution that the force gained ground as it has become an important reservoir for former revolutionaries and armed men. As a matter of fact, the PFG counted only some two thousand members, while the force has now up to fifteen thousand members. This was made possible by the NTC decision in August 2011 mandating the PFG to protect oil fields and infrastructure. The defection of the PFG commander Ali Ahrash to the NTC has facilitated the latter's decision and improved the force's revolutionary credentials. Mainly composed of ex-revolutionary, the PFG force is perceived by most Libyans as a postrevolutionary security actor. Most units integrated to the PFG were organized along tribal, ethnic, and regional faults lines.

The PFG's involvement in a number of clashes between armed groups has shaped an image that is not in line with the older generation's expectations of what the Libyan Armed Forces should look or act like. The PFG's Central Division, under the command of Ibrahim Jadhran, blocked eastern oil terminals and tried to export oil without the authorization of the Libyan

government. Indeed, perceptions of the PFG are a good example of how older generations perceive the legality of revolutionary actors generally.

Although 61 percent of Libyans between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four consider the PFG to be part of the National Army, only 37 percent of older Libyans feel the same way (see figure 12). The correlation between age and perceptions of illegality across a number of postrevolutionary actors is similarly strong, as mentioned earlier. This correlation also applies to postrevolutionary groups assessed in this survey, such as the LSF or the Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room (LROR). Leaders in their early thirties may lack credibility among the older generations, but expanding their visibility might reinforce confidence in the security institutions among a particularly youthful society.

Figure 12. Are the Border and Petroleum Facilities Guards part of the National Army?

Legend: ■ Definitely ■ Somewhat ■ Neutral ■ Not really ■ Not at all ■ Don't know ■ No answer
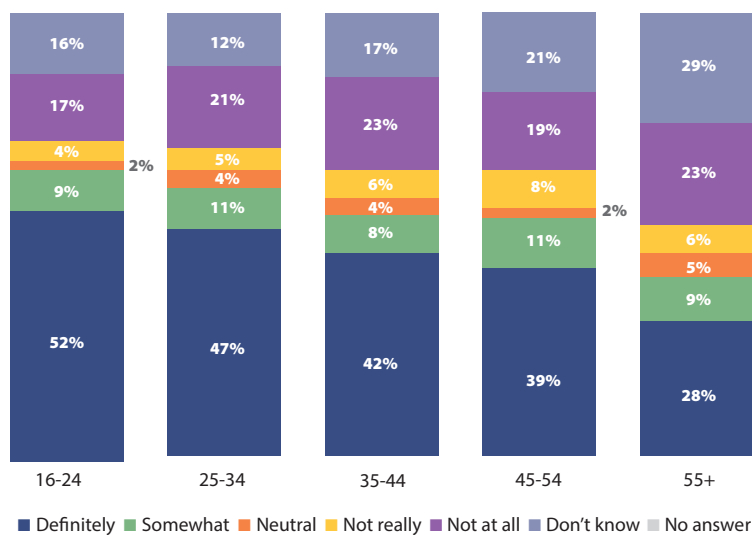
Note: 2,256 people surveyed.

However, a substantial part of the population, both young and old alike, do not recognize the legality of any of Libya's current security actors, institutionalist or postrevolutionary. These low confidence levels correlate well with the security vacuum identified earlier. This vacuum leaves room for the emergence of new independent groups trying to gain the confidence of the population with new narratives and local approaches to service delivery.

Conclusions

Four major conclusions are especially significant: First, Libya's security landscape has fragmented even further since the 2013 research and is splitting along clear institutional-revolutionary lines. Second, perceptions of security have also worsened substantially, driven by intercommunal tensions and rising fear of crime. Third, support is strong for institutional security and justice actors despite the fragmentation of the security and justice sectors. Fourth, the rise in auxiliary security actors is linked to the lack of visibility and efficiency of the institutional security providers, particularly the National Police.

- **Libya's security landscape has fragmented further**. Libya's security sector is highly fragmented and characterized by the relatively minor role that institutional security actors play. Since 2013, the roles of both the National Police and the National Army have further declined across the country. Libya's security sector is thus characterized by the increased role of auxiliary forces, often paid by the state but outside real state control, and the struggle between institutional security actors and these auxiliary forces. This fragmentation is occurring along increasingly clear fault lines, the most important of which is the nature of command and control lines. Actors typically report to either the Ministries of Interior or Defense or to the Chief of Staff or act essentially independently of any Libyan authority. The next key fault line is religious-political orientation, for which actors can be classified in four ways: institutional, conservative, Islamist, or Jihadist.

- **Public perceptions of Libya's security situation have worsened**. Since 2013, perceptions of security have worsened considerably both at the national and local levels. As of summer 2014, 58 percent of Libyans believe that security is "rather good" or "very good" compared with 67 percent a year earlier. This decline remains modest at the national level, but degradation in certain cities has been substantial. In Tripoli, 27 percent of the population thought that security was "rather bad" or "very bad" in 2014 against 15 percent in 2013. In Benghazi, the corresponding figures were 48 percent in 2014 and 20 percent in 2013. Districts that are ethnically homogenous and have no sharp internal political divides appear to be safer. In Misrata, perceptions were quite positive and improving, 69 percent considering the security situation very good in 2014, up from 46 percent in 2013. Consensus on what Libyans perceive is causing instability is strong: a lack of police (26 percent), armed individuals (21 percent), militias (12 percent), drug addicts and dealers (7 percent), and fanatics (6 percent).

- **Support for institutional security actors remains strong**. Despite significantly declining perceptions of the efficiency and visibility of institutional actors, Libyans across the country are strongly attached to the concept of institutional security actors. The National Police are perceived as much more legitimate and efficient than competing policing actors, such as the SSC or local brigades operating under the Ministry of Interior. This point is also confirmed by Libyans' reluctance to recognize the legal status of postrevolutionary security actors. Only a minority recognized the legality of groups such as the LSF, the Qa'qa' brigade, and other auxiliary actors, despite the fact that they all benefit from a legal mandate and nominally operate under the command of the Army Chief of Staff.

- **Auxiliary security actors have increased their local visibility**. In spite of Libyans' desires to see an efficient and visible National Police, support for the National Police in its current form has dropped from 32 percent in summer 2013 to 19 percent, making it the second most popular security provider in Libya after the communities themselves. Analysis has shown a statistical correlation between the visibility of the National Police and perceptions of their performance. As cities increasingly have been the scene of inter-militia fighting, the National Police has gradually withdrawn from the streets. When asked, "Who provides security in your community?," answers such as "the community" or "local brigades" increased significantly compared with 2013.

Within the context of ongoing rounds of fighting in Tripoli and Benghazi, the population is turning to short-term solutions, such as local brigades. These groups are mainly composed of

local youth, among which some joined from or were still members of security actors, such the SSC or military councils. They have thus enjoyed easy access to weapons and, most important, a certain legitimacy in providing policing tasks. Further driving the reinforcement of local security actors is that most of them operate according to a logic of territorial control, preventing the emergence of any competing security actor, institutional or otherwise.

Final Thoughts

This research has shown that restoring security and establishing the rule of law in Libya is of the highest importance to the Libyan population. At the time of writing, insecurity in the country, mainly the result of clashes between rival political blocks, has increased enough in several major cities to severely disrupt people's daily routines. Understanding how to restore security and justice is becoming increasingly complicated as Libya's security and justice landscapes become increasingly fragmented as, in turn, an array of security and justice actors try to build up their local and national legitimacy on tribal, territorial, and ideological credentials.

Libyans have strong and relatively cohesive opinions on how they want their security and justice sectors to be shaped, however. In 2014, they demonstrated again a clear preference for institutional actors over postrevolutionary actors. The National Police and the National Army remain the most popular of a wide range of security actors operating in Libya at present, and a majority of the population still refer to the state justice system rather than the parallel nonstate and often sharia-based justice systems starting to emerge.

Despite the popularity of institutional actors, current events and the rapidly deteriorating security situation are accelerating the emergence of competing security and justice actors. These actors do not have much popular support at present. However, if Libyan authorities do not quickly reinforce their authority and begin to deliver adequate security and justice services to their citizens, these competing actors could displace the institutional security and justice providers in the long term. This deep fragmentation of the security and justice sectors would threaten not just Libya's political transition but also the fundamental cohesion in Libyan society that has largely held the country together since the 2011 revolution.

Appendix A. Objectives, Methodology, and Sampling

The objective of this research was to study Libyans' perceptions of the security and justice sectors, to assess the popular legitimacy of the current security and justice actors, and to understand Libyans' needs in terms of delivery of security and justice services.

Specific objectives included
- updating the summer 2013 baseline indicators with summer 2014 indicators that are statistically meaningful at both a national level and for several key districts (Tripoli, Benghazi, Misrata, and Sabha);
- assessing Libyan perceptions of causes and solutions of insecurity;
- assessing attitudes toward institutional and auxiliary security actors and understanding why Libyans prefer one security actor over another;
- assessing Libyans' preferences over which security actors should have a legal use of force;
- identifying narratives used by the security actors in the media to boost their legitimacy; and
- assessing attitudes toward the state justice system and understanding perceptions of the justice system's compliance with sharia.

Research Approach

Results were derived from four research modules:
- a landscape mapping that included a literature review and key informant interviews
- a national survey
- paired interviews with both youth and middle-aged and male and female Libyans
- a narrative assessment of Libyan television and social media outlets

Landscape Mapping

Literature review
- Ashour Shuwail, "Arab Spring Consequences on the Security Sector: A Reality and a Vision" (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 2014)—describes the main challenges facing the security reform in Libya
- International Crisis Group, "Trial by Error: Justice in Post-Qadhafi Libya" (ICG, April 2013)—discusses deficiencies in Libya's justice sector and stresses the necessity to stop militia-like justice
- International Legal Assistance Consortium, "Rule of Law Assessment Report" (ILAC, May 2013)—presents the affairs of the Libyan justice sector, its challenges and its achievements
- Jason Pack, Karim Merzan, and Mohamed Eljarh, "Libya's Faustian Bargains: Breaking the Appeasement Cycle" (Atlantic Council, May 2014)—analyzes the causes of the general degradation of Libya's political, economic, and security situation
- Frederic Wehrey and Peter Cole, "Building Libya's Security Sector" (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, August 2013)—examines the dynamics behind the deterioration of the security situation and the failure to reform a security sector that is extremely fragmented

- Wolfram Lacher and Peter Cole, "Politics by Other Means: Conflicting Interests in Libya's Security Sector" (Small Arms Survey, October 2014)—a comprehensive description of attempted security sector reforms, failures, structures, and main challenges since 2011
- Peter Cole and Brian McQuinn, eds., *The Libyan Revolution and Its Aftermath* (Oxford University Press, February 2015)—describes in detail the evolution of the security sector since 2011
- Wolfram Lacher, "Libya's Fractious South and Regional Instability" (Small Arms Survey, February 2014)—examines political and military dynamics in the south, offers a comprehensive understanding of the impact of transnational communities on the security situation in the south
- Wolfram Lacher, "Fault Lines of the Revolution" (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, May 2013)—details how military and political dynamics interact in Libya and the emergence of two competing political-military blocs in the country

Key Informant Interviews

A series of interviews were conducted in May and June 2014 with experts, police officers, judges, lawyers, brigade members, tribal and community leaders, religious leaders, and politicians to identify the past and present security and justice structures, to identify current issues, and to support the design of the quantitative and qualitative research tools. All informants have been kept anonymous for their security.

National Survey

For the national survey, 2,340 Libyans from all twenty-two districts of the country were interviewed through Altai's call center in Tripoli to produce robust national results. Quotas were set using a proportional-to-population sampling approach, which made use of the population distribution in each district (*shabiah*) from the 2006 Libyan Census and the population pyramid estimated by the United States Census Bureau. Approximately 48 percent of survey respondents were females. The data has been post-weighted to match the best available demographic profile (see figure A1). By design, the survey oversampled Libya's key districts of Tripoli, Benghazi, Misrata, and Sabha, which permits statistically meaningful comparisons across these four key districts. National results can also be disaggregated by gender and age group using demographic information collected in the questionnaire. In Tripoli, results were of sufficient quality to disaggregate results into six distinct zones: Janzour and western suburbs, Abu Salim and south Tripoli, Hay Al Andalus and west Tripoli, Suq Al Jum'a, Tajura and eastern suburbs, and the Old City and Central Tripoli (see figure A2). Overall, national results are accurate to ±3 percent, and key district results to ±5 percent.

Figure A1. Paired interview locations

Paired interview locations
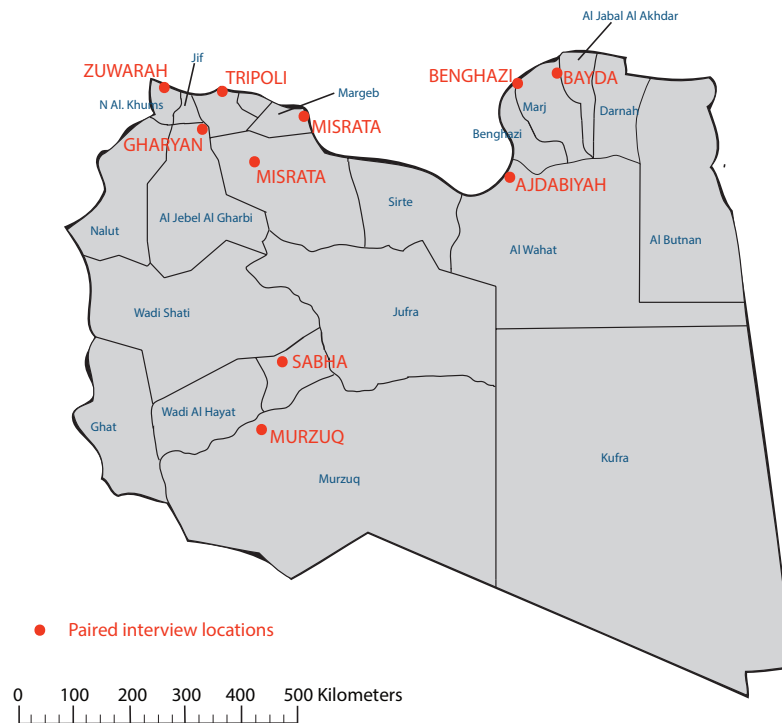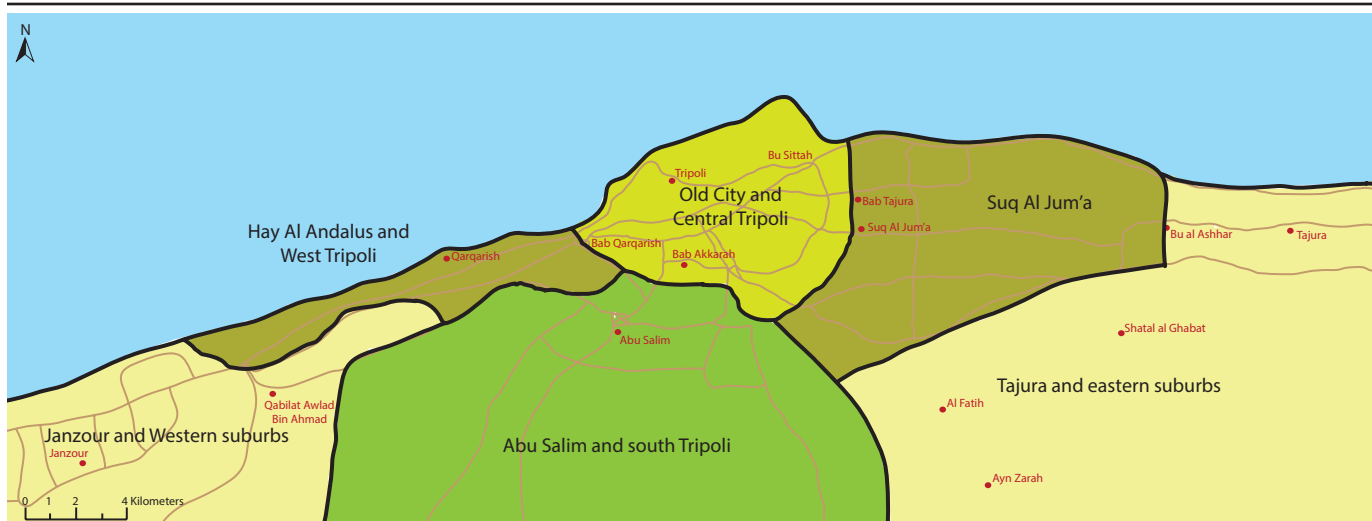
0   100   200   300   400   500 Kilometers

Figure A2. Six Tripoli zones

The 2014 survey questionnaire was similar to that for the 2013 study, though substantial changes were made to reflect changes in the security and justice sectors. Several key indicators were kept to allow tracking of trends. The final tool included approximately sixty questions.

Table A1. Questionnaire Structure

Sections	Example Data Points
Demographics	gender, age, location, main occupation
Perceptions of security	local security, national security, frequencies of specific security incidents, responsibility for security
Attitudes toward prerevolutionary institutional security actors	visibility, trust, effectiveness, honesty, preferred security providers
Attitudes toward postrevolutionary security actors	visibility, trust, effectiveness, honesty, preferred security actors
Media and security sector narratives	media role in shaping perceptions of security actors
Attitudes toward the justice sector	trust, effectiveness, honesty, preferred justice actors, motivations

Paired Interviews

To better understand results from the quantitative survey, a series of paired interviews were conducted after the survey. For each, two ordinary citizens of similar sociodemographic profiles—such as young women at Tripoli University, young men at a shisha café in Misrata, and so on—were arbitrarily selected. Because the interviewees usually knew each other, they were able to discuss and debate openly within the boundaries of a semi-structured, open-ended guideline. These interviews had two main objectives:

- to obtain a deeper understanding of developments in the local security and justice landscape, the presence of different security and justice actors, and trends; and
- to understand reasons behind trends identified in the quantitative survey.

In total, thirty interviews were conducted with a total of sixty participants in ten cities. Interviews planned for Kufra and Sirte could not be conducted due to local insecurity. Youth were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Older participants were age forty-five and up.

Table A2. Interview Participants

	High School Educated Young Males	Young Females	Older Men	University-Educated Youth
Tripoli	1	1	1	1
Benghazi	1	1	1	1
Misrata	1	1	1	1
Ajdabiyah	1	–	1	–
Bayda	1	–	1	–
Bani Walid	1	–	1	–
Gharyan	1	–	1	–
Murzuq	1	–	1	–
Sabha	1	1	1	1
Zuwarah	1	1	1	1
Total				**30**

Sampling

The sample frame was designed from the three best available sources of Libyan demographic information:

- The 2006 Libyan census, United Nations OCHA, Common and Fundamental Operational Datasets for North Africa provides population estimates by district, though the data is not disaggregated by any other characteristic.
- The 2013 U.S. Census Bureau population pyramid provides an estimate of Libya's population pyramid—specifically, the numbers of males and females for each age year.
- The Libya Statistics Book 2009, General Authority for Information verifies the 2006 census data and the U.S. Census Bureau extrapolations and also provides estimates of household size and foreign populations.

The sample plan required interviewing individuals stratified by district, gender, and age (in five age bands), and oversampling in four key districts (Tripoli, Benghazi, Misrata, and Sabha). 2,340 interviews were conducted between May 14 and June 19, 2014. Several interviews were rejected when the interviewer felt the respondent had not been candid, leaving a final dataset of 2,303 interviews.

Figure A3. Final sample of 2,303 individuals

	Female						Male						
	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55+	Female Total	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55+	Male Total	Grand Total
Tripoli	49	54	46	24	23	**196**	49	61	47	23	25	**205**	**401**
Benghazi	40	53	44	24	8	**169**	47	57	46	22	23	**195**	**364**
Misrata	34	55	43	24	20	**176**	47	59	44	23	22	**195**	**371**
Bani Walid	5	2	4	1	2	**14**	6	7	5	3	3	**24**	**38**
Aziziya	11	11	12	7	3	**44**	14	15	13	6	6	**54**	**98**
Al Margeb	12	14	11	6	4	**47**	12	16	11	8	6	**53**	**100**
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	8	11	8	5	4	**36**	9	11	8	5	4	**37**	**73**
Zawiya	8	9	8	4	2	**31**	8	10	9	4	4	**35**	**66**
Al Niquat Al Khms	7	8	7	4	1	**27**	8	10	9	4	5	**36**	**63**
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	5	6	5	3	2	**21**	6	7	5	3	3	**24**	**45**
Marj	5	6	5	3	3	**22**	5	6	5	2	2	**20**	**42**
Al Wahat	5	6	5	3	2	**21**	5	6	5	2	2	**20**	**41**
Darnah	1	5	7	2	4	**19**	5	9	2	2	1	**19**	**38**
Al Butnan		4	7	5	2	**18**	4	6	5	4		**19**	**37**
Sirte	4	7	5	1		**17**	1	7	7		1	**16**	**33**
Sabha	41	56	44	25	23	**189**	47	57	45	23	23	**195**	**384**
Nalut	3	1	3	4	1	**12**		3	2	5	2	**12**	**24**
Murzuq		5	2	2		**9**	1	3	1	3	1	**9**	**18**
Ash Shati	1	4	2	3		**10**	5	1	3			**9**	**19**
Wadi Al Haya	1	3	1	2	1	**8**	1	4	2	1	1	**9**	**17**
Jufra		2	3		1	**6**	1	2	3	1		**7**	**13**
Kufra	1	4	1		1	**7**	1	2	1	2	1	**7**	**14**
Ghat			1			**1**		1		2		**3**	**4**
Grand Total	**241**	**326**	**274**	**152**	**107**	**1100**	**282**	**360**	**278**	**148**	**135**	**1203**	**2303**

The sample of 2,303 individuals was post-weighted using the described demographic sources to give a final weighted sample of 2,256, on the basis of which the charts in this report were derived.

Thus, national-level figures are presented with an accuracy of ±2 percent. Key district data is presented with a minimum accuracy of ±5.1 percent.

Key Indicators

Table A4. Key National and Regional Security Indicators

		Summer 2013	Summer 2014
1	Security situation in area is good or very good		
	Nationwide	67	58
	Tripoli	85	56
	Benghazi	62	26
	Misrata	80	87
	Sabha	42	25
2	National Police are definitely effective*		
	Nationwide	26	15
	Tripoli	24	8
	Benghazi	19	8
	Misrata	35	24
	Sabha	25	8
3	Seeing National Police officer daily		
	Nationwide	54	41
	Tripoli	57	35
	Benghazi	52	20
	Misrata	63	64
	Sabha	46	29
4	Justice system definitely effective *		
	Nationwide	11	11
	Tripoli	11	5
	Benghazi	8	11
	Misrata	11	13
	Sabha	9	11
5	Worried about travel between cities		
	Nationwide	27	56
	Tripoli	30	61
	Benghazi	33	62
	Misrata	17	39
	Sabha	40	70
6	Victim of items stolen at illegal checkpoint		
	Nationwide	9	12
	Tripoli	12	15
	Benghazi	9	10
	Misrata	6	6
	Sabha	10	11
7	Most active brigade is Ansar Al Sharia		
	Nationwide	1	2
	Tripoli	–	–
	Benghazi	9	4
	Misrata	–	–
	Sabha	–	–
8	Would visit state justice for burglary		
	Nationwide	62	33
	Tripoli	65	36
	Benghazi	63	22
	Misrata	67	47
	Sabha	66	23

Note: All figures in percentages.
* 2014 data grouping response levels 9 and 10

Appendix B. Security Actors

Ministry of Interior

National Police

The National Security Directorate (NSD), formerly the National Police General Directorate, has a presence in all twenty-two Libyan districts, giving it a national reach rarely achieved by other security actors. All policing units of the National Police work under the NSD: the Municipal Guard and the Diplomatic Protection Police as well as the regular policing units—the Station Police, Patrol Police, Traffic Police, and the CID.

Whereas the Egyptian and Tunisian police forces were perceived as essential components of the former regimes' repressive apparatuses, the National Police in Libya played a marginal role relative to the Ministry of Interior's Internal and External Security Branches. Already weak before the revolution, the National Police today has lost much of what little policing capacity it had. An international security advisor noted, "The National Police leadership is lacking motivation and determination to reform. They are on standby but hang on their positions. They perceive any reform attempt as a threat to their power and have rejected the integration of newly trained recruits in their police stations on many occasions."

As a result, with the exception of a few figureheads, the Libyan revolutionary camp has largely spared the National Police, the structure of which has been preserved in many parts of the country.

It suffers from many structural and operational problems, however. Reforms have been isolated and inefficient because of the lack of a comprehensive and unified strategy at the Ministry of Interior. The ministry itself is undermined by ongoing struggles between old-guard institutionalists and newly appointed revolutionaries, as well as divided along political, regional, and sometimes tribal fault lines. Hundreds of former revolutionaries invited to join the National Police were not assigned positions after their training, symptomatic of the absence of a strategic plan and the reluctance of the old guard to integrate revolutionaries.

Most of the efforts to reform the police are focused on Tripoli. However, the capital is divided into five militia-controlled territories, and both the role of the National Police within these territories and the effect of police reform programs are marginal. Attempts at reforming the police outside Tripoli have been sporadic and uncoordinated. Only the Diplomatic Protection Police, which is of particular interest to the international community, seems to have undergone a successful reinforcement. It is currently headed by Fawzi Abu Katf, the former head of the February 17th Brigade in Benghazi, which is unique given that few revolutionaries hold leadership positions within the National Police.

The initial weakness of the National Police under the Gadhafi regime, coupled with its increased vulnerability in the aftermath of the revolution, allowed new actors to take over policing tasks. As a result, the National Police found itself in competition with other armed groups, in particular the Supreme Security Committee. Further compounding the situation, competing groups often paid their staff more, lowering police morale. Many policemen opted to join alternative policing actors in certain locations to benefit from higher salaries and better-regarded positions.

Special Deterrence Forces (Al Nawassi Brigade)

Based in Matiga airport in Tripoli's district of Suq Al Jum'a, the Salafi-oriented Al Nawassi Brigade operated under the authority of the SSC until the SSC was disbanded in 2013. Affiliated with the 8th Support Branch, it is in early 2015 under the command of First Lieutenant Abd Al Raouf Karra, a former revolutionary who joined the Ministry of Interior. The SDF is

prominent within Tripoli's security landscape and has important military means at its disposal. Its forces have built up a certain respectability in Tripoli thanks to their discipline and successes in combatting drugs. However, its various strong local and political identities are provoking some communities outside Suq Al Jum'a to reject them.

Special Operations Force

The Special Operations Force (Quwat Al Amaliyat Al Khasah) was created by former deputy minister of interior Omar Al Khadrawi, an Islamist-leaning figure, as an elite policing unit. When Zintani armed groups took over control of the Ministry of Interior in July 2013, however, they also took control of the Special Operations Forces, which they are now deploying in Tripoli to demonstrate their policing capacities in an attempt to redeem their fairly poor reputation among the local population. For example, the Special Operations Forces played a notable role policing petrol stations in western Tripoli in the June 2014 petrol shortages. The Special Operations Force should not be confused with the National Army Special Forces operating in Benghazi.

Supreme Security Committee (disbanded)

Among the various substitutes to the National Police that emerged after the revolution, the Supreme Security Committee stands out as one of the largest and longest-lived initiatives. Ultimately, it failed to impose itself as a valid alternative to the police and was progressively disbanded in 2013 and 2014, first in Benghazi and Misrata then in the western regions. Many of its former members now operate under the Mobile National Force or the LSF Western Division. As of early 2014, some forty thousand SSC members had declared their willingness to join the security institutions, mainly the National Police, and twenty thousand had already undergone the necessary integration training.

Former SSC Brigades

It is worth mentioning several brigades that used to operate under the SSC that are now operating as individual units reporting to the Ministry of Interior. The Special Deterrence Force, as mentioned, is one. It is based at the Matiga airbase, controls a swath of eastern Tripoli, and has built a reputation for counter-drugs operations. Hashem Bishar, former head of SSC Tripoli, now leads the Rapid Intervention Force (Qawat Atadakhul Sari), which operates in a similar fashion to Al Nawassi.

The Ghnewa Brigade and Bakri Support Branch Brigade are Salafi-oriented ex-SSC units operating in Abu Salim. As SSC units, they were pushed out by Zintani brigades (with popular support) in June 2013 but returned to Abu Salim in July 2014. The Knights of Janzour (Fursan Janzour) were until late 2013 an SSC unit but now operate locally in Janzour. However, although the Knights of Janzour are nominally under command of the Ministry of Interior, many of its members in reality report to the Army Chief of Staff, and this muddled reporting system is typical of many former SSC brigades operating in Tripoli that have an array of personal connections.

Army Chief of Staff

National Army

Under the former regime, the eastern-based National Army was understaffed and highly fractured—according to the International Crisis Group report "Divided We Stand," published in

September 2012—"with independent lines of communication" among different brigades. In addition to the National Army, the former regime relied on a number of loyal brigades, the most important of which were under the command of Gadhafi's sons, such as the famous Brigade 32—headed by Khamis Gadhafi and the Special Forces headed by Saadi Gadhafi. These brigades were better equipped and trained than the regular National Army units. During the revolution, according to a general interviewed in March 2013, many of their soldiers died or fled the country.

Several revolutionary brigades, to pacify the country, were integrated into the National Army, whether the Military Intelligence and Military Police, new Army units, the now-defunct National Guard, or the invigorated Border and Infrastructure Guards. Some former Gadhafi-brigade soldiers reportedly also joined the newly created units. For example, the First Infantry Brigade of the Borders and Infrastructure Guards has been accused by revolutionary brigades of having integrated Brigade 32 members. Salem Derbi, Abu Salim Martyrs Brigade operating in Darnah, accuses Al Qa'qa' of being trained by the United States and of having integrated Brigade 32 members.

Today, the National Army is fragmented and weak and lacks soldiers as well as lower-ranking officers. Some divisions or brigades play a crucial role in the security landscape, but the lack of coordination and unclear chains of command weaken the Army's effectiveness. In the West, where it traditionally had very few units, the National Army's presence remains sporadic, a few exceptions—such as an Islamist-leaning 3rd Infantry Division in Tajura—aside. According to army officers interviewed during the research period, little has been done to improve working conditions: Salaries are still very low, and no major reforms have been implemented so far, except for the Navy that appears to attract particular foreign assistance.

Special Forces

Under the Gadhafi regime, the National Army's Special Forces were Libya's most elite army unit, based only in eastern Libya. It now counts a few thousand paratroopers and commandos and is often seen as a symbol of the new Libyan armed forces and is popular in Benghazi for its stance against Ansar Al Sharia. The Special Forces should not be confused with the Ministry of Interior's elite policing unit, the Special Operations Forces, or the Suwa'iq Zintani brigade operating in Tripoli. The Zintani brigade are clearly trying to emulate the National Army Special Forces, to the extent that they use the pluralized name of the National Army Special Forces, *suwa'iq*, meaning thunderbolts.

First Infantry Brigade

The First Infantry Brigade is one of the key National Army units in the east that extensively recruited tribal elements in the aftermath of the revolution to counterbalance revolutionary forces. While reluctant at the beginning of Operation Dignity to join Khalifa Haftar, Hamid Bilkhayr, the brigade commander, finally opted to support Operation Dignity in May 2014, reportedly under the pressure of his military officers.

Qa'qa' Brigade

The Qa'qa' Brigade was also established in Zintan in 2011, and its trajectory is similar to that of the Suwa'iq Brigade. It has since remodeled itself, without legal authority, as a unit of the National Army—the First Infantry Brigade of the Borders and Infrastructure Guards. It nominally reports to the Army Chief of Staff.

Libya Shield Forces

Authorized under Law no. 47 in 2012, the LSF is an official body tasked with supporting the National Army in peacekeeping missions. Its reputation was badly damaged by several incidents in 2013, particularly fatal clashes with demonstrators in Benghazi in June 2013, after which LSF units across the country have been increasingly perceived as being military wings of local Islamist interests. As a direct result of the Benghazi clashes, the GNC decided on June 9, 2013, that the LSF's Eastern Division hand over their bases to the National Army's Special Forces division. However, as of summer 2014, elements of the LSF are still alive and reported to be increasingly organized and well equipped.

The LSF has three main divisions, Eastern, Central, and Western Shield Divisions, making it the security provider with the greatest geographical coverage after the National Army and National Police. However, it is hardly a homogenous force because under these loose division-level alliances are numerous individual brigades that retain their own distinctive leadership and ideologies.

Eastern Shield Division

The Eastern Shield Division is composed of four shields that are themselves made up of Benghazi-based revolutionary brigades:

- Shield 1 is under the command of Wissam Bin Hamid and is mainly composed of members of the Ahrar Libya Brigade. It was the Shield 1 attack on armed demonstrators in Benghazi that left more than thirty dead in June 2013. Shield 1 is said to be the first LSF brigade.

- Shield 2 is under the command of Buka Al Eribi and is thought to be more moderate than other shields, though it has the same political interests as other shields in Benghazi.

- Shield 7 is under the command of Mohammad Al Garabi and Ismail Sallabi and is known for its hard-line Islamist positions and gathers elements of the February 17th and Rafallah Al Sahati Brigades.

- Shield 10 absorbed former elements of the SSC in Benghazi and appears to be less visible and influential.

In 2013, the Eastern Division was heavily engaged in peacekeeping missions in the south of the country, particularly in Kufra. However, Shield 7 declared its withdrawal from Kufra following the GNC decision asking Shield 1 to evacuate Benghazi in June 2013. LSF support in eastern Libya is generally limited to Islamist circles, and though many LSF leaders became popular for their actions during the revolution, many are now discredited. Wissam Bin Hamid, the once-popular young leader of Shield 1, is now a wanted individual since he is suspected of commanding the killing of forty demonstrators in Benghazi in June 2013.

Central Shield Division

The Central Shield Division is divided into two main entities with rather different structures and ideologies.

Shield 6, or Misrata Shield, comprises some twenty brigades from the Misrata and Zliten Brigades, which have largely preserved their structures. The different brigades rotate between the different positions where Shield 6 is deployed: Sirte, Jufra, Bani Walid, Tarhuna, Al Khoms, and in certain locations in Tripoli, such as Gharghour. In November 2013, brigades operating under Shield 6 were involved in confrontations that led to the killing of almost forty Benghazi demonstrators.

Shield 3 was founded by Army Colonel Salem Jeha, who led the revolutionary forces in Misrata during the revolution and then set up the Misrata Revolutionaries Union. It is reportedly—according to a soldier returning from Sabha, where Shield 3 has been involved in peacekeeping operations—less politicized and more disciplined than Shield 6.

Western Shield Division

The Western Shield Division is less visible and effective than the other divisions due to intercity tensions that affected brigade willingness generally to align under the LSF umbrella. As a result, according to an army general interviewed in 2013, brigades from Tripoli provided fewer than 20 percent of the LSF's soldiers in 2013. Initially, the LSF was composed of forces provided by the local military councils of Zawiya, Zuwarah, Zintan, Nalut, and some Misrata units in the western region and deployed to resolve conflicts between clashing western towns, such as Regdalin and Jmeil. However, after interbrigade clashes over the Millita oil refinery in 2012, the Zintanis withdrew from Western Shield. The remaining structure was renamed the Mobile National Forces (MNF). However, indicative of the complex personal alliances between brigades and the LROR, some units still identify themselves with the Western Shield name and have been involved in clashes against Special Operations Forces in Tripoli as recently as July 2014.

Mobile National Force

The MNF, which, in spite of the "national" name, operates only in northwestern Libya, was created by the NTC in May 2012 to replace the LSF Western Division. The MNF follows Islamist goals and responds to the Army Chief of Staff, Abdulsalaam Al Obaidi, who has reportedly been close to the Islamist camp since 2011. It is mainly composed of revolutionary brigades from Zuwarah, Zawiya, Sabratha, and even Misrata. Although the MNF played an important role in imposing ceasefires in Sabha, Mezda, Bani Walid, and Zuwarah, it has not completely supplanted the Western Shield Division, and some units associate with both security bodies.

Libya Revolutionaries Operations Rooms

The LROR, set up in 2013 by GNC chairman Nuri Abu Sahmayn, was officially tasked with protecting the capital. Its members were responsible for kidnapping then Prime Minister Ali Zeidan in October 2013, after which the GNC stripped the LROR of its protective mandate. According to the BBC's May 2014 article "Guide to Key Libyan Militias," LROR members are close to LSF's Western Shield Division brigades.

Joint Operations Security Room

Originally a forum between all security actors in Benghazi (even opposing ones, such as the LSF and Special Forces), the Joint Operations Security Room was taken over by the Special Forces after the Jela Hospital was taken over by Ansar Al Sharia. The Special Forces use the facility, to an extent, to coordinate their efforts against Ansar Al Sharia but also to try and project a more capable policing posture in Benghazi to win over popular support.

Preventative Security Apparatus

The Preventative Security Apparatus (PSA) was created in Benghazi after the revolution with the objectives of arresting former regime elements and protecting eastern frontiers. It is composed mainly of Islamist revolutionary elements.

Army Officer Brigades

After the revolution, several National Army officers built up new brigades such as the Zawiya Martyrs Brigade and the Awfiyah Brigade. These officers often brought some soldiers with them, but they also recruited civilians. These units are often conservative, however, and are highly opposed to Islamist-leaning actors, such as the LSF, MNF, PSA, National Guard, and LROR: Units such as the Zawiya Martyrs Brigade have clashed with LSF units in the past. They report to the Chief of Staff in name only, enough to be able to draw National Army salaries.

National Guard

The National Guard was designed by the Deputy Minister of Defense Khaled Al Sharif to protect state institutions, oil fields, and other sensitive sites and serve as a recruitment pool for the National Army. Supposed to be composed of eight thousand revolutionaries selected mostly from Abd Al Hakim Belhaj's Tripoli Military Council, it was never fully operational and has little relevance today.

Ministry of Defense

During Gadhafi's regime, the Ministry of Defense did not exist. It was only created in 2011 and therefore struggles to achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the public, the army, its chief of staff, and the ruling elites unfamiliar with this type of institution. Under these circumstances, with the exception of a few rather powerful Zintani-affiliated brigades, very few security actors yet report to the Ministry of Defense.

Suwa'iq Brigade

The Suwa'iq Brigade was established in 2011 and originates in Zintan. It participated in the assault on Tripoli in September 2011, after which, in October 2012, it was placed under the control of the Ministry of Defense. There it enjoyed a close relationship with Usama Al Juweili, a Zintani field commander who served as minister of defense in 2011 and 2012, and offered Zintani brigades a legal mandate and authority to sign arms deals. It used to provide personal protection for key NTC figures and is currently active in Tripoli and the Nafussa Mountains area. It has in recent months been physically controlling the Ministry of Interior.

Petroleum Facilities Guards

The PFG was founded in 2007 as a unit of the Libyan Army and was based in Al Brega. Now it is based in Tripoli, in the Salaheddine area. However, it is only after the revolution that the force gained ground as it has become an important reservoir for former revolutionaries and armed men. As a matter of fact, the PFG counted only some two thousand members, while the force has now up to fifteen thousand members. This was made possible by the NTC decision in August 2011 mandating the PFG to protect oil fields and infrastructure. The defection of the PFG commander Ali Ahrash to the NTC has facilitated the latter's decision and im-

proved the force's revolutionary credentials. Mainly composed of ex-revolutionary, the PFG force is perceived by most Libyans as a postrevolutionary security actor. Most units integrated to the PFG were organized along tribal, ethnic, and regional faults lines.

Independent Actors

Divisions within the security sector and the inability of official actors to provide security services have catalyzed the proliferation of entities that largely operate independently of any Libyan government entity or personality. Some, such as the jihadi brigades, are highly ideological, while others are rather more conservative, such as the tribal battalions and General Haftar's supporters.

Jihadi Brigades

Several jihadi brigades have emerged in Benghazi, such as Ansar Al Sharia and the Rafallah Al Sahati Battalion, both of which espouse hard-line jihadi ideologies and engage equally in policing and enforcing social codes as well as more military and insurgency pursuits. The presence of Ansar Al Sharia or other jihadi movements in Libya cannot be explained by their ability to project force only. Their presence also finds its roots in their ability to provide successful governance and public services. Before its alleged involvement in assassination campaigns and attacks against foreigners, Ansar Al Sharia had built up a respected reputation in Benghazi by providing security to a variety of vulnerable sites, such as schools and hospitals. Its members also appeared disciplined and respectful, as opposed to National Army Special Forces soldiers and militiamen. Recent rumors that Ansar Al Sharia has received military vehicles from the Army Chief of Staff underscore how blurred the lines have become between government-commanded groups and Ansar Al Sharia. Indeed, the Rafallah Al Sahati Battalion officially belongs to Libya Shield 7.

General Haftar

At the opposite end of Libya's ideological spectrum lies General Haftar, who has been categorized as an independent actor in this report, given that the Army Command, the Army Chief of Staff, and the GNC have each described him as an outlaw and explicitly objected to his Operation Dignity. However, on the ground Haftar has a fair degree of support among the institutionalist security actors, including the Special Forces and the Waqwaq Brigade controlling Benina (Benghazi) Airport. Al Saeqa Special Forces under the command of Waniss Bou Khamada announced their alliance with Haftar over the objection of Army Chief of Staff Jadallah Al Obeidi.

Tribal Battalions

Some tribal battalions operate largely independently of Libyan government entities or personalities. For example, the Warshefana Battalion, which controls much of the South Tripoli Zone, has clashed several times with Islamist brigades, such as Bakri's ex-SSC Support Branch Brigade based in Abu Salim, and the Special Deterrence Force from Suq Al Jum'a, most recently in January 2014.

Appendix C. District Charts

Table C1. How would you evaluate security in your area?

	Very Good	Rather Good	Neutral	Rather Bad	Very Bad	Don't Know	No Answer
Tripoli	25	31	16	8	19	–	–
Misrata	69	18	8	1	4	–	–
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	53	35	–	2	10	–	–
Benghazi	11	15	11	14	48	1	–
Darnah	12	17	10	7	52	–	2
Al Wahat	35	32	15	–	18	–	–
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	56	16	11	3	14	–	–
Zawiya	53	25	8	6	9	–	–
Sabha	8	17	14	12	49	–	–
Sirte	26	12	37	9	16	–	–
Al Margeb	38	16	14	15	17	–	–
Marj	62	16	9	2	10	–	–
Kufra	13	34	39	–	13	–	–
Nalut	44	13	27	–	16	–	–
Al Butnan	63	26	7	–	4	–	–
Al Niquat Al Khms	51	22	11	1	15	–	–
Aziziya	16	24	18	8	34	–	–
Bani Walid	41	32	12	9	6	–	–
Wadi Al Haya	4	32	4	10	50	–	–
Jufra	81	14	–	5	–	–	–
Ash Shati	63	17	4	7	9	–	–
Murzuq	17	38	30	9	6	–	–
Ghat	46	20	34	–	–	–	–

Note: All numbers in percentages.

Table C2. How worried are you when traveling between cities?

	Not at All	Not Very	Neutral	Rather	Very	Don't Know	No Answer
Tripoli	8	7	4	17	61	2	–
Misrata	26	9	4	19	39	3	–
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	20	11	–	17	52	–	–
Benghazi	13	6	3	14	62	3	–
Darnah	24	22	2	21	31	–	–
Al Wahat	18	7	–	14	60	–	–
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	8	9	1	21	60	–	–
Zawiya	24	9	3	18	47	–	–
Sabha	8	7	2	12	70	1	–
Sirte	18	2	–	5	75	–	–
Al Margeb	18	12	2	22	47	–	–
Marj	17	5	–	24	53	2	–
Kufra	28	7	–	15	47	4	–
Nalut	24	–	–	42	33	–	–
Al Butnan	22	13	6	15	45	–	–
Al Niquat Al Khms	16	7	2	16	54	6	–
Aziziya	14	3	3	18	62	–	–
Bani Walid	13	5	–	20	62	–	–
Wadi Al Haya	6	–	–	–	89	4	–
Jufra	15	5	–	13	67	–	–
Ash Shati	6	8	3	4	75	4	–
Murzuq	–	–	21	16	63	–	–
Ghat	20	–	–	–	80	–	–

Note: All numbers in percentages.

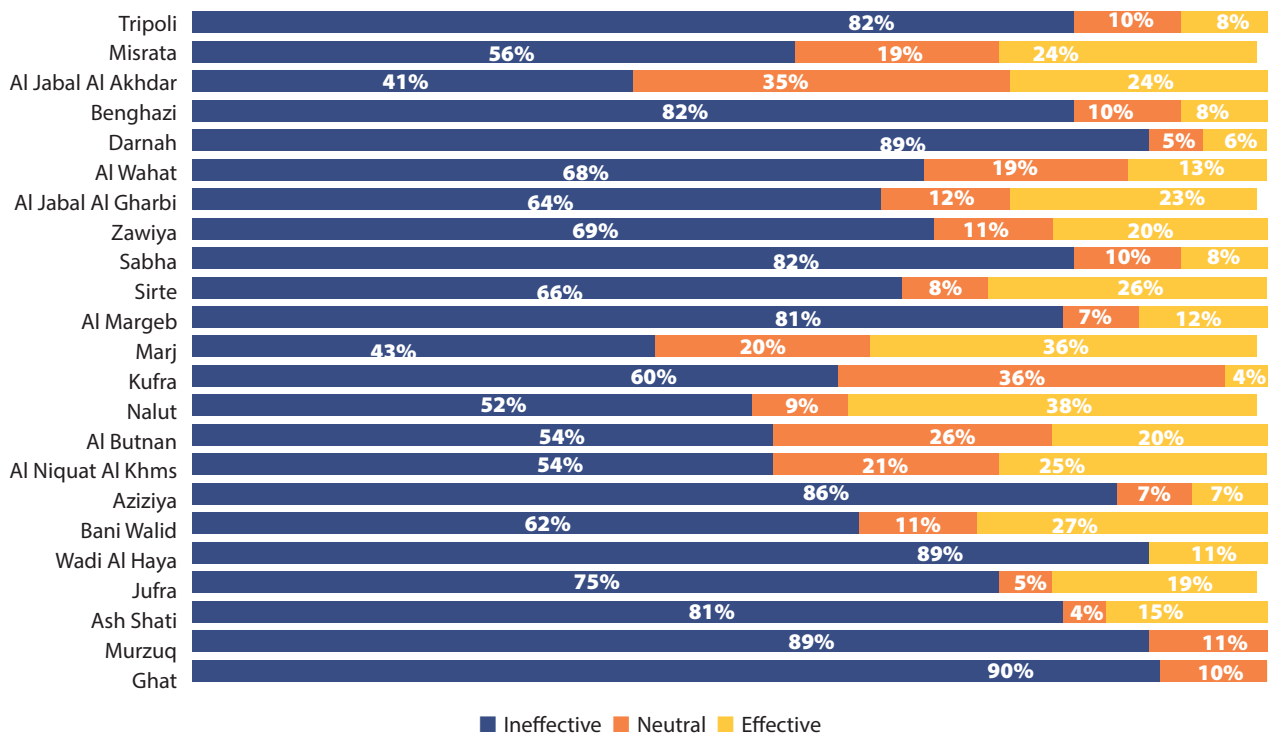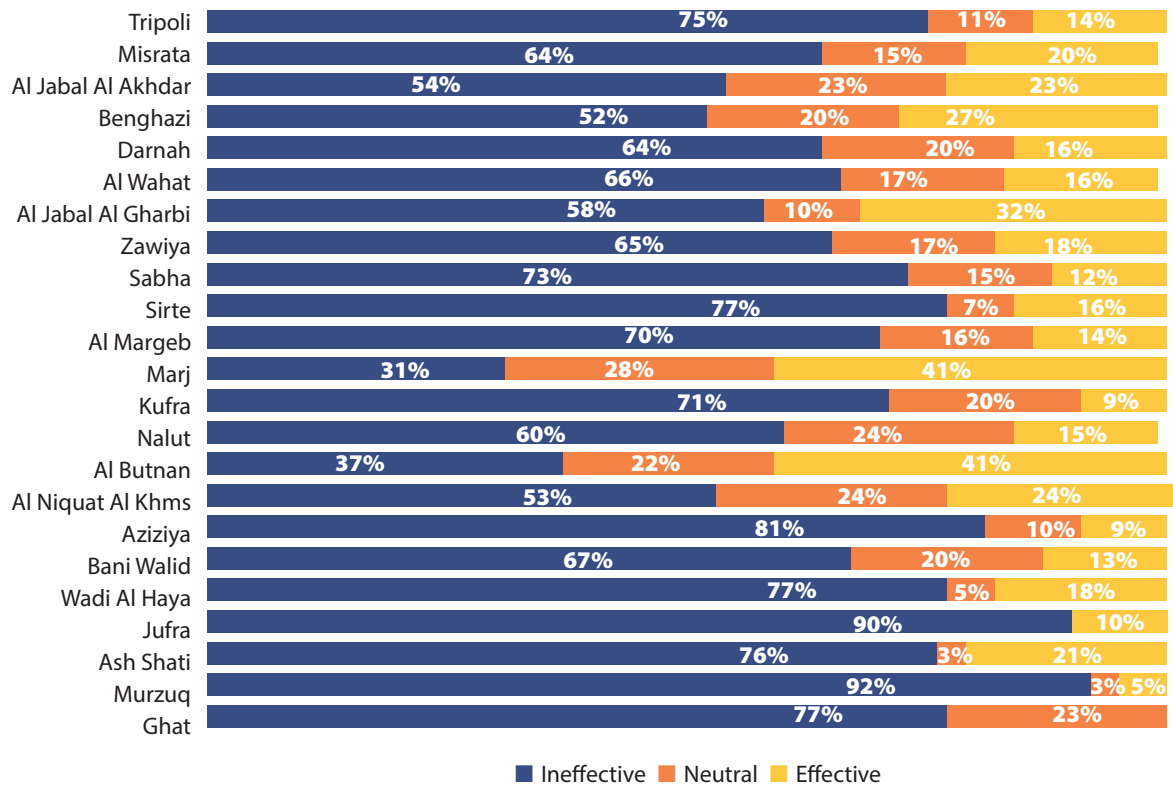## Table C3. Who should be in charge of security in your *munteqa*?

	National Police	Khalifa Haftar	Supreme Security Committee	National Army	Libya Shield Forces	Local Brigade	Local Military Council	Preventive Security Apparatus	Al Saeqa Forces	Border Guards Units	Community	No One	Internal Security Apparatus	God	Don't Know
Tripoli	50	–	1	27	–	4	1	–	–	–	10	–	–	3	3
Misrata	52	–	–	24	3	3	–	–	–	–	11	–	–	2	4
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	54	–	–	31	2	–	–	–	–	2	7	–	–	2	2
Benghazi	51	1	1	28	–	1	1	1	1	–	6	–	–	3	6
Darnah	66	–	–	21	2	–	4	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	7
Al Wahat	50	–	–	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	–	–	13	2
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	50	1	–	26	–	–	3	–	–	–	14	–	–	5	1
Zawiya	49	1	–	34	1	–	3	–	–	–	3	2	–	4	2
Sabha	46	1	–	36	1	2	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	3	2
Sirte	*26	–	–	48	–	3	–	–	–	–	21	–	–	–	3
Al Margeb	56	–	–	29	1	1	3	1	–	–	8	–	–	1	–
Marj	55	5	–	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	4	5
Kufra	53	–	–	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	28	–	–	–	4
Nalut	44	–	15	20	–	2	4	–	–	–	9	–	–	6	–
Al Butnan	66	–	–	29	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–
Al Niquat Al Khms	46	–	2	40	–	1	–	1	–	–	10	–	–	–	–
Aziziya	50	–	–	34	–	1	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	2	3
Bani Walid	50	–	–	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	–	–	5	–
Wadi Al Haya	51	6	7	14	–	–	6	–	–	–	12	–	–	4	–
Jufra	64	–	–	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	–	–	–	–
Ash Shati	65	–	–	11	–	3	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	18	–
Murzuq	84	–	–	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–
Ghat	80	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10

Note: All numbers in percentages.

Table C4. What are the main sources of instability in your district?

	Militia-Brigades	Drugs and Alcohol	Arms	Religious Fanatics	Unemployed Youth	Lack of Police	Former Regime Elements	Tribalism	No Answer	Don't Know	Lack of Social Cohesion	Ilegal Migrations-Smuggling	Government Policies	Foreign Intervention	Petrol Shortage	February 17th Revolution
Tripoli	14	10	26	7	3	25	3	2	1	2	3	–	7	–	–	–
Misrata	12	9	21	7	4	19	3	2	3	13	1	–	6	–	–	–
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	13	3	21	7	3	30	1	–	1	4	3	3	10	–	–	–
Benghazi	13	4	19	12	2	28	1	2	–	2	2	1	12	1	–	–
Darnah	5	2	12	11	3	44	–	1	–	3	3	–	15	–	–	–
Al Wahat	12	2	32	4	4	32	–	3	–	5	2	–	5	–	–	–
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	9	10	26	5	3	26	3	1	1	7	2	2	6	–	–	–
Zawiya	10	9	26	4	2	32	–	2	1	3	2	–	9	–	–	–
Sabha	13	6	22	2	1	29	2	11	–	1	4	2	7	–	–	–
Sirte	11	12	20	4	2	33	–	–	1	7	–	1	9	–	–	–
Al Margeb	15	7	21	5	1	33	1	3	2	3	3	–	4	–	–	–
Marj	13	7	15	7	5	24	2	7	5	5	–	–	10	–	–	–
Kufra	3	–	3	3	–	37	–	3	–	–	14	3	26	7	–	–
Nalut	6	21	24	3	5	20	1	–	–	5	–	–	15	–	–	–
Al Butnan	–	1	15	9	8	37	–	–	–	12	4	4	9	–	–	–
Al Niquat Al Khms	13	4	22	5	4	30	–	2	7	4	–	–	9	–	–	–
Aziziya	15	6	28	3	2	31	2	1	1	1	1	1	10	–	–	–
Bani Walid	13	8	25	2	3	25	5	3	3	7	1	–	3	4	–	–
Wadi Al Haya	8	–	21	2	9	47	–	9	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–
Jufra	27	–	33	–	–	10	7	–	–	14	–	–	8	–	–	–
Ash Shati	3	6	9	4	11	28	3	–	18	10	–	–	6	–	–	–
Murzuq	5	–	9	–	–	37	–	16	–	–	–	–	32	–	–	–
Ghat	–	–	34	–	–	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	46	–	–	–

Note: All numbers in percentages.

Figure C1. Are the National Police effective?

Region	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective
Tripoli	82%	10%	8%
Misrata	56%	19%	24%
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	41%	35%	24%
Benghazi	82%	10%	8%
Darnah	89%	5%	6%
Al Wahat	68%	19%	13%
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	64%	12%	23%
Zawiya	69%	11%	20%
Sabha	82%	10%	8%
Sirte	66%	8%	26%
Al Margeb	81%	7%	12%
Marj	43%	20%	36%
Kufra	60%	36%	4%
Nalut	52%	9%	38%
Al Butnan	54%	26%	20%
Al Niquat Al Khms	54%	21%	25%
Aziziya	86%	7%	7%
Bani Walid	62%	11%	27%
Wadi Al Haya	89%		11%
Jufra	75%	5%	19%
Ash Shati	81%	4%	15%
Murzuq	89%		11%
Ghat	90%	10%	

■ Ineffective ■ Neutral ■ Effective

Figure C2. Is the National Army effective?

Region	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective
Tripoli	75%	11%	14%
Misrata	64%	15%	20%
Al Jabal Al Akhdar	54%	23%	23%
Benghazi	52%	20%	27%
Darnah	64%	20%	16%
Al Wahat	66%	17%	16%
Al Jabal Al Gharbi	58%	10%	32%
Zawiya	65%	17%	18%
Sabha	73%	15%	12%
Sirte	77%	7%	16%
Al Margeb	70%	16%	14%
Marj	31%	28%	41%
Kufra	71%	20%	9%
Nalut	60%	24%	15%
Al Butnan	37%	22%	41%
Al Niquat Al Khms	53%	24%	24%
Aziziya	81%	10%	9%
Bani Walid	67%	20%	13%
Wadi Al Haya	77%	5%	18%
Jufra	90%		10%
Ash Shati	76%	3%	21%
Murzuq	92%	3%	5%
Ghat	77%	23%	

■ Ineffective ■ Neutral ■ Effective

Acknowledgments

Notes

Data provided for the figures and tables in this report were rounded to the nearest whole number, which may cause the total to be over or under 100 percent.

1. The term auxiliary describes such actors, given that many militia brigades have legal status. They operate at times alongside the institutional state actors—police and army—and at other times independently. In recent years, various terms have been used to describe these actors: quasi-state actors, informal actors, extra-legal. No single term comprehensively captures the full identity of these groups, thus for this publication, auxiliary actors refers to all noninstitutional actors.

2. Until the nomination of Abderrazak Al Nazuri as the new chief of staff by the House of Representatives in August 2014, his predecessors Youssef Al Manqush and Jadallah Al Obeidi were considered close to the Islamist-revolutionary camp. Many brigades within this camp were hence granted a legal status between 2012 and 2014. Because this research dates from May 2014, the chief of staff in this report refers to Jadallah Al Obeidi.

3. These are notably tribes from the Al Saadi tribal alliance. Although most eastern tribes backed the 2011 revolution, they have become increasingly vocal against a postrevolutionary political process they perceive as dominated by Misrata and its allies. In May 2014, eastern tribes that supported the 2011 revolution partici-pated in a conference in Warshefana—hosted by Western tribes known for their historical support to Gadhafi's regime—to discuss ways to counter the Islamist-revolutionary influence.

4. The SSC was officially disbanded in 2013.

5. Abd Al Fatah Younis was a former senior military official under Gadhafi who defected to the revolutionaries and was subsequently declared commander-in-chief of the Libyan Armed Forces.

6. Interview with former Benghazi local civil council member, Tripoli, May 2014.

7. Interview with international diplomat, Tripoli, May 2014.

8. Chris Stephen, "Abd Al Fatah Younis Assassination Creates Divisions Among Libya Rebels," *The Guardian*, July 29, 2011, www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jul/29/abdel-fatah-younis-death-libya.

9. Interview with leading Warfalla figure, Tripoli, May 2014.

10. Peter Cole and Brian McQuinn, *The Libyan Revolution and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

11. Key informant interviews with policemen and soldiers, 2013 and 2014.

12. "Haftar Issues a 48 Hours Ultimatum for Turks and Qataris to Leave Benghazi," *Daily Al Bayan*, June 23, 2014, http://www.albayan.ae.

13. Bani Walid data is excluded from Misrata district data.

14. The Tripoli zone is one defined by Altai Consulting. Research for this report was conducted just before the battle for Tripoli International Airport on July 13, which transformed much of South Tripoli into a battlefield.

15. This unit, which still exists despite the disbanding of the SSC itself, is named for its chief Ghnewa, a Salafist with links with Suq Al Jum'a brigades. "Youth of Abu Salim Channel," Facebook, June 2013, www.face-book.com/AbuSalim.media.channe?ref=profile.

16. Paired interview, Tripoli, 2014.

17. Interview with Warfalla notable, Tripoli, May 2013.

18. Paired interview, Tripoli University, May 2014.

19. "South Korean Trade Chief Kidnapped in Tripoli," *Libya Herald*, January 20, 2014, www.libyaherald.com/2014/01/20/south-korean-trade-chief-kidnapped-in-tripoli/#axzz36xRf2cdF.

20. Brian McQuinn, "After the Fall: Libya's Evolving Armed Groups," Small Arms Survey working paper, October2012,35,www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/F-Working-papers/SAS-WP12-After-the-Fall-Libya.pdf.

21. Key informant interview, local official, Misrata, May 2014.

22. Arthur Quesnay, "Renégocier l'Espace Politique Libyen: du Local au National," Noria Research, October 1, 2012, www.noria-research.com/2012/10/01/renegocier-lespace-politique-libyen-du-local-au-national/.

23. Phone interview with social council member, Bani Walid, May 2014; Human Rights Watch, "Libya: Fair Trial Concerns for Ex-Officials," April 14, 2014.

24. Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.713.

25. "Libya Merges Criminal Investigation Organizations," *Saudi Gazette*, February 3, 2013.

26. Interview with police colonel, Tripoli, May 2013.

27. Interview with international policing advisor, Tripoli, May 2014.

28. Interview with Warfalla elder, Tripoli, May 2013.

29. Frederic Wehrey, "The Battle for Benghazi," *The Atlantic*, February 28, 2014, www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/02/the-battle-for-benghazi/284102/.

30. Terminology used by Khalifa Haftar and his lieutenants.

31. Phone interview with former LIFG member from Benghazi, July 2014.

32. Wolfram Lacher, "Fault Lines of the Revolution," SWP research paper, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, May 2013, 16, www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2013_RP04_lac.pdf.

33. Paired interview with former SSC member, Tripoli University, April 2014.

34. Peter Cole, interview, 2014.

35. Phone interview with eastern-based judge, July 2014.

36. Ansar Al Sharia's media outlets are managed by Al Raya Media Group. It also has two radio stations in Benghazi and Darnah, Al Furqan and Al Tawheed.

37. The Sirte SSC was a composite force made up of Misratan, local, and eastern elements.

38. Interview with Ansar Al Sharia and former SSC member, Sirte, May 2013.

39. Interview with international expert on Jihadi movements, April 2014.

40. Interview with Sheikh Fawzi Al Ayat, the movement's local spokesman, on Radio Free Sirte, July 2013.

41. Interview with traditionalist religious scholar, Zawiya, April 2014.

42. Ansar Al Sharia Sabratha Branch's Facebook page, May 2014.

43. Altai Consulting, *Strengthening Moderate Voices*, March 2014.

44. Paired interview, Ajdabiyah, May 2014.

45. Field visit to Sirte, May 2013.

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Three years after the revolution that toppled Gadhafi's repressive regime, Libya is on the brink of civil war. Despite local successes in maintaining security and justice services, mistrust between regions, political struggles for power, and sporadic and uncoordinated security and justice sector reforms have progressively driven Libya toward a complex civil war. This report examines Libyans' perceptions of the security sector and aims to understand changes in those perceptions from 2013 to 2014.

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