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turning point comes, once again, in 1981 with 10% of the leader's agenda. Subsequently, it fluctuated and slightly increased until it reached its highest attention in 2008 with 23.9%. Looking at education, the turning point comes again in 1980 with 2% of attention. Then, however, the issue received no attention until 1990. Although it is difficult to give a clear interpretation of a fluctuation in the recent two decades, attention seems still to be rising and reach its height of with 8.5% in 2008.

Other issue areas – health, labour and employment, environment, transportation, social welfare, banking and domestic commerce, space and communication, government operations, and public land and water management -seem to have discontinuous attention patterns, and they often disappear from the agenda for long periods. Although these are important issues for the country, they might have been viewed as marginal by the Libyan leadership, and subsequently not viewed as core functions of the state. As such, the leader of the country repeatedly disregards these policies areas. For instance, health, environment, banking and domestic commerce, transportations, technology and communications, and social welfare were only mentioned, on average, in five speeches since 1969. Others such as labour and employment, government operations and public land water were mentioned, on average, in only ten speeches in the 41 years of Qadhafi's role. Finally, it is important to show that the most important issues which were mentioned in the first trend occupied 63.4% of the total attention of all the speeches covering the 41 years of Qadhafi's rule. As such, these issues are considered to represent the core function issues of the state.

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immigration problem. According to this agreement, the Italian government was committed to paying 5 billion dollars to the Libyan government to control borders (Mohamed, 2010:p 127). In the following year, the Italian government declared, via its foreign minister Roberto Maroni, that the arrivals from Libya to Italy in 2009 dropped by 90 %. Subsequently, the numbers reduced from 31,281 in 2008 to 3,185 by end of 2009 (Paoletti and Pastore,2010: p65).

With the foreign trade issues, the first mention of this issue was in 1997, taken only 1.5% of the speech's content. The turning-point came with the establishing of the African Union in 1999; subsequently the issue reached its highest peak of attention of 37%. After the successive of the Libyan government in beginning new relations with the western countries in the early 2000s, foreign trade issues fell from the agenda. In 2000, only 7% of Qadhafi speech was devoted to these issues. In the following nine years, attention to this issues were absent in five speeches and fell to 0.7% in 2008.

A third trend is related to both decline and growth of certain issues. In some cases, as for civil rights, agriculture, law and family issues and community development, has been relatively low. In the 11 speeches between 1969 and 1980, these four issues accounted for a shared average of 3.6 % of the government's agenda. In the following speeches between 1981 and 2010, they dropped to 1.3 %. In the five years between 1981 and 1986, however, no attention was devoted to these issues, excluding civil rights which received 1.2% of the attention. Attention to these issues rose slightly between 2001 and 2009, with average attention reaching 2.3%. On the other hand, the growing salience of education and energy is seen in figure 2. The turning-point for these two issues came in 1973. In following seven years, however, no attention was given to these issues. Looking first at energy, the

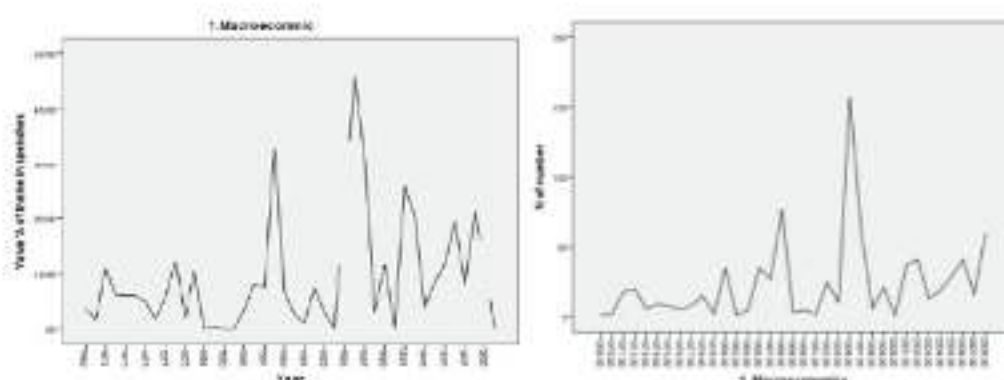


Figure 5. Figure 5. Attention of Macroeconomic

Turning to the second trend, immigration and foreign trade represent two relatively salient issues, at least in the media and public debate; yet, they not found an equal space in the leader's agenda. With regard to immigration, figure 2 shows that the Libyan leader started emphasising it in 1989; it took 2% of the overall context. Two years later, that emphasis was reflected in legislative article 21 of law 20 of 1991 that "The Great Gamahiriayah is a refuge for the oppressed and a straggler for freedom and it is impermissible to hand over refugees under its protection to any part" (Hamood, 2006: p 28). In relation to the demands from the European Union countries to stop the waves of immigrants and refugees coming through Libya, the attention to immigration has increased to 11% in 2004. In the following year, Libyan officials have announced a set of policies to control borders in cooperation with the Italian government. In 2010, the issue's attention reached its peak, taking 76% of overall content of that year's speech.

The justification for this trend, I argue, is that Qadhafi used immigration as a pressure point to get obtains political and economic concessions. The development between Libya and Italy was concluded by signing the cooperation agreement, which was essentially aimed at solving the

devoted to macroeconomic issues. In accordance with figure 6, there was a decline of governmental attention to this issue between 1980 and 1985, average 0.7%, which seems to be related to the war with Chad. Attention to macroeconomics has increased in the last two decades with 11% approximately. Of course, the financial crisis in 1990 caused a significant decline in the government's prioritization of the economy. One notable finding here is related to the economic sanction. Since 1991, attention to macroeconomic issues predictably has raised from 1% in 1991 to reach its highest attention of 45% in 1996. This increased attention is consisted with the set of reform policies that were launched by Qadhafi in the same year.

As all regimes in North Africa, the economic decision making in Libyan regime was dominated by the socialism ideas such as centralized economic planning, land reforms.

After 2006, there were a huge improvement in Gadhafi speech emphasising the macroeconomic issues and even a side meeting with his cabinet to make big decisions toward the Libyan economy. After the anniversary speech a media meeting which replayed many times on the Libyan national channels showing Gaddafi asked his prime minister al- Mahmudi that by 2009, for the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of revolution, the country should achieve four no plan as it knows between Libyans: no Libyan without home, no opportunity of employment, no Libyan being poor and no road unpaved. Qadhafi announced that he will allocate more than 100billion dollar to achieve these goals.

four times a year to discuss the agenda guided by the leader's suggestions (El-Kikhia, 1998: p 94). In the 1980s, there was a decrease in the average attention to this issue, dropping to 13.2%. For the last two decades, the content of speeches has an averaged attention of 10.3%

of the speeches' content.

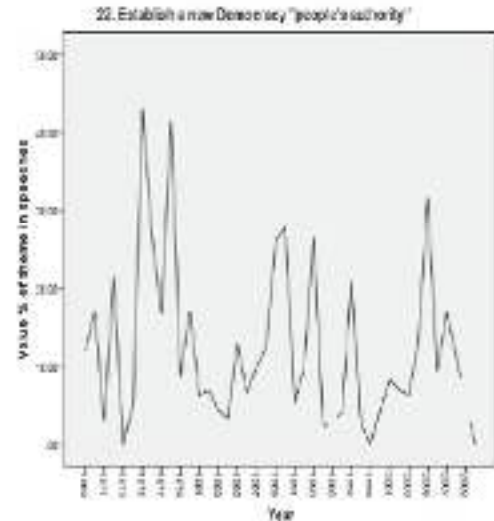
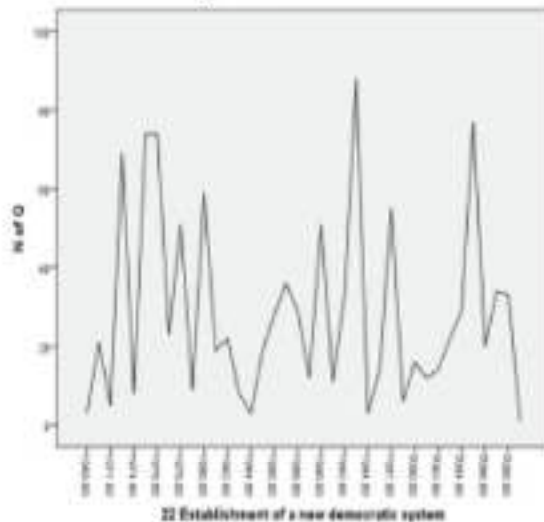


Figure 4.Attention of Establishing a New Democracy

Macroeconomic: The fourth most important issue in the speeches is the macroeconomic issue. On average, 7.3% of the speech content was

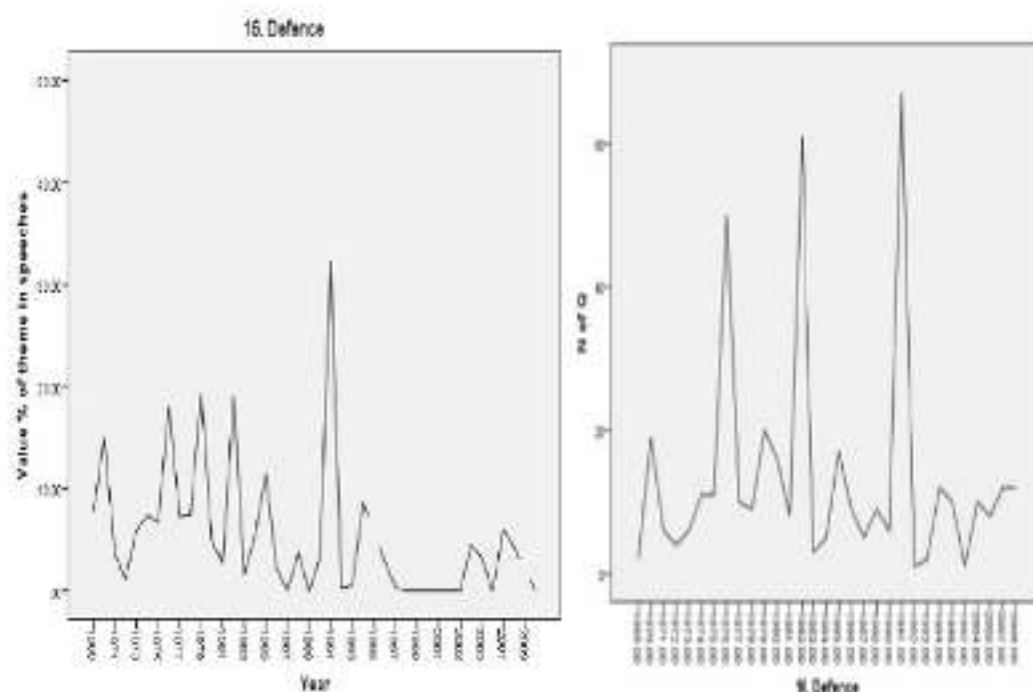


Figure 3. Attention to Defence

Democratization: The third important issues emphasised in the speech was the establishment of a new democratic system combining socialist and Islamic principles. Overall, 10.6 % of averaged attention has been dedicated to this issue. As figure 5 shows, in the first ten years Qadhafi sought to maintain power by convincing the Libyan people to adopt his ideas of a peoples' authority. Accordingly, the attention devoted to this issue averaged 19.5%. The lowest proportion was 3% in 1971 and the highest was 42.9% in 1975 when Qadhafi first published his Green Book as a solution for all democratic problems. In the beginning of 1976, his ideas were implemented in practice, namely that the people ruled themselves without any guidance from a ruler. Consequently, Libya's name was changed to (al-Jamahirya) and the General Peoples' Congress as a legislative first met to appoint the general peoples' committee as the executive branch. The basic peoples' congress meets

policy drift away from the Arab interested and his believed of that he can fill the vacuum left by the Egypt when president Abdalnaser passed away. The drifting from Arab supporting policies appeared with the number of increased clashed between Arab countries. Libya support Iran in its war against Iraq and dedicated both military and policy assist.

Defence: The other most important issue emphasised in the leader's speech were defence, establishing a new democracy and macroeconomic policy, which averaged 12.7%, 10.6% and 7.3% of the speeches' contents respectively. Nevertheless, attention to defence has fluctuated over time. In the first ten years of the revolution a prominent increase is noticed with an average of 9.2 % in attention (see figure 4). Attention has, however, noticeably decreased in subsequent years, with a prominent absent of attention in the years between 1997 and 2003. This decrease was consistent with the Libyan government's decision to renounced unconventional weapons in 2004. Notably, the highest attention to defence occurred in 1991 with 32.3%. This was when the leadership began to consider the possession of weapons of mass destruction (Mustafa, 2004: pp 17-19).

1969 and 1989, attention to international affairs averaged 44.5%, whilst in the 19 speeches since then attention has averaged 28.3%. There are, however, some signals which show that attention has actually increased. In the 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2003 speeches attention averaged 54.4%. Notably the highest attention was dedicated to the international affairs in 1998 with 87.6%, which is more than in any speech since 1969.

One primary finding here relates to the 1980s era when Qadhafi entered two wars with Chad and Egypt and the US aircraft invention in 1986. Accordingly, attention remained high, with 39.8% in 1980, 81.8% in 1981, 64.8% in 1982 and a high of 85.9% in 1984. The average attention of the 1980s was the highest in all other three decades with an average 67.9%. In the more politically settled years -after 2004- when Libya renounced its nuclear weapons and established new relations with the western countries (John 2004), only 8.7% of the speeches' attention was dedicated to international affairs. The only year with no attention at all given to international affairs was in 2006. Thus, this data signal that the government's attention to international affairs frequently changes in relation to external events. This explains the increase in attention to international affairs in the 1980s era, 2000, 2002 and 2003. In the political settled periods, in contrast, the attention given to this political aspect notably decreased.

In a line with scholars who explained Qadhafi foreign policy, Mary described Qadhafi's made a clear idea of his foreign policy by focusing on five overlapping levels, each level including certain numbers of countries and some clear orientations (Mary, 1991:p34). For instance, at the first level, Qadhafi had a clear fear from bought Egypt and Algeria because of their military power and he tried in the first ten years to make a strong relationship with them. Through the 1980s Qadhafi's foreign

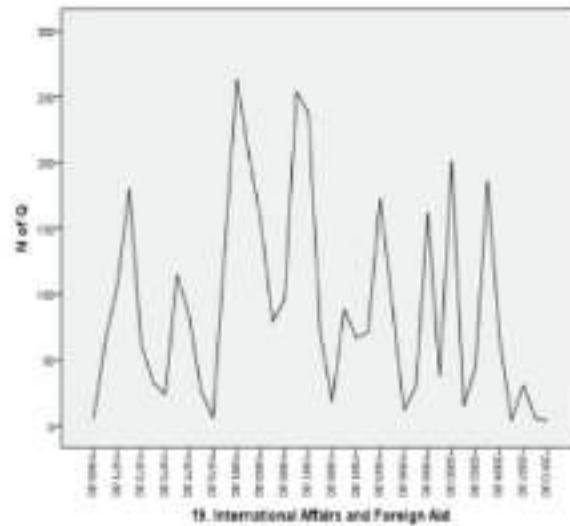


Figure 2 Attention of the International Affairs and Forging Aid

The coded data on the topic attention of the Alfath speech (anniversary speech) also facilitate analysis of the evolving policy priorities of the Libyan governments over time. The frequencies of topic mentions in each speech allocated to each major topic are illustrated in the graphs in both figure 2 and 3. Each of the topics is showed against the same scale of y-axis to provide an indication of relative differences in attention to different issues, as well as the variation in the level of attention to particular topic in both percentage and quasi-sentences emphasis. The mean levels of these series confirm the relative domination of the agenda by international affairs and foreign aid (19), defence (16), democratization (22), and macroeconomic.

Three prominent trends are noticeable. The first is issues which were emphasised the most. **International affairs and foreign aid:** international affairs and foreign aid were most significant issue; they occupied 33% of the 39 speeches. The lowest percentage was 1.6% in 2005 and the highest 87.6% in 1998 (Figure 3 cited below has been rounded to the nearest whole numbers). Attention to international affairs issues has decreased over time. In the first 20 speeches between

Summary statistics for governmental attention to different kinds of policies in the forty years of Qadhafi's rule are reported in Figure 2. The importance of each issue in the speech is reflected in its proportion of the overall speech because of the variation in the speeches. In each of the 21 topics showed in the figure, the proportion of each single topic is reflected on the vertical axis which varies from 0% to 100 according to individual cases. In some cases, the range does not exceed 10 % in all years (i.e. education, environment and social welfare). The mean values of major topic mentions confirm that there are certain issues are more mentioned than others such as the foreign affairs.



policy agenda project when applied to non-democratic regimes. This involves the question of the validity of the coding scheme when applied outside of democratic countries; some may consider that they are not transferable to non-democratic regimes. That is, the way in which certain variables are operationalised may be shaped by the way in which the codes were developed for democratic countries. For instance, the definition of foreign affairs is in terms of relationships that are important for countries such as the USA and the UK, but which are less important elsewhere (Jones et al ,2005:pp 189-190).

To measure changes of that leader's, dedicate to all issues over a long time, tow basic measurement is used the percentage and the quasi-sentences of the leader's speech assigned to particular topic. This treats the agenda space as constant through time. In contrast of the budget, there is no potential for growth or inflation in the political agenda (Jone et al,2012:pp46-47). The quasi-sentence or the policy statement constitutes an expression of single policy issue while not necessarily a complete sentence (Volken,2002:p76). The transcripts of speech from the anniversary was blind coded by the researcher first to ascertain whether each quasi-sentence contained any policy continent and then to assign a major topic code and sub-topic code to both quasi-sentence and percentage. This coding procedure generates the longest known data series of executive attention in Libya with Forty speeches from the first anniversary day in 1969 right up to 2010. These data consist of 8,790 quasi-sentences over the Qadhafi role time.

- 0.7. Government Attention to Major Policy Topics in the anniversary speech:
How does the emphasis placed on the most prominent issues vary over time?

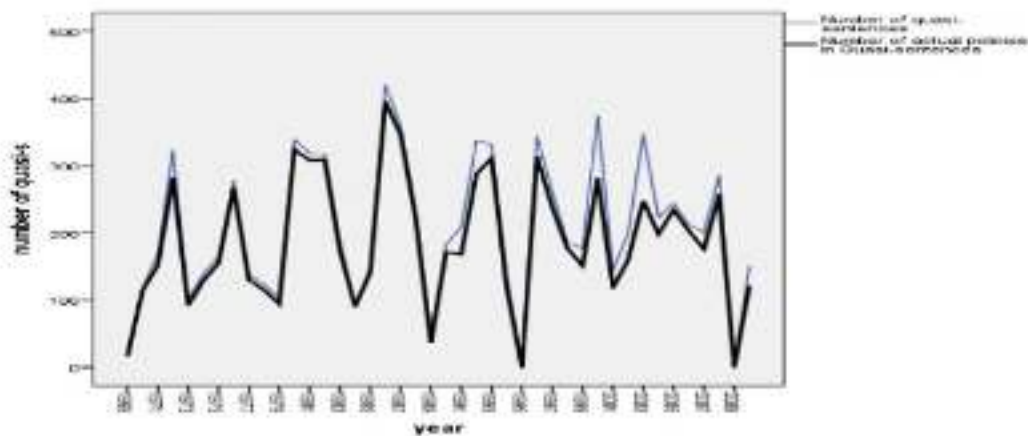


Figure 1 Number of Quasi-sentences and Policy Statements in the Leader's Speech

Human coding is considered one of the standard approaches to content analysis. Indeed, even automated methods such as dictionaries and supervised learning required at least some human reading and interaction (Quinn et al, 2010: p122). In the human coding approach, the target categories of interest are assumed to be known and fixed. Coders read units of text and attempt to assign one of a finite set of codes to each unit. If the target categories have any relationship to each other (e.g. nesting), it is assumed to be known (Klingemann et al. 2006). There is typically no requirement that the readers use any particular feature in identifying the target category and the exact mapping from texts to categories is assumed unknown and never made explicit. Through reliability checking, one can tell whether two independent coders reach the same conclusion; however, one cannot tell how they reached that conclusion. Manual coding is most useful when there are abundant human resources available, the target concepts are clearly defined a priori, but the mapping from texts to categories is highly complex and unknown.

At present, there is a debate about the validity and limitation of and the

this new system, which is the called peoples' authority system with coding number (2200), the barriers hindering the application of this system (2202), attention to art and media (2203) and lastly ceremonial moments for the first application of this system under of a coding number (2204).

The coding process in this study will identify a quasi-sentence, which means "an expression of single policy idea or issue while not necessarily a complete sentence" (Volken, 2002:p 83), as its unit of analysis. In general, conjunctions and punctuations denote the end of each quasi-sentence. The data which was used in this analysis consists of approximately 8970 coded quasi-sentences. In the aim of guaranteeing reliability, there was a small team of coders - identifying the dual coding categories. By discussion the decision was collectively made between the team and the argued category is placed in the closest subtopic. The policy statements are illustrated in figure1 for all the speeches. The total number of these statements is counted by words. Figure 1 shows that the number of statements in each speech is higher than the policy statements, with the approximate average being 10%. This is because speeches cover many general statements which are suitable to the policy categories. These non-policy contents categories are coded under a coding number (999), which represents ceremonial statements and historical examples. In almost all speeches, policy statements are related to the length of the speech. The average length of speeches is 12074 words. There were more policy statements in the leader's 1986 speech the length was 15083 whilst there were less policy statements in the leader's speech in 1969, 1979 and 1989 which were 305, 3478 and 1576 words (see table 1).

changes in the defence category, where three categories which suite the Libyan case were added. These new sub-topics are security and stability under a coding number (1602), rebuilding army and police forces (1603) and the idea of armed people and forced recruitment (1621).

Although comparative agenda policies are not holding any directional preference, international affairs and foreign aid are holding many policies designed as preferences policies. This is because the nature of the leader's speech holds a directional policy emphasis. Between 1969 to the beginning of the nineties, the leader obviously encourages his government to take all possible government to take all the possible policies to enhance the Arab Union. Thus, new category was made under the name of pro-Arab foreign policy (1901). For the same reason, the following sub-topic policies are designed in the same way : anti-Arab foreign policy, which was coded under (1902) reflects the unstable relationships with almost all Arab regimes; pro-African policy was coded as (1903), and it reveals sudden change in Libya's foreign policy toward almost all African countries under the African union umbrella; calls to reform the United Nations and the anti-American, Zionist and communist categories are coded under (1905 and 1904) respectively. In many speeches, the leader has mentioned the tremendous support of the Libyan country to all liberation movements with money, military assistance and the collecting of support for them. This significant part of the speech is reflected in a new category under of name 'Supporting the liberation movements' (1910). The last new sub-topic which was added is the establishment of the new relations with the USA and the other western countries under the coding number (1915).

The only new category which is different from original CAP coding system is the establishment of a new democratic system (22). This category contains three essential sub-topics, namely the principles of

Libyan Agendas Codebook (. Under the first category, the macroeconomic, many sub-topics were created and altered to fit with the Libyan case, such as increase of domestic trade (102), support for the idea of socialism (104), anti-financial corruption (105) and transparency regulation in the economics sector (106). With the civil rights, minority issues and civil liberties category, three new sub-categories were made, namely women's rights (201), equality between men and women (202), and support for the freedom, prosperity and justice for all citizens (203). Additionally, supporting the private health sector (303) and supporting voluntary work in the general health sector (304) were added to the health category. In the agriculture category, one sub-topic was added under the name of government subsidies to farmers and ranchers (402). In the labour, employment and immigration category, immigration was transferred to the immigration and refugee category, otherwise activation of the trade union will be added under the coding number (507). In the education category, higher education was altered to the higher and private education (601), while coal was exchanged with copper (805) in the energy category. In the immigration and refugee's category, two sub-topics were added under the name of anti-immigration (902) and refugee issues (903). Two further alterations were made in the law, crime, and family issues category: first, the white-collar crime and organised crime was altered to normal crimes (1202); and secondly the anti-terrorism law was added under of the coding number (1204).

In the social welfare category, retired people and social security fund (1306) was added as a new sub-category, whilst in the community development and housing issue category, one sub-topic was altered to be construction and economic development (1405). One category was also altered in the banking, finance and domestic commerce to rural banks and mortgages (1504). Finally, there were also some fundamental

because they were the most consistent of his regular appearances and related most strongly to foreign policy.

0.6. Data and analyses: (Policy coding)

In analysing the contents of Libyan anniversary speech I employed the same 19 major topics which were used within the policy agenda project. Data was collected from the original documents published by the centre of green book studies from 1969 to 2010. These documents cover the whole phase of Qadhafi's rule. The speeches were initially available in hard copy. Subsequently they were retyped and coded according to a Libyan adapted version of the policy content framework established by Baumgartner and Jones, which is available at <http://www.policyagendas.org>.

Table(1) Major Topic Codes from the Policy Agenda Project

Table 2	Major Topic Codes from the Policy Agenda Project
1. Macroeconomic	2.Civil rights, Minority issues and civil liberties
3.Health	4. Agriculture
5. Labor and employment	6. Education
7. Environment	8. Energy
9. Immigration	10. Transportation
12. Law, crime and family issues	13. Social welfare
14. Community development and housing issues	15. Banking, finance and domestic commerce
16. Defence	17. Space, science, technology and communications
18.Foreign trade	19. International affairs and foreign aid
20. government operations	21. public lands and water management
22. 22. Democratization	999. symbolic, examples from history
"people's authority"	

words; and in 1993 with 17596 words. There are number of minor shocks. For instance, when the speech's length tended to fall during periods of extraordinary sessions of the General Peoples' Congress, including in 2001 with 6846 words, in 2007 with 5921 words and in 2010 with 4641 words. In the last decade, it has been noticeable that the leader's speech has been delivered after it's usual. Nevertheless, these speeches still carry out the same function of the anniversary speech, namely highlighting the policy priorities of the government in the forthcoming years.

Some might argue that the policy agenda during Qadhafi's rule was most strongly influenced by The Green Book, and that his unpredictable public statements are less important to attain understanding. However, as a static doctrinal document, The Green Book is not especially informative as to the country's evolving policy priorities over time. It is certainly important to understanding Qadhafi's early policies and manoeuvres, but he later clearly violated its political and economic principles whenever it proved expedient (e.g. the idea of direct democracy).

Given the limited role of the legislature and Qadhafi's personal power as the ultimate arbiter of policy decisions, it makes sense to investigate the evolution of his annual speeches' policy content as the measure of policy agendas. These speeches were chosen because they resemble the format of the widely recognised "throne speech" in Western democracies and are the executive's primary public agenda setting tool.

Though a dataset containing a greater number of Qadhafi's speeches would have been preferable, including those typically made on the 2nd of March. However, the collection of the data was extremely difficult and time-consuming. As such, I had to make a difficult choice about which speeches to include. The September 1st speeches were chosen

new legislations and regulations.

Since 1969 the speeches have been delivered following the huge military parade on the first day of September which commemorates anniversary of the revolution. Previously, a number of the speeches – those in 1972, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2010 – were delivered earlier, usually timed to coincide with an extraordinary session of the General Peoples' Congress. The lengths of the speeches in words and quasi-sentences and the date on which they were made are shown in table 1. The analysis focuses on 39 speeches of a total of 41. Two speeches (1995 and 2009) were not delivered for unknown reasons.

The basic structure of the Libyan leader's speech did not change for the four decades of Qadhafi rule. It could be divided into two distinguishing parts. First part, all speeches regularly began with a ceremonial description including a greeting for the Libyan people and all the guests in attendance. It also included an assessment of what the government did in the previous year and examples of general political events that have affected the Libyan system (e.g. world crisis, wars, and historical events). In the second part, the speech contains a declaration of the government's objectives and aims in the forthcoming year (e.g. the structure of the foreign policy and suggestions for the legislative sectors).

The length of the speech has fluctuated over time, according to change in domestic and international circumstances (i.e. wars and economic crises). The average length of the speech is 230 quasi-sentences or 12,074 words (see table 1, figure 1). The speech's appears higher during the 1986 war with 15083 words; in 1980 with 13222 words; with the economic crises and the United Nations' embargo in 1992 with 15543

delivers a speech in which the government's policy and legislative agenda for the forthcoming year is outlined. In Libya, this convention is obviously the leader's anniversary speech. In the Libyan case, it could be argued that the agenda is highly likely to be shaped by the attention of the leader to certain issue. Qadhafi took power in 1969 following a successful coup, and he remained in power until his overthrow. Theoretically, Qadhafi instituted his own political system known as the Third Universal Theory. This system combined socialism and Islam while also drawing on tribal practices specific to Libya. Although authoritarian, it was nevertheless implemented by the Libyan people directly. The government was appointed by the General People's Congress, which was elected by a direct voting system named (TASED). Nevertheless, in practice, Qadhafi ran a strictly authoritarian government (AL-Magariaf,2008: p 125). It is argued that the government is appointed by the leader's selection and according to the tribal coalitions which support the leader. Traditionally, however, all Qadhafi's speeches had a tremendous impact on the Libyan government's policy agenda. Although, Qadhafi ceded power to the people on the 2nd March 1977, his instruction to successive governments were nevertheless considered critical to policy formulation. His pivotal place in Libyan politics was cemented by the General People's Congress constitutional document. The head of the General Peoples' Congress "Alznati Kalifa" (Al-Mgaryaf,2009:p64), on the 9th of March 1990, emphasised the power of the leader's speech in terms of agenda describing the speech as following.

According to the document of revolutionary legitimacy which we enacted today by the General People's Congress on the 9th of March 1990, the leader pledges and recommendations which delivered on the speech will have the highest priority and the government has to fulfil. It is also considered as the chief guideline for the government to initiate

Misrata Qabilas.

Expanding the analysis of other issues such as the economic affairs, it can be considered as a dependent variable and it can be explained by the same factors in both international and domestic level. Both levels of the international events (external crisis, regional issues and global events) and domestic factors (the coalitions groups) are determining the leader's attention for most issues in foreign policy, economic etc. Secondly, the leaders can only attend choose between issues that allow him to maintain his position on power, which force the president to attend to related issues at the cost of attention to other issues.

0.4. Hypotheses

Both international and domestic factors are key to understanding the development of the Libyan agenda. The changing saliency of internal and external affairs may help to explain developments in the content of Qadhafi's agenda. Below a series of theoretical relationships are hypothesized. The first two hypotheses concern domestic factors (threat and GDP). The following three are to do with international events.

Hypothesis 1. Qadhafi's emphasis on international affairs increased when his power was threatened domestically.

Hypothesis 2. Qadhafi's emphasis on international affairs tended to increase when Libya experienced economic growth.

0.5. The description of the Libyan leader's speech:

In many countries, whether they are democratic or non-democratic, the head of state (e.g., the monarch, the president or prime minister)

assets on adventures elsewhere in Africa and other parts of the world (Joffe and Paoletti, 2010: pp35-38). Large sums were wasted in Chad, weather in war time or after the war finish to help this country. These tensions and conflicts with neighbouring countries such as Chad, Sudan, Egypt, and Tunisia extended to different perceptions of general politics because of Libyan leader's ideology. The importance of regional factors in Libya's security policy was vital, especially as the Qadhafi regime was trying to become a regional power with quite specific agenda such as leadership in the Arab World, security concerns, exporting Libya's revolution, and intervening in the internal affairs of some African states as well as Arab states. After the involvement in these three wars with neighbouring countries, it changed leader's perspective to devote more attention to the international affairs. This was an attempt to increase his power by establishing new relations with the African countries.

The shifts within the international affairs have a domestic dimension of explanation, where the tribal factor was essential to support these shifts in the leader's foreign agenda. For instance, in Libya, although at the beginning of Qadhafi's revolution the attempt to exclude the tribal impact on the formulating the policies, the role of these Qabilas has increased and appeared in the beginning of eighties. The Arab nationalism policies in the beginning of seventies were supported by almost all of the Qabilas. Once the southern Qabilas have more control whether on the military institution, oil and water sources in the country; it has become obvious that they have more impact on the leader's international affairs. Their role has increased with increasing the investment with same Qabilas in the southern borders such as Altwrg and Altbo Qabilas. In the beginning of the twenties, with the increasing pressure and the un-satisfactions of the norther Qabilas they gain some privileges in the establishment of the open trade areas such the once on

subcategories of the Libyan foreign policies that include: Arab nationalism, African relations and European relations. In this regard, the following examines the international and domestic factors that affected the variation of these policies. Crises and the opportunities, at the international level, which forced by the more powerful countries could affect the leader's attention to each subcategories issue. For instance, the leader's attention devoted to the reconciliation with the western countries in the last two decades is shaped by the relative influence of the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU). The UN issued numerous resolutions against Libya. These shifts were due to economic stagnation as the country's economic and oil wealth was heavily affected by the UN economic sanctions for almost eight years, and also due to a change in the political speech in general and in forging policy, in particular (Jone, 2004: p235). To lesser degree, the EU also issued several resolutions against Libya on different matters. The reorientation of the leader's attention toward the EU was driven mainly by the market economy which led by the powerful countries and a desire of obtaining a better place among the international community. Indeed, as will be discussed in detail in the analysis data section.

War as an explanation, may actually provide opportunities to leaders not available during the peacetime. It can open the door for the policies that would never be deemed acceptable in peacetime; such policies can be used to buy off core constituencies. Leaders can also use the war to alter the institutional structure of the country. In general, war can provide leaders unique opportunities to change their foreign affairs policies during or immediately after the wartime. Joffe and Paoletti offer a particular example that the widespread tensions between Libya and the neighbours countries confirm the greater influence of the regional factors over the domestic. Qadhafi, more than other leader's in the region, acted in irresponsible manner and wasted his country's

the Libyan situation.

Domestic level

Leaders in the non-democratic countries come to power in different methods (e.g. civil war, coup, or protest movement) with an obvious support from their loyal coalition. Simultaneously, these coalition groups whether military groups, educated elites, or Qabilas express preferences. Some of these coalitions whether in a democratic or authoritarian countries, may demand more extensive domestic policies. For instance, in the Libyan case, some Qabilas may seek to expand military capabilities to maximize jobs in local defence. Each of these Qabilas are interested in influencing the policies pursued by the national leaders. This could possibly be to pressure leader's attention to international affairs issues. Leaders in turn depend on those loyal coalitions for its continuation in office and deter other aspiring political rivals. As well as these, leaders may meet the demand of the coalition wishes to gain their support and ultimately remain in power.

Expanding the analysis of the agenda setting dynamics of the specific categories of international affairs issue, the attempt is to focus specifically on the variation in the percentage of the speech devoted to international affairs in different areas. For instance, the Libyan international affairs issue could be identified by three main categories the Arab region, the African region and the western countries such as the European. The percentages devoted to each subcategory under the international affairs are affected by both international and domestic variables and how the leader accounts the costs of each sub-issues or categories.

The following section explores the determinants of variation on the international affairs issues during Qadhafi's regime, especially the

regional issues and while the domestic level includes coalition groups.

International Level

External crises include economic crises (oil crises, prolonged depressions, financial collapse, banks failing), diplomatic crises (Libya and Switzerland crises 2008), Security crisis (chad war, 6th October war, war on terrorism after 2001) and paradigmatic or the international crises (e.g. the fall of the USSR). These crises prompt a response by leaders and may have different effects on the agenda. Regional issues include events such as conflicts, humanitarian crises and migration will have different effects.

In terms of the mechanism and how these international events impact the agenda. Events provide exogenous disturbance and forcing the institutional attention whether presidential or congressional to shift to related issues (Baumgartner and Jones 1993). I assume that leaders, in the period of the different crisis, are more linked to emphasis the issue related to the international affairs on his agenda more than other issues. Leaders count the costs that they will bear if their responsiveness to international pressure leads to affect his staying in power. Accordingly, his responsive to the international affairs issues will increase in contrast of the demands of his coalition preferences to other issues Leaders know that these crises which more affected or created by the stronger are not going to be deterred by the support of his coalition. They will still suffer foreign overthrows relatively. For instance, after 1990 and the collapse of the Soviet Union, Libyan leader show more interested in the collaboration with the western countries more than before and almost of Qadhafi's agenda wear dedicated to the international affairs issue more than other issues. Although, there were a lot of calls from his constituency for the reform and showing their un satisfaction toward

stakeholders. However, both internal and external affairs may still shape the agenda of the executive in a reactive sense. To this end, the extent to which domestic and international concerns impact the content of the agenda, versus one another, has yet to be determined. In the cases examined, we observe that a large amount of attention is devoted to international affairs and, moreover, that this attention varies over time. This raises the question, what explains the variation in the attention devoted to international affairs?

The dependent variables in this analysis are the relative salience of various issue areas (international affairs, economics, defence, immigration, energy, social welfare, internal security and democratisation) in the leader's agenda. The answer I derive to this question from two claims, that both international and domestic factors have the potential impact on the leader's agenda setting, which I discuss in greater detail below. Overwhelmingly, the most salient topic of the leaders' speeches examined is international affairs. Several factors, along both international and domestic dimensions, could cause variation in the amount of speech content dedicated to this issue area.

This study rests on two important theoretical assumptions. The first assumption involves the impact of international events such as external crisis, regional issues, global events and national domestic factors (coalitions groups) in determining the leader's attention for the most important issues in foreign policy as well as in economics and defence, etc. The second assumption is that the leaders decide to dedicate more importance on issues that allow them to maintain their position in power. This greater attention to particular issues means that other issues will have lesser attention and possibly ignored. In the following section the difference between International external and domestic level will be explained. The international level includes external crisis,

by the mainstream media, a public dissatisfaction, or significant changes occurring in the world. All these issues are closely monitored by government and parliament officials (Jones and Jennings; 2010:pp54-55). An issue which attracted the attention of policymakers should be introduced or added to government's agenda. Several channels of access are provided by various political systems. In most democracies, executive speeches, media coverage, public opinion and parliamentary question are where issues first appear on the executive's agenda.

In non-democratic states, leaders use various methods to choose the topics to address giving their own perspective. Even though there are few problems failing to pass over to the decision agenda, it is probable that the agenda of the government is based mainly on the leader's speeches. The guiding mechanism of leaders differs, whether the regime is a democracy or not. Therefore, but in order to study the divergences it is essential to get accurate data and compare it if comparable data did not exist.

0.2. Research question

A general question about the Libyan anniversary speech is how is how do the anniversary speeches distribute attention across the range of policy issues? Which's often used by the selective governments to specify their executive agenda for the coming twelve months or more.

0.3. **The Theory** (How external and domestic factors impact the leader's policy agenda in non-democracies).

The theory of this study focuses on explaining the variation on the political agenda in the non-democratic countries. In non-democracies, the leader's policy agenda cannot be directly influenced by citizens and does not need to be approved by a wide range of veto players or

during their campaigns, but shapes the public perception of issues by selecting which are the most important via coverage. That is, the media may set the “agenda” of the campaign. (Dunaway et al 2010:p 67). In non-democratic countries the government's agenda matters since these regimes are less affected by parties' competitions, media and public opinion. It is also important due to external pressures and increase demands from international institutions to address particular issues on the agenda of these countries.

At the present, very little has been researched regarding the development of the policy agenda of non-democratic countries. Generally, comparative agenda politics focus more focused on what happen in democracies. As can be expected, all political systems differ in terms of policy agenda. It appears that only one study conducted a systematic analysis which took into account the dynamics of policy attention in the non-democratic regime of Hong Kong. The study in question investigated the government attention based on stability and changes. The absence of political parties and institutional friction increases the prospective impact on the institutional resistance able to weaken the dynamics of change and the policy makers' influence on the long-run basis. These dynamics of changes depend on provisional factors such as events and condition stressing on substantial needs (Borghetto,2013:pp 127-129).

Indeed, political leaders react in different ways to issues they face, regardless of the nature of the regimes (democracies or not). In both circumstances, leaders have to select issues. The response to various issues might be emphasised in the incentives guiding leader's choices in two distinct phases, first, the problem attention and second, the access to the governmental agenda. In democracies policies are made through a series of phases, with as a starting point an issue highlighted

Abstract:

The leader's power is significantly augmented by the ability to influence the political agenda. However, we know little about the factors leading leaders on the third world to pursue particular issues over others. In this analysis we examine the influences on the leader's emphasis of the most important three issues on the agenda. Using a poisson regression analysis of speeches over the period 1970-2010, we find that a number of different external and domestic factors affect leader's emphasis on these important issues on the political agenda. We also establish subsequent research to compare the two periods, pre-2010 and post-2010, in the Libyan political system, and this is what will make this amount of accurate and solid information a cornerstone for future research in the field of the Libyan agenda and public policy development.

0.1. Introduction:

The pertinent question to ask regarding this policy agenda study might be expressed as follows: how is a government's policy agenda developed overtime, especially in non-democratic countries? Many issues are addressed by governments in their agenda, and it can be said that these issues compete for a space in political agendas (True et al, 2007:p23).

Additionally, topics within specific agendas vary from national to international levels and the process which consists of whether or not to include certain issues on a political agenda is affected by a range of factors. Executives in all types of regimes, either democratic or non-democratic react differently to the demand expressed by opposition parties, media, public opinion, or international organizations. McCombs and Shaw (1972) show how can the media play a significant role of shaping political reality for public consumption. The media influence the public in two ways: a) by giving them the opportunity to learn about the issues and b) by implying how much importance to attach to these issues, given the huge amount of information available, by choosing what to cover. The media reflects what candidates say

**“Empirical examinations of most important issues
on the leader's speech dataset”
study case of Libya**

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الفحوصات التجريبية لأهم القضايا السياسية على أجندة القائد السياسي

دراسة حالة ليبيا

الملخص:

إن قوة القائد تتعزز بشكل كبير من خلال القدرة على التأثير على الأجندة السياسية. ومع ذلك فإننا لا نعرف سوى القليل عن العوامل التي تدفع قادة العالم الثالث إلى متابعة قضايا معينة على حساب قضايا أخرى. في هذا التحليل، نقوم بدراسة التأثيرات على تركيز القائد على أهم ثلاث قضايا على جدول الأعمال. باستخدام تحليل انحدار بواسون للخطابات خلال الفترة 1970-2010، نجد أن عددًا من العوامل الخارجية والمحلية المختلفة تؤثر على تركيز القائد على هذه القضايا المهمة في الأجندة السياسية. كما نؤسس لبحت لاحق للمقارنة بين الفترتين، ما قبل 2010 وما بعد 2010 في النظام السياسي الليبي، وهذا ما سيجعل هذه الكمية من المعلومات الدقيقة والصلبة بمثابة حجر أساس لبحوث قادمة في مجال الأجندة الليبية ووضع السياسات العامة.