



National  
College *of*  
Ireland

National College of Ireland  
Capstone Project  
Dissertation

**What has been the impact of foreign  
policy on the GNA's capability to  
stabilise the Libyan economy?**

*Author:*  
*Rwai Elghadi - 18365846*

*Supervisor:*  
*Mr. Robert MacDonald*

18<sup>th</sup> July 2021

## **Acknowledgements**

This dissertation has been the result of a lot of personal hardship and effort. Throughout the completion of this thesis, many people have supported me along the way, Therefore, as a result, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those people for their much-appreciated efforts. In particular I would like to thank my supervisor Mr Robert MacDonald for all his support and help this year, his outlooks have helped me tremendously.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my mother Dr. Majda Almshwt who has been a constant support line for me while I have completed this thesis, especially during the times where it seemed the bleakest, thank you again for all your love and support.

To the Capstone class of 2020/2021, we have completed an entire thesis throughout these unprecedented and unusual times and for that we should all be proud of ourselves as this is a significant accomplishment and I appreciate the tremendous support we have all given to each other throughout this period and I wish you guys all the best for the future.

Also, Ms Cory Newbigging, in the NCI library who deserves my sincerest gratitude for all her help and suggestions during my project. This year, her insights and outlooks have all been significantly beneficial to me and have helped me tremendously.

Finally, but certainly not least, I would also like to mention Libya, my homeland, the place I was born and the place that bears my heart, I hope I have done you proud, this is for you.

*“Never forget the motherland” – Naquib Mahfouz*

## **Abstract**

Foreign policy and its implementations within Libya have been a subject for extensive research, as to whether the interventions caused by these policies played a role in the continued unrest within Libya. The basis of this assumption has been related to the significant economic resources that Libya is comprised of. Thus, this presents an intriguing basis to the amount of interest Libya has received over the last decade, in comparison with its neighbours who experienced similar uprisings. Especially throughout the fragmented governance that Libya has become comprised of.

Therefore, the research question that forms the basis of this study is the following:

What has been the impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capability to stabilise the Libyan economy? Where the aims of this research aimed to connect all variables that form the basis of the research question. These were the identification of the position of policy on government systems within Libya, the identification of the relationship between the GNA and foreign policy and the assessment of the significance of foreign policy and how its implementations affected the Libyan economy. Furthermore, qualitative interviews were used in this study due to the interpretive nature of this research and the participants involved in this study were individuals with key perspectives that signified the extents of foreign policy. They also highlighted the variables that underly foreign policy.

The findings of the interviews give an understanding as to the significance of foreign policy. The perspectives provided within the interviews highlight the ideology that foreign policy did form a significant aspect of the situations that occurred within Libya. Nonetheless, the study finds that it was a combination of all factors implemented because of the unrest that continued the vicious cycle.

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## **Chapter 1:**

### **Introduction**

Foreign policies are government initiatives in dealing with issues or situations that are occurring within another nation. The overall objective of foreign policy on the generic front is to rectify a situation that could cause negative effects which occurs after a period of unrest (Leira, 2019). The different perspectives that are embedded into foreign policy are directly connected within Libya and the continued unrest that it has experienced since the 2011 uprising. Thus, what makes Libya intriguing in terms of foreign policy, is the significance of foreign initiatives (Hill, 2020) and its relationship with the Government of National Accord (GNA) as the internationally recognised government that was created by the United Nations. Therefore, this gives precedence as to why the position of foreign policy within Libya was significant and an area for further analysis.

This study's aim is to highlight the relationship between foreign policy and the GNA's capabilities to stabilise the country which is conveyed throughout the economy. As the basis of foreign policy is to rectify a situation but with the extended period of unrest conveyed within Libya and the significance and the basis of foreign policy which is to resolve a situation, loses its justifiable basis and recognition as a method of resolving conflict. By further analysing this relationship through this study's research question which examines the overall impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capability to stabilise the Libyan economy, the extents of foreign policy can be conveyed and the counterargument that also underlies this relationship can also be portrayed.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **Review of Literature**

#### **Introduction**

In this literature review, the perspective outlining the relationship between the (GNA) and the Libyan economy will be assessed. Specifically, in relation to the research question which is *What has been the impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capability to stabilise the Libyan economy?*

These themes include the significance of foreign policies within Libya, both positive and negative illustrations; limited foreign policy outside of Libya, and the position of the GNA on the economy. The findings of negative foreign policy illustrations convey the perspective that foreign policy indeed has the power to convey negative effects that can sustain the unrest. Where specifically the strategized objectives behind foreign policy can be the make or breaking point of a situation. Furthermore, the positive annotations illustrate the necessity of foreign policy and the necessity for foreign support when it was needed. It correlates with the negative annotations in the sense that it has strategized objectives forming its basis for intervention as well.

This leads onto the assessment of foreign policies outside of Libya within the similar setting of the Arab uprisings. This perspective was viewed to provide a basis to the perception of significant foreign presence within Libya and the basis for significant interventions within Libya. It further highlights the 'strategized objective' ideology that resonated throughout the outlook of the positive and negative annotations throughout Libya. Also, it further provides an outlook into the strength of forged political relationships and their interests within Libya.

Finally, by looking at the relationship between the GNA and the economy, the extent of the GNA is conveyed as well as the capabilities that they had with foreign interventions occurring. It highlights the perspective that it was a combination of all occurrences within the unrest that continued the vicious cycle.

#### **Significant foreign policies within Libya (UAE & Egypt)**

In the following analysis, the negative and the positive annotations of foreign policy are conveyed. It also illustrates the fragmented reality of foreign policy regarding Libya's capability for stability.



## **Negative Annotations**

According to Al-Hakim (2021), the relationship between the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Egypt represents a significant aspect of foreign policy and its ability to be a hindrance on Libya's capabilities. The international clash between the two regions, on Haftar's initiatives represents the strategized nature of foreign policy and its ability to control much more than what is perceived, especially in periods of need. The situation within Libya with the rise of Haftar was able to come between a long-withstanding relationship (Al-Anani, 2021) and illustrate the reality of it due to the nature of Haftar's intentions and what in turn that would present for the UAE and Egypt. Al-Anani (2021) argues that Egypt's fault was picking a side in the Haftar façade and took this side with the expectations that it would reap for them strategized benefits. This does not consider the full extent of what Haftar was capable of, which they would come to regret later. This would considerably damage their relationship with the GNA (Al-Anani, 2021). This perspective is further reiterated by Bakir (2020), where strategized objectives of Egypt aligned with their allegiance with the UAE over their support of Haftar. As they perceived, Haftar represented everything that the UAE would need to continue to have a presence within Libya and across the Mediterranean (Fenton-Harvey, 2020). By siding with Haftar, the unrest would continue (Cherif, 2019) with the rationalisation to justify their intentions of dissolving the efforts of the Muslim brotherhood represented by the GNA. The UAE would continue to gain economic benefits from its interventions within Libya. "Aiding a warlord and a military dictator is fully consistent with the strategic orientations of the UAE as an anti-democratic power and a disruptive regional force" (Bakir, 2020, p. 162). The efforts of the UAE were strategized, and the basis of their operations involved Haftar securing their dominance within Libya. Where Turkey needed the GNA, the UAE needed Haftar's Libya's National Army (LNA) government.

The UAE intentions and Egypt's hesitancy over their intentions, conflicted the relationship between Egypt and the UAE. This was due to the forcefulness of Haftar's intentions, but also the objectives that both the UAE and Egypt had in terms of Haftar's movements. The conflicting objectives that both the UAE and Egypt would come to be encompassed in the security threats that Egypt was trying to avoid. Ultimately this retracted their 6-year long military support and portraying a less evident support system towards Haftar (Al-Anani, 2021).

Hill (2020) argues that Libya had become a political battle ground for foreign governments who used it to achieve influence within the region and economic benefits. This resonates with the basis of this study and the insights provided by Bakir (2020) and Al-Hakim (2021). Where the strategized efforts of the UAE were with the objective of gaining economic benefits from their support of Hafter and while the UAE and Egypt conflicted on Hafter's intentions, their clash on their objectives within Libya, resonated within the actual unrest within the region.

Nevertheless, what makes the UAE significant as a basis for assessing the extents of foreign policy is the rationalisation used to support Hafter's efforts within Libya. The use of the Muslim brotherhood justification behind their support of Hafter conveyed the basis of foreign policy and how powerful it truly is. As Bakir (2020) argues, the use of the Muslim brotherhood reasoning was a method of hiding the UAE's true intentions which is to continue the unrest to reap economic and political benefits from their support. "The fact that the UAE chooses to support military coups, is conclusive evidence that its aim is not particularly to oppose the Muslim brotherhood but rather the peaceful transition of power on a democratic basis" (Bakir, 2020, p. 162). This made the GNA's position quite demur, as the GNA was already losing viability during this period and the efforts of Hafter were becoming forcefully clearer. Thus, by foreign governments providing support for other than the internationally recognised GNA government, the ability for the GNA to stabilise the economy without the need for more foreign policy support from other regions would be limited (Watanabe, 2016), pacifying the capabilities of the GNA government to stabilise the economy.

From the perspectives highlighted above, the split reality of foreign policy and its capabilities within different situations illustrates its ability to be a hindrance for the GNA's abilities. The perspectives illustrated by Al-Hakim (2021) and Bakir (2020) connect with each other on the strategized nature of foreign policy and its ability to be a driving force in Libya. Melcangi and Dentice (2017) illustrate that the perspective conveyed between the disintegrated relationship between the UAE and Egypt correlates with the split government system within Libya between the GNA and LNA. Thus, the position that Libya is currently in is due to overly strategized objectives that will provide benefits to any individual who seems to provide leverage with their support within a critical situation. The lack of clarity between initiatives, between what is essentially needed to rectify the situation within Libya has just deteriorated the situation even more.

Ultimately, the position of the GNA rested on the opportunities they had to stabilise the country. The insights portrayed above convey the cause to do with significant foreign intervention; however, the GNA can be held accountable. De Bruijine, Molenaar and El Kamouni-Janssen (2017) argue that the initiatives implemented by the GNA didn't support the concept of trying to achieve stability within the region as they questioned the legitimacy of the Hafter's LNA government as well. The split reality between the governments and their disagreement between what they felt was to be the best option for Libya and what was conveyed in the country, which ultimately affected the main driver of the economy which is the oil reserves (Lewis, 2018).

The above illustrates the variables that underly foreign policy negatively and represent the different ideologies that surround foreign policy. The tendencies of the GNA in this discussion highlight the conflicting basis of foreign policy and its ability to be both a hinderance and a capability. However, by looking at the positive attributes of foreign policy and the capabilities it has provided for the GNA government, a contrast can be portrayed.

## **Significant foreign policies within Libya (Turkey & Qatar)**

### **Positive Annotations**

In the following analysis the significance and reasoning behind implementing foreign policy is conveyed and how it was necessary at the time of implementation throughout the initiatives of Qatar and Turkey.

Bakir (2020) and Al-Hakim (2021) convey the negative concepts that underly conflicting foreign policy initiatives. However, their efforts are contrasted and connected with the implementations of Qatar and Turkey who positioned themselves differently but kept that same strategic nature that has been illustrated by Bakir (2020) and Al-Hakim (2021) as to underly their foreign policy initiatives.

Telci (2020) mentions that Turkey's position had been vocalised by the Hafter façade that caused the GNA to specifically require foreign support against the Hafter coup, it also highlighted the urgency of the situation that Turkey was in (Al-Anani, 2021) as the progress

towards power required a driver of change, as similarly represented with the UAE's tremendous support for Haftar's LNA government. It provided a turning point for Turkey. Turkey's support of the GNA illustrates why foreign policy is sought after and required. Bagci and Erdurmaz (2017) illustrate that by Turkey providing the GNA with military support it thwarted the efforts of the LNA government who were trying to seize control over Tripoli and in turn the internationally recognised government.

The relationship between Telci's (2020) insights and Bagci and Erdurmaz (2017) highlight the resourcefulness of foreign policy and its ability to be necessarily required. However, the variables that underly foreign policy highlight the stark contrasts of both positive and negative variables of foreign policy. The efforts of Turkey represent the stark outcome of forceful foreign initiatives and the ability to reap more than what is expected. With Turkey's efforts, the 14-month civil war had ended (Telci, 2020) but also it provided Turkey with both political and economic influence across Libya and the Mediterranean. "With Turkish support, the GNA gradually became the main authority in the regions that had been regained from the LNA" (Telci, 2020, p. 43). Turkey's support for the GNA during a period where foreign support had aligned vastly with Haftar's efforts made the relationship between the GNA and Turkey quite significant and asserted Turkey's role within Libya to the dismay of other contenders (Hill, 2020). Turkey's dominance is contrasted with Qatar's role within Libya who asserted its dominance in a different way but continues to have significance within Libya as Turkey has.

Qatar's position within Libya erupted after the end of the 2011 civil war; their interventions were within the reasoning of trying to establish a road towards stability prior to the establishment of the GNA occurred (Barakat, 2012). Qatar's initiatives, therefore, can be related to Turkey's influence in its support for the GNA. "Following the fall of Gadhafi, Qatar continues to be involved in Libyan affairs economically, politically and militarily" (Khatib, 2013, p. 421). In that sense, Khatib (2013) conveys that Qatar's interventions illustrated early representations of what foreign support would be comprised of, which would convey the extent of strategized military support. The initiatives of Qatar were implemented with the mechanism of closely reacting to the unrest with a position of support to resolve the conflict, but also to install interventions that would allow them to continue their role within the region. Thus, Qatar's influence was continuous in its interventions, while Turkey asserted its dominance throughout a vocalised situation during a particular period. Therefore,

demonstrating the fragmented reality of foreign policy and how the basis of foreign policy determines the overall reaction it will receive within the country it is being implemented. The strategized efforts of both Turkey and Qatar illustrated the validity and reliability of different policy mechanisms that allowed them to assert dominance within the region. Nonetheless, this 'dominance' resulted in differentiated outcomes and impacts (Miller *et al.*, 2021).

Furthermore, as mentioned Qatar's efforts within Libya were with military support, however the intentions of this military support were different to their foreign competitors as this support of military aided the dominance of rebels within the region. Military support was provided towards the rebels throughout the period of the transitional government, where the more power given towards the rebels, the less likely that they would allow for a peaceful transition of power towards the GNA (Perroux, 2017). Nonetheless, as mentioned by Barakat (2012) the intent of Qatar during the transitional period was to stabilise the country, however, due to the fragmented policing situation dominating the country, the rebels were the only influential force. This, however, would be the beginning of what the GNA would have to deal with for the rest of their time in power, which is the divided call for power between the governments and the people themselves. The lack of justification within initiatives by Qatar as positively intended at the beginning that they were, would cause Libya and in turn the GNA to deal with its repercussions continuing the conflict and the limited capability to turn around the country.

Nevertheless, the chaos represented by Perroux (2017) and Lewis (2018) is contrasted with the positive intentions represented by Khatib (2013) and Telci (2020) in reacting to the ongoing situation within Libya. However, what has been represented here is the double-edged sword that entails foreign policy. The further that foreign policy interventions continue, the less likely that they are to achieve a positive result, which is illustrated within Libya.

The efforts of Qatar in providing support to rebels during the transitional period was just the beginning of the continued unrest and the lack of power provided to the governments that would come, especially to the GNA. Qatar efforts were strategized to gain recognition for Qatar in the path to redemption that entailed Libya. However, this set the precedence for what the GNA would have to deal with, as it increased the difficulty for the GNA to gain control from these rebels who were controlling the country. This further highlights the perspective

that foreign policy played a significant role in the positioning of the GNA and increased their difficulties in the stabilisation of the country (Khatib, 2013).

Thus, Qatar set precedence within Libya as to what foreign policy would entail, but Turkey provided rectifying measures in dire situations especially in turbulent times where a clear winner was not evident (Robinson, 2020). By Turkey being aggressive in their support for the GNA during the Haftar unrest, Turkey provided themselves with an opportunity that was either going to have a positive or negative effect, instead of Qatar's reaction to foreign policy which is more based on implementing initiatives which would not harness strong foreign backlash which is assumed to be more sustainable (Baskan, 2017). However, by Turkey supporting the GNA, they reaped significant economic benefits which is embodied in the maritime bounty treaty, signed in 2019 (Kansu, 2020), where the agreement represents the significance of Turkish efforts within their military support of the GNA.

Kansu (2020) conveys that the treaty would establish an exclusive economic zone in the Mediterranean Sea. This meant Turkey could claim ownership of ocean bed resources. It attracted significant negative backlash due to the perspective that it would spark an "energy showdown" within the Mediterranean but ultimately after significant foreign assessments into the treaty, it became internationally recognised to the dismay of many foreign governments. Especially in recent years Greece. Greece's legal battle with Turkey over the nature of the treaty as it encompasses the Greek Cypriot state making the activities of the treaty unlawful (Kansu, 2020).

As a result of the agreement, Turkey has had a significant impact on the overall economic situation in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly the competition for energy resources between regional and global actors. Thus, the forcefulness of the Turkish initiatives as mentioned by Telci (2020) have allowed Turkey a strong positioning on the political showcase that Libya is encompassed into. As mentioned by Hill (2020) the efforts of Turkey, as deteriorative as they were when imposed, did cause positive effects in the long run developments of the state and in turn provided the expectant result of foreign policy which required a serious gamble.

The perspective above illustrates the strong variables that underly foreign policy and the need to intervene because of chaos and in this case the situation between the GNA and LNA.

However, according to Mekay (2020) the counterargument to this is that if foreign intervention was limited from the beginning, would Libya be in the split governing system that it is in today? Or was it the assumption that Libya would gain democracy after the system itself if Ghaddafi was removed. Nonetheless the need for foreign intervention was evidently clear regardless of the backlash that occurred.

While the perspective illustrated by Bagci and Erdurmaz (2017) conveys the challenges illustrated by the gamble implemented by the Turkey in their support for Libya, the objectives behind these intentions could contrast with the perspective of Mekay (2020) where with each intervention there was going to be side effects. The contrast is evident and each aspect that relates to foreign policy has its positives and negatives; however, the extent of foreign policy is questioned by the support received by the Libyan people since 2011 (Megerisi, 2021). However, the variables that underly these interventions continued the fragmented reality of this cycle. Highlighting both the positive and negative dilemmas surrounding foreign policy. “In this regard, it would be correct to say that the peace process and political dialogue has only become possible with Turkey's involvement in the Libyan equation” (Telci, 2020, p 41). There was indeed justifiable reasoning behind intervening however, it became fragmented due to the nature of the Libya situation.

Nevertheless, the initiatives conveyed by Qatar also connect with the positive attributes of foreign policy and the forcefulness conveyed by Turkey. Qatar’s policies were more than just military interventions, but according to Khatib (2013) they provided the means to connect Libya with the outside world, by creating the satellite TV station – Libya al Ahrar. This, however, was a strategized move which allowed Qatar to have a strong political hold over Libya. These audacious actions earned Qatar international acclaim from key allies including the United States, France, and the United Kingdom and consolidated its reputation as a ‘heavyweight’ ally for the West (Khatib, 2013).

Qatar’s objectives were aligned with the achievement of both political and military influence to project their stance across the international stage as a dominant force within the situation of Libya. Illustrating a different strategic basis than Turkey. According to Özcan, Köse and Karakoç (2015), Turkey’s efforts were more militarily geared in the competition against Hafter and according to Hill (2020) to gain momentum across the international competition occurring within Libya to secure strong economic benefits in their relationship with the

GNA. Thus, they didn't hold as much concern for the appeasement of the West as did Qatar hence their more aggressive foreign policies. Nonetheless, the interventions were differently designed but their basis was the same. They both implemented initiatives with the basis of stabilising Libya, their strategized objectives that geared their initiatives however, dictated the position that they were on in terms of foreign competition within Libya, illustrating the fragmented and justified reality of foreign policy (Özcan *et al.*, 2015).

In terms of economic benefits, the extent of Qatar's interventions allowed them to obtain significantly; "In addition to its facilitation of Libyan oil exports, in April 2012 the Qatar National bank invested in a 49% stake in the bank of commerce and development in Benghazi" (Khatib, 2013, p. 421). This illustrates the power of foreign policy, as it provides a mean for foreign powers and it provides them with leverage. Without their support, the system couldn't have been created. Qatar's position within Libya was strategically created and reacted to the uprising with an ideology that will allow them to sustain their position. Where Qatar's image of a 'continuous mediator' allowed it to sustain itself within the legitimacy of foreign policy in Libya. "Intervention was part of the process of adaptation Qatar had to undertake to sustain its regional position" (Khatib, 2013, p. 421). The significance of this aspect is that it portrays the basis of foreign policy and its ability to dominate within a region to develop position when desires are on the line. It would convey its long-term influence desires within Libya, illustrating the strength of Qatar's objectives within Libya.

Thus, the positive annotations of foreign policy were conveyed, illustrating the necessary need for its implementation. The efforts of Turkey and Qatar both convey positive attributes of foreign policy and at the time, the need for intervening even if the clauses of it could have been implemented in a better way. Therefore, the positive annotations of foreign policy provided a basis for the GNA. However, it does bring the perspective as to whether it was the extents of foreign policy that had caused the need for interventions and in turn the efforts of Turkey and Qatar. Nonetheless, the ideals of Khatib (2013) and Telci (2020) represent the positive attributes of foreign policy but also the strategized nature to these policies. This is further reiterated by the viewpoint of Hill (2020) where foreign policy did provide a method for diffusing a difficult situation; however, it also had the ability to provide the means for a difficult situation. Thus, highlighting the reality that the GNA faced. The extent of foreign policy played a significant role within Libya. It provided the basis for difficulty but also the



means to remove it; illustrating the conflicting position that the GNA faced and its limited capabilities.

By looking at foreign policy outside of Libya, an analysis into the assumption as to whether the concept of foreign policy having an agenda was a significant aspect and can be assessed. It will also impact the position of the GNA within this and whether it had a contrasting effect on its ability to cause stability within the region.

## **Foreign Policy outside of Libya (Syria & Tunisia)**

### **Limited Annotations**

The following analysis looks to convey the relationship between foreign policy and the countries that experienced similar uprisings.

Foreign interventions within Syria and Tunisia represent the opposite side of the foreign policy spectrum and how the development of a state after a period of unrest is dependent on the variables that are imposed on that region. Both Libya, Syria, and Tunisia all represent different aspects of foreign policy and how policy has affected the development of their states. Foreign policy within Tunisia has always been viewed as minimal as when the uprising occurred, the transition of governments occurred quite swiftly but also the fact that the system itself did not collapse with the removal of Government as mentioned by Robinson (2020) when describing the situation within Libya.

This minimal intervention by foreign actors also correlates with the aspect that foreign actors didn't have an agenda when the uprising occurred within Tunisia, fortifying the idea that foreign actors only intervene when there is an agenda and an ability to reap benefits from intervening (Garcia, 2020). In Tunisia's case, there was no agenda for intervention, the uprising occurred, and the government transitioned, requiring the Tunisian people to be dependent on their own accord (Mullin and Shahshahani, 2012). However, even with this minimal foreign intervention after the uprising the state required support but this clash between the need for foreign aid and not requiring it conveyed by the Tunisian government represented the love/hate relationship of foreign policy (Marzo, 2018).

The minimal intervention used to describe Tunisia can be contrasted with the situation within Syria and can also relate to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention within Libya (Green, 2019). Syria and Tunisia both represent limited foreign intervention, but the situations illustrated in both these countries also convey the constrictions that relate to the implementation of foreign policy. Syria is in a situation where a clear dissolution of government hasn't occurred (Suomenaro, 2020). It is split between a side of supporters and a side that doesn't support, within this comes the issue. By intervening or by implementing a situation like the NATO intervention a reaction illustrated within Libya could similarly occur, bearing in mind that the NATO intervention was internationally recognised. As Garcia (2020 p. 82) states "The United States and the West have failed by engaging in a conflict that they were neither able to win nor to end and have been affected more greatly than the enemy".

Nonetheless, this does not disregard the need to intervene based on the fear of the reaction that it will cause. It again demonstrates the double-edged sword of foreign policy. This perspective also contrasts with the reasoning behind the NATO intervention within Libya. This was the 'responsibility to protect' concept which justified the intervention but within that, this should also be applied to the situation within Syria and Tunisia as there is indeed a responsibility to protect (Green, 2019). While when analyses into the NATO intervention was conducted, the implementations of the NATO represented a completely different narrative and it portrayed that the NATO were more concerned with the removal of the Libyan system more so than to protect civilians (Feltman and Balian, 2021). This can also be contrasted against the lack of interventions within Syria. This illustrates the lack of validity representing the reasoning behind intervening within Libya and the picture portrayed in its neighbours. It also strengthens the argument that foreign policy needs an agenda in order to be conducted.

The negative result of the NATO intervention illustrates the unspoken secret of foreign policy which is to intervene when necessary and to retract when deemed necessary, while conveying an image to the world with rose coloured glasses. This provided an understanding into the basis of this study's research question, while also highlighting the significance of foreign policy. The lack of intervention within Syria and Tunisia regardless of whether their basis was different were based on a lack of justifiable means to intervene and not to gamble the outcome that it will result in. This further strengthens the idea of needing an agenda to intervene to provide an objective for foreign intervention. "The West must come to

understand that the Middle East has its own ways, respect it, and try to play the game without burning the cards” (Garcia, 2020, p. 83). Foreign policy had power, the ability to add or disarray a situation, the developments within the middle east, highlight the significance of it in the reaction that their uprisings had taken.

Nevertheless, foreign policy is generally resisted by the individuals that it is being imposed on, on the surface, but in analysing this perspective, foreign policy provided the basis for the Libyan uprising. Libyans viewed foreign policy negatively and called for a limit on the amount of foreign policy when the continued unrest occurred as mentioned by Khan and Mezran (2016). However, when analyses into this perspective have occurred the Libyan political position is due to forged political relationships between foreign governments. The attempted coup of Haftar on Tripoli was due to the support of the UAE and the US (Green, 2019). Furthermore, this sense of viewing foreign policy as negative and then creating a dependency on it illustrates the fragmented perception of it. Libya alluded to a resistance towards foreign policy but the government systems within Libya were created due to foreign policy. Foreign policy directs Libya to the point where the GNA has been described as passive in its position (Gillon, 2021).

Also, to correlate this with the Tunisian perspective, the need for foreign policy within Tunisia is more so to do with internal conflict with the region requiring military support than the development of a state. While the resistance for foreign policy, as mentioned by Shah and Dalton (2020), is a combination of political realities and its own institutional heritage, limited the Tunisian military's willingness to absorb and use foreign military assistance. While the need for militant interventions is increasingly sought after, but the worry of implementing interventions is the destabilisation of the state and that it hinders democracy (Moghadam, 2017). However, policy making within the country has become incoherent and as issues have arrived, the ability to commit to democracy is becoming disproportionate. This has been the basis for the lack of foreign intervention within Tunisia since the uprising. Therefore, in analysing the various layers of foreign policy, clearly the general basis of foreign intervention is to support. However, there is a price to this support which can ultimately hinder the interventions already existent within the region, illustrating the double-edged sword that is foreign policy and that the position of the GNA was passive due to the nature of the situation that it was being implemented in.

The concept of 'responsibility to protect' throughout the analysis of NATO interventions and its contrast with interventions within Syria and Tunisia convey the various layers that foreign policy is comprised of. Where justification can be provided when the objectives behind it are necessary. Therefore, rationalising the idea that the implementation of foreign policy is not always based on support but to strategize initiatives within the region to gain benefits from it.

Furthermore, by looking at the position of the GNA and its efforts in relation to the Libyan economy, an analysis into the power of foreign policy can be portrayed and it provides a basis to the extents of the vicious cycle that Libya has been enthralled in.

### **GNA positioning on the Libyan Economy**

The Libyan economy has been enthralled in a series of fluctuations due to the situation that the country currently resides in. The conflicting relationship between the GNA and LNA has had a serious effect on the country's ability to stabilise the economy. According to Mezran and Melcangi (2020), the oil industry within Libya cannot be taken lightly due to the large dependency of the country on these reserves as it accounts for about 60% of the country's GDP. As the GNA controls the western regions surrounding Tripoli and Hafter's LNA government controls the eastern regions where the oil reserves reside, their impact plays a part in the chaotic situation that the oil sector resides in.

Thus, the international clash between the GNA and the LNA ultimately resulted in the renowned oil blockade caused by Hafter which led to serious defects in the development of the country. Mezran and Melcangi (2020) argue that the position of foreign actors of the internal clash between the GNA and the LNA added to the unrest, as to further emphasize the position of the GNA and the LNA they would need foreign support. This support is embedded in the perspective provided by Khatib (2013) where the support would be in the form of military support which would further continue the unrest. The inability of the GNA and LNA to meet an efficient compromise, would continue the inability of the GNA to stabilise the economy. According to Miller and Radwan (2018), the LNA questioned the legitimacy of the GNA and therefore would continue the chaos. Where if it wasn't for the efforts of Turkey the siege would have continued (Telci, 2020). Thus, the efforts of foreign governments who wished to believe that they needed to be on the 'correct side' when this war

was over to reap economic benefits further continued the limitations embedded in the efforts of the GNA in trying to stabilise the economy.

According to the Economist Intelligence Unit (2020) the oil blockades that began in 2019, output decreased from 1.1million barrels a day to an average of 100,000 barrels per day by the end of 2020. Lewis (2018) mentions that since the 2011 uprisings the oil facilities have been used as a method to press both political and financial demands to get beneficial leverage within the unrest. This ideology had influenced the development and distribution of oil, which ultimately led to the significant decrease in production, destroying the economy, “In April 2020 oil production data showed a drop of more than 80% with a loss of more than \$10 billion in oil revenues” (Merzan and Melcangi 2020). Thus, the conflicting relationship between the GNA and the LNA which required foreign support to back their claims had affected the oil sector significantly as this sector was the basis of all objectives within Libya.

The significance of the oil sector within Libya has been made obvious as to the extent of foreign policy (Cook, 2020) By continuing the unrest, essentially clashing two governments both with their own claims, the use of the oil sector as a bargaining chip would continue. The ability to gain more from the chaos than stability had been evidently clear here. Thus, the relationship between foreign policy and the positioning of the GNA is tremendously significant, but more so throughout the 14-month Hafter offensive, that both the GNA and LNA sought foreign intervention to provide justifiable reasoning behind their claims. However, from the above perspective, the ability of the GNA to stabilise the economy has been impacted by their clash with the LNA. Until they reach a comprisable agreement where both sides are catered for, the ability of the GNA to stabilise the economy is limited. As mentioned by Feltman *et al.* (2021) the positioning of foreign policy within this situation is aiding the conflict where they also need to be in line with the requirements of Libya to stabilise the economy.

The insights provided by looking at foreign policy significance, the limited foreign policy initiatives outside of Libya and the position of the GNA on the Libyan economy, all convey the variables that affected the capabilities of the GNA and their position on the economy within Libya. Therefore, from the insights illustrated throughout the literature review, the impact of foreign policy within Libya is a significant factor on the capabilities of the GNA. The strategized nature of foreign policy confirms the concept that stability can be achieved if

foreign policy initiatives want to stabilise the economy, thus, the GNA has the power to do so. However, the nature of foreign policy has many layers underlying it and ultimately the result of foreign intervention is dependent on the nature of those applying it within the situation and what they wish to achieve from it. In relation to the research question, the concept of foreign policy as portrayed above illustrates the significance of foreign policy as a driver of change within the unrest within Libya. The need for this study will illustrate the significance of this potential driver of change on the capabilities of the GNA on stabilising the economy and when other variables have been accounted for the credibility of foreign policy to be either a hindrance or an advantage within the situation, due to the interpretive nature of this research.

### **Chapter 3:**

#### **Research Question**

*What has been the impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capability to stabilise the Libyan economy?*

As aforementioned, this study seeks to establish the significance of foreign policy in the Libyan context. Foreign policy forms the basis of analysis as the analysis seeks to identify its relationship and significance on the system of government within Libya. The nature of this research is very interpretive, as the nature of foreign policy is that it differs depending on the country and the variables of its relationship with Libya. Therefore, in the section that follows, a full review and significance of ideologies will be built to demonstrate how foreign policy in the viewpoints of the countries in question affected the GNA's position as they were prominent foreign actors in the situation within Libya. This in turn will illustrate the significance of foreign policy on the Libyan economy. The methods that will be used to establish the assessment of these enquiries will be discussed in the next section.

#### **Aims**

To identify the position of foreign policy on government systems within Libya.

To assess the significance of foreign policy and how its implementations impacted the Libyan economy.

To identify the relationship between the GNA and foreign policy within Libya.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Methodology**

The methodology aims to analyse the overall validity and reliability of the outlooks presented throughout this study's literature review. By doing so the study's ideologies can be critiqued in terms of the conveyed research question and a conclusion can be reached.

Foreign actors and the implementation of their policies within Libya have been evident since the end of the 2011 civil war (Tierney, 2016). The significant attention Libya has received in the last decade has been an area for intrigue as to whether the extensive foreign policy implementations have been the sole reasoning behind the continued unrest. However, the insights portrayed in the literature review highlight a different ideology that illustrates the different aspects that derail foreign policy and the position it has played in terms of Libya and other neighbouring regions that have experienced similar uprisings.

The research question within this study is *What has been the impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capability to stabilise the Libyan economy?* While the hypothesis being tested is if the Libyan state has a higher level of foreign intervention during the post-revolution rebuilding process, then the state is less likely to become a democratic state. This is because foreign intervention in regions requiring stability after an uprising hinders a state's ability to properly create a democracy. The study looks to examine the significance of foreign policy and the various layers that encompass foreign policy and how it has impacted Libya's economy especially in connection with Libya's main government – the government of national accord. The overall assumption underlying this research is that foreign policy played a significant role in the conflict portrayed within the Libyan region. However, this assumption is based on the superficial portrayal of how foreign policy is portrayed in the media. In researching this

topic, the ideologies encompassing the literature review allude to something different. It is to do with the idea that foreign policy formed the basis of the various developments within Libya, and it is a combination of all factors that were created as a result of foreign policy both positive and negative aspects that affected the stability within Libya and in turn the Libyan economy. The methodology will outline the significance of the viewpoints illustrated in the literature review and in turn the assumptions that outline this research.

### **Nature of Work**

From the ideologies illustrated above, this research falls into the interpretive paradigm of work and the outcome that will result will not be a clear yes or no answer due to the nature of the research and the variables that it entails. This perspective correlates with the viewpoint of the literature review as the concept of this research is to try to articulate a basis as to the significance of foreign policy on the capabilities of the GNA. This has been done by examining many sources and analysing the perspectives behind these viewpoints and how they connected and contrasted against each other. The outcome presented demonstrates the reliability of those sources and how they outweigh each other which highlights the overall capabilities of the GNA within this situation.

### **Theoretical Influences**

Due to the interpretive nature of this research, qualitative data has been used. Qualitative data is data that represents feelings, thoughts, and different understandings (Quinlan, 2011). This data type is used since this research is more interpretive in nature therefore an interpretive analysis is the basis of it (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2015) to highlight the significance of the insights portrayed within this study.

In terms of this research, the main problem is the concept of foreign policy itself. Foreign policy and its positioning in Libya are very subjective and dependent on the outlooks portrayed and analysed by different researchers. By looking at foreign policy within Libya, outside of Libya and the relationship between the GNA and the Libyan economy, the various layers that encompass foreign policy can be analysed as an analysis into foreign policy will highlight its significance in terms of the research question. This will attempt to confront the problems this study is focusing on. By looking at foreign policy within Libya, an understanding into the segments of foreign policy intervention can be established and used as a basis to contrast with foreign policy implementations outside of Libya in neighbouring



regions who experienced similar situations. While by looking at the relationship between the GNA and the Libyan economy and by having an understanding as to the extent of foreign policy initiatives illustrated in the assessment of foreign policy within and outside of Libya, the position of the GNA can be outlined and it can be contrasted with foreign policy and whether it had an effect on it. By looking at these three different subject areas, the significance of foreign policy can be established, as it forms the basis of the research question. By analysing foreign policy and the various layers it encompasses the extent of the relationship between foreign policy and the GNA can be conveyed, based on the outlooks provided.

### **Data Collection Methods**

The main purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between foreign policies and GNA capabilities on stabilising the economy of Libya. To assess this relationship, this study follows a qualitative approach and uses interviews for data collection.

### **Interviews**

Oakley (1998) describes the use of qualitative interviews as the basis of obtaining critical contextual data on which the viewpoints are not only recorded, but also achieved, challenged and as well as reinforced. Therefore, the use of interviews was implemented with the basis of trying to achieve significance to the insights that they had researched upon and to limit the amount of bias that was combined within the variables comprised of in the study (Tindell, Burns and Wellings, 1994) Thus, the use of interviews for this research, forms an insightful basis of data collection as this data collection method goes further than providing a theoretical understanding of the variables that underly research. This is further reiterated by Denzin (1989) who believes that interviews provide the experiences, views, beliefs, and motivations of individual participants. Which provides more substance to the variables and provides more critical understanding to the basis of the research especially since it is interpretive in nature.

As this research is very interpretive in nature the interviews highlighted the significance of foreign policy as a driver of change on the GNA's capabilities with the impact of individual backgrounds and experiences. These individual experiences and backgrounds were contrasted with the viewpoints of the literature review which presented a very complex understanding into the variables of foreign policy initiatives within Libya. Nevertheless, the two ideologies

provided perspective to the interpretive nature of this research, to restrict the impact of bias as much as possible.

### **Interview Design**

The interviews were semi-structured and distanced due to the pandemic. The use of the semi-structured interview style gave the ability to gain open-ended data which is due to the qualitative nature of this research and style of interview (Saunders *et al.*, 2015). There were five interviewees for this research. These individuals were chosen to aid the interpretive nature of the research, as this research is dependent on the variables that are assessed within its mechanisms. The five individuals, all of whom have a relevant background on the topic of the research question, provided a critique to the basis of the research question. Thus, their insights provided a different outlook to the mechanisms of foreign policy and how this affected the GNA's capabilities on the Libyan economy.

Appendix A outlines the list of questions that were created for this research. They encompass the themes of the research question to reach a better understanding of the concepts that underly foreign policy. The questions below provided a significant contrast to the views of the literature. Ultimately conveying the significance of foreign policy operations and its impact on the GNA capabilities.

The first question discusses the position of the Libyan economy. It is connected particularly with the theme that encompasses the relationship between the GNA and the economy. By asking about the economy as a starting question, the development of a conversation can be initiated in a comfortable way and the conversation into the GNA's position can also conveyed. By questioning the positioning of the economy, the predicted viewpoint portraying the conflicting relationship represented in the literature review between the GNA and LNA can be viewed which can provide basis to the significance and power of foreign policy within this studies research mechanisms. While seeing whether the views of the interviewees provide insight into this perspective and deflect from the original viewpoint.

While the second question questions the relationship of foreign policy on the economy of Libya. By asking about the intentions of foreign policy initiatives on the economy, the various aspects that underly foreign policy initiatives can be conveyed and can illustrate the significance of it in terms of GNA capabilities. This outlook provided an insight into the

extents of justifiable ideologies that surround foreign policy which was an insight highlighted within the literature review. The interviewees views presented a case that highlighted the relationship of forged political relationships between foreign governments and the governments of Libya. Presenting significant basis towards the extents of foreign policy and illustrating the variables that underly foreign policy motives.

The next question provided a basis into the assessment of the GNA impact, a further acknowledgement of the significance of the GNA within the unrest was needed. By setting the basis, the ability to further analyse the variables that underly GNA capabilities allowed for the development of the interpretive understanding of the research and to provide outlook into the perspectives of the GNA. The assessment of the GNA illustrated that besides the limited capabilities that the unrest provided the GNA, the GNA were incapable of initiating a necessary need for stability within the country. The lack of self-direction as represented within Tunisian efforts limited the ability to stabilise the economy.

Another question that links in from the previous question, regarding the positioning of the GNA and its conflicted relationship with the LNA was asked. It illustrates the extents of the GNA and their willingness for compliance with the LNA and whether they had the intention of developing a state. The illustrations of this question emphasized the idea that it was a combination of all factors that led to the continued deterioration. The idea that foreign policy was the sole reasoning was not evident here, more so, the basis of foreign policy allowed a depiction of an image that portrayed foreign support as the method of gaining power within Libya. This 'power' however, came at an enormous price ultimately continuing the vicious cycle Libya was enthralled in.

The combination of these questions provided a contextual perspective into the variables that underly foreign policy that provides more intricacies to the views of the literature review. While these questions were all created and implemented in the way that they were, to allow for development of conversation and the ability to comprehend more of what certain individuals believe over others. Which to highlight ultimately the significance of foreign policy initiatives that the concepts that underly these initiatives.

### **Sampling Approaches**

The individuals chosen for the interviews have extensive backgrounds in the variables that underly this research. There were five interviewees and their backgrounds also correlated with the themes of this study. These themes to further reiterate include negative and positive annotations of foreign policy within Libya, limited policies outside of Libya, and the positioning of the GNA on the economy. All individuals chosen for these interviews were presented with all the interview questions to gain more knowledge into the interpretive nature of this research and the variables that underly it. However, their backgrounds specifically provided insights into the extents of foreign policy and therefore, were focused especially on these areas.

Individual no1 provided knowledge into the relationship of foreign policy and the positioning of GNA in terms of economic capabilities from a close understanding of the mechanisms of the GNA. Individual no2 provided knowledge into the mechanisms of the international platform that encompassed forged political relationships that provided a deeper analysis into the ‘strategized objectives’ concept that formed the basis of many foreign policy initiatives. Individual no3 provided insights into the significance of limited interventions outside of Libya in similar settings and how that highlighted the extents of foreign policy and the ability of it to be a powerful force. Individual no4 provided insight into the fragmented government system within Libya and how their conflicted relationship further continued the unrest. This perspective allowed for an understanding as to whether the initiatives of foreign policy were only to blame for the continued unrest within Libya and ultimately the limited capabilities allowed for the GNA. While individual no5 provided insight into the continuity of the vicious cycle that Libya had become comprised of and how the various themes, this study is comprised of played a role in the limited capabilities portrayed towards the GNA.

### **Analytical techniques**

The use of a thematic analysis was used to code the details of the interviews. Thematic analyses strive to identify patterns of themes in the interview data (Saunders *et al.*, 2015) It resonates highly with the interpretive nature of this research. The interview questions used within this research are embedded within different themes that underly this research. The insights provided within the interviews highlighted the dominance of the different themes in terms of the research question. Therefore, the illustrations of the pattern evidently showed the significance and extents of foreign policy. The views of the interviewees highlighted their

expertise within their different backgrounds and illustrated the impact of the variables that they believed were significant in demonstrating the significance of foreign policy in terms of GNA capabilities. The thematic analysis allowed for the identification of a pattern throughout the different interviews insights and where they connected with each other and where they didn't. Thus, from this the themes that were evidently important were the negative annotations of foreign policy which highlight the 'strategized objectives' concept that underlies foreign policy initiatives. But also, the significance of the positioning of the GNA on the economy which illustrated the impact of the unrest on the economy, and the situation of conflict between the GNA and LNA. The relationship between these two variables added to an already conflicting and complication situation; thus, illustrating that the capabilities of the GNA were limited prior to the implementation of their government due to the nature of foreign policy and its significance within Libya. The capabilities of the GNA were evidently clear throughout this thematic analysis.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The ethical considerations of this research are to do with the fact that these interviews are distanced and remote based. Therefore, the interviewees were provided with a consent form (see Appendix B) highlighting the different aspects of the interview, especially of the nature that these interviews will be taped. Where these interviews will be saved in the author's own personal laptop with a password protected folder. They were also informed that throughout the interview that they could refuse to answer any of the questions.

### **Limitations to the Research**

Due to the interpretive nature of this research and the remote situation that we are currently in, the ability to observe body language of the interviewees is limited. This aspect is a limitation due to the nature of the study's questions. By looking at body language, the position of the interviewees on the concept of foreign policy can be highlighted. This aspect illustrates whether the interviewee takes a positive or negative or neutral stance on the segments that relate to foreign policy also highlighting the interpretive nature of the research.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Analysis & Findings**

The purpose of this research is to highlight the significance of foreign policy on GNA capabilities by assessing a range of variables that underly this relationship. Where these variables have played a part in the broader context of the situation within Libya. The expected outcome of this research was a direct portrayal of foreign policy and those that involved themselves within Libya as the sole reasoning for the continued unrest.

However, while conducting research in the field and by conducting interviews that formed the methodological aspect of this study, the outlook expressed highlighted a much deeper analytical perspective than expected. There was more to the context of this research question and due to the interpretive nature of this research, the perspectives illustrated had their own viewpoints and ideologies underlying them portraying more towards the context of this study. While conducting research for this study, the viewpoints illustrated in the literature review highlighted both the significance of foreign policy within the Libyan environment that they were placed in, but also, the power each of these initiatives had on their own accord. This therefore depended on what the objectives behind these initiatives were, ultimately determining their outcome. This can be related with the viewpoints of Al-Anani (2021) and Al-Hakim (2021) who both portrayed the viewpoints behind foreign policy initiatives and the opportunities that occurred within Libya that emphasized these initiatives. Both these outlooks highlighted both the hindrance of foreign policy implementations which can affect more than what was preconceived and the capability of it to provide a reactive outcome, that changes the situation within the country and the continuity of international relations across countries.

These outlooks presented within the literature review are contrasted with the views gained by the interviews. The interviewees provided an analysis of where from the 2011 uprising, the initiatives within Libya had occurred due to foreign intervention within Libya, however the capabilities of the GNA were not consistently affected by foreign policy initiatives. It can be highlighted that indeed foreign policy did play a significant role within the developments of Libya backing the ideology of a 'manufactured 2011 uprising' (Salih and Eldin, 2013). Nonetheless, the intentions of the government themselves signalled towards a necessary need for foreign support especially in times of need, as represented by the intentions of Turkey and their support of the GNA (Telci, 2020).

This perspective of a wanting need for foreign intervention portrayed by the interviewees illustrates the significance of foreign policy but also impacts the ideology that foreign policy continued the unrest. This view connects with the ideology of Hill (2020) within the literature who expressed that Libya would achieve stability when those implementing the initiatives want stability. This ideology also expresses the viewpoint of which foreign policy has the capability to be a driver of change when implemented with the correct objectives. However, this need for foreign intervention is best represented by the clash of the GNA and LNA. Both governments knew what the call for foreign intervention would be and what it could cause, but the need for power was greater than the need for solutions which is the dominating ideology underlying the relationship between the government system within Libya and foreign interventions.

From this perspective, the idea that foreign policy played a role in being a significant hindrance in the capabilities of the GNA of trying to stabilise the economy is limited. The ideology that clashes with this was founded in the interviews who portrayed the capabilities of the GNA limited due to the situation that was already in conflict prior to the emergence of the GNA. However, the ideology represented by Brujine *et al.* (2017) expresses that the conflicting relationship between the GNA and LNA and their failure in trying to reach a comprisable result between them to try to gain stability highlights the perspective that the government itself was undesirable of reaching a sense of stability within the region. This further reiterates the viewpoint of Hill (2020).

Therefore, the ideologies above represent the argument that indeed foreign policy played a significant role in the initiatives conducted, however, it is not the sole reasoning for the continued unrest and the limited capabilities of the GNA. It is important to note that with every insight explored, each explanation tried to present their argument from the perspectives that they deemed fit, where some were completely shunning the idea of foreign policy being the sole reasoning while others signalled at foreign policy being completely the reason. To get a complete understanding of the ideologies presented, the basis of these ideologies was assessed to reach the understanding that it could have been a combination of all factors that led to this situation. Therefore, this suggests, that from the viewpoints of the interviews, that the capabilities of foreign policy were hindered due to the situation that was already implemented but also the reactions taken by the GNA and their conflicted relationship with

the LNA that ultimately hindered abilities to rectify the economy. Foreign policy did indeed play a part however, the GNA and its decision-making process also played a part in the situation.

## **Chapter 6:**

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the significant findings of this research portray the ability of foreign policy to be a driver of change within the situation that it is applied to. It is both a capability and hindrance depending on the objectives that is behind this approach. What is also significant towards the research is the justification ideology used to apply foreign policy initiatives when needed to apply foreign interventions within Libya which would ultimately lead to significant benefits. However, this same justification would not be applied in similar situations of need in neighbouring countries where similar unrest has occurred.

Ultimately this provides a basis into understanding the strategic nature of foreign policy initiatives and the tactfulness of the governments behind these initiatives. It does indeed explain the forcefulness of foreign policy but from this perspective it illustrates their strong connections with the governments within Libya and how to achieve a standing within the conflict, both sides need to be appeased. These perspectives essentially deflect from the understanding that there is one reason to the continued unrest within Libya, which ultimately affects the GNA's capabilities. This was the assumption that formed the basis of this research.

However, what is portrayed was that foreign policy played a part but also the key actors of Libya also played a part in this limited ability to stabilise the economy. What is portrayed from this is the ideology that Libya called for limited foreign intervention and Libya's neighbours who experienced the defects of similar uprisings, which is reiterated by Moghadam (2017). However, the ability to call for limited intervention and then call for militant support from abroad defeated the basis of the argument portrayed and the image portrayed to the world. Nevertheless, the perspective illustrated by Bagci and Erdurmaz (2017) explains that it could have been the impact of foreign policy and the image portrayed by it to be a distinguishing factor within political unrest that can determine the overall result



and who would achieve ultimate power. Even with this perspective, the ideology explained is that the government of Libya themselves knew what foreign policy would entail as the unrest continued, however their disregard of this or the ideology that during critical situations the need for extreme implementations could be implemented, regardless of the repercussions is necessary.

Thus, these ideologies provide a basis to this research and portray the ideology that there was more to the situation that limited the capabilities of the GNA. Due to the interpretive nature of this research, all the variables explored that express the differing ideologies present significance to the basis of this argument. This expresses that there is indeed more to towards the continued unrest within Libya than foreign policy playing the most significant role, ultimately destroying GNA capabilities. In terms of future research, the ideologies presented could be used to provide a basis into further analyses of the variables that underly these perspectives and how the perspectives that are highlighted present the argument that there is more towards the situation than just one reason for the limited capabilities for Libya.

## Chapter 7:

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## Chapter 8:

### Appendix A - Interviewees Question List

What position do you believe that the Libyan Economy is currently in?

What impact do you think that foreign policy had an on the Libyan economy?

What impact has the GNA had on the Libyan economy?

Do you think that the way foreign policy was implemented within Libya was implemented in a correct way to aid the transition to a democratic stabilised state?

To what extent do you believe that the clash and opposition between the LNA and GNA government played a role in the deterioration of the Libyan state and in turn the economy?

What do you believe was the foreign reaction to the de stabilised situation within Libya which effected the Libyan Economy and in turn the Oil Reserves?

To what extent do you believe that the implementation of foreign policy and the lack of correlation between them played a role in the deterioration of the Libyan economy?

What do you believe is the reason, in comparison with other countries with similar uprisings was their such a vast strong foreign involvement in Libya using introducing foreign policies into the country?

What do you believe has been the biggest factor that had played an impact on the Libyan economy since the uprising?

In your opinion do you believe that the GNA government had a series of failed opportunities which strengthened the support for the LNA government which strengthened the clash between the governing bodies and in turn added chaos to the country?

What do you believe will the government of Dbeibah bring to the field and what impact will this have on the Libyan economy?

To what extent do you believe the concept 'responsibility to protect' which was the reasoning for many foreign policies within Libya aided the clash between foreign actors and in turn the policies that they implemented within Libya?

Why was foreign policy to the significant extent that it was implemented in, the basis for the development of the governments that govern Libya?

## Appendix B - Interviewees Consent Form

A study into *'What has been the impact of foreign policy on the GNA's capabilities to stabilise the Libyan economy'*

The study explores the various layers that encompass foreign policy and the factors that it played in affecting the position of the Government of National Accord on its ability to stabilise the Libyan economy. This dissertation aims to identify the position of the foreign policy on the main rival system within Libya (GNA vs LNA) While also trying to assess the significance of foreign policy and whether its implementations inhibited or uninhibited the Libyan economy. Also, to identify the relationship between the GNA and foreign policy within Libya. This research asks whether foreign policy has a significant power to overrule the powers of the main government within Libya which is the Government of National Accord and whether the variables that underly foreign policy dictate whether progress can occur within Libya towards stability. By assessing the variables that underly foreign policy, with the use of the interviews, the significance of foreign policy in terms of the GNA capabilities will be conveyed which will ultimately add a better understanding into the ideologies of the literature review and in turn the research. Essentially providing basis and significant insight towards the research question.

Consent to take part in the research:

I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.
- I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that participation involves providing I the researcher with knowledge and outlooks from the participant which adds to my research question and topic.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.
- I agree to my interview being audio recorded.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.

## Interviewees Consent Form (Continuation)

- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in my dissertation.
- I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in a folder on a personal laptop with a secure password on that folder until the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2021
- I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained for two years from the date of the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2021
- I understand that under freedom of information legalisation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.
- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Primary researcher for undergraduate dissertation: Rwai Elghadi  
School of Business,  
National College of Ireland

Email: [x18365846@student.ncirl.ie](mailto:x18365846@student.ncirl.ie)

**Signature of research participant**

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**Date:**

**Signature of researcher**

**I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study**

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**Date:**



## Appendix C - Interviewee Email Draft

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Dear Mr/Ms. X,

My name is Rwai Elghadi, I am an undergraduate student at the National College of Ireland. I am currently researching for my dissertation, with a focus on the relationship between foreign policy and the Government of National Accord's capabilities on stabilising the Libyan economy.

I was particularly interested in chatting with you on this topic because I am familiar with your work/insights on (X). Your wide knowledge and perspectives on this subject would be extremely helpful in putting this dissertation into context. As a result, I'm wondering if you might spare some time to allow me to interview you or maybe just have a casual talk to get some ideas from (a key individual in the research of my topic) as it particularly relates to my subject matter immensely.

All interviews will be conducted in a way that ensures anonymity. As I understand you must be quite busy, especially during these exceptional times, these interviews can be conducted at a time and place that is convenient for you. Following your acceptance to participate in this process, I will send you a consent form to sign before the interview.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration on this matter.

I look forward to your response.

Kindest Regards,

Rwai Elghadi

National College of Ireland