

Roadblocks to Democratization in Post-Gaddafi Libya and the Utilization of Content Analysis

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Abstract

Research in Social Sciences is carried out in stipulated procedures popularly known as the research process. The research process amongst other stages, involves data collection which can be done using any of the research techniques. Among these techniques, Interview and Questionnaire are the most commonly used by researchers. These data collection techniques are not only expensive in terms of finance, labour, and time; they, being obtrusive in nature, also expose researchers to research hazards, precisely when conducting research in conflict plagued areas or with dangerous respondents like cannibals, drug dealers, militias, ritualists, dictators, etc. The use of content analysis – an objective, unobtrusive, and systematic method of data collection and analysis by studying and analyzing the manifest contents of communication which then form the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions – thus becomes indispensable. This is informed by the fact that content analysis enables researchers to overcome the above challenges associated with the interview and the questionnaire techniques. In the course of this work, content analysis proved very potent in the examination of roadblocks to democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya. The researcher need not travel to war-torn and insecure Libya amidst the covid-19 pandemic to interview or administer questionnaires to respondents. Rather, the relevant contents of the BBC and the VOA online news publications pertaining to democratic challenges in post-Gaddafi Libya, were collected and analyzed based on stipulated rules of content analysis.

Keywords: *Content analysis, democratization, post-Gaddafi Libya*

Introduction

Research is not an activity that is done haphazardly. Rather, its implementation involves various procedures, series of steps, structure, or stages developed and refined by scientists over a long period of time to enable researchers actualize the stated aims and objectives of their research. These procedures or stages are known as the Research Process, which include: identification of research problem; statement of the research problem; literature review; construction of hypothesis; research design; data collection and analysis; report of research; and generalization (Okolie *et al*, 2006; Yomere & Agbonifo, 1999). At the data collection stage, various techniques or instruments for collecting data are available to the researcher to choose from. Such instrument can be a self-completion questionnaire, a structured interview schedule, participant observation – whereby the researcher listens to and watches others (Bryman, 2012), or content analysis.

Content analysis is a two compound word – *content* (that is, the substance, subject matter or the diverse issues in a speech or document); and *analysis* (that is, a detailed investigation, explanation, examination or assessment of a phenomenon in order to better understand it and make inferences or draw conclusion). As far as the conceptual clarification of content analysis is concerned, it is pertinent to note that there are just about as many definitions of content analysis as there are scholars studying and applying it as a research technique for data collection and analysis. Hence, it has been variously defined and explained by various scholars. Berelson (1952, p. 18) for instance, defined it as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. To Kerlinger (1968) it is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Similarly, Holsti (1969, p. 14) coined it as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages”. Following the same line of thoughts, Nachmias and Nachmias (1976) constructed content analysis as the method wherein the content of a message forms the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions. To Osemwota, Okhakhu, and Tonwe (1996) it refers to a structured-document-analysis technique wherein the researcher first construct a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories that can be adopted to analyze document and record the frequency with which each of such categories is observed in the document being studied. Content analysis has also been defined as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context (Krippendorff, 1980).

However, it is germane to note that while all the above scholars coined content analysis as a research method or technique, Bryman (2012, pp. xxxiii & 289) in his contribution, opined that content analysis is not a research method because “it is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts rather than a means of generating data”. Nevertheless, he added that it is usually treated as a research method due to its

unique approach to analysis. Thus, he sees content analysis “as a method that provides a rigorous framework for the analysis of a wide range of documents”.

From the above scholarly conceptual clarifications, content analysis is characterized by **objectivity** (that is, the content analyst simply applies the rules in question so that their personal biases intrude as little as possible in the process); **systematization** (the rules are not merely stuck to or applied, but are applied in a consistent manner so that biases are once again suppressed, thereby ensuring replication); **quantitative description** (that is, it is strongly embedded in the quantitative research strategy because its aim is to produce quantitative description of the raw material in terms of the categories specified by the rules); etc. Also, it is pertinent to add that though content analysis is mainly used in the examination of printed texts, documents, and mass-media items, it is however, not solely applicable to communication in printed form. It can equally be used to examine oral communication (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, Stempel (1989) in his work – *Content Analysis*, observed that though content analysis is largely perceived as a quantitative method, it can also effectively capture qualitative content. Stempel's observation has thus, helped in correcting the impression, as well as in debunking the error that content analysis is absolutely a quantitative method and vice versa.

Procedures in Content Analysis

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1983) content analysis can be carried out in various discrete stages, viz:

- I. **Formulation of Research Question and Hypotheses:** As in the research process, the use of content analysis involves the formulation of research question or statement of the research problem after the research problems must have been identified. That is, the already identified research problem is designed in such a way that data can be collected and analyzed to answer such question in a manner that minimizes bias and errors (Yomere & Agbonifo, 1999). From the formulated research questions, tentative answers affirming (Alternative hypothesis) or denying (Null hypothesis) the existence of causal relationship between an independent variable (X) and a dependable variable (Y), are then provided. This is known as hypotheses formulation.
- ii. **Defining the Population or the Universe:** This stage involves specifying the scopes of the body of document content to be analyzed. Examples include:
 - a. Specifying the speeches, radio or television stations, newspapers, documents, magazines, etc. to be analyzed.
 - b. Indicating the time frame.

- c. Specifying the setting or location such as country, region, province, city, town, etc.
 - d. Justification of the above specifications.
- iii. **Sampling:** Since it is infeasible to utilize the relevant contents of all newspapers, magazines, etc. over a defined period of time, it becomes imperative to study, observe, and analyze a selected sample of the entire population of study. Here, any of the conventional sampling techniques or their mixtures can be utilized as deemed fit by the researcher.
- iv. **Select and Define Unit of Analysis:** Five units of analysis have been identified by Holsti (1969), viz:
- a. Single word or symbols: This connotes how many times certain keywords or phrases appeared in a given document e.g. democratization, authoritarianism, militancy, youth unemployment, regionalism, etc.
 - b. Theme: Theme refers to the central idea or subject matter of a document. For example, the theme of Kuku's (2012) book, *Remaking the Niger Delta: Challenges and Opportunities*, is basically on the wealth and poverty of the Niger Delta region, as well as the pathways to its development; while that of Rodney's (1973), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, is premised on how Europeans via colonialism, exploited and left Africa backward.
 - c. Character: This denotes the number of persons rather than the number of words fitting into each category. Character could be in form of tribal groups, militias, races, gender, religions, political parties, tribal warlords, etc.
 - d. Sentence or Paragraph: This is the major theme or central idea embedded in paragraph or sentence of newspapers, magazines, or other sampled documents to be analyzed.
 - e. Items: The role of items as units of analysis, becomes significant when the manifest contents of many relevant documents have to be compared.
- v. **Construct the Category of Content to be analyzed:** This connotes the different blocs into which the content of the analyzed documents are grouped or classified. Thus, Goel (1988) stated that scholars have argued that this classification should be guided by two principles – comprehensive category and mutually exclusive category. Comprehensive category connotes that every unit of analysis (single

word, theme, item, sentence or character) should be placed into an existing category. That is, all information extracted must be assigned to a category. If the category is mutually exclusive, no data item should be placed in more than one category.

- vi. **Measurement/Establishment of a Qualification System:** This involves the measurement of the strength and intensity of a statement in any document to be analyzed (Osemwota, Okhakhu, & Tonwe, 1996). That is, it entails the nominal, interval, and ratio scales of measuring data in content analysis. The Nominal measurement requires counting the frequency of occurrences of the unit in each category. The Interval level is used to develop scales for coding certain attributes or situations such as “less intense” “more intense” “most intense”. The Ratio measurement refers to spaces and time allotted to a given category. This is suitable when analyzing relevant manifest content from electronic and print media.
- vii. **Conducting a Pilot Survey:** This stage may not be necessary as part of the procedures in content analysis. However, conducting a pilot survey is advantageous for various reasons. For instance, it helps the researcher in the detection of poorly defined categories or classifications. It also enables the researcher to detect other faulty steps which could be corrected.
- viii. **Coding Content:** Coding is probably the most unique and central step “of doing a content analysis” (Bryman, 2012, p. 289). Coding content or coding the manifest content of document, involves classification of communication, be it oral or written, based on certain conceptual framework. A more detailed explanation of this stage has been made under the subheading of Coding and Reliability.
- ix. **Data Analysis and Results Interpretation:** This is usually presented in terms of relations between variables. Descriptive statistics like Mean, Median, Mode, and Average are judged to be suitable for content analysis. Chi Square (X^2) is commonly utilized because content analysis data tends to be nominal in nature. Nevertheless, where the data meet the criteria of Interval or Ratio scale, a t-test, Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient (r) or ANOVA becomes appropriate (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983).
- x. **Conclusion:** As in the research process, the procedures in content analysis starts with problem identification and ends with a conclusion. This last stage involves making inferences or drawing conclusions based on the objective, systematic, unobtrusive, and quantitative examination of the manifest content of a given communication that the researcher has embarked on.

Coding and Reliability in Content Analysis

As earlier stated, coding "...is probably the central and most distinctive stage of doing a content analysis" (Bryman, 2012, p. 289). Hence, Okonmah and Renner (2010, p. 160) observed that "Scholars like Rosengren (1981), Snider and Osgood (1969), and Zeller and Carmines (1980) have suggested that the best test of the clarity of category is to code a small sample of the text". Consequently, coding becomes imperative as many forms of data in magazines and newspaper articles, speeches, and television or radio programmes that are of interest to social researchers are basically in an unstructured form. Coding, therefore enables social researchers to quantify and analyse such materials.

By way of conceptual clarification, coding simply connotes "a process whereby data are broken down into their component parts and those parts are then given labels". From this definition, coding involves two major steps. The first stage entails the categorization or classification of the unstructured material. In the second stage, the researcher assign numbers or give labels to the categories or classifications that have been created. These labels, tags or numbers are of essence as they enable the material to be processed quantitatively (Bryman, 2012, p. 13).

Simply put, coding is the process of transforming raw data into standardized form. Coding the manifest content of document, thus, involves classification or categorization of communication – oral or written, based on certain conceptual framework. For instance, newspaper editorials on democratization in Libya within the period under review (2012-2021), could be classified into pro-Government of National Accord (GNA) or pro-Libyan National Army (LNA), and vice versa. Conversely, the roadblocks to democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya from 2012 to 2021, could be categorized into arms proliferation, militancy, youth unemployment, regional alliance, tribalism, and militias. These classifications can then be assigned labels or numbers such as: 1 for arms proliferation; 2 for militancy; 3 for youth unemployment; 4 for regional alliance; 5 for tribalism; and 6 for militias.

Correct coding helps in assessing accuracy, and to ensure that the coding process is correct, the issue of reliability becomes crucial. Reliability refers to the degree to which a measuring instrument produces similar outcomes or results when it is repeated (Zeller & Carmines, 1979). It is concerned with the question of whether the results of a research are repeatable (Bryman, 2012). Succinctly put, research results are said to be reliable or consistent if concept and conception or parameters used in previous studies are applied and repeated, and the same results are produced. Hence, Reliability is related to measurement/construct validity. In content analysis, it is the consistency of the text being coded or categorized, and it is one of the cardinal challenges that affect content classification. The challenge of Reliability usually surface out of ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, and the application of coding rules (Okonmah & Renner 2010).

Furthermore, Krippendorff (Krippendorff, as cited in Okonmah & Renner, 2010, p. 163) has however, identified three types of Reliability, viz:

- i. **Stability:** This connotes the extent to which results of content coding or classification are at variance over time. It is achieved when the same content is coded more than once by the same researcher. In other words, Stability is the degree to which the results of a coded content, executed twice or more by a given researcher, differ over a period of time.
- ii. **Reproductivity:** Reproductivity is the direct opposite of Stability. It has to do with the extent to which content categorization or coding produces the same result when the same text is coded by more than one researcher. Reproductivity is said to measure the consistency of shared understanding or meanings.
- iii. **Accuracy:** This connotes the extent to which the text coding or classification corresponds to or tallies with the norms, principles or standards of text coding. According to Bryman and Cramer (2011) the followings are the three basic principles of text coding that must be observed:
 - a. The classifications or categories that are generated must not overlap. If they do, the numbers, tags, or labels that are assigned to them cannot be applied to different categories.
 - b. The list of classifications must be comprehensive or complete, and thus, cover all possibilities. If it is incomplete, some material will become incapable of being coded. Hence, it is recommended to include a category of 'other' when coding.
 - c. There must be clearly stipulated rules on how codes should be applied. This third principle helps to ensure that there are guidelines or instructions that will enable the person conducting the coding to know the types of answers that should be incorporated under a given code. Such guidelines help to ensure coding reliability in terms of Stability and Reproductivity.

Style of Data Presentation/Classification in Content Analysis

Some categories or variables that are common, regularly, and easily used as technique of data presentation or classification in content analysis research, have been developed by Holsti (1969; Okonmah & Renner, 2010, p. 161) as seen in the table below:

Subject Matter	What the communication entails
'Director of the Subject Matter	How the subject matter is treated e.g. positive or negative
Origin of the Subject Matter	Place, settings or where the communication originates from
Authorities of the Subject Matter	The names or persons who make statements
Location of the Subject Matter	Where the action occurs Sources/causes and
Nature of Conflict	characteristics of conflict
Actors in the Subject Matter	Those presented as responsible for certain actions
Values of the Subject Matter	The goals the actors wish to achieve
Standard of the Subject Matter	The basis/rationale behind the classification
Time of the Subject Matter	Time Setting or when the action occurred
'Ending of the Subject Matter	When and how conflicts were resolved
Method of the Subject Matter	Approaches adopted to achieve goals or values
'Tenets or Traits of the Subject Matter	The describable features of the people

Sources: Nachmias, D., & Nachmias, C. (1979). Content Analysis in Research Method in the Social Sciences.

Okonmah, I. E., & Renner, U. I. (2010). Content Analysis and Its Application in Social Sciences.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Content Analysis

The role of content analysis as a research technique cannot be overemphasized. Firstly, it is economical or cost effective certainly when compared with other research techniques like interview, participant observation (where the researchers listen to and watch the research participants), and questionnaires. In other words, content analysis is cheap in terms of finance, time, and labour. It is therefore suitable and advisable for researches that are singlehandedly funded and with limited time frame.

Secondly, it is useful for subjects (precisely elites like first class traditional rulers, companies directors, top government's and military personnel, top spiritual leaders, etc.), who are not always available or easily accessible for direct observation (Osemwota, Okhakhu & Tonwe, 1996), interview or questionnaire administration. In line with this, Bryman (2012, p. 305) opined that content analysis allows “information to be generated about social groups to which it is difficult to gain access”.

Thirdly, it is desirable for researches where the research subjects – even though they are always available, easily accessible or approachable – would or might not want to disclose relevant and reliable research information due to ignorance, sentiment, lack of interest in research involvement or fear of victimization if they were to be interviewed or administered questionnaires. Fourthly, content analysis has the capacity to accommodate and manage large volumes of data.

Also, it enables researchers to research on remote or immediate historic events. Empirically, such events cannot be observed directly; and the personalities involved cannot be administered questionnaires or interviewed. Hence, Okonmah and Renner (2010) stated that content analysis allows researcher(s) to systematically analyze data acquired from archival records and other sources of documents in a distinctive manner rather than directly observing people's behaviours or asking them questions about their opinions on issues under investigation.

In other words content analysis “can allow a certain amount of longitudinal analysis with relative ease”. That is, it allows the researcher to track changes in frequency over time – whether long or short time. More so, it is a highly transparent or objective method of analysis. This is because its coding scheme and sampling techniques can be clearly stipulated to ensure that replications and follow-up studies are feasible. Furthermore, it is a highly flexible method of analysis that can be applied to a broad range of different kinds of unstructured textual information. Though it is often linked with the analysis of mass-media outputs, content analysis has a much wider applicability beyond this (Bryman, 2012, p. 304).

Due to its *unobtrusive* or *nonreactive* method of observation – concepts invented by Webb *et al* (1966) – content analysis does not expose researchers to any life threatening research risk such as in conflict or diseases plagued areas (Okonmah & Renner, 2010). The unobtrusive nature of content analysis also help to exempt researchers from ethical dilemma and research bias. Additionally, it gives room for the correction of errors – it makes it possible to return to the test and supplement missing data unlike in experimental or survey methods (Woodrum, 1984).

Lastly, though not the least, content analysis is context-sensitive. Thus, it can process symbolic or representative meanings of data. Though it is mainly perceived as a quantitative method, content analysis can also effectively capture qualitative content (Stempel, 1989).

Conversely, this research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, is not flawless. Like other research techniques, it has its own limitations. For instance, it is applicable to the analysis of recorded document or oral communication which may be falsified and distorted. Hence, Scott (1990) recommended that documents to be analyzed should meet such criteria as authenticity (that is, the contents of the document should be genuine); credibility (the contents of the document should not be distorted in some-way); and representativeness (the documents examined should be representative of all possible relevant documents).

Second, inferences drawn in content analysis are often the subjective views of a few elites. Also, inferences drawn in content analysis when researching on totalitarian States like North Korea, *inter alia* might not reflect the objective reality of socio-political and economic phenomena. This is due to the fact that such inferences are largely based on information which the State's media choose to make available. Such information might just be grey or black propagandas rather than the white propagandas the researcher is interested in.

More so, it has been argued that content analysis is less reliable and difficult to validate. Thus, Krippendorff (1980) opined that the issues of reliability and validity in content analysis still remain unsolved. Furthermore, as a research method or technique of data collection and analysis, it has been equally argued that content analysis cannot be used to test causal relationship between variables (Chadwick *et al*, 1984).

Application of Content Analysis to Examine Roadblocks to Democratization in Post-Gaddafi Libya

Democratization simply connotes the process of transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy (Heywood, 2007). It involves the transition towards democratic government; a shift from authoritarian to a democratic government (Levy & Bruhn, 1995). Similarly, Vestal (1999) defined democratization as the transition from an authoritarian system to a more democratic form of government. Succinctly put, democratization is a political process that moves the political system into democracy. Empirically, it involves the destruction of the non-democratic regime;

the inauguration (institutional engineering) of democratic institutions; and the (cultural and social) consolidation of the democratic regime (Diamond, 1999).

Libya – a mainly desert and oil rich north east African State, attained her political independence on 24th December, 1951 (not from Italy, her colonizer, but) from the Allied (Britain and France) via the United Nations Trusteeship Council. It started her post-independent political statehood as a monarchic, federal (later unitary in 1963) cum parliamentary State known as *Regno di Libai* (United Libyan Kingdom) headed by a Sanusi monarch, King Sayyid Mohammad Idris. On September 1st, 1969, King Idris was overthrown via coup d'état by a group of military junta led by Captain Muammar Gaddafi. The major rationales behind this coup include: King Idris failure to instill nationalist spirit in Libyans; internal divisions (regionalism and ethnicity), as Libyans from defunct districts of Tripolitania and Fezzan saw him as Emir of Cyrenaica where he hailed from rather than as the country's leader; the rise of Nasserism and Arab nationalist socialism throughout Middle East and North Africa – MENA; King Idris passive partisan in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war; etc. (Wright, 2005; Vandewalle, 2006).

Libya under the reign of Col. Muammar Gaddafi was renamed from the United Libyan kingdom to the Libyan Arab Republic. Like his predecessor, Col. Gaddafi also suffered the fate of prebendalism in his bid to remain a stumbling block to Libya's democratization effort. Throughout his regime, dissidents were ruthlessly crushed; the media remained under strict government's censorship; laws prohibiting group activities were enacted, and hundreds of their violators were either imprisoned or sentenced to death. Tortures and disappearances were also reported (Vandewalle, 2006). In a nutshell, Libya witnessed a total democratic blackout throughout Col. Gaddafi's forty-two years reign. The Libyan populace had no say in decision making that affected them; rather, they were skillfully coerced to abide by dictatorial decisions. These cases of dictatorship, repression, and human rights violations largely informed the 2011 bloody revolution in Libya – a fight of liberation from dictatorship to democracy that became successful following the overthrow of Col. Gaddafi's regime and his death in October 2011. These were achieved by pro-Democratic Forces (The National Transitional Council - NTC) aided by aerial NATO forces (**Odemwingie, 2013**).

The NTC while sticking to its transition agenda, was able to democratize the country's politics for the first time since independence. Within eight months, it conducted and supervised democratic general elections on July 7, 2012, for a 200-member General National Congress that eventually replaced her (the NTC). The 200 parliamentary seats were vied for by 2,501 candidates with over 2.6 million eligible voters. To ensure Libyans in European cities with large Libyan communities such as those in Berlin and Paris, cast their vote, accreditation centers were also established in such cities (High National Election Commission, 2011). This was the first democratic election in Libya and Libyans in Diasporas were able to vote – an electoral feat yet to be achieved in Nigeria that has experienced nationwide direct elections since 1959.

Out of the forty political parties that contested the election, only six – the National Forces Alliance, Justice and Construction Party, National Front, the Wadi Al-Hayah Party, the Union for Homeland, and the National Centrist Party – won 136 seats in the General National Congress; while the other 64 seats were won by independent candidates (Elkin, 2012).

The National Front – a liberal cum progressive party that won three parliamentary seats – was nevertheless fortunate to have its leader, Mohammed Yousef el-Magariaf elected as Chairman of the General National Congress (GNC); and by the proviso of the 2012 Libya's interim Constitution, he became the country's de facto President. To promote national integration, laws prohibiting the formation of political organization along regional, religious, tribal or any other primordial lines, were enacted. Post-Gaddafi Libya equally witnessed the proliferation of both private and pro-NTC mass-media outlets. This was in sharp contrast to the Gaddafi's era where media outfits were nationalized. More so, women's participation in politics recorded some successes as women won 33 seats out of the 200 seats in the GNC election (Al-Jazeera News, 2012).

In 2014, elections were conducted into the House of Representative established to replace the GNC. The secular and liberal lawmakers got more votes, while the Islamists, who performed poorly, demanded for a continuation of the GNC. This led to the formation of two parallel governments (GNC or the "Tripoli Camp" in the West and the House of Representative or the "Tobruk Camp" in the east), as well as the subsequent second civil war. On 23rd October, 2020, both warring parties signed a permanent ceasefire, and this ushered in a unity government (Jawad, 2014; Al Akhbar English, 2014; Reuters, 2020)

The above no doubt is synonymous with Diamond's (1999) definition of democratization as the destruction of the non-democratic regime, and the inauguration of democratic institutions. Nevertheless, attempts at ensuring the cultural and social consolidation of democratic regime in post-Gaddafi Libya became a herculean task due to several challenges. At the root of these challenges are the issues of insecurity in form of militancy, arms proliferation, and youth unemployment; as well as the crisis of national integration manifesting as tribalism and regionalism.

Statement of the Problem: The challenges of democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya include militancy, arms proliferation, unemployment, tribalism, regionalism, etc.

Objective of the Study: The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the use of content analysis as a useful research technique for historic, ongoing, as well as geographically distant phenomena such as the major roadblocks to democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya.

Proposition I: Insecurity poses threat to democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya.

Proposition II: Regional alliance/crisis of national integration threatens democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya.

Population of Study: The population of study in this case is not human unlike in Survey research method. Rather, it comprised relevant contents of online news publications by the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America on challenges that obstruct democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya from 2012-2021.

Numbers of Referential/Sampling Size: 700 (BBC: 400 online news publications; VOA: 300 online news publications)

Section A: Data Presentation/Classification

Subject Matter	Roadblocks to Democratization in Post-Gaddafi Libya
Director of Subject Matter Authority	Negative Libyan Government versus oppositions
Locations Nature/Subject/Sources of Conflict	Libya Benghazi, Tripoli, Misrata, Bani Walid etc. Arms proliferation, militancy, high rate of unemployment, regional alliance, tribalism, and insurgency
Actors in the Subject Matters	Libya's government (later Government of National Accord - GNA), pro and anti-Gaddafi's fighters, and the Libyan National Army (LNA) (Armed militias)
Value of the Subject Matter	The quest for democratic consolidation and political inclusiveness
Standard of the Subject Matter	Mutual suspicious, militancy, hostage taking, human rights violations, lack of consensus, and civil war. 2012-2021
Time of the Subject Matter	Ongoing
Ending of the Subject Matter	Extra-judicial killings, destructions, hostage taking, etc.
Method of Conflict	Persistence and aggressive
Characters of the People	

Section B

Types of Communication	BBC and VOA online news publication
Forms of Statement of the Problem	Challenges of democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya
Device	Fighting, hostage taking destructions, bombing, threats, etc.

**Table 1: Analysis Of Variable 1 Based On Proposition 1
Insecurity Poses Threat to Democratization in Post-Gaddafi Libya**

Online News Publications	Militancy	%	Arms proliferation	%	Youth Unemployment	%	Total Percentage
BBC	250	53.2	120	66.7	30	60	60
VOA	220	46.8	60	33.3	20	40	40
TOTAL	470	100	180	100	50	100	100

Table 1 above shows that the problem of militias has been adjudged to be a core factor militating against democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya. It accounts for 53.2% and 46.8% respectively in the BBC and VOA online news publications. Thus, Bowen (2012) reported that modern (post-Gaddafi) Libya is faced with diverse fundamental issues hindering its democratic process with insecurity as the most serious of them all. Insecurity in Libya manifest in the form of militancy, arms proliferation, as well as high rate of youth unemployment. To Bowen, the absence of effective central government left a vacuum that has been filled by local militias and brigades, some independent, some controlled by self-confident cities like Misrata, and by tribal notables.

These armed groups stand as the country's most important security threat, and they comprised ex-rebels who fought against Col. Gaddafi's regime, as well as several others who joined after the war was ended. These armed groups range from the mid to low hundreds perpetuating all forms of lawlessness that has hindered Libya's efforts to establish a democratic government. In Benghazi for instance, this lawlessness ranged from jail break by more than 1,100 inmates in Kuafiya prison; bombings; anti-Islamist protests; and a spate of assassinations, notably those of former Gaddafi's security officials, political activist and Muslim Brotherhood critic – Abdelsalam al-Mosmary, U.S Ambassador (Christopher Stevens) and three other Americans (Fragiskatos, 2012; Dettmer, 2013).

Dettmer (2019) further added that the drifts and disorderliness in the country led to series of bombings and arsons by Islamic State (IS) adherents, such as the bombing of the foreign ministry in Tripoli that left two dead; the burning of the headquarters of Libya's electoral commission that killed at least a dozen people and almost murdered visiting Western advisers; etc.

According to Reuters (2013) reports, International Campaigns have listed these armed militias as one of the greatest roadblocks to Libya's stability; and human rights groups have raised alarm over right abuses such as arbitrary arrests, torture, and death in detention. Jawad (2013) added that there have been claims that some of these armed protests were fuelled by political in-fighting within the Libya's defunct parliament – the GNC. Some, it is believed, used the backing of their various regional or city-based militias to press for bills they wanted to see passed into laws or for the removal of

officials they dislike. More so, Dettmer (2013) reported that there was an indication of serious anxiety in Washington and London about the security situation in Libya which prompted the withdrawal of the non-essential staff of both countries' embassies in Libya.

On arms proliferation, which accounts for 66.7% in BBC and 33.3% in VOA online news publications as shown in Table 1 above, Murdock (2019) opined that since the killing and overthrow of Col. Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 by NATO backed rebels, Libya has gone to war with itself several times with weapons from several countries being observed in the field. This aligned with earlier VOA (2013) report that Tripoli has been struggling to tame armed groups which helped topple Col. Gaddafi, and have now declined to lay down their ammunitions. According to this report, Libya became an ammunitions smuggling route for Al-Qaeda fighters in the Sahara since the fall of Gaddafi. Mokhtar Belmokhatar – a veteran Al-Qaeda Commander for instance, reportedly acquired arms in Libya, and his combatants used the country as a transit route. These weapons according to Bowen (2012) are late Col. Gaddafi's arsenals which were split open during the civil war. To him, a common estimate is “that there are more guns than people in Libya; everyone has an AK-47 or an RPG in the boot; and everyone knows the weapons are there in Libya”.

Fragiskatos (2012) in his estimate, wrote that there are hundreds of thousands of fighters who control more than two million handguns, machine guns, tanks, and assaulted riffles seized from Gaddafi's regime or obtained from foreign sources – Qatar in particular. Pessin (2012), a VOA journalist, who reported on both militancy and arms proliferation in Libya, asserted that the fighters who defeated Gaddafi now pose a serious challenge for the fledgling democracy they helped to create. Many of them have refused to give up their weapons, while demanding a series of laws to protect them.

Youth unemployment – a human insecurity, is another key problem in many nations, none more so than in Libya, where many youths are struggling to secure jobs in the post-Gaddafi era that is characterized by pressing economic challenges. Prior to the 2011 Arab Spring, 22 percent of Libya's youths were unemployed. However, after the uprising, two in three Libyan youths need to find job, but the highly devastated economy lacks the jobs for them (Watson, 2011). This is against the backdrop that the wars in Libya have not only left the country in a state of financial crisis, but have also stifled efforts to develop new business or attract investors (Murdock, 2019).

Table 2: Analysis of Variable 2 Based On Proposition 2
Regional Alliance/Crisis of National Integration Threatens Democratization in Post-Gaddafi Libya

Online News Publications	Militias	%	Tribalism	%	Regionalism	%	Total Percentage
BBC	200	58.8	120	54.6	80	57.1	56.8
VOA	140	41.2	100	45.5	60	42.9	43.3
TOTAL	340	100	50	100	140	100	100

More than eight years after the Libya's revolution that led to the ouster of Col. Gaddafi, the North African country has been frozen in a multi-sided conflict dividing regions, towns, and comprising dozens of rival militias like the al-Qaida-linked militias in the city of Derna, and the powerful militias of Misrata and Tripoli. According to critics, these militias and their respective warlords wield real and huge power than the country's formal domestic political leaders (Dettmer, 2019).

In the early days of post-Gaddafi Libya, Libyans excitedly and optimistically predicted their country was destined to become a 'Dubai on the Mediterranean.' However, Libya has deteriorated into a fractured polity of competing blocs unable to be pieced together and arrive at a political solution to usher in stability and end lawlessness. Prominent amongst the blocs included the internationally recognized defunct Government of National Accord led by Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj, which controlled the West of Libya including Tripoli; and a parallel administration (the Libyan National Army) in Libyan east, headed by Gen. Khalifa Haftar – an ex-Gaddafi's general, who broke up with him, and lived in exile in the United States for several years. The LNA was backed by the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, France, and Russia; while the GNA was recognized by the United Nations and the European Union, supported by Turkey, Qatar, and Italy (Dettmer, 2019; Murdock, 2019).

The splits or crisis of national integration in Libya which manifest in the form of tribalism, militias, and regionalism are more Byzantine than West versus East. In southern Libya for instance, there exist tribal and ethnic feuds, and the country is a jigsaw puzzle of rival militias and warlords who have low incentive to demilitarized, but much interest in the chaos that has enriched them (Dettmer, 2019).

The above crisis of national integration hindering Libya's democratization, earlier manifested in the form of several unsettled scores like the deadly stalemate between the cities of Bani Walid and Misrata that escalated and almost became a bloody battle. However, a microscopic examination of the BBC and VOA online news publications on various democratic challenges in Libya, shows that there is a huge problem on how to integrate the over 200 militias group into the country's army, and

reconcile the various warring tribes (Jawad, 2013). Similarly, Wheat (2012) opined that Libyans are facing a plethora of issues such as how to defuse escalating social tensions; unite the diverse independent militia groups into a national army; as well as to unify via national consensus, the various tribal leaders, Islamists, nationalists, and members of sectarian or ethnic minority groups in the 22 *shabiyat* (districts) that comprised the country.

The crisis of national integration in Libya thwarted plans by the U.N. (backed by the A.U.) to hold an international conference to discuss the country's crisis as a stepping stone for nationwide elections originally scheduled for October 2019. Some political analysts believed the level of insecurity might pose roadblocks to staging an effective electoral campaign, induced low voters' turnout, inflame rivalries capable of plugging the country into much more violent confrontations among various armed militias, etc., thereby making the proposed nationwide elections infeasible, and undermining the credibility of the new parliament (Dettmer, 2019). Confronting the presence of these militias, tribal and regional chauvinists is therefore key if the rule of law is to be established in the country (Fragiskatos, 2012).

Ten years after the overthrow of Col Muammar Gaddafi, the BBC (2021, p.1) reported that Libya is “still not a democracy – or even a unified functioning state” courtesy of “the militias that brought down the dictatorship in 2011”, who never disbanded, but turned the country into a battleground, abducting and murdering countless citizens.

Conclusion

Content analysis is undoubtedly unique when compared with other Social Sciences research methodology. Its uniqueness emanates from the fact that it can be applied to draw inferences from records of human communications – past or present, thereby allowing the researcher to carry out a structured-document analysis in line with its procedures. In x-raying the key challenges militating against democratization in post-Gaddafi Libya from 2012 to 2021, the (financial, labour, and geographic) limitations, as well as security and Covid-19 risks associated with travelling to conflict plagued Libya to directly observe events, interview people or administer questionnaire, became easily surmountable. This was achieved by simply embarking on a systematic, objective, unobtrusive, and quantitative analysis of the relevant and manifest contents in the BBC and in the VOA online news publications.

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