

Ethnic Conflict in Libya: Toubou

INAF5439

Philip Martin and Christina Weber

June 14, 2012

Presentation Overview

- Section I. Chief Characteristics of the Conflict
- Section II. Causes, Consequences and Impact
- Section III. Future Scenarios
- Section IV. Policy Considerations



I. Chief Characteristics of the Conflict



Toubou at a Glance

Population	12,000-15,000 (Libya), 120,000-380,000 regionally
Religion	Sunni Muslim
Language	Tedaga
Social System	Clan Structure
Economic Activities	Nomadic herding, agriculture, trading
Settlement Patterns	Largely rural and small settlements
Military Capabilities (TFSL)	Ready access to armaments, low organizational, communications and intelligence capacity

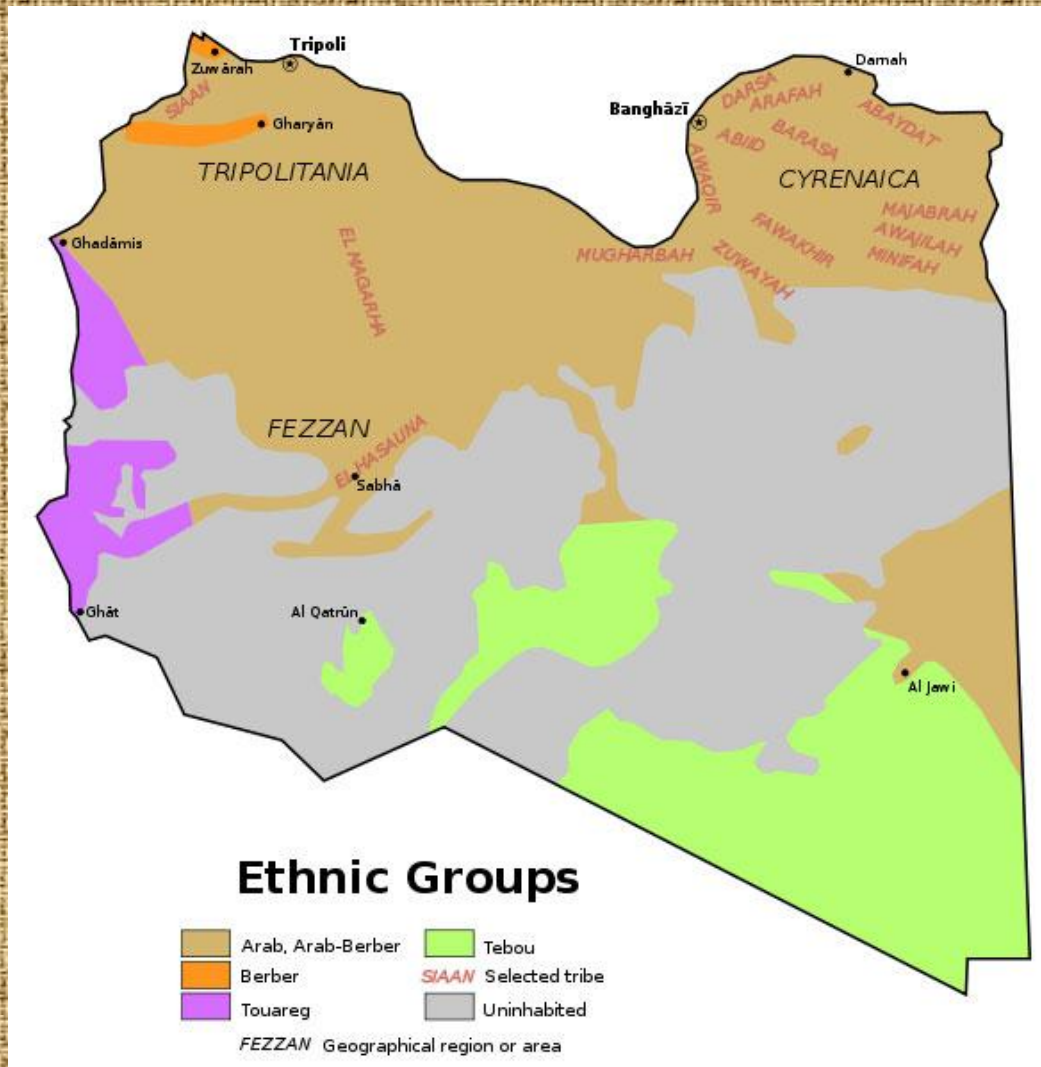
Chief Characteristics of the Conflict

- **Intrastate Conflict between Toubou and Zwai**
- **Regional factionalization of Libyan state**
- **Temporary cease-fire, heavily armed**
- **Transnational support unclear**

Geographic Context



Demographic Map of Libya



Regions of Toubou Settlement



Elections: July 7, 2012

- **Democratization: First elections since 1952**
- **Resource Shortages: Postponed from June 19**



III. Causes, Consequences & Impact



Motivations for Actor Behaviour

➤ Identity / Grievance Motives (Gurr, Azar)



- Qaddafi regime's "pro-Arab" policies
- Political marginalization of minorities

➤ "Opportunity" Theories (Laitin & Fearon, Collier & Hoeffler)



Collapse of the Libyan state 2011

➤ Ethnic Security Dilemma and Escalation (Posen, Kaufmann)

- Ethnic "unmixing" and militia formation

Motivations for Actor Behaviour

- Diffusion and Transnational Ethnic Alliances? (Davis & Moore, Cederman et. al)
- Low viability for separatist war (Toft)
- Separatism as a “bargaining strategy” (Jenne)

IV. Future Scenarios

- **Best Case**

- Demobilization and re-integration
- Democratic transition with remedial policies and political inclusion

- **Worst Case**

- Cease-fire breakdown and escalation
- Diffusion and cross-border intervention
- Protracted secessionist violence

- **Most Likely**

- Low-level clashes, persistent grievances, minimal devolution and/or power-sharing

V. Policy Considerations



A. Short Term Considerations



Short Term

- **Containment**
 - **Support and Protect Current Cease-fire**
 - **Re-establish Minimal Security Conditions**
 - *Policy Recommendation: Civilian training, capacity-building and funding for security sector reform through UNSMIL*

Short to Medium Term

- **Mediation**
 - **Civil Society Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention**
 - **“Committee of Wise Men for Negotiation”**
 - *Policy Recommendation: Financial support and conflict mediation training under UNSMIL.*

Short to Medium Term

- **Access/Accomodation**
 - **Full citizenship rights for minorities**
 - **New Libyan constitution to include minorities**



B. Medium to Long Term Considerations



Multilateral Engagement

- *International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)*

- **Human Rights**



- *UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*

Thank you

