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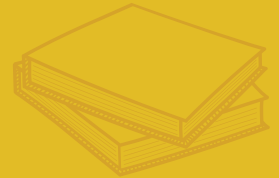
Shared Prosperity **Dignified Life**

Towards an inclusive national identity

in light of a just citizenship State

NOTE

This study, "Towards an inclusive national identity in light of a just citizenship State", was conducted by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA). It was developed within the framework of the Libya Socioeconomic Dialogue Project, and funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The project was carried out in partnership with ESCWA and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The aim of the project is to provide a platform for Libyans, at both the national and sub-national levels, to discuss and develop a socioeconomic vision for Libya,[1] as well as to discuss the relevant policy options needed to support and strengthen such a vision. The platform also addresses the structural challenges inherent in developing a new social contract, institutionalising the State, and strengthening the sustainable development framework in Libya.

This document is one of a set of eight studies[2] on policy options relating to the socioeconomic vision mentioned above, conducted by ESCWA in collaboration with a group of Libyan experts. These studies are meant to contribute to realising this vision, addressing its challenges, and facilitating the process of drafting policies and developing strategies that take into account its socioeconomic and institutional dimensions.

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1 Vision for Libya: towards prosperity, justice and strong State institutions.
2 Titles of these studies:
   1. **Towards an inclusive national identity in light of a just citizenship State**.
   2. Social protection system.
   3. Human capital, youth and women empowerment, and the integration of militant forces.
   4. The role of the State in sustainable economic development and the strategic positioning of Libya in the global economy.
   5. Strengthening the State authority and the rule of law through a fair and independent justice system, and human security based on human rights and the principles of comprehensive justice.
   6. Restoring trust and reconciliations to establish a national charter.
   7. Building a State of institutions, regional integration and international cooperation.
   8. Mechanisms for economic reform and recovery.

Executive summary

Libyan society is currently undergoing major social and political transformations, as a result of successive recent political and security developments. The necessity of facing the dangers posed by these transformations must therefore be stressed, to preserve the country's unity and value system. The role of citizenship in preserving the unity of Libya and Libyan society must also be emphasised. The issue of a national Libyan character first gained interest with the plans made by Abdul Hamid Al-Bakkoush, known to have called for the establishment of a Libyan character, first announced in the statement he issued on 21 November 1967, in which he stressed the importance of the feeling of national and patriotic belonging in achieving the rise and prosperity of Libya.

Libyan society is characterised by ethnic, tribal and linguistic diversity and pluralism. Such pluralism in the makeup of Libyan society is considered a sound and healthy phenomenon. Yet in view of the weakness of the State, current political divisions and the worsening security situation, this pluralism has raised fears that have made the different elements of Libyan society turn to their sub-national identities, for the safety and protection the central Government has been unable to provide. Modern Libyan society is rife with complications that stem from various interconnected stages of the country's history. These complications have created rifts that have only widened following the events of 2011, resulting in a wide-ranging and multifaceted crisis, with repercussions that pose a grave threat to both society and State. Indeed, the crisis is not merely a political one, but has economic, social, cultural and security dimensions as well, covering most of the country's regions and requiring the mobilisation of all capabilities to confront them. Such complications include problems related to prejudice, unfair treatment, intolerance, ignorance, disregard for the common good, and irresponsibility, in addition to a rise in behaviours hostile to both society and State, increasingly acute personal and tribal enmities, and rigid ideological fanaticism, as well as the clear absence of a social role.

Libyan society also has its share of vulnerable groups, including ethnic groups such as the Amazigh, Toubou and Tuareg peoples. These are components of Libyan society whose members feel increasingly marginalised under the present circumstances, a situation that contributes to widening existing social rifts. Vulnerable groups also include women and young people, who have been complaining of limited opportunities, racism and discrimination, particularly in terms of access to jobs in the political and economic sectors. The same applies to local tribes and historical populations in the three regions of Libya, where warring among these groups could lead to even wider rifts within Libyan society. Containing all of these groups and making them part of an inclusive national identity would thus contribute to achieving the goal of a unified and cohesive country, rather than seeing it fragmented and torn apart.

Resolving the challenges connected to citizenship requires taking steps in which the roles played by different Government sectors would intersect in comprehensive strategic planning that would emphasise growth and a fair distribution of resources. Such plans would rely on policies of economic, political and legislative reform, and would function according to the principle of transparency in spending and State administration. Providing all of these elements would reassure Libyan citizens, and encourage them to rely on such principles to legally demand their rights, instead of resorting to tribalism or identity politics.

In addition, there is a set of steps that must urgently be taken to help create a sense of reassurance among Libyan citizens, and contribute to the creation of an inclusive national identity. Such steps include working to expand societal awareness by producing visual material that would allow citizens to learn about cultural diversity and the respect of the different cultures that make up Libyan society. They also include holding festivals, naming streets after prominent Libyan figures of all cultural backgrounds, and other measures that might have a psychological impact on ordinary citizens.

Introduction and historical background

Libyan society is currently going through a great deal of social, economic and political changes. Indeed, developments have been rapid and numerous, within a short period of time, and have had a negative impact on the country's social fabric. Libyan society today struggles under the weight of difficult circumstances caused by wars, political crises and ideological conflicts, and a general state of instability and insecurity, as well as a worsening economic situation (such as a liquidity crisis, widespread administrative and financial corruption, and rising prices) and social and security problems (such as displacement, kidnapping, and identity-based killings).

History teaches us that violence and bloodshed only achieve short-lived results. The peaceful development of relations between the different elements that make up society thus remains the best way to preserve freedom and justice, as well as social justice, and to create a world in which differences are resolved without resorting to violence. And if it is not always possible to avoid disputes in human relations, the means of resolving them must be peaceful and constructive, not violent and destructive. Accordingly, all evidence points to the necessity of quickly resolving the divisions between the different elements of Libyan society, and of focusing all of our thinking and efforts on building better foundations for coexistence, and a society rooted in the principle of non-exclusion. Indeed, social exclusion would only exacerbate inequality, preserve instability and lead to decline. The ability of the State to oversee and control social and economic interactions should also be supported.

The concept of citizenship is a social, legal and political notion that is considered to have greatly contributed to the development of human society, and helped elevate the State towards values of equality and justice. It has also strengthened the role of democracy and transparency in building and developing both State and society, by stressing the importance of having citizens participate in governance, and guaranteeing their rights and obligations.

In Libya, the issue of a national Libyan character first gained interest with the plans made by Abdul Hamid Al-Bakkoush, known to have called for the establishment of a Libyan character. He first announced such plans in the statement he issued on 21 November 1967, in which he stressed the importance of the feeling among citizens of belonging to a distinct nation or society (national identity) and to a specific place as their homeland (patriotism) in achieving the rise and prosperity of Libya. In his view, this would bolster the efforts of the State towards growth and prosperity, and instil a sense of common concern affecting every member of society (El-Ragi, 2008). When one speaks of Libyan patriotism (i.e. the attachment to Libya as a country), then one must necessarily speak of Libyan national identity (the sense of belonging to a Libyan nation and people). Indeed, the individual's feeling of belonging to a nation or country is a real natural and human phenomenon, one that strengthens commitment to national duties and the preservation of common national principles, agreed upon by the citizens of a country as a foundation for their coexistence.

At the political level, some thinkers consider that the concept of the nation-state itself relies on a number of elements, among them the constitutive element of "the citizen", the element of national identity, and the element of citizenship, which bestows on citizens the right to legally exist. As citizens of a geographical space with boundaries known to all, individuals have certain rights and duties that they can fully exercise within that space. Meanwhile, social contract philosophers consider citizenship to consist of a set of political rights, falling under the theory of natural rights, that allow citizens to reject the hegemony of absolute authority and the violation of individual rights. In their view, political authority should be the outcome of a social contract in which social and economic freedoms and rights are respected.

Power

Freedom

Social rights

Economic rights
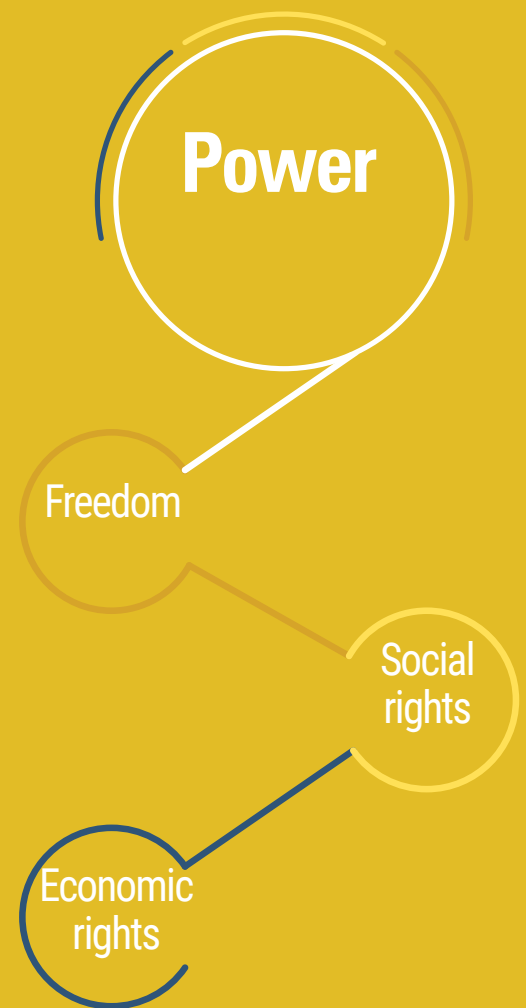
Dimensions of citizenship

The modern concept of citizenship is grounded in a diverse set of dimensions shaping its essential features, as follows:

- **The legal dimension** of citizenship regulates relations between citizens and authorities, through laws that take into account the interests of both the individual and the community. This allows citizens to pursue their own interests legally without infringing on the interests of society.

- **The political dimension** of citizenship is an expression of the individual's membership in the country as a political body, where citizens may enjoy their political rights, such as participation in elections, engagement in civil society organisations, and adherence to human rights.

- **The social dimension** of citizenship reveals the set of social values that regulate the behaviour of individuals and of society as a whole, with loyalty and the sense of belonging to the country playing an essential role in achieving social solidarity and interdependence. This dimension is especially embodied in the protection of human, social, intellectual, political, economic and cultural rights.

- **The economic dimension** of citizenship reflects the extent to which citizens can exercise their economic rights. This dimension is primarily embodied in providing the basic necessities of a decent life to those who are unable to provide it for themselves, such as shelter, food, clothing and jobs befitting their abilities, in addition to the right to healthcare, social welfare and education.

- **The cultural dimension** of citizenship represents society's cultural and historical heritage, highlighting the identity of both citizens and their country. This dimension is enriched by cultural differences and diversity within the same country.

Citizenship rights

The rights of citizenship can only be fully exercised when a culture of citizenship has become inherent to common social consciousness. Without such a culture, these rights remain incomplete and fraught with the risk of being withdrawn or violated. The process of developing a common social consciousness in turn requires developing legal standards that would guarantee the political and legal rights of citizenship, all while spreading the culture of citizenship and democracy. An effective mechanism should also be developed to detect violations of citizenship rights, and mobilise public opinion against them. Citizenship rights should be guaranteed under the law, and the law should apply to all citizens equally when it comes to those rights.

Perhaps the most important and noteworthy of these rights are the following:

- The right to physical security, and not to be subjected to torture.
- The right to work according to one's abilities and skills.
- The right to education.
- The right to essential public services.
- The right to healthcare.
- The right to own property.
- The right to personal and intellectual freedom.
- The right to protection and compensation.

The Civil Law of 1953, and specifically Articles 49, 50 and 53, guarantees all of those rights.

Complications of the situation in Libya

The complications that have arisen from the crisis in Libya can be outlined as follows:

- Libya has gone through different historical phases that have created complications, as well as social rifts that have only widened since the events of 2011. In fact, the country has since seen a rise in unwarranted inflexibility in addressing existing disputes, clearly apparent in the extremely harsh reactions that have occurred over issues that could easily have been resolved.

- The Libyan crisis is a wide-ranging and multifaceted one, with repercussions that pose a grave threat to both society and State. Indeed, it is not only a political crisis, but also an economic, social, security and cultural crisis. Capabilities should thus be mobilised to confront it, and procedures, measures and legislation should be developed to resolve it.

- The scope of the crisis has widened, geographically to include most of the country's regions, socially to include most tribes and socio-cultural elements making up society, and politically and administratively to include the main institutions relevant to public affairs and those closest to people.

- There are fundamental problems related to prejudice, unfair treatment, intolerance, ignorance, disregard for the common good, and irresponsibility, in addition to a rise in behaviours hostile to both society and State.

- Personal and tribal enmities have grown increasingly acute, and ideological fanaticism has worsened, while social actors who might be reasonable, impartial and decisive have been absent from the scene. This has led to a social vacuum no less dangerous than political vacuum, and to social issues becoming entangled with political ones.

- It is extremely difficult to bring together freedom and order amid a reality of ever-increasing fear, and reasons for fear, both for oneself and for society and State (fear

of kidnapping, fear of stray bullets, fear of tribal clashes, fear of the country being divided, fear of the State going bankrupt, etc.).

- In a situation such as the one Libya is going through, laying the blame solely on Governments is not sufficient to identify the causes of the problem, or to implement policies and impose solutions. Indeed, the issue requires an awareness of the importance of consensus, the willingness to offer concessions to reach

sustainable solutions, and the realisation of what peace would mean, and what benefits it would bring.

- Real consensus would lead to developing a legal framework for the functioning of society, one that would include all of its components at every level and in every field, and committing to the mechanisms, systems, rules and legislation that it would require. Consensus should therefore be rooted in shared principles, chief among them that of not taking away the rights of others.

I. Methodology

Over the course of an entire year, the ESCWA team conducted preliminary studies to identify and analyse the challenges facing Libya, relying on official statements issued by Government officials. The research team then recommended mechanisms for reform that were presented to 88 Libyan experts, so that they may assess them, suggest additions and provide appropriate clarifications, making use of the best past experiences at the global level. Priority issues were then identified, particularly when it comes to defining an inclusive national identity under a just citizenship State, and to reform and economic recovery in the wake of the crisis. These recommendations were then discussed

in a wide-ranging societal dialogue, which included various different social groups, including public and private sector employees, people with disabilities, and representatives from every region of Libya. This dialogue went on for eight sessions, with discussions involving 262 Libyan participants, and over 857 written submissions received. All of these efforts led to a set of important recommendations and priorities for the preparation of a unified national vision for the future. All of the data previously obtained were then gathered, reformulated and presented in a validation session, with the participation of 81 Libyan citizens of diverse backgrounds.

II. Recommended options and policies

Citizenship, diversity and differences

A citizenship State, as generally understood, can be divided into a set of smaller diverse identities sharing

common features and characteristics. Those identity groups may have been formed independently, but as they grow and develop, they bond with one another to form an inclusive nation (while each preserving their own features

and characteristics). In reality, this is what preserves their sense of belonging. The previous regime, the Jamahiriya, tried to establish the principle of a unified nation by branding it an Arab nation, whose members all speak the same Arabic language and are all Sunni Muslims of the Maliki School. The Jamahiriya regime focused on promoting the notion that the Libyan people are a homogenous population, without any ethnic or religious differences (Abolkhair, 2020).

Yet the developments of 2011 brought changes to this Libyan character, as different religious and ideological movements emerged, and as demands for specific rights were voiced by ethnic groups like the Amazigh, Toubou and Tuareg. At the ideological level, Salafism became particularly prominent, in its various forms (scholarly and Jihadist, peaceful and militarised), as did other forms of political Islam (such as the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Liberation Party and the Tabligh Movement). Meanwhile, Sufi movements found themselves targeted and had hundreds of their shrines and lodges destroyed. There was also the issue of a group of Libyan Jews who demanded the right to return. Thus, even if one considers cultural diversity to simply be a feature of Libyan character, they would still have to recognise that each of these diverse groups also have their own cultural, linguistic and religious particularities (Abolkhair, 2020).

The existence of diversity in a given society, as a result of the existence of multiple affiliations within its inclusive identity, should be recognised. Such diversity should be respected, and what comes with it in terms of disagreements or differences in language, ideology, way of life and interests, should be accepted. Yet all of this makes it imperative to find appropriate ways to freely express such diversity within an appropriate framework, in such a way as to prevent the eruption of conflicts that would threaten the safety of society as a whole. Diversity does not reflect our differences, but rather our inclusive national identity, which is rooted in what we have in common as fellow countrymen and as human beings. Indeed, citizenship means the recognition of those who are different within the same country.

Pluralism and diversity in the makeup of Libyan society is a sound and healthy phenomenon. Yet in view of the weakness and political division of the State, as well as the worsening security situation, this has raised fears that have made the different elements of Libyan society turn to their sub-national identities for the safety and protection the State has been unable to provide.

The Libyan character we aspire to stems from the search for shared features among Libyans, and takes form by shaping these features into a single national character that would reflect the country's identity. The goal of such a process must always be to strengthen national and cultural bonds, and to increase cohesiveness and the

sense of an inclusive national identity and shared destiny. Yet this should not prevent us from recognising diversity and respecting the rights of different cultural groups, in terms of their history, language, traditions and heritage. Such a goal can only be achieved through the sound management of cultural diversity in Libya (Abolkhair, 2020).

Citizenship, marginalisation, discrimination, exclusion and hate speech

Discriminating between members of society, on the basis of gender, race, colour or culture, can only obscure an inclusive national identity and render it worthless. It also drives citizens towards isolationism within their sub-identities. There are several groups in Libya that suffer from marginalisation, discrimination and exclusion, among them for example cultural minorities (Toubou, Tuareg and Amazigh), women, young people, people with disabilities, and women married to foreigners. Some of the main apprehensions expressed by those groups are presented below:

A. Cultural minorities

The concerns voiced by cultural minorities (Amazigh, Toubou, Tuareg) are rooted in the general idea that the cultural diversity dimension has been marginalised in Libya, which goes against the facts of history and the principles of democracy, pluralism and human rights. Those voicing such concerns argue that diversity is in fact a source of income and wealth for modern societies, as well as a source of cultural dynamism, economic prosperity and social cohesion.

Those minorities have distinctive features and characteristics in art, literature, music, architecture and clothing, as well as in other fields of cultural expression in which investments can be made positively. The right way to deal with these historical and cultural facts would require stressing the need for all citizens and social groups to enjoy equal rights, in every field and without any kind of discrimination whatsoever.

The situation in Libya also requires taking into consideration the fact that freedom does not mean irresponsibility, and that religious bases for discussion must have some measure of rationality. Indeed, religion represents the central and fundamental element of an inclusive identity for all parties concerned. It should also be recognised that consensus can only be real, useful and productive if it comes as a result of reaching a minimum of common ground that satisfies all parties and does not impose an ill-founded de facto situation. Being aware of how powerful cultural standards can be would only help the process of democratic transformation.

B. Women

Historical sources and studies indicate that the participation of Libyan women in public life goes back to the Ottoman period. In 1904, the first community school for girls opened in Tripoli, and since then, women's public role in Libya has grown and developed through the decades. That role became clearer and more prominent throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, especially after oil was discovered in the country, which contributed to its modernisation and subsequent changes to its society. And while education significantly contributed to a greater participation of women in public life, there were also numerous instances of legislation that strengthened the role of women in Libyan society.

Yet despite the fact that such legislation made men and women theoretically equal under the law, numerous forms of discrimination and inequality persisted, including in such instances as the following:

• While women, like men, were given the right of citizenship, and the right to acquire and relinquish it, they were not given the same rights as men when it came to passing on citizenship. Indeed, Libyan men married to foreign women could pass on their citizenship to their children, while the children of Libyan women and non-Libyan fathers could not obtain Libyan citizenship.

• Despite the fact that Islam treats men and women equally on issues of adultery and fornication, Article 375 of the Libyan Penal Code reduces the sentence of those who murder their female relatives for committing adultery or fornication. Meanwhile, the prison sentence for physical assault against a female relative was set at no more than two years, and no legal penalty was set for beating women and inflicting minor injuries. Furthermore, to allow them to play an active role in society, Libyan women have asked for modifications to be made to certain measures and rules, particularly those concerning vacation days and working conditions.

C. Youth

Young people represent 50 per cent of the current population in Libya, and 43 per cent of the country's workforce. They are also considered the most well-educated segment of society, and the one most open to modernity and progress. Indeed, the proportion of young people between the ages of 25 and 29 with no academic qualifications is a mere 12.7 per cent, while those holding high school diplomas make up 77.3 per cent. For comparison, the same proportions for people between the ages of 55 and 59 are, respectively, 56.6 per cent and 29.4 per cent.

Young people in Libya face numerous challenges, as the age-group most likely to be unemployed and least likely to be engaged in economic activity. They are also the age-group least represented in positions of decision-making, and their level of participation in civic and political institutions remains at its lowest. Many young people in Libya have positive expectations about the country developing and changing for the better, and expect improved conditions and immediate economic integration for themselves. The disappointment these young people face may well lead to instability and unrest, ranging from random acts of violence to joining armed militant groups. That is why facing such threats is an issue of the utmost importance, and why comprehensive plans must be made to contain them and to

Libyan youth 50% of the population

12.7% of youth have no academic qualifications

77.3% are holding high school diplomas

encourage young people to participate in dialogues on peace and economic growth.

D. Historical regions, tribes and religious affiliations

Tribal or regional intolerance in Libya is nothing new, and is certainly not restricted to the post-2011 period, although its effects and symptoms have been exceedingly clear of late. It must be stressed here that tribes represent an inherent and historical component of Libyan society, and that there is nothing inherently negative about tribal identity in itself. The same applies to the historical regions of Libya (Cyrenaica, Fezzan and Tripolitania), as distinct components of the country with their own cultural, geographic and political history stretching back to antiquity. As mentioned above, the diversity of ethnic groups (Arab, Amazigh, Toubou and Tuareg) represents a source of wealth for Libyan society. The same can be said about ideological and religious differences, and even the current disagreement between Sufis and Salafists (and other religious affiliations). All of these combinations and differences represent real existing facts that cannot be denied or ignored. Neither are they shameful or antithetical to a citizenship State. Rather, their negative aspect stems from the opposing poles of extremist fanaticism and denial or wilful ignorance.

Tribal, regional or ethnic intolerance does not occur in a vacuum, but is the result of actual facts on the ground. Unfortunately, such feelings are spreading among Libyans today, fuelling hatred between them and potentially leading to deadly clashes. That is why their causes and the means to confront them must be clearly and decisively identified.

Reasons for the crisis of the citizenship State

The reasons for the citizenship crisis stem from several factors that were long neglected, and have taken root within Libyan society over time. They can be summarised as follows:

- The absence of a regulating State in the real sense, with Government bodies and institutions, and security and financial agencies. This has led citizens to turn to the nearest regulating body to them, such as their tribes or armed militant groups, as alternatives to the State. Under the current circumstances, these "institutions" are the ones providing them with employment (by pressuring officials), resolving their legal disputes (according to custom or by force of arms), offering them social protection, and so on.

- Regional focus, in which the rights of only certain groups, ethnicities or tribes in specific geographical areas are stressed, as opposed to regional diversity which reduces sub-national affiliation and increases acceptance of others. Thus, for instance, there are certain places (cities and villages) in which it would currently be difficult for those of different affiliations to fully exercise their citizenship rights. Indeed, precedence is given there to entitled members of the dominant tribe, unlike in large cities like Tripoli and Benghazi.

- The concentration of resources, wealth and political power in the hands of certain groups or dominant tribes. This is also one of the causes of intolerance, as those groups and tribes refuse to relinquish the resources under their control.

- Social preconceptions and stereotypes, which divide society into unfair categories. Such preconceptions presume that certain traits and characteristics can be found in some tribes but not in others, or that they are specific to a certain region to the exclusion of all others. Such generalisations group people together and ignore individual differences, which contributes to the creation and spread of intolerance and increases hatred between citizens of the same country.

- Marginalisation and exclusion, which gives rise to intolerance among marginalised groups or groups that are not fairly represented, as a form of rebellion against marginalisation, or a form of defence of the group's existence against being denied or ignored by others. Marginalisation takes many forms, one of the most important being injustice in the economic system, such as in the unfair distribution of investments, institutions, economic resources and bank credit. The same kind of injustice can also be found in the job market, with inequality in job opportunities, particularly for positions of leadership or in the diplomatic corps. Included in this context is gender discrimination against women assuming Government positions.

- The lack of complete resolution of tribal rivalries. In this regard, warring factions give rise to intolerance among groups that have been oppressed, attacked or harmed, especially when they have not received reparations or seen those responsible held to account. All of this tends to fuel feelings of intolerance and hatred.

- The exploitation of intolerance (tribal, regional or otherwise) by some groups to achieve gains and benefits of their own, irrespective of the interests of the country and its citizens.

III. Moving forward

On citizenship, diversity and differences

- Recognising the diversity of identities, and developing mechanisms to integrate sub-identities into the national identity of society as a whole. The goal should be to value national and cultural ties, and increase the feeling of unified identity and shared destiny.

- Respecting natural rights (the rights of the State; the rights of the citizen; the rights of the family).

- Developing a national strategy for fair and comprehensive spatial development in all regions of the country, while taking into account the natural and human resources particular to each region.

- Working to develop mechanisms to achieve a just distribution of natural resources, and managing them in a way that citizens would find satisfactory and understandable.

- Working to develop policies of economic, institutional and legislative reform.

- Providing an effective system of governance and transparency that would apply to all State institutions, so as to reassure citizens on issues of equal opportunity and the preservation of the country's resources.

- Working to establish a new social contract that would ensure the rights of all citizens, including minorities, tribes and other social groups.

- Giving civil society organisations a greater role in bringing about a spirit of citizenship and an inclusive national identity.

- Launching a societal dialogue to determine current priorities, and to agree on short, medium and long-term plans that would ensure the elimination of marginalisation and exclusion.

- Working to reduce hate speech, and developing legislation and passing laws that would ban this kind of speech.

- Making use of school curricula to instil national values and principles, as well as those of citizenship rights.

On discrimination and marginalisation

A. Cultural minorities

- Working, in collaboration with specialists and professionals, to produce audio-visual material that would allow the members of different cultural groups to express their experiences and aspirations. The goal would be to ensure fair and balanced representation, promote diverse and pluralistic cultural and heritage-based expression, integrating all of this into the country's collective memory, and strengthening interculturalism in its cultural life.

- Methodically funding cultural projects and meeting spaces (such as cultural centres) that would provide diverse representations of the creative work of the country's citizens, in spaces such as concert halls, theatres, folkloric dance halls and art workshops.

- Renaming public spaces (streets, public squares, archaeological sites) by commemorating events of historical or social significance, especially those connected to the struggle against colonialism, and influential historical figures, in recognition of their contribution to Libyan history. All of this must be integrated into the country's collective memory and national identity, with the aim of ensuring mutual respect, and supporting equality and citizenship in the respect of diversity.

- Holding national, regional and international cultural, entertainment and creativity festivals that would express, emphasise and invest in diversity.

- Empowering cultural groups to develop the teaching of their own languages, by creating learning centres and providing them with modern equipment and technology.

- Making use of symbolic means of moral significance to express respect for diverse identities, such as by issuing postage stamps and banknotes that express national unity.

- Absorbing differences between social groups and integrating elements from different groups into national culture, and addressing fears of ethnic and cultural fragmentation by creating social awareness.

B. Women's rights

- Adopting empowerment programmes rooted in policies that include basic capacity-building and guarantee the exercise of legal rights, and allowing for the participation of women in male-dominated fields by adopting suitable public policies rooted in participation and integration, as well as equal opportunity and the right to a decent life.

- Allowing for the participation of women in the process of building and preserving peace, and in the development of the means necessary to achieve this, as well as allowing them to reach decision-making, political and leadership positions, and especially positions connected to the development of public policies.

- Including the principle of equality between men and women in the country's constitution, and ensuring its practical application through legislation and other appropriate means.

- Taking appropriate measures, including deterrents, to prevent any kind of discrimination against women, and imposing and ensuring effective legal protection for women through the use of specialised courts.

- Revising and amending laws, regulations, norms and practices that involve discrimination against women (in some cases, for instance, women who have married outside the clan or tribe are denied the right to inherit land from their parents).

C. Youth

- Working to provide young people with relevant skills to improve their ability to join the job market; empowering university students by supporting and facilitating their access to transportation, shelter and scholarships; and providing a suitable learning environment by making use of advanced curricula and technologies in higher learning.

- Providing young people with a safe place to live, and ensuring their participation in State administration regardless of their origins and social affiliations.

- Developing plans and strategies to prepare young people, create job opportunities and provide funding for special youth projects, so as to integrate them into active society and steer them away from armed militant groups and organised crime.

- Focusing on social awareness among the youth about differences, cultural pluralism and tolerance towards it, with the aim of instilling the same fundamental principles the stability of the State is being built upon; creating social cohesion and peaceful coexistence; and instilling a culture of settling disputes through negotiation.

D. Historical regions, tribes and religious affiliations

- Giving tribes a vital and positive role, particularly in social matters, so as to create a peaceful society and work to end disputes and conflicts between tribes.

- Developing mechanisms and policies to provide citizens with safety and stability, and recognising the rule of law and its enforcement, so as to ensure that citizens do not turn to their tribe or other sub-national affiliation to combat marginalisation and exclusion.

- Respecting the historical boundaries of the three regions, as part of the living memory of citizens and as integral to the country's history; and integrating regional identities into an inclusive national identity, as a foundation of the country's unity, instead of combating them as threats that would lead to dividing and losing the country.

- Developing plans and strategies for dealing with those affiliated to different religious and ethnic groups, and creating mechanisms for peaceful social coexistence between all citizens.

- Working to integrate the members of cultural minorities with other citizens, to allow for the transmission of cultures, customs and traditions among them all, so that they may blend together within an inclusive national identity. This can be achieved by distributing State institutions geographically, and regularly relocating and redeploying Government employees in different regions and cities.

On the resolution of the citizenship State crisis

- Recognising the existence of differences; not denying the demands made by some groups, no matter how extremist; and engaging in dialogue with everyone, without excluding anyone or accusing them of treason.

- Proposing structural economic reforms that would ensure justice and equality for all social groups and among all regions.

- Confronting administrative and financial corruption, activating oversight tools, and empowering accountability mechanisms and the executive bodies connected to them.

- Strengthening the judiciary and empowering it to do its work.

- Promoting the principle of transitional justice and reparations, and putting an end to rivalries between social groups.

- Making use of the media and steering it towards elevating the values of citizenship, and strengthening national identity through seminars, social activities and cultural festivals.

- Focusing on the growth and spread of some of the most important social values, such as reconciliation, tolerance, forgiveness and the acceptance of differences, pluralism and diversity, in addition to the values of justice, equality and the rule of law over custom, or those of coexistence and good neighbourliness.

- Determining which groups are being marginalised and the reasons for their marginalisation. Is such marginalisation being based on skin colour or ethnicity? Or is it affiliation to a certain tribe or region? Special attention should also be given to the problem of marginalisation on the basis of gender, as well as discrimination against people with disabilities and vulnerable groups. The reasons for such marginalisation should be determined as well, and mechanisms should be developed to address them.

- Determining the scope of discrimination in areas such as job opportunities or employment in sovereign and diplomatic positions, as well as in the fields of education and training, in the economic sector (such as in investment opportunities and access to loans and credit), those of infrastructure and the relocation of State institutions and public services, and others. This should be done by holding societal dialogue sessions, gathering data from relevant parties, conducting studies and developing mechanisms to empower marginalised groups to exercise their rights.

- Working on the development of clear mechanisms for the distribution of resources, jobs and State institutions among regions and among cities within each region, in a fair and satisfactory manner.

- Working to solidify the values of citizenship, by adopting and spreading those values through the educational system, and focusing on the transmission of values that call for tolerance and coexistence, good neighbourliness and the acceptance of others.

IV. Conclusion

The absence of a regulating central State, the marginalisation of Libyan society's historical components and the neglect of its complexities, are some of the main causes of the social rifts and fragmentation that now threaten the unity of the Libyan State. The result of this has been that citizens have turned instead to their social groups, under various appellations, to obtain justice and confront marginalisation and discrimination. Indeed, marginalisation in Libya has taken many forms, including the unfair distribution of jobs in the political and economic sectors, the inequitable distribution of wealth, with certain areas or structures disproportionately benefiting from it, and the reliance of the State on administrative centralisation for the provision of services. This has led to a rise in intolerance, rebellion against the executive and legislative branches of Government, and citizens turning to their sub-national identities instead of the all-encompassing national identity.

For an inclusive national identity to emerge under a citizenship State, certain challenges must be resolved. Policies and strategies must be developed that would take into account the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions of citizenship, recognise the existence of differences and diversity in Libyan society, identify the different kinds and causes of marginalisation, and propose mechanisms to resolve them. Such mechanisms should include strengthening the role of the judiciary and the rule of law as a reliable recourse for all citizens, working to educate citizens on Libyan cultural diversity, and emphasising the importance of such diversity as part of the country's historical and cultural heritage. Indeed, it is this heritage that will serve as the foundation of the citizenship State, and the bedrock of a unified and inclusive national identity that would include all of the sub-national identities found in Libyan society.

List of Publications Issued by the Libya Project

Document Number	Title	العنوان
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/TP.3	An Introductory Study on the Status, Challenges and Prospects of the Libyan Economy Part I of a Baseline Study for the Libya Socioeconomic Dialogue Project	دراسة تمهيدية عن الاقتصاد في ليبيا: الواقع والتحديات والآفاق الجزء الأول من دراسة أولية لمشروع الحوار الاجتماعي والاقتصادي الليبي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/TP.2	An Introductory Study on the Status, Challenges and Prospects of the Libyan Society Part II of a Baseline Study for the Libya Socioeconomic Dialogue Project	دراسة تمهيدية عن المجتمع في ليبيا: الواقع والتحديات والآفاق الجزء الثاني من دراسة أولية لمشروع الحوار الاجتماعي والاقتصادي الليبي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/TP.1	An Introductory Study on the Status, Challenges and Prospects of Governance and Institutions in Libya Part III of a Baseline Study for the Libya Socioeconomic Dialogue Project	دراسة تمهيدية عن الحوكمة والمؤسسات في ليبيا: الواقع والتحديات والآفاق الجزء الثالث من دراسة أولية لمشروع الحوار الاجتماعي والاقتصادي الليبي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/TP.8	The economic cost of the Libyan conflict	الكلفة الاقتصادية للصراع في ليبيا
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/TP.5	Economic cost of the Libyan conflict Executive Summary	الكلفة الاقتصادية للصراع في ليبيا ملخص تنفيذي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/2	Benefits of Peace in Libya :Neighbouring Countries and Beyond	السلام في ليبيا: فوائد للبلدان المجاورة والعالم
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2020/2/ SUMMARY	Benefits of Peace in Libya :Neighbouring Countries and Beyond Executive Summary	السلام في ليبيا: فوائد للبلدان المجاورة والعالم ملخص تنفيذي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/TP.1	Vision for Libya: towards prosperity, justice and strong State institutions	رؤية لليبيا: نحو دولة الازدهار والعدالة والمؤسسات
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.1	Towards an inclusive national identity in light of a just citizenship State	نحو هوية وطنية جامعة في ظل دولة العدالة المواطنية
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.2	Social protection system	منظومة الحماية الاجتماعية
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.3	Human capital, youth and women empowerment, and the integration of militant forces	رأس المال البشري وتمكين الشباب والمرأة ودمج المسلّحين
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.4	The role of the State in sustainable economic development and the strategic positioning of Libya in the global economy	دور الدولة في التنمية الاقتصادية المستدامة والتموضع الاستراتيجي لليبيا في الاقتصاد العالمي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.5	Strengthening the State authority and the rule of law through a fair and independent justice system, and human security based on human rights and the principles of comprehensive justice	تعزيز سلطة الدولة وسيادة القانون في ليبيا: دور مبادئ حقوق الإنسان والعدالة الشاملة في إرساء منظومة مجتمعيّة عادلة، وقضاء نزيه ومستقلّ، وأمن إنسانيّ مستدام
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.6	Restoring trust and reconciliations to establish a national charter	ترميم الثقة والمصالحات: الطريق نحو تأسيس ميثاق وطني ليبي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.7	Building a State of institutions, regional integration and international cooperation	بناء دولة المؤسسات والتكامل الإقليمي والتعاون الدولي
E/ESCWA/CL6.GCP/2021/ POLICY BRIEF.8	Mechanisms for economic reform and recovery	آليّات الإصلاح والتعافي الاقتصادي

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