

Digital and Printed Media: and its Effects for Conflict Resolution and Societal Peace in Côte d'Ivoire, Between 2002 and 2011.

vorgelegt von

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an der Fakultät I - Geistes- und Bildungswissenschaften

der Technischen Universität Berlin

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Philosophie

- - Dr. phil. -

genehmigte Dissertation

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Tag der wissenschaftlichen Aussprache: 31.08.2021.

Berlin 2021

DECLARATION FROM THE CANDIDATE

The mistakes and the opinions I have expressed in this study are my own, however I have greatly benefited from others.

DEDICATION

In lovely Memory of my parents: Mbima Abraham and Mamtchidita Marie Boukar.

And Tribute to all victims of the Ivorian conflicts of 2002 and 2011.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The researcher expresses the deepest gratitude to his supervisor Prof. Dr. Hans-Liudger Dienel, Berlin University Technology Work, Technology and Participation; co-supervisor Professor Dr. Hans-Joachim Giessmann, Director Emeritus, a consultant at Berghof Foundation Operations gGmbH. Their academic input and guidance were invaluable for this study; their sharing of knowledge inspirational; and their support and encouragement motivational for the researcher.

I wish to thank my anonymous Ivorian interlocutors for their patient and detailed explanations and to media houses who agreed to participate in this research and shared their views and experiences.

I am also indebted to the following persons and institutions for their relevant multifaceted contributions to my life and works as well as beyond this academic undertaking:

Mrs. Werner Susanne, and Konrad Itondo from Brot für die Welt; Isabelle Stein and Moes Johannes from TU-DOC; Mathias Walther, Baptisten Gemeinde Steglitz and Karen Siebert from ESG; TU-Berlin; Prof. Timothée Bouba. Mbima, Prof. Dr. Celestin Tagou, Prof. Emmanuel Anyambod A. from UPAC/ Yaounde-Cameroon, Cameroon embassy in Berlin, Ivory Coast embassy in Berlin.

Special thanks to Prof. Mireille Lalancette, UQTR, Prof. Dr. Barbara Pfetsch, FU-Berlin; Prof. Guilia Piccolino, Loughborough University, Dr. Veronique Dudouet and Claus-Dieter Wild, Berghof Foundation; NARUD e.V Office, Aziz Lamere, Renée Eloundou, Dr. Pascal Kadja, Prof. Raymond Kra, Prof. Julien M. Adhepeau, Prof. Julien Atchoua N., Dr. Celestin Gnonzion, Dr. Bamba Sidiki, Dr. Alain Diasse, UFRICA, to Library Staffs of ISTC-and CERAP.

Acknowledgment is expressed to Guy Marc P. Karamoko, Wilfried Esso, Dr. Edouard Dagry for organizing visits and arranging interviews with local journalists, peace workers, political leaders, and lecturers.

Sincere Thanks to Pasteur Jules Blibo, Pasteur Matthieu Guei, Bialy Clementine, Geneviève Guei, Sehi Sidonie, Ruben Ipothe, Gerard Kouya from UEESO-COCODY-CITE DES ARTS.

Special acknowledgment to Sonja Hoßbach, Anémone Loko Bille Marthe, Samy Mantel, Simon Swind, Samuel Rädisch and Dr. Marcel Nginshuti.

Words of gratitude are also expressed to Jasmin and Stefan Sauer, their children, and parents for their countless supports; to Family Katja and Christian Rädisch, Gisela and Armin Hoffman, Eldegard and Edgar Lülau, Christiane and Hans-Dienel, Brigitte and Johan for their material and support.

Finally, heartfelt thanks to my lovely brothers Samuel Ouldataba Mbima, Timothée Bouba Mbima; to my sisters-in-Law Jacqueline Djoda, Saratou Mama; to my nephews Baltazar Finabila, Moise Gakola, Aser-Amiel Bitu, Sara Bisabi, Michael Godwill and Princesse Anaëlle, and to my cousins Reverend Pastor Jean-Claude Aguilko, Reverend Pastor Haoussa Alain, Serge Emmanuel Bivagai

To all, I say thank you.

Digital and printed media: and its effects for conflict resolution and societal peace in Côte d'Ivoire, between 2002 and 2011.

By Ruben Bachelard Birou Mbima

A thesis submitted in compliance with the requirements to obtain degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

Faculty I - Humanity and Education Sciences of the Technical University of Berlin, 2021.

ABSTRACT

The role played by the media in conflicts has always been a challenge worldwide. It has always drawn the attention of international organizations, NGOs, experts in peace, conflicts, and promoters of peace media reporting, peace journalism, etc. The impact of media has increased considerably, and researchers have largely confined themselves to exposing the degree and extent of media involvement and influence in conflicts and conflicts resolution. Numerous criticisms have been addressed all over the world on the role played by media in conflicts. The literature on conflicts resolution discloses a dreadful focus on the role of media in the peace process. Most of the existing theories portrays the role of the media as being essential in reporting and generating discourses on conflict. Scholars of the post-election incident quickly conclude that the crisis was greatly rooted in political and ethnic crises. The role of the media in the conflict, as well as its capacity to maintain order, is not satisfactorily tackled. Ivorian media like in Rwanda have been scrutinized at the level of international law as a perpetrator of political violence. However, if media can be a fearful weapon of brutality when it propagates messages of intolerance or misinformation that manipulates behavior, it can also be an instrument of conflicts resolution, when the information it publishes is faithful, unflinching, respects human rights, and represents varying opinions. The main purpose of the study was to analyze the role of media in conflict resolution in Ivory Coast. It has evaluated the role of media in the political subversions of 2002 and 2011 and by these case studies it briefly examined the role of current media practices in West African societies after the turn of the Millennium. The two Ivorian subversions formed an ideal comparative case to identifying recent changes in the role of media for conflict resolution. The study has established the responsibility of the media through the various type of its coverage within the subversions Ivory Coast crises of 2002 and 2011. And it has mostly focused on the specific positive effects of Ivorian media approach in conflicts resolution and has explored both the influence of traditional and social media. This study applies the social responsibility theory of media reporting to explain and develop the

conceptual framework. The 2002 and 2011 crises serve as a typical case study of the process from crises to conflict resolution. Therefore, they provide additional elements in order to understand the biggest challenges of media freedom inside of shattered democracies, in which politics, poverty, and ethnic differences can sway the media agenda. Following a participatory research approach, the interviews, observations, and literature review provided a comprehensive range of opinions to interpret such data and the overall social discussion. And according to the findings of the study, there is a broad feeling from interviewees that Ivorian media has failed to condemn violence, xenophobic rhetoric during the 2011 post-election conflict and 2002 civil war. They published a lot of unverified sources of information. Still, the findings did not reveal only negative connotations from media. Positive impacts were also highlighted, stated during the period of conflicts. The findings of the study showed that there were positive aspects from Ivorian media such as fair coverage of political campaigns, preaching tolerance, giving voice to the voiceless, etc. They were blameless and remained neutral. The quality of their articles reflected the reality on the field. The effects of media on these specific political subversions were viewed both in terms of negative repercussions and positive impacts that a reliable, on contributing to conflict resolution by counteracting misperceptions and broadening understanding of grievances and causes of conflict.

Les médias numériques et imprimés : et leurs effets pour la résolution des conflits et pour la paix sociale en Côte d'Ivoire, entre 2002 et 2011.

Par Ruben Bachelard Birou Mbima

Une thèse présentée conformément aux exigences du diplôme de Doctorat.

Faculté I - Sciences Humaines et Sociales

Université Technique de Berlin, 2021.

RÉSUMÉ

Le rôle joué par les médias dans les conflits a toujours été un défi mondial. Il a toujours attiré l'attention des organisations internationales, des ONG, des experts en matière de paix et de conflits, des promoteurs du journalisme de paix, etc. Et les chercheurs se sont largement attelés à exposer le degré de leur participation et de leur influence. De nombreuses critiques ont été formulées sur le rôle joué par les médias dans les conflits. La littérature sur la résolution des conflits révèle une attention considérable sur le rôle des médias dans le processus de paix. La théorie existante présente les médias comme générateur des discours pour exacerber les tensions, pour amplifier les conflits. Les spécialistes de l'incident post-électoral concluent rapidement que les médias étaient fortement impliqués dans les crises politiques et ethniques. Le rôle des médias dans les conflits, ainsi que leur capacité à maintenir l'ordre, ne sont pas abordés de manière satisfaisante. Les médias ivoiriens, au même titre que ceux du Rwanda, ont été scrutés au niveau du droit international en tant qu'auteurs de violences politiques. Cependant, si les médias peuvent être une arme redoutable de brutalité lorsqu'ils propagent des messages d'intolérance ou de désinformation, ils peuvent aussi être un instrument de résolution des conflits, lorsque l'information qu'ils publient est fidèle, infaillible, respecte les droits humains et représente des opinions diverses.

L'objectif principal de l'étude était d'analyser le rôle des médias locaux dans les deux subversions politiques de 2002 et 2011. Et par ces études de cas, elle a brièvement examiné le rôle des pratiques médiatiques actuelles en Afrique de l'Ouest après le millénaire. Les deux cas (subversions politiques ivoiriennes) ont constitué un cas comparatif idéal pour identifier les changements récents dans le rôle des médias pour la résolution des conflits. L'étude a établi la responsabilité des médias à travers les différents types de couverture dans les différentes crises ivoiriennes de 2002 et 2011. Elle a exploré l'influence des médias traditionnels et sociaux. Et elle s'est surtout concentrée sur les effets positifs issus des différents reportages des médias qui

ont influencé la résolution des conflits. Cette étude applique la théorie de la responsabilité sociale du reportage médiatique afin d'expliquer et de développer le cadre conceptuel. C'est le genre de média qui préconise la responsabilité visant la résolution du conflit par le biais de ses différents articles, couvertures etc. Les crises de 2002 et 2011 sont un exemple typique du processus allant des crises à la résolution des conflits. Ils fournissent donc des éléments supplémentaires pour comprendre les plus grands défis de la liberté des médias dans les démocraties précoces, où la politique, la pauvreté et les différences ethniques peuvent influencer l'agenda des médias. Suivant une approche de recherche participative, les interviews, entretiens, les discussions, les observations, et les analyses approfondies des programmes ont permis d'obtenir un large éventail d'opinions pour interpréter les données. Selon les conclusions de l'étude, les personnes interrogées ont le sentiment général que les médias ivoiriens n'ont pas réussi à condamner la violence, la rhétorique xénophobe pendant le conflit post-électoral de 2011 et la guerre civile de 2002. Ils ont publié beaucoup de sources d'information non vérifiées. Cependant, les résultats de notre analyse n'ont pas seulement révélé des connotations négatives de la part des médias. Le rôle positif joué par les médias a également été noté pendant la période des conflits. Les résultats de l'étude ont montré qu'il y avait des aspects positifs de la part des médias ivoiriens tels que la couverture équitable des campagnes politiques, la prédication de la tolérance, le fait de donner la parole aux sans-voix, etc. Ils étaient irréprochables et sont restés neutres. La qualité de leurs articles reflétait la réalité sur le terrain. Les effets des médias sur ces deux principaux conflits sont considérés à la fois en termes de répercussions négatives et d'impacts positifs relatifs à la résolution des conflits, car ces médias ont contribué à contrer les perceptions erronées et à élargir la compréhension des griefs et des causes des conflits.

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IV. ABBREVIATIONS

AIDR : Alliance Ivoirienne pour la République et la Démocratie

AIP : Agence Ivoirienne de Presse

AJIRP : Association des Journalistes Ivoiriens pour le retour de la Paix

APO : Accord Politique de Ouagadougou

ATCI : Agence de Télécommunication de Cote d'Ivoire

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BBCWST: British Broadcasting Corporation World Service

BCEAO : Banque Centrale des États d'Afrique de l'Ouest, Central Bank of West African States

BIM : Bataillon d'Infanterie de Marine, French Military Base in Port-Bouët (Côte d'Ivoire)

CEI : Commission Électorale Indépendante

CNCA : Commission Nationale de la Communication Audiovisuelle

CNDHCI : Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme en Côte d'Ivoire

CNO : Centre National de la Presse

CNP : Conseil National de la Presse

CPC : Cadre Permanent de Concertation

CSCI : Convention de la Société Civile Ivoirienne

CSP : Conseil Supérieur de la Publicité

DST : Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire

ERIS: Electoral Reform International Services

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States (CEDEAO)

FANCI : Forces armées nationales de Côte d'Ivoire, National Armed Forces of Côte d'Ivoire

FCFA : Franc de la communauté financière Africaine

FDS : Forces de défense et de sécurité de Côte d'Ivoire

FENAPCI : Fédération Nationale des Agoras et Parlements de Côte d'Ivoire

FESCI : Fédération estudiantine et scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire, Student Union of Côte d'Ivoire

FPI : Front populaire ivoirien

FSDP : Fonds de Soutien et de Développement de la Presse

FSIL : Front Socialiste pour l'Indépendance et la Liberté

G7: Coalition of four opposition political parties: PDCI, RDR, MFA, UDPCI and the Forces Nouvelles, the rebellion in the North and the West on September 19, 2002, which splits the country.

HACA : Haute Autorité de la Communication Audiovisuelle

IWG/GTI: Groupe de travail international sur la Côte d'Ivoire, International Working Group on Côte d'Ivoire, the group was established in October 2005 by the African Union. Its mission was to monitor the peace process.

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda

IMF : International Monetary Fund

INS : Institut National de Statistiques, National Institute of Statistics

LMP : La Majorité Présidentielle

MACA : Maison d'Arrêt et de Correction d'Abidjan

MFA: Mouvement des forces de l'avenir, Movement of the forces for the future

MFAF: Media Focus on Africa Foundation

MFWA: Media Foundation for West Africa

MJP : Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix, Movement for Justice and Peace

MPCI : Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire, Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire

MPIGO : Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest, People Movement of the Great West

MOE : Mission d'Observation Électorale

OLPED : Observatoire de la liberté de la presse, l'éthique et la déontologie, self-regulatory Organization, which deals with the freedom of press and ethical practices.

PAD : Prêt à Diffuser

PDCI-RDA : Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire – Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, party created by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, now led by Henry Konan Bédié.

PIDA : Parti Ivoirien des Doits Authentiques

PIT : Parti Ivoirien des Travailleurs

RDR : Rassemblement des républicains, Rally of Republican, opposition party led by Alassane Dramane Ouattara

RCI : Radio Cote d'Ivoire

RFI : Radio France Internationale

RHDP : Rassemblement des Houphouétistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix : Rassemblement des houphouétistes pour la démocratie et la paix, electoral alliance of the opposition which includes the PDCI, le RDR, l'UDPCI et le MFA

RP : Rassemblement pour la Paix

RTI : Radio-Télévision Ivoirienne

RFI : Radio France Internationale

RSF : Radio Sans Frontières

RTL : Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

RWB: Reporters without Borders, French NGO that promotes freedom of speech around the World.

SMS: Shorts Messages Services

SRTV: Savane Radio Television

UA : Union Africaine, African Union

UDCY : Union Démocratique et Citoyenne de Cote d'Ivoire

UDPCI: Union pour la Démocratie et la Paix en Côte d'Ivoire is an opposition party created by General Robert Guéï, is the former President who reached the power through putsch on December 24, 1999.

UE : Union Européenne

UN : United Nations

UNJCI : Union Nationale des Journalistes de Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire National Journalists Association

ONUCI : Opération des Nations unies en Côte d'Ivoire, United Nations mission in Côte d'Ivoire

UPCI : Union pour la Côte d'Ivoire

USP: Union Socialiste du Peuple

WAMU: West African Monetary

1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

As we were finishing our thesis, the International Criminal Court (ICC) confirmed on 31st March 2021 the acquittal of former President Laurent Gbagbo and one of his former Minister of Youth Charles Blé Goudé, found not guilty of crimes against humanity, paying the way for his return to Cote d'Ivoire after 10 years of absence. The dropping of all charges against them was partly made possible thanks to pressure exerted by the Ivorian and International media which exposed the inadequacies of the allegations.

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the contextual background to the research. It underlines the context of conflict and conflict resolution in Ivory Coast, the significance of the study, the research questions, the methodological approaches, the definition of various concepts that are used in the study, and the structure are provided in chapter one as well.

By giving voice and visibility to all people - including and especially the poor, the marginalized and members of minorities – the media can help remedy the inequalities, the corruption, the ethnic tensions, and the human rights abuses that form the root causes of so many conflicts (United Nations Secretary – General Kofi Annan).

African continent is confronted with innumerable pushes and pulls from internal and external sources which are driving political, economic, social cohesion, and security issues. The crises follow one another, and they are all similar with a few exceptions.

According to Ble (2009), disputes over country organisation, democratic and institutions performance, insecurity, corruption, to name a few are all contributing to the conflict landscape. It has been observed that African crises are becoming more out of control, and these crises have seriously damaged the development progress. Very often, such situations constitute a serious menace to humanity and disable human development objectives. Such treats deal with destruction of life, hunger, and poverty. Therefore, it seems unimaginable to see the media remain neutral in the face of the stakes of the question of peace.

This issue is the basic principle of a relatively new communication theory: peace media. Just as others have used journalism for the development of Third World Nations, some NGOs are now using the concept of good journalism, peace reporting to trying to mitigate hatreds in countries that are or have been the scene of violence and conflict.

Generally, African media has provided important information on elections and called for calm during political crises. It is the case of the Hironnelle Foundation (Geneva peace Initiatives) which established peace media in crisis areas including radio Okapi (DRC), Star (Liberia). For example, Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a US based NGO managing conflict resolution, propelled studio Ijambo in 1995 to reduce, fight against ethnic and political violence in Burundi and neighboring Rwanda. The studio was established with the intention for promoting social cohesion, reconciliation, understanding and foster nonviolent conflict resolution (SFCG, 2004): Since its inception, Studio Ijambo has had a significant positive impact in mitigating conflict by catching and holding the attention of most of the radio-listening population. It employed an ethnically balanced team of journalists to produce high quality radio programs that promoted reconciliation, dialogue, and collaboration, in addition to its credible, unbiased programming which included news, special features, round-table discussions, telephone call-ins, music, and highly popular soap-opera series. In addition to providing quality standards for broadcaster and producers, Studio Ijambo also played a central role in capacity building of radio professionals through training (SFCG, 2004). But African continent still needs more media influence than ever before because its survival is also influenced by the existence of the media, especially by its positive influence in order to prevent, to truly enrage all the roots of the contemporary conflicts.

For more than forty years, as Adolf Tiao relates, West Africa has been undergoing a process of rapid transformation that has dragged in its wake an impressive demographic growth. These changes are also trans-demographic: socio-economic, political, and cultural. And if the media do not have an economic, deontological, and ethical foundations, they can very quickly shift to a relationship of dubious clientelism with the parties involved, based on instrumentalization, enslavement, and consequently serve the worst causes. On this point, examples are unfortunately legion in the ECOWAS region where the media have contributed to triggering and animating conflicts. The eloquent example that can be retained in this regard is the tendentious diversity of the titles of the Ivorian press, which had three components. These were the "blue newspapers" (the preferred color of the pro-Gbagbo), the "G7 newspapers" (the grouping of opposition parties, which represent Ouattara) and the "independent media". As a result, with a few exceptions, these media outlets have made their warring tendencies clear in these subversions, which have its origins in fundamental issues such as the Ivoirité, nonindigenous etc.

They have at some point amplified the tensions that were already emerging between the indigenous populations and those of foreign origin (migrants).

However, if the media are vectors that can generate or fan the flames of war, they can also be factors of peace. Can or should the communicators, journalists put their experiences at the service of a lasting peace? Should they consciously direct their productions to work towards peaceful cohabitation? Some media experts, practitioners, peace workers claim it loud and clear, and initiatives along these lines have abounded in various parts of the world, in response to equally diverse situations. Others brandish the principles of objectivity and neutrality as a banner to reject the idea altogether. The debates between proponents and detractors of peace communication - or proactive communication - are often heated, sometimes constructive. It is this ability of peace communication theory to generate controversy among media professionals that led us to choose the following topic: “Digital and printed media: and its effects for conflict resolution and societal peace in Côte d’Ivoire, between 2002 and 2011”.

The present work aspires to go beyond the debate on the role that communicators should play in conflict resolution, conflict prevention, and to examine the concrete operationality of peace media reporting.

Reflecting on peace media reporting in Côte d'Ivoire is to consider an analysis of the situation of war and peace throughout Africa. This innovative theme is important to see how the media can act at their level for a sustainable peace, as they have sometimes acted for the war. The case of Côte d'Ivoire, which was a test case, appeared according to us as an avant-garde example to ward of new conflicts in Africa, which can be occurred on the same basis. Indeed, this research topic allowed us to identify the whole problem of the media of peace, and to open tracks so that programs of support to the media of peace can contribute to annihilate the tendentious media and, thus allow the society to face its past and to build a common future in peace.

The specific goal of the study was to analyse the influence of media on conflict resolution in Côte d’Ivoire during the political subversions of 2002 and 2011 and to suggest the feasibility of good journalism, peace media reporting, which could be useful for the whole African society. The choice of this country is illustrative of the situation in several West African countries. Côte d'Ivoire is a better example for analyzing the issue of conflict and peace insofar as this country is located at the crossroads between French and English-speaking states. Moreover, the fundamental issues such as the constitution, the land code, and the notions of nonindigenous

and autochthonous that were among the origin of the Ivorian conflicts are practically the same as in other West African countries.

1.2 Context of the Study

Côte d'Ivoire experienced a military revolt on September 19, 2002, leading to an attempted coup against President Laurent Gbagbo. While this was happening, rebel groups attacked and gradually took over the northern half of the country's territory. What initially seemed like a mere uprising, soon deteriorated into civil war and a de-facto division of the country, with the south left by the government and the rebel-led North-Centre and West. This means the South was under the government's rule and the North under rebel's rule. Côte d'Ivoire, viewed as the heaven of peace in West Africa, was suddenly in unrest, drawing the attention of security mechanisms in the region. Reactions to the Ivorian crisis were divided between those who were shocked by it, and those who viewed it as an unavoidable culmination of the differences and tensions arising over the time, only deepened by the military coup d'état of December 1999. This 'fall from grace' one of West Africa's most prosperous and stable countries, descending into civil war led to the need for a keen examination of the root causes of the political breakdown in Côte d'Ivoire (Akindès, 2004).

Tensions between indigenous people, immigrants, religious groups, and inter-ethnic conflicts as well have been blamed for the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire (Chirot 2006, p. 63-67). Other explanations to the political breakdown in Côte d'Ivoire have pointed to external influences such as neighboring states supporting the rebels, and possible interference by its former colonizer, France. Before the rebellion issues, Côte d'Ivoire experienced worsening of economic situations, leading to poverty and development of large gaps in resource distribution in the country, leading to what would later be termed as the world's economic collapse since 1978 (Akindès,2003). The resulting struggle for increasingly scarce resources deepened the political tensions in Côte d'Ivoire amid intense political succession following the death of the country's patriarch, Felix Houphouët-Boigny in 1993 (Akindès,2004).

Côte d'Ivoire, unlike her neighbors, was for many Africa's success story thanks to its political stability and economic progress. Two decades after independence (1960), the country recorded incredible economic growth leading to a remarkable level of prosperity and social welfare compared to the neighboring countries. Exportation of primary commodities led by cocoa and coffee led to the economy growth. Félix Houphouët-Boigny' (first President of Côte d'Ivoire) immigration policy provided Côte d'Ivoire with the much-needed labor force for its plantation

economy. Approximately thirty percent of Côte d'Ivoire population is thought to be first, second or third generation immigrants. Majority of immigrants came from Burkina Faso, and a minority other from Guinea, Mali, Niger, Benin, Mauritania, Ghana, etc. The president's land policy states that 'the land belonged to the one who worked it' came with some citizenship rights to immigrants, attracting migrant labor to the coconut, cocoa, oil, coffee, and fruit plantations in the country southern and central parts, spurring the country's economic prosperity (Akindès, 2004).

When the economic recession struck in the early 1990s as a result of slumps in the cocoa and coffee markets, leading to stagnated economic growth and increased foreign debt, relations between the indigenous people and immigrants began to deteriorate. The foreigners increasingly become the target of attacks and xenophobic rhetoric and including during the 2000 elections (Akindès, 2004).

Furthermore, Félix Houphouët-Boigny's successor, Mr. Henri Kona Bédié, showed nationalistic favors in the public media, and never denounced or blame the attacks against foreigners and the political opposition, further fanning the flames of ethnic discord in 1995 by introducing the "Ivoirité", or "Ivorian-ness" concept. It was based on this concept the Bédié main political rival, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, was denied Ivorian citizenship, because one of his parents came from Burkina Faso (Akindès, 2004).

For example, a journalist from national television (RTI) is quoted to have stated that "expelling Burkinabe's from Ivory Coast represented the "key to victory". And he added "We (Ivorian) must simply send back just 500 000 Burkinabe's" (HRW, 20 December 2000).

The legitimacy of the presidential elections in 2000 (after the military coup on December 25, 1999), in which Laurent Gbagbo, the leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), was elected as President also paved the way to the conflict. Indeed, the electoral commission has rejected many opposition candidates, including Alassane Dramane Ouattara. This situation has created frustrations and has increased tensions in the country, even in the region (HRW, 2000).

The civil war which started on September 19, 2002, has split the country in two; the government-led south and the rebel-led North-Centre and West, with UN peacekeepers in the middle. Despite most of the fighting ending by the late of 2004, the split has persisted, with the reconciliation process somehow paving the way to the 2010 presidential election, which has ended by violent post-elections conflict in 2011 (UNOCI, 2011).

Ivorian elections finally took place in October 31 and November 28, 2010 (after six times delay) with Alassane Dramane Ouattara winning the election in second round with 54% of vote.

However, Laurent Gbagbo entirely rejected the election results and claimed the victory with the back-up of FPI sympathizers (UNOCI, 2011).

Thus, a second Ivorian civil war broke out following the escalation of the post-election conflict into a full-blown military conflict between forces loyal to Laurent Gbagbo, the President of Ivory Coast, and supporters of Alassane Dramane Ouattara the winner of the election. Then finally, on April 11, 2011, Ouattara led forces assisted by French forces stormed Gbagbo residence and arrested him. Bringing the civil war to an end (UNOCI, 2011).

Conflicts don't just suddenly take place; they are the result of a series of events, difficult situations whose development are often patterned early on, reported, and analyzed to varying depths and accuracy by the media. A lot has been said and written on the effect of media in the escalation and polarization of conflicts and on its resolution (Kuusik, 2010).

According to UNESCO (1978), provision of the right information could be the antidote for conflict resolution. Misleading or missing information fuels disparity in opinions and social differences which in turn amplify conflicts. Thus, "greater access to information and improved communication among different sectors of the population are vital for building a culture of peace, and tolerance in Africa".

It was important to investigate how the media acted for conflict resolution. In-depth study of the case of Ivory Coast has provided a clearer insight into the functioning of the digital and printed media during various stages of crises. This includes, escalation and resolution, and thus enables development of mechanisms for media reaction and aversion of new conflicts in West Africa. In fact, this research topic is relevant because it enabled us to define and to understand the mechanisms of conflict resolution and societal peace through peace media reporting. Thus, the importance of this study was highly underlined.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Theoretically, empirically, and politically, this research matters for a number of reasons:

One, unlike many other studies on political crises, this study interrelates and involves two different disciplines, which are Peace and Media. Pilling the ideas of scholars from both disciplines together, this research attempts to determine if there is a correlation between media type and the level of political subversions. It then discusses why this is the case. Also, while

there is a great deal of research asserting that the media is somehow implicated in civil violence, too often these assertions are not supported by meticulous and comprehensive investigations. To take the field forward, we need to better understand the causal mechanisms and the relationship between domestic factors, media institutions, and civil violence.

Second, an academic understanding of the roles and influences of different media platforms will help researchers to understand the power of media, and it can serve as a starting point for other studies on lessons learned from the role of the media in previous conflicts.

Third, the nature of political crises in Côte d'Ivoire is repetitive. The findings of this study may therefore be beneficial to policy and decision-makers in addressing the root causes of conflict. It would help policymakers to develop long-term policies that may significantly reduce and/or eliminate political conflicts, brutal realities.

Finally, understanding the past can help in the future, the media can actively participate in conflict resolution through structured civic education that helps people to understand and avoid issues that lead to conflict.

This theoretical contribution focused on the influence of media on conflict resolution. The study has analysed and evaluated the role played by the Ivorian media in the civil war of 2002 and the post-election conflict of 2011. It has highlighted the capacity and responsibility of media as a fundamental player in the decreasing conflicts, their peaceful resolution. And it gave the answers to the different research questions.

1.4 Research Question

There are several communities in Côte d'Ivoire that have experienced conflicts in the last two decades or more. Some of these conflicts easily attract national attention (Akindès, 2004). And the efforts of the media which are considered powerful tools for altering the course of a country's development and even for mitigating and resolving conflicts have partly failed in the context of the Ivorian media, especially political media. Most of the conflicts the country has experienced, mainly at the ethnic level, have not felt the impact of the media in resolving the conflict. The chairman of OLPED, Moussa (2012) has published a book entitled: " Media and the Political Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire." The book followed the violent post-election conflict of 2011 and the civil war of 2002. The revelations from the book confirm the findings of this study. In general, the media associated with the political parties did not show real interest in resolving the conflicts.

The media has been condemned for its biased coverage in the Ivory Coast conflict (Linas Marcoussis, 2005). With the emergence of biased media, journalists lost control over the information they convey to the public and debates in public space. Such biases in the media led to a reconfiguration of media space, with resultant changes in the flow of information. According to Linas Marcoussis's report (2005), the media's use of misinformation strongly fueled the conflicts.

Besides what the Ivorian media portrayed as inter-ethnic and pro-indigenous in nature of the conflicts, other grounds have found expression in political and armed rebellion, including the sensitive questions of land rights, Ivoirité, unequal distribution of political power, economic resources, and endemic corruption. The breakdown in law and order that followed had a sustained negative impact on the operation of local media and media practitioners (Akindès, 2004).

Although the Ivorian media participated in an intensifying civil war in 2002 and post-conflict election in 2011, they have also a positive contribution by promoting social cohesion and conflict resolution. There was a dialogue of peace initiated by the local media before the war on the ground began. The biased media of 2002 gave the opposition a voice, played a fundamental role in conflict resolution, paving the way for the democratic and fair election of 2010 (Interviews, 2016, 2017).

This background shows that media can be a powerful and fearful weapon of brutality when it propagates messages of intolerance or misinformation that manipulate attitudes. The effects of media on conflict can be viewed in two ways, one, in terms of the negative repercussions, and two, in terms of the positive impact as it contributes to conflict resolution, by countering misperceptions and expanding understanding of grievances and causes of conflict (Allen, T. & Seaton, J., 1999).

To reach the specific goals of this study, one should come up with specific answers to the following questions:

- How did the Ivorian media shape conflict resolution and societal peace in the country between the civil war of 2002 and the post-election conflict of 2011?
- Although most media in Cote d'Ivoire was and is politically dependent: Was the positive influence on conflict resolution and societal peace during these political subversions?
- How did the idea of the freedom of the Media develop in this decade?

- How did the relative growth of digital (social) media change these effects?

1.5 Methodology

The purpose of study is developing and testing theories and discovering general principles. Study helps to understand social problems and foresees/predicts alternative solutions as well. Following a participatory research approach, the interviews, focus group discussions, tweet examinations, literature reviews, and personal observations during field research provided a comprehensive range of opinions to interpret such data and the overall social discussion.

The use of participatory methods research is considered as the most appropriate overall methodology to explore this topic. It involves a cycle of preparation, from action to reflection.

The selection of these approaches was based on the complexity of the topic. It is a kind of research followed by action, change, and new research, as part of the research process, by the participants. Action research is investigated, changed, and re-investigated by participants as part of the research process. The suitability of the method for the topic being studied is even more helpful, useful in participatory research than in other qualitative research approaches (Flick, 2009).

With participatory research methods, Reason & Bradbury (2008) discuss how they bring things together from two perspectives - science and practice. In the best-case scenario, both parties benefit from the research process (Reason & Bradbury, 2008a, p.1). An important strength of the participatory research process is that it "allows co-researchers to step back cognitively from familiar routines, forms of interaction, and power relations. to fundamentally challenge and rethink established interpretations of situations and strategies. situations and strategies" (Bergold & Thomas, 2012¹).

The participatory methodology is organized around three sets of relationships: relationships between individuals within communities and groups; relationships between these groups and communities; and relationships between individuals and their physical environment (Israel, 2012). This approach is designed to recognize all groups as a unit of identity; encourage equal participation of all participants; build on their knowledge and partnerships for the mutual benefit of all participants; and involve a cyclical and iterative process that empowers and disseminates knowledge to all partners ((Israel, 2012).

¹ Bergold, J. & Thomas, Stefan. (2012). Participatory research methods: A Methodological Approach in Motion

Participatory research approaches also raise ethical issues regarding the "safety" and "privacy" of participants (from sharing their experiences and knowledge with others); power relations between participating groups (e.g., one group dominating the other socially or economically); the visibility of invisible members of the field (as in the case of members of marginalized communities who may be more vulnerable than others); and the potential for results to be made public. Both researchers and research funders cannot exercise sufficient control over how results are reported (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

1.6 Definition of Operating Concepts

Crises are moments of upheaval affecting previously coherent systems. These moments are diagnosed today at all levels of modern life, both individual and societal. For these authors, "crises" appear to generate disorder, deterioration of social relationships (reduced solidarity, weak ties, incivility), and interindividual relations (instability, aggressiveness) (Barus-Michel, Dorna, 2009).

The clarification of the following concepts seems useful for the potential readers of this study:

Journalism: The term journalism refers to the practice of collecting, recording, verifying, and communicating information of public importance. Journalism is considered as the first draft of history. While these general tasks are historically constant, the specifics of the journalistic process have evolved as the ways in which information is collected, disseminated, and consumed have changed (Tomalin, 1969). Technically, journalists must always keep an objective mindset as they interview sources, research events, and write and report their stories. Their reporting should not aim to persuade their readers, but rather to inform them. This is not to say that you will never find an opinion in a newspaper, but that journalists must be extremely careful to limit subjectivity to articles such as editorials, columns, and other opinionated content (Raymond Kra).

Media: The term media was explained by Canadian sociologist Marshall McLuhan who used it as an extension of our senses. It can be for example a pencil, a shirt, a guitar, etc. Currently, this term is understood as all the techniques related to the dissemination of information through the press, radio, television, cinema, and out-of-home advertising.

Mass Media: By "mass media", we believe, like Bertrand and Emmanuel Dericieux, that these are technical tools used to transmit messages between professional communicators and a wide audience. Mass media consisted mainly of books, magazines, newspapers, posters, cinema,

radio, and television in terrestrial, cable, and satellite forms. Today, their extension is being deployed with the Internet. Society is tempted to attribute the causes to previous permissiveness and laxity and to react by tightening controls and sanctions, taking the risk of widening the gaps within the population and about foreign countries.

Bias Towards Official Sources: Information is inherently changed-oriented, but its comprehension of the implementation of change is often unidimensional. As a result, information is often realistically based and unintentionally disregards the results of peace and conflict studies, which suggest that conflict can evolve in many ways, contradicting the one-way nature of the information. It is quite common to read the views of official sources such as the military, government officials, and even international organizations during conflicts. Due to the search for objectivity in news, however, we often read so little about other peace actors compared to official sources. For some “conventional reporters” this often a comfortable approach because getting information from official sources is always less challenging than investing the time and extra work to get information from the other actors involved in the conflict (Entman).

Bias in Support of Events Rather than Process: When it comes to school social issues, most journalists have ignored the basic reporting requirements of providing the public with what, when, where, why, and how. A common justification given by journalists is that this may make their reporting too long and boring. In contrast, McGoldrick argues that violence is often left by default as the only meaningful response during conflicts because journalists do not take the time to explore the underlying causes of that violence. Providing the public with the underlying causes of violence is therefore essential because understanding the underlying issues is key to dealing effectively with conflict. According to Lynch and McGoldrick, journalists prefer to report on events rather than processes because of their economic dimension (Gentzkow & Shapiro).

Bias in Favour of Dualism: Knowing both sides of the story are often seen as the most objective and implies that the reporter must ensure that the conflicting parties have an equal opportunity to present their case. While this might seem conventional and laudable, it has its disadvantages, including in terms of peacebuilding and sustaining a positive peace. The principle of dualism, although one of the main elements of objectivity, is to present the conflict as a bitter struggle in which the sole objective of each side is victory over the other, thus creating a win-lose situation that is contrary to a feeling of lasting peace. I consider that the coherence of the messages disseminated by the media and aimed at a particular objective can indeed have

an enormous effect on public opinion. The reporter is constantly at a critical crossroads when the time comes to report an incident. They are either reporting on peace or violence. Either way, the report often has a real effect on society in one way or another. In this ground-breaking book *Objectivity in journalism*, published in 2013, Steve Maras argues that the very concept of journalistic objectivity is biased because, although it is linked to higher standards of professionalism, issues of morality and accountability are not always fully addressed or are evaded (Nord & Strömbäck).

Truth Versus Propaganda Oriented: Propaganda can be defined as the deliberate, intentional, and premeditated dissemination of material intended to serve the interests of the propagandist. For example, the United States of America contributed to the invasion of Iraq through propaganda as the second World War which was also based on propaganda. The reality, unfortunately, is that propaganda needs a canal for its transmission, and the media have separately presented themselves as a channel of goodwill (Shoemaker and Reese's).

Morton Deutsch assumed that conflict is potentially of individual and social value; his basic question was how prevent conflicts from being destructive. Johan Galtung characterised conflict as two or more individuals or groups pursuing mutually competing goals with opposing interests and needs, and emphasized the linkage between structural, behavioural, and attitudinal aspects of conflict.

Friedrich Glasl defined social conflict as an interaction involving at least two parties (individuals, groups, states) with at least one-party experiencing differences (distinctions, contradictions, incompatibilities, etc.) in perception, thinking, imagination, interpretations, feelings (sympathy-aversion, trust-mistrust) and desires (needs, objectives, purposes, goals) to the other party in such a way as to make them feel that potential for the realisation of their ideas is affected.

War: According to the illustrated *Petit Larousse* dictionary, war is a test of strength between States, between peoples, and between parties. This is an affected condition, experienced today by Cameroonians, Central African Republicans, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenyans, Ivorians, etc.

Civil War, a violent conflict between a state and one more organized non-state actor in the state's territory. Civil wars are thus distinguished from interstate (in which states fight other states), violent conflicts or riots not involving states (sometimes labeled intercommunal conflicts), and state repression against individuals who cannot be considered an organized or

cohesive group, including genocides, and similar violence by non-state actors, such as terrorism or violent crime (BRITANNICA).

Conflict management While conflict management focuses on how to control, handle, and mitigate an open conflict and how to limit the potential damage caused by its escalation. Like prevention, it can include military and non-military components. It is mainly understood as trying to contain a conflict or, at best, reach a compromise, without necessarily resolving it. This means looking for ways to deal with conflict constructively and aiming to engage opposing sides in a cooperative process that can establish worldwide system for managing their differences.

Conflict transformation is about transforming the very systems, structures and relationships which give rise to violence and injustice. It is best described as a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviors, interests, and discourses in violence prone conflict setting. Importantly, it also addresses underlying structures, cultures and institutions that encourage and conditions violent political and social conflict. The term is used in the work of several founding figures in peace and conflict studies such as Adam Curle, Johan Galtung, etc., but it has been elaborated most specifically in the works of John Paul Lederach and Diana Francis. It is a multi-dimensional, non-linear, and unpredictable process involving from latent and overt violence to structural and cultural peace as Veronique Dudouet (2012) has put it. It is particularly pertinent in situations of protracted and asymmetric conflict involving social justice issues. Especially in such settings, it is an approach that calls for long-term engagement and political skill (BFG, 2012).

Peace Journalism (Galtung or Lynch): Is journalism with peace as the main aim i.e., a normative model of responsible and conscientious media coverage of the conflict that aims at contributing to peace making, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace.

Digital Media is digitized content that can be transmitted over the internet or computer networks. This can include text, audio, video, and graphics. This means that news from a TV network, newspaper, magazine, etc. that is presented on a Web site or blog can fall into this category. Most digital media are based on translating analogue data into digital data. The internet began to grow when the text was put onto the internet instead of stored on papers as it was previously. Soon after the text was put onto computers images followed, then came audio

and video onto the internet. Digital media has become a long way in the few short years to become as we know it today and it continues to grow (Alyson Doyle).

Social Peace (Galtung) is a way of sustaining social life distant from internal conflict. It is one of the objectives of social politics, which offers peaceful solutions to the disputes and conflicts that may arise from disagreement and social tensions among national and international various sectors of society.

Radio is the wireless transmission of signals through free space by electromagnetic radiation of a frequency significantly below that of visible light, in the radio frequency range, from about 30 kHz. These waves are called radio waves. It is electromagnetic radiation travels using oscillating electromagnetic fields that pass-through air and the vacuum of space. Information, such as sound, is carried by systematically changing some property of the radiation waves, such as their amplitude, frequency, phase, or pulse width. When radio waves strike an electrical conductor, the oscillating fields induce an alternating current in the conductor. The information in the waves can be extracted and transformed back into its original form (Christopher H. Sterlin).

Community Radio is when local people produce and broadcast their programs and participate in operating the station. It is a community space for people to meet and collaborate. It is extraordinary fun and often life changing. Community radio stations can be owned by colleges and universities, groups of individuals, farmers, villages city agencies, and non-profits. They may also receive some local government funding, UN Organisations, etc. community radio generally has local programming provided by volunteers and local community members. They are expressions of communities they serve and can have eclectic programming ranging from educational, to talk, music, advocacy, news, and cultural programs (Sam Buchanan).

However, public and community radio have many similarities – both are part of the non-commercial media sector, meaning they are not operated for the purpose of creating a profit for individual owners. Instead, both public radio and community radio are operated for the benefit of the local community. The differences between them have to do with types of programming, sources of funding, and affiliations and administration.

Social Media is a computer-based technology that facilitates the sharing of ideas, thoughts, and information through the building of virtual networks and communities. By design, social media is internet-based and gives users quick electronic communication of content. It is a form of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through

users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (Dictionary, Merriam-Website).

Internet is a vast global system of interconnected computer networks that uses the Internet protocol suite (TCP/IP) to communicate between networks and devices. It is an electronic communications network that connects computer networks and organizational computer facilitates around the world used with the exception when being used attributively doing research on Internet and Internet search (Barry M. Leiner, Vinton G. Cerf).

Blog is a website that contains online personal reflections, comments, and often hyperlinks, videos, and photographs provided by the writer. It is a regular feature appearing as a part of an online publication that typically relates to a particular topic and consists of articles and personal commentary by one or more authors (Collins English Dictionary).

Twitter is a social media service where people or organizations can publish short remarks or pieces of information, and where you can see information published by people or organizations that you choose. It is the name of social networking site on the internet for communicating with people quickly (Cambridge Dictionary).

Facebook is defined as an online social networking website where people can create profiles, share information such as photos and quotes about themselves, and respond or link to the information posted by others. Founded in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg, the site is free to members and derives its revenue from ads. It is a popular free social networking website that allows registered users to create profiles, upload photos and video, send messages and keep in touch.

SMS is the short form for message Service. Created in the 1980s and defined in the 1985 GSM standards, SMS was one of the earliest texting technologies. It is also the most widespread and widely used. It is a universal technology supported by all current mobile networks and devices. All you need to start texting is another person's phone number. This makes SMS a popular communication channel for businesses, as it is more immediate than email and does not require additional application software downloads.

1.7 Structure

The study is structurally laid out in seven main chapters according to the following order:

The chapter one is devoted to the contextual background to the research. It underlines the context of conflict and conflict resolution in Ivory Coast. And it briefly provides an overview of current media practices in West Africa. The significance of the study, research questions,

methodological approaches, and the definitions of various concepts used in the study are provided in the first Chapter as well.

The second chapter tackles the role of media in Côte d'Ivoire in the historical Perspective. It answers the question on the two-sided role of media in conflict resolution, whether media has a significant impact on conflict resolution in the political subversions of 2002 and 2011. It explores both the influence of traditional and social media.

The third chapter focuses on the general state of media, conflict, and conflict resolution. The chapter examines the literature review on the influence of media as perpetuator of conflict and secondly underlines the influence of model media reporting related to conflict resolution.

The fourth chapter focuses on conceptual and theoretical framework of peace media reporting. The study applies the social responsibility theory of media reporting to explain and develop the conceptual framework. And it highlights the social responsibility of journalism including the social responsibility developed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm's (1963); Herman and Chomsky's (2002) propaganda model of the media; Shoemake and Reese's (1996) hierarchical model of media content influences; and Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) notion of the field of journalism discussed by Hackett (2007) are h.

The methodology approach of this study is Participatory Research methodology, which is outlined in chapter five, as well as the various experiences I went through. Although it was a laborious task, the role that various actor, such as journalists, peace workers, and an academic, played together during our field research was relevant, interesting, and gave me a deep understanding of data collection issues.

The data collection techniques used so far, such as content analysis and interviews, have provided insights into conflict practices and coverage through field reporting. The two political subversions of 2002 and 2011 formed an ideal comparative case to identify the changes in the role of media for conflict resolution.

The analysis of the current data on conflict reporting, as well as the findings from the 23 interviews that were conducted for this study, are presented in chapter six.

Chapter seven sets out the conclusions and recommendations we made for this study. These recommendations are not specific to any country; we consider that each recommendation can be applied to the concerns and needs of a specific region or country.

It should be kept in mind that the study does not aim to turn journalists into conflict resolution practitioners; the objective of the study is to define the problem of conflict resolution conducted through the media in Ivory Coast. It is journalism-oriented and sees conflict resolution and societal peace not as an end but as offering some relevant and practical means to help reporters in covering conflicts.

Yet, it is not argued in this study that better conflict resolution skills are the answer to all kinds of challenges dealing with contemporary conflict reporting standards. Many factors identified in conclusions highlighted current conflicts reporting problems and concerns. Some of these factors are not necessarily linked to the training issues but apply to personal, organizational, and social issues. Still, they make conflict reporting a challenging task for media practitioners. We advocate raising awareness of these issues among reporters as a first step in seeking ways to deal with them.

Through the influence of the media, the study is designed to make a significant contribution to conflict resolution and social peace. This could also pave the way for peace media support programs that may contribute to eliminating hate propaganda in the media and allowing society to face its past and to build a common future. As importantly, it is intended to provide new research opportunities for other researchers to gain constructive knowledge in this field.

2 THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 West African Media Practices after the Turn of the Millennium

“Every democracy needs a critical, independent, and investigative press. The media must be protected from state interference. In addition, it must have the economic strength to resist the pandering of government officials. Its independence from special interests must be sufficient to allow it to be bold and inquisitive without fear or favor. It must have the protection of the constitution, so that it can protect our rights as citizens. Indeed, such a free press is the only way to temper the appetite of any government to accumulate power at the expense of its citizens. Only a free press can be the vigilant guardian of the public interest against the temptation of those who hold it to abuse that power. This freedom of the press is the only means of relentlessly exposing the excesses and corruption of government, public officials and other institutions that hold power in society (Nelson Manda, 1994).

Did political media have a significant influence on conflict resolution in Cote d'Ivoire during the crises of 2002 and 2011? This dissertation questions the role of media in these two political subversions and by these case studies briefly examines the role of current media practices in West African societies after the turn of the Millennium (Section I). And we will look on both traditional media as journals, printed matter at large and broadcasting on the one side, and the growing influence of digital media on the other side (Section II). The two Ivorian subversions of 2002 and 2011 form an ideal comparative case to identify recent changes in the role of media for conflict resolution.

2.1.1 Colonial Media

The mass media are generally considered as institutions necessary for the entrenchment and maintenance of democratic values in a given society. Their roles are to encourage political debate, provide information for development, or criticize the very definitions of democracy and development. For McQuail (2010, p. 523), there has always been an intimate connection between mass communication and the conduct of politics, regardless of regime type. In democracies, media have a complex relationship with sources of power and the political system. Traditionally, the media has played a leading active role in disseminating political information to citizens in the areas of mobilization, calls for greater participation, holding government accountable to citizens, and entrenching democratic values. This explains why scholars have largely challenged the idea that mass media play a neutral political role in society. Thus, both

mass and social media can play the same role in African society as it does in western, developed countries.

Most states in West Africa were essentially British and French colonies up to the late 1950s and early 1960s. The colonization was a historical reality for most of the geo-regions in Africa. Thus, the development of the media throughout the continent was controlled by various colonial authorities according to their economic and political interests. The first newspapers in 19th century which circulated among indigenous populations were initially religious publications issued by missionaries (Nyamnjoh, 2005). The involvement of religion created a politically passive population. These publications served a useful purpose in this way. For example, as a British colony, Nigeria developed the most diverse print media due to the urbanization of the commercial sector. However, most of the early Nigerian press was geared towards British investors and settlers. The tendency was for France to suppress the development of an indigenous press in its colonies and to emphasize the assimilation of the indigenous population into French culture. The press, which was predominantly French, was seen as an important part of the assimilation process (Nyamnjoh, 2005). In comparison, the British were more tolerant of the cultural content of indigenous publications, but they certainly did not encourage a critical local press with its political agenda (Nyamnjoh 2005).

But the media boom of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which was driven by the democratic reform movement, reshaped the continent's media landscape with almost immediate effect.

2.1.2 Media Boom 1980-1990 and Multipartyism

The media boom ended governments' quasi-absolute control and monopoly and ushered in a dynamic pluralism. Newspapers were suddenly flooding the streets of African capitals. As a result, the so-called "culture of silence," which had been imposed initially by colonialism and later by post-colonial military dictatorships and autocratic one-party states, was brutally shattered (Adeyanju, 2018).

According to Kwame Karikari (2010), the former executive director of the Media Foundation of West Africa (MFWA), the evolution of the sector of West African media over the long-term has seen significant improvements throughout the region, and for all countries in the region. The level of democratic freedom has gone up both in terms of aggregate indices and specific indicators.

And Linus Gitahi (2015), chief executive officer of Kenyan's Nation Media Group (NMG), said that more Africans live in relative freedom today than 50 years ago. In countries that have made real progress in governance and respect for human rights, the media has played a decisive role in strengthening democracy.

The independent media have grown like savannah grass from the 1990s onwards, thanks to the heavy rains that followed a long period of severely dry conditions. According to a 2006 study sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), there were more than 5,000 newspapers, radio, and television stations in 15 countries in Africa.

Thus, the media has played an important role in democratic and non-democratic states in the transition from autocracy to democracy, focusing on politicians, diplomats, activists, and others working for political transformation.

The state's monopoly on media or information management is now somewhat reduced, due to the changing socio-economic climate, facilitated by greater access to the democratization of the Internet in Africa, West Africa as well. Several competing private newspapers and other publications now exist, compared to the one or two newspapers previously owned by the government or the ruling party (Balancing Act 2014). The same is the case with television and radio stations, many of which are privately owned commercial broadcasters, in comparison to the old days when there was only one single state-owned radio and television station.

As a result, the African Union (AU) has declared 2011 a year of "shared values". And it stated that African leaders should engage their people on issues of good governance and democracy, otherwise they will pay the price, they may suffer the same outcome as their north African countrymen. With a rising and resonant tide of popular expression across the continent, it becomes difficult, or even impossible mission for the governments to commit atrocities that remain hidden and silent. Thus, the role an ordinary African citizen as a watchdog has opened a new era in which technology can contribute to socio-political change. Through digital political communication available to the ordinary citizen, there is a greater need than ever for leaders to be open, transparent, and accountable to communicate openly themselves, and for multitudes of voices and viewpoints, continuous debate, and dialogue to take place unhindered. Digital media was a great tool which has helped social movements to be able to achieve previously unachievable goals in Africa, despite the appalling speed with which authoritarian forces have devised high- and low-tech countermeasures. The traditional press and news channels may be controlled or shut down altogether to thrive. But online and mobile communications will

continue to spread. Social media activists, bloggers, tweeters, and speak-to-tweeters keep the world informed even if the TV cameras have been turned off. Through internet technology, organizations such as ANONYMOUS will continue to protect the freedom of those who speak out against oppression and corruption.

Besides, radio has expanded its local news and information broadcasts. Mobile telephony has increased citizen participation in debates on public issues. Through the increasing broadcasting of different dialects, radio has fostered a positive sense of cultural identity in many communities. In January 2008, at the tenth anniversary of Ghana community radio Ada, the community leader recalled that “before the station came, we didn’t hear our language on the radio. We didn’t feel like we were part of Ghana. Community radio impact has been pivotal in strengthening democracy in countries where tangible progress has been made in governance and respect for human rights. (Adeyanju, 2018).

Consequently, Electoral Management Body in numerous West African countries have taken concrete and visible steps to respond to perceptions or proven allegations of political bias; election data is now accessible to the wide variety of relevant stakeholders; and the electoral college now maintains an open line of communication to traditional and social media. And finally, political leaders are compelled to use language and actions that prevent the escalation of a tense political environment. Together, these practices enhance the credibility of the electoral process, allowing candidates and the public to accept the results. Thanks to the impact of social media, many peaceful democratic, political transitions have been made possible. The management of electoral crises has become a reality, as it was not the case in the past (Karikari K., 2010).

For example, the media, no matter how fragile, have made remarkable contributions to peaceful and transparent elections have been possible in Benin, Ghana, Niger; etc. to post-conflict transitions and peacemaking in Liberia and Sierra Leone; and to the maintenance of constitutional order in times of political crisis in Guinea and Nigeria (Karikari, K., 2010).

But media emergence has generally been met with violent repression. When the media dared to question or expose the criminal activities and corruption of certain members of the upper echelons, they provoked the wrath of those in power.

2.1.3 Extended Crackdowns

An Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)-study found that the legislative and policy constraints on the media in most West African countries were so restrictive that the need for a critical review and major transformation of the legislative and policy framework within which the continent's media operate cannot be overestimated.

In contrast, the African Union, and regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as the 11 members of the Great Lakes Regional Conference have all adopted protocols and declarations in support of press freedom and freedom of expression.

And while most member governments still do not respect these protocols, civil society groups are mobilizing bodies of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights to raise awareness of media rights. Other associations, such as the Media Foundation for West Africa, are denouncing violations of journalist's rights at the new ECOWAS Regional Court of Justice.

But the media is still facing the repetitive problems. It has sometimes been a vector for hatred, xenophobia, and crimes against humanity. While Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda, which contributed to the country's 1994 genocide, is the best known, there are other disturbing episodes of media support for ethnic hatred, such as the bloody aftermath of the 2007 elections in Kenya. The media responsible for these acts belonged to or supported powerful individuals within the government, political parties, or warring factors.

The media sector's progressive thrust has been systematically met with strong reprisals. Any media that has dared to question or expose crime and corruption in high places has generally faced the fury of those in political power. Although the media is growing at a phenomenal rate, Professor Guy Roger of the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University in South Africa pointed out in 2007 that the African population is the least well served in the world in terms of information flow, because the continent has mass media that are everywhere limited in terms of quantity and sometimes quality.

Thus, he (2007) noted that Africa has the lowest number of journalists per capita in the world. South Africa, the continent's most successful country, had one journalist for every 1300 citizens, while Ghana had one for every 11000, Cameroon one for every 18000, Zimbabwe one for 34000, and Ethiopia one for 99000, etc.

Economic factors appear to be the most significant threat to the survival of media pluralism. Most media enterprises remain small, with little commercial management capacity. While a few like NMG in Kenya and Multimedia in Ghana are developing into huge transnational multimedia conglomerates, many are in danger of shrinking or even disappearing (Roger, 2007).

According to the Reporters Without Borders (RSF) World Press Freedom Index 2020, 21 African countries appear in red or black. Information professionals work in difficult, even critical conditions.

2.1.4 Reinforcing the Security of Journalists.

In Africa, many journalists have lost their lives and the perpetrators of these crimes are generally not prosecuted. RSF's 2019 statistics show that 102 journalists have been killed on the continent in the past 10 years, half of them in Somalia (up one place to 163rd). Despite significant progress in cracking down on police and military violence against media professionals, Somalia remains the most dangerous country for reporters.

Another example concerns a Congolese journalist who was killed last year (2019) in the western DRC and his colleagues were forced to flee to escape the same fate. Media covering in the fight against the Ebola epidemic have been regularly targeted. Among West African countries, the investigation into the murder (2019) of investigative journalist Ahmed Hussein-Suale has failed to identify those responsible. As for Nigeria (+5 to 115th place), those responsible for the murder of two journalists, shot dead six months apart while covering demonstrations, are still being freed (RSF, 2019).

And an investigative Beninese journalist Ignace Sossou already released but has been sentenced to 18 months in prison under a new digital law for "harassment through electronic communications. While he had rightly posted public interest statements on Twitter, he should never have been prosecuted for a strictly journalistic act (MFWA, 2019).

In addition, the arbitrary detention of 171 journalists in sub-Saharan Africa was reported in 2019. Indeed, such practices are seen in more than half of the continent's countries, even when local laws may have already decriminalized press offenses. While reform of repressive laws is slow in coming, new boilerplate laws, in the name of the fight against disinformation or hate speech, are being created everywhere (RSF, 2019).

These legal provisions do not achieve their intended goals but can easily be misused to obstruct freedom of information. Thus, journalists are accused of being, among others, terrorists, spies, swindlers, or cybercriminals, to silence them.

Finding a balance between preventing damage from information and protecting individual expression remains a challenge for the West African media states Ble (2009). It is important, especially in situations of conflict, to find this balance. Both mass media and journalism have a responsibility to provide information that counters hate speech and promotes balanced opinion environments. And the state has the duty to protect the rights and the security of reporters, journalists (Ble, 2009).

Although state-owned media still dominate the airwaves in many countries, and despite the many challenges, the negative role played by the media in violent conflicts in West Africa, it has been considered as one of the most powerful agents of democracy accountability and has become a space of public discourse and the public sphere for citizens. Africa's independent and pluralistic media are here to stay. And this could be the guarantee for the growth and strengthening of democracy in Africa (Ble, 2009).

Therefore, many citizens still question if the role played by the political media such as blue and green newspapers in 2002 and 2011 conflicts led to conflict resolution and societal peace in Ivory Coast.

2.2 The Role of Media in Côte d'Ivoire

Since the cold war, mass media has played a crucial role as a lethal weapon (Adeyanju, 2018). The emergence of social media has widened media's reach and influence, and now media is either a weapon of destruction or a weapon of reconciliation, depending on how it is used by those running it.

Elba Idris (2020) showed how media has been used both for good and for evil in Kenya, Rwanda, and Nigeria among other African countries. These transformations happened when media shifted from politics of division to political agendas driven by the people, for the people as it recently happened in Côte Ivoire.

Historically, Côte Ivoire has been a victim of communally biased media much before the split of the country in September 2002 (Moussa, 2012). This communally biased media later in its 'ultra-nationalist avatar spoiled every move for the resolution of the dispute. It has also been observed that Côte Ivoire's is always being used by their corresponding governments to project

official stance regarding conflict issues thus, shaped the public minds accordingly (Moussa, 2012).

2.3 Political Economy of Ivorian Media

The Ivory Coast entered a new period in its media in the 1990s, which was characterized by the return of a multi-party system and a lowering of the press known as “spring”. We observe the emergence of some 178 newspapers between 1990 and 1996 on the national market. In his most recent and exhaustive report on the Ivorian media during the crisis, the president of the Ivorian Observatory for Press Freedom and Professional Code of Ethics (OLPED) Zio Moussa, stresses that public service media belong to the State of Ivory Coast.

Fraternité Martin, the state newspaper is entirely state-owned like Ivorian Radio Broadcasting (RTI: 2 television channels, RTI 1 and RTI 2 of the national radio as well as Fréquence 2) the State massively controls 98% of the shares. The Ivorian News Agency (AIP) is also state-owned (Moussa, 2012, p. 52). The state media served as a propaganda tool for the government and rarely carries criticism of the authorities (INFOSAID, consulted on 21 March 2015).

According to Venance Konan, the Directeur General of Fraternité Matin, Fraternité Matin as a state media represents everyone in the country and echoes the entire Ivorian voice. This declaration about the role of the state media in Ivory Coast was made during his interview with Reporter Without Borders (RWB) on 28 April 2011.

From 178 newspapers in Cote d’Ivoire in the spring, only 30 were still active at the end of 2011. The country recorded a loss of nearly 8 million purchases, from 35 984 611 copies in 2001 to 29 501 504 in 2005. Most newspapers experienced a high rate of unsold copies. Even the largest newspaper, Fraternité Matin, sold only 30 000 copies per day in 2011 (Samba, 2015).

In Ivory Coast, information consumers are knowledgeable about the relationship of interdependence between the media and the ruling parties. These media are grouped by their color. For example, those of the Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) former president for Laurent Gbagbo are Blue. Meanwhile, G7/opposition newspaper belongs to the coalition of the Parti Démocratique de Côte d’Ivoire-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (PDCI-RDA).

Furthermore, the same report highlighted the link between media ownership and key political leaders. Notre Voie is owned by the FPI of former president Laurent Gbagbo. And the current premier Minister of Cote d’Ivoire, Ahmed Bakayoko, is the majority shareholder -475 shares out of 500- in the publishing company Mayama Editions et Production, with the remaining 25

shares held by staff Denis Kah Moussan a member of the PDCI-RDA, holds 400 shares out of 500 in the daily *Le Nouveau Réveil*, publishers of the daily *Le Nouveau Réveil*, against 100 for the staff (Samba, 2015).

The 500 shares of SARL Cyclone, publisher of the pro-Laurent Gbagbo daily *le Temps*, are divided between shareholders: Bamba Nadiani (ex-spouse fo Laurent Gbagbo), 350 shares and Gbagbo Koudou Al Rais David, 150 shares. Meite Sindou holds 275 shares in Nord-Sud Communication; the other 225 shares are divided between six minority shareholders (Moussa, 2012, pp. 56-57).

2.4 The State of Mass Media in Côte d'Ivoire

Overtime, newspaper, FPI, *Notre Voie*, was in the sixth position with a 7, 6% market share, just after *L'Inter*.

From October to November 2010, i.e., during the entire campaign period, all daily newspapers significantly improved their sales. During this period, two dailies can boast excellent performances in terms of market diffusion. One of these was the FPI's associated newspaper, *Notre Voie*, which saw the circulation increase by 81,1%, from 193, 270 to 350,142 copies. It was followed by *Le Patriote*. A daily newspaper close to RDR, whose circulation rose from 304,756 to 546, 790, an increase of 74,23% (Samba, 2015).

Moreover, apart from *Soir Info*, all the so-called independent *Quotidien's* recorded a decrease in circulation from October to November 2010. The public service daily, *Fraternité Matin*, recorded a slight increase of 8.6% from 527001 to 572,382 copies, with sales of 80,3%, which remains the best of the market.

Like other media markets in the world, Ivorian news consumers are aware of the dependent relationship between the media and the power blocs, and they group them by color: those for Laurent Gbagbo's Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) are the blue ones; those for Henri Konan Bédié Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire - Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (PDCI-RDA) are the green ones (Moussa, 2012, pp. 11-45).

Private commercial, church, and neighborhood/community radio stations have grown exponentially, but cannot legally participate in political debate, as attested to by some respondents. Private sector radio stations are legally banned from reporting political news (Moussa, 2012).

However, this rule is widely flouted by several unlicensed stations which sprung up in the rebel-controlled north of the country after September 19, 2002. Radio stations have been used because of their low cost and high influence among the illiterate population. It is also the most readily available of all media. Radio has participated especially as a mobilizer in the Presidential election and campaign in 2010 (Interview with S. Samba Kone, 2016).

Most daily newspapers are published in Abidjan, the former capital of Ivory Coast, and are all printed in French, an all-experience low sale. Most are sold and bought in Abidjan; however, they are available online for the people that live too far away for the delivery of the papers or who are too poor to afford them. Therefore, anyone in the country can access them with the Internet and can partially read them free of charge. The most popular website for Ivorians living in Côte d'Ivoire and abroad is www.abidjan.net. It was created in 1998 by two young Ivorian's businessmen and publishes articles from all Ivorian newspapers and national and international news agencies (Théroux-Bénoni, 2009, p. 117).

For a long time, the Ivorian media was rightly or wrongly cited as one of the factors contributing to the long political-military crisis that shook Côte d'Ivoire for more than a decade. Yet, as an institution of democracy, they should help to consolidate democracy (Moussa, 2012).

The problems facing the digital and printed media in Côte d'Ivoire are as follow:

- Slippages in journalistic production
- Deviations in interactions with information sources
- Lack of freedom from political institutions.
- Low salary, income

These are, overall, limits, all related to breaches of professional ethics. These shortcomings are so numerous that an "Observatory of Press Freedom, Ethics and Professional Conduct (OLPED)" was set up to report the shortcomings it observed: an insulting, anti-confraternal press that encourages violence and xenophobia. A press is muzzled by political institutions, so that actors, journalists, have difficulty distinguishing themselves from political chapels. Faced with the shortcomings of the Ivorian media, the regulatory and self-regulatory bodies react by referring cases to them, reminding journalists of their failure to comply with codes of ethics and professional conduct (interview Gnonzion & Abdoulaye Sanogo, 2016).

And despite the regularity of this method of referral, which has been practiced for more than a decade, the disorder does not find a cure and often seems to get worse depending on the context

and the political agenda in the country (Interview with Sidiki Bamba, 2016). This is because some media leaders seem to ignore their role and social responsibility based on common well-being in a democratic or in democratizing society like certain African countries, a society where there is a constantly renewed search for a redistribution of power (interview with Samba Kone former President of OLPED, 2016). A democratization context, in which more importance is given to be a "citizen" than to being professional. Our attempt to understand the sociology of Ivorian "news" has led us to focus on the process of media freedom and media function in Côte d'Ivoire and then on the rites of interaction that we have described as corruptive between some journalists and organizers of public events.

Indeed, in the rites of interaction after the reports, the event organizers use to give a big envelope containing a sum of money to the journalists, reporters in the hope that he will later write positive feedbacks about the events, manifestations, protests, etc. (Zoe C. Soir Info, 2016). Receiving envelopes just to produce positive feedback means deviance but it looks quite normal in Ivorian media landscape.

Instead of waiting for the monthly salary, as stated in his contract, the journalist is somehow paid by a source of information. He seeks material rewards for his work outside the institution that employs him, against the provisions of the code of ethicists of Ivorian's journalists.

In this way, the reporter, journalist is involved in corruption issues, she or he refuse to follow the assigned role of the media organization that employs her or him. Many reporters are corrupted, don't care about ethic issues said Celestin Gnonzion, who teaches ethic and deontology of media at CERCOM, Felix Houphouet-Boigny University.

Yet no journalist or very few journalists manage to refuse the envelopes given to them by the organizers of demonstrations (Interview Cedric, Zoe., 2016). About this type of gap in organizations between those at the top and those at the bottom, Goffman wrote (1968, p. 257): In large organizations, people at the bottom of the hierarchy act in a greyness on which the activity of senior members stands out, who, motivated by personal incentives, can ostensibly enjoy the satisfaction that others do not have. Subordinate members generally feel less involved in the institution and are less emotionally attached to it: "They just find a job there; they don't have a career there".

The gap between journalists in the old guard and those in the young guard about compliance with codes of ethics and professional conduct could therefore be explained by a difference in motivation, commitments, and career prospects. Some young journalists simply find work in

journalism, they do not have a career in it. Career development opportunities are very limited for them, and they consider their salaries to be very low (Interview with Cedric Zoe, 2016).

If we consider the data from Celestin Gnonzion (2008) as shown in the table below, insufficient salaries and lack of opportunities for professional development are among the main reasons that could lead journalists to change professions.

The following are the reasons that may lead one to leave journalism:

1. Low wages 27/43
2. Lack of promotion and career prospects 11/43
3. Lack of privacy 3/43
4. No answer 2/43

There is therefore a certain disaffection among journalists about their work. They are in journalism because they find job there as we have already pointed out. They do not find the same satisfaction as some great chiefs or journalists of the old guard who are entitled to major missions abroad, have high salaries, and have responsibility bonuses. Paradoxically, there are journalists among those great leaders who do not apply the codes of ethics and professional conduct as well. We noted, for example, that one of the sources of conflict in newsrooms is that leaders do not respect codes of ethics and professional conduct. (Discussion with Gnonzion, 2017). But this practice is not common with reporters who are employed by the community radio in Cote d'Ivoire. Broadcaster does require skills but not at the same level as journalist which are employed by press, magazine companies.

2.5 The Influence of Community Radios

According to Kuusik (2010), using community radios can help reach people in different areas, even with different languages more easily. This way people can address directly, and their personal experiences and lives can be incorporate much better, than with foreign media. The danger of manipulation and inflammation of ethnic tensions, however, cannot be ignored. Another advantage of community radio is that in border areas it is possible to convey peace messages to fighters and refugees. She argues that community radio needs more investment, structures because its role is vital, very important, because the population is actively involved in creating content and broadcasting it.

Mainly, local media especially “*community radios*” have real understanding of existing political structures, the participants in the crisis and the changes that preceded the outbreak of violence (Kuusik, 2010). They are seen as part of society and have the capacity to accelerate and amplify fears or reduce them. It should not forget that journalism can play a role in the escalation of conflicts, also with demonstrations of potential positive purposes. The media has the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on the government, opposition, and society. Media can help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles by reaching a wide audience through reliable information. In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can be encouraged as well (id).

2.6 The Role of Community Radio in Ivorian Conflicts

Communities radio has played a positive role during the political crisis in Ivory Coast. They gave voice to those who cannot express themselves through the traditional, private, or public media. Their role was based on the principle of journalistic neutrality.

Also, its welcomed differences are expressed in programming based on different local languages, ethnics etc. And they have promoted harmonious integration of the population from the ethnic groups it serves through programs broadcast in their language.

Community radios enable isolated communities across Africa to speak out. It allows ordinary citizens to debate on issues that affect them closely, such as gender relations, the fight against discrimination, and mismanagement from the government. They exchange farming techniques and ideas for income-generating activities or ways to improve education.

The opinion of the local population is a “point of reference” that is often missing. Community radios enable listeners in remote rural areas to keep up to date with current events, get practical information and find out what their neighbors think. Although not all local radio stations have the same effect, they often provide remote villages with the means to learn, express themselves freely and communicate, while at the same time making the history, music, and oral traditions of the local population known.

Radio has improved many lives in Africa. And this is the case in Ivory Coast, where people have greatly benefited from community radio programs. With them, we feel part of this country, said a listener from Tiassale which is a small city near Abidjan (discussion with local people, 2017).

Indeed, thanks to these community radios, population from Ivorian villages can easily keep up to date with what is happening locally and elsewhere, get information about the cotton, cacao, industry, make announcements on the radio to inform family members about important facts and listen to music originated from their own communities.

There are also positive changes at the personal level. The community radio projects allow community members to learn new skills and thus improve their employment prospects in commercial stations.

Nowadays, community radios have a network of exchange and solidarity that defend and promote the right to communication. More specifically, they contribute to the expression of different social, political, and cultural movements, as well as to the promotion of all initiatives in favor of peace, democracy, and development. Community radios are therefore well equipped to act as actors for conflict resolution and societal peace.

Imam CISSE Djiguiba (interview, 2016) de la Grande Mosquée du Plateau and Chairman of the board of Radio Albayane defends the importance of community radios in the daily life of the population of the region. He assessed that the transmission of accurate and impartial information has helped to reduce inter-community tensions related to the political crises of 2002 and 2011 in the country and empowered people from manipulation, rumors etc.

Timely, effective, fair, and accurate information in every village, every community, to every citizen is essential to reduce tensions, especially with the upsurge of violence during the post-election conflict in 2011 and the 2002 civil war in Cote d'Ivoire state a group of local people from Tiassale (2017). According to them, community radios have played a crucial role in defusing tensions and building social cohesion. Isolated populations were informed, rumors were more easily dispelled and tensions between local communities were reduced. These last points are very important, as these isolated communities often feel powerless during conflicts.

According to Konan (Interview, 2016), a security officer in Riviera Palmeraie (Cocody) is a regular listener of the community radios, believes that radio has defused tensions and created avenues for inclusive dialogue during the conflicts that emerged from the 2002 civil war and the post-election conflict in 2011. "It made us feel part of a society, we can sit around a table, discuss and above all hear each other.

Kouame (Interview, 2016) Office Manager of the Evangelical Hotel appreciated the quality of the program from community radios which enabled to reach isolated areas, promote social

cohesion, and raised awareness of a culture of peace during the political crises in the country. Currently, there is a clear disappearance of inter-community violence in the country due to community radios, which has innovated a set of access programs on dialogue, social cohesion, exemplary harmony, etc.

According to Edouard Dagry (Interview, 2016), a country where only 36% of the population can read and write, gives community radios opportunity to a crucial informative and educational role. It informs, raises awareness, and promotes dialogue exchange with listeners. Education through information is at the heart of our radio's mission (Interview Boazo, 2016).

According to Souleymane OULAI (2016), the executive director of MOZAI: "School of mass communication", an Ivorian affected by the two deadly political crises urgently needed reliable, balanced, and timely information, and this is what community radios offered during these conflicts that took the lives of more than 3,000 people and caused thousands of Ivorian to flee to countries in the sub-region. Community radios is making important progress and seems to be admired by Ivorian population. The poll shows that the vast majority of the population follow community radio than mass media because accessing it is costless.

2.7 The End of Mass Media Monopoly?

The impact of political and economic forces on the media may appear more subtle in some countries whose regimes are perceived as authoritarian or insufficiently democratic.

According to Fouda (2009), the interference of public authorities in the work of journalists and the control of information disseminated by the mass media is generally more blatant. He criticizes the embroilment of state media that play a relay role of governments and ruling parties to the detriment of the opposition, which is absent from content. Several examples concerning the situation of state media in Côte d'Ivoire and Cameroon are put forward by the author:

"In a study carried out in 1999 and published in 2004, it emerges that in the TV news of the **Ivorian Radio and Television (RTI)**, 77% of the news is devoted to the activities of the ruling party and government activities. The government daily **Cameroon Tribune** studies over one year devote 11 pages out of 32 to the activities of the CPDM, the party of the President of the Republic or so-called presidential majority parties (Fouda 2009, p. 203)".

The control exercised by political forces over the media has a great influence on the flow of information in these countries during periods of conflict or crisis. Social networks were the first

that enabled the Ivorian public to access information and images during two of the most tragic events that Côte d'Ivoire has experienced in recent years.

Indeed, social media has allowed Ivorian to access information related to the festivities of 1 January 2013 which resulted in dozens of deaths and the terrorist attack perpetrated by jihadist of AQMI on 13 March 2016 in Grand-Bassam with a death toll of 18. Many citizens even had to denounce the fact that public television channel **RTI1** was showing a match of the national football championship at a time when information on the terrorist attack was being broadcast around the world through social networks and satellite television channels. The state media did not cover these subjects until several hours after the official government communiqué.

Khamis (2013, p.59) argues that before the advent of satellite television channels and the Internet in 1990, most media in the Arab world were owned and operated under the strict supervision of governments. At that time, governments largely controlled the media to keep the population as uninformed as possible, so that they would not be able to participate in political controversies and national debates. According to Khamis however, the advent of satellite television and the Internet will profoundly change this situation with plural and diverse panorama, where voices representing different political positions and orientations can be heard simultaneously, give their opinion in ongoing political debates, and contribute to the formation of a wide range of public opinion” (Khamis. 2013, p. 60).

Yet, whatever the country in which the media operate, they reflect the socio-political context of that country. For all these reasons, the emergence of digital social media is seen as an opportunity to reduce the power of control and manipulation of mass in times of conflict or crisis.

The monitoring of the mass media, and hence of information, has been a crucial issue during periods of conflict or crisis for several centuries now. But the emergence of digital media has led to a reshaping of the media space, which in turn has led to changes in the circulation of information. This especially perceptible during periods of conflict or crisis.

As Ramonet (2001, p. 15) argues with the emergence of the internet, “the comfort zone of the media and journalists, in a position of the monopoly of information in society, is coming to an end.” The power of journalists and the mass media to impose or exercise control over debates in the public space is thus jeopardized in the age of Internet technologies: “the time when they had the sole right to choose and publish information is over”. The web is stripping them of their identity as “secular priests” (Ramonet, 2001, p. 15).

2.8 The Emergence of Digital Media

The so-called social media is a way of interaction between a variety of people in the world where they create, exchange, and communicate information and ideas through electronic media or portable devices powered by the internet. None of this would have been possible without the development of the means of communication. Such development was made easier by the breakthrough of rocket and spacecraft technology. The purpose of rockets being launched into space is for various reasons, including communication, etc. this implies that the twenty-first (21st) century is the century of globalization which has broken down barriers or borders through the advent of social media. One of the benefits that the invention of the Internet has brought to the communication sector is social media. It is indeed a group of application that build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0, which include all online social networks, weblogs, and wikis. However, Twitter and Facebook have become identical with Web 2.0 (Egbecho, 2014). Social media leverages and Internet technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, exchange and share information.

And Sub-Saharan Africa, -of which Cote d'Ivoire is a part, has been termed the new epicenter of the shift in the global digital space that has completely transformed mass media use and efficiency (Adeyanju, 2018). Facebook, blogging, and Twitter were identified among the most known due to the recent events for example in Hong Kong, Kashmir (Asia), in Lebanon, Algeria, and Tunisia (Arab world), in Venezuela (South America), and in Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Guinee Conakry (Africa). New technology has strengthened the power of citizens who, often more quickly than professional journalists themselves, can report the news as they happen. Some argue that citizen journalism can be extremely useful in contexts of oppression or state control over mainstream media (Charaudeau, 2011, Breton, 2000, & Vedel 2010).

Digital, social media means mobilization and action, but also as an important counterweight to traditional mass media (Bougnoux, 2007) in the dissemination of information. During periods of conflict, the use of social media becomes unavoidable both on the part of the belligerents (we can cite as an example the use by the Israeli General Staff in 2012 of social networks such as Twitter, Facebook, or Tumblr to communicate, in real-time, information on an offensive against Hamas in Gaza) and the populations (this was the case of cyber-activists during the Tunisian revolution) (Bougnoux, 2007).

According to Serena Miller Carpenter (2019), the development of citizen journalism is the direct outcome of the massive growth of social media and its impact on society. Social media

is the news-media watchdog, is a key source of whistle-blowers too, e.g., WikiLeaks which attracted the media's attention. Many media outlets, such as the New Zealand Herald and TVNZ's main news bulletin (2010), have drawn attention to videos privately uploaded to sites such as YouTube, such as the torture of Tongan prisoners and schoolteachers hitting children with sticks in a Tongan school, and recently the video uploads of the murder of George Floyd by the US state police killing George Floyd that has been broadcast worldwide.

The power of the public authorities to control the circulation and dissemination of information is considerably reduced both in so-called democratic countries and in countries in the process of democratization. As Rieffel (2005, p.140) so aptly points out, "the dissemination in April-May 2004 of photos of torture in Abu Graib prison in Bagdad is proof of this.

Despite the information control measures put in place by the pentagon, Rieffel notes that "this event has completely escaped the American authorities because of the existence of digital photos and the use of e-mail. These images, which can be assumed to have been taken by soldiers, have helped to draw international public opinion to the reprehensible actions of the US military in Iraq and have greatly destabilized the government of that country.

According to Alia (2010, p. 136), smaller independent media organizations use it as a major source to publish news, and journalists have their blogs, twitters, and Facebook accounts to express their opinion and views. And he calls blogging "the new journalism", able to cross geographic, cultural, and political borders and help build community, transcending the limits imposed by attitudes, policies, and governments of the regions and countries where they reside.

Social media and the internet have enabled citizens to actively participate in the political life of their country.

In the words of Dahlgren and Gurevitch (2005, p. 383). The internet is leading an exponential media revolution, through his technological change, citizens of various independent countries have been able to not only actively participate in the democratic processes of their respective countries, but also lend their voices to the national political discourse. Now, unlike the political situation that prevailed in many African nations until the end of the 20th century, where only a few privileged voices were heard in the political arena, social media has broken the barrier and paved the way for broader participation of ordinary citizens in the political discourse of their countries. These internet platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Google+ have been widely used for political purposes in Africa.

Social media and the internet have enabled Citizen to participate in the political life of their country. In Ghana, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast, Facebook was recently considered the most used platform during the last general elections, followed by Twitter. Voters now can freely interact with themselves, access necessary information about a candidate. This development has made it possible to monitor the actions and statements of political candidates, as both recorded and unrecorded events are broadcast live.

A careful examination of the current evolution of political communication also reveals a subtle usurpation by the masses of media's agenda-setting and control function, which used to be the exclusive prerogative of media managers and owners. What we get today in practice is the existence of a multiplicity of agenda-setters and political news sources. In their observations regarding the world converging media as a result of the internet and digital technology, Pavlik and McIntosh (2011, p. 17) made the claim that content is much more fluid, dynamic, and easily transmitted across the globe in an online environment. Because of the development of virtual or online communities, time and space are no longer barriers to global interpersonal and mass communication.

Through the internet, mass media can rapidly spread information, allowing people access to news mere minutes after an event occurs. The widespread dissemination of information connects the African continent in ways that were never possible until the internet. New stories and ideas can quickly spread across the continent, more people are informed. It can be useful to look at some of the effects as features, then decide about why these could be positive.

This can be hugely beneficial in some situations. It can provide the electorate (the public) with reportage on characters, decisions, corruption, ideas, of public figures- rendering them accountable. Social media can make each African country smaller by sharing, many people distant from each other can feel connected to any others; similarity can be a force for liberty and justice.

In Africa, where messaging was often centralized and speech freedoms were limited in the first decades after independence, the internet and social media provide individuals and organizations with new opportunities to share points of view and information that hold governments to account.

In Côte d'Ivoire for instance, the questioning of two bloggers by the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST) as part of the dissemination of information on the drama of the 2013 New Year's Eve festivities shows the level of febrility of certain government in the face of the new deal

that digital social media constitute during periods of conflict or crisis. Indeed, bloggers and other users of social media were the first to disseminate images and information about this event where the professionalism of the national police was being questioned. The supposedly public service state media only disseminated information about this event after the first government communiqué and merely played the role of relaying the government's discourse.

Mobile phones were a significant communications tool in the result of the 2004 Indian Tsunami. And this was also the first-time mobile phones were used as a fund-raising tool (Coyle & Meier, 2009).

Social media and civil disturbance web technologies first showed promise for political disturbances and advocacy in the 1994 Zapatista campaigns in Mexico. The movement took its struggle online in an effective campaign after being defeated militarily (Mann, 2008), which Ronfedt and Arquilla (1998) termed a "social netwar". Subsequently, social media has played a significant role in several large-scale civil disturbances. These social disturbances initiated through social media are a form of psychological operations or influence operations, were the instigator's attempt to sway the perception of the general population into taking physical protest action against the government.

The first major incident occurred in Greece in December 2008, when social media was used to orchestrate demonstrations and gain foreign support following a police shooting and to raise economic concerns in the country (WMD, 2009). In April 2009, Moldova hosted the "Twitter Revolution" due to suspicion of fraud during the national elections; this was followed by another in June when Iranians protested suspected election fraud (WMD, 2009).

According to Jacobs & Duarte (2010), the riots in Mozambique due to food shortages were protested via SMS. And SMS also were used to incite radical violence in Kenya (Okeowo, 2008); and it was used during the 2010 presidential campaigns in Ivory Coast.

However, according to Erick Hersmann (2018), a prominent African social media blogger, social media has widely been used as political weapons. He notes that unfettered internet and social media have a dark underside, with messages designed to misinform, discriminate, and polarise. When fears are heightened, at election times or during pandemics, these threats are magnified. Fact-checking and "digital literacy" initiatives will go only so far and calls for government censorship will likely grow. The danger is that governments will use these very real concerns as excuses to target their opponents selectively, in a way that stifle opposition, fair elections, and accountability.

For example, on June 1, 2020, 3.27 pm when it comes to fighting COVID-19 in Africa, the internet and social media have been a double-edged sword. Governments and public health officials have used Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, and other social media to reach large numbers of people, quickly and efficiently, with information on how to stay healthy and limit the virus's spread. And digital networks have allowed people to stay in touch, and some businesses to operate, in the face of lockdowns and social-distancing guidelines (Erik Hersman, 2018).

Yet, these technologies have also facilitated the spread of misinformation. Messages disseminated on WhatsApp claimed that people could self-test by holding their breath for more than 10 seconds, that "African blood and black skin prevent COVID-19" and that inhaling steam or drinking alcohol could kill the virus.

Misinformation can be dangerous, as evidenced by hydroxychloroquine poisonings in Nigeria. And in the longer term, it undermines public confidence in guidelines and treatment information supported by robust scientific evidence. Misinformation, in other words, poisons the well (Erik Hersman, 2018).

This fake news issue has offered, in 2010 presidential election, a valid argument to the Agence de Telecommunications de Côte d'Ivoire, which is the state telecommunications regulator, and subsequently under the Gbagbo's government control.

According to Wodjo Fini Traoré, the president of the national observatory of the code of good conduct, the use of information and communication technologies, in particular SMS, to circulate hate message inciting inter-ethnic violence has crossed the line. Through a public statement, he invited the two candidates to go on television and radio to ask their activists, militants to immediately stop that hateful, tribal, xenophobic comments that do not bring credit to Cote d'Ivoire. The follow-up suggests that this declaration has not had an echo with the various protagonists. And forty-eight hours before the official opening of the campaign for the second round, scheduled for 20 November 2010 at midnight, in the face of an upsurge in violent speech and hateful behavior, the government of Laurent Gbagbo began closing the SMS messaging service on mobile phone networks. SMS messaging was shut down for several days in November 2010 in the run-up to the second round of the presidential election. It was then closed again in February 2011 as the conflict intensified. The service was only re-established after the Gbagbo government was overthrown two months later (INFOSAID, accessed 27 July 2012).

In the light of all that has been developed below, many academics are openly expressing their concerns about the use of internet platforms for political purposes, given their volatile nature and the difficulties associated with regulating digital communication. Some pivotal concerns have recently occupied the minds of media and political scholars, and analysis about the use of social media for political purposes: Did web-mediated political platforms somehow enhance the Ivorian political processes (locally, nationally), or did they bring new challenges to the way politics is done?

2.9 The Use of Social Media during Post-election Conflict in 2011

During our field research, we have an opportunity to meet, to have lunch several times with Professor Julien Atchoua (UFRICA). He finds the use of the internet and social media in Côte d'Ivoire has significantly and quickly grown over the last years. Social media has been used in a wide range of situations such as election periods, natural disasters, and political crises. And we have discussed the potential role of social media during the post-election crisis in Ivory Coast in 2010/2011. According to him, the socio-political crises that the country has gone through have seen an increase in the use of these tools, reflecting the enthusiasm of Ivorians to appropriate technology network issues. But he stressed that social media was used during the post-election crisis by the parties in conflict as a propaganda tool. And he minimized the impact of it on the decision made by voters, the population during the presidential election because of the constant shutdown of the internet in the country.

2.10 Social Media and Strategy by Political Parties

Ivorian political parties, the Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) and its leader Alassane Ouattara have made the most spectacular leap in electronic communication. In each country where the RDR has installed activists, Facebook, or Twitter profiles such as Facebook Adosolutions, Facebook Advictoire, Facebook RHDP Solutions, etc. have been created to bring members together and disseminate mobilization messages. Some profiles, which were created under the guise of internal rivalries within DDR chapters, ended up becoming important communication tools for the party. This political organization even goes so far as to involve in its momentum the other parties of the RHDP movement as well as government ministers, members of the public administration, and even the wife of the Head of State, who is active in the field of humanitarian and social works. It should be noted, however, that several of the electronic networks created are now closed since Alassane Ouattara's accession to power in April 2011 (N'Guessan Julien Atchoua, 2012).

President Alassane Ouattara has been able to adapt to digital communication said the source. Although he is not personally an ace at interacting with Internet users, he is making his presence felt on Twitter and Facebook through his fans and other support groups. Two important websites were created to convey information about his personality and his political actions: www.ado.ci to discover or rediscover the politician and www.adolutions.ci as indicated in the portal below for the actions of the statesman he represents.



Figure 1 Extract from www.adolutions.ci

As for its ally, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI-RDA), a member of the RHDP which supported its candidacy in the second round of the November 2010 presidential election, it remains the political party that has not succeeded in its transformation to the digital world compared to its political opponents.

This party is still attached to its traditional values of mobilizing activists and proposes few strategies that are in line with the use of the Internet in its political communication. To boost the party's communication outside of prevarication, PDCI-GDR delegations abroad have tried to launch sites to make the party exist on the web (see the example below of the PDCI-GDR diaspora in Switzerland).



Figure 2 Extract of the PDCI GDR Delegation of Switzerland Source: Website of the PDCI GDR Delegation located in Switzerland, 2011.

Following the example of the pro-Ouattara, the members and supporters (local, Elite, Diaspora) of Laurent Gbagbo's Presidential Majority (LMP) have been able to invade the web with their messages since their accession to power in 2000 under the banner of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI). They have had an active presence on the Internet during the former president's mandate and even after his transfer to The Hague to answer for suspicions of war crimes and crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the aftermath of the post-election crisis (Lartigue, 2013).

And Julien Atchoua (discussion, 2016) considers the fall of Laurent Gbagbo and those close to him from power may have led to the voluntary or financial closure of many sites, but not the militant zeal of a few cyber-activists inside the country or refugees outside the borders of Côte d'Ivoire.

Many Ivorians sharing the ideas of the leader of the Refoundation since 2000 do not lack arguments to mark the web of their presence: information on the interference of multinationals and France in the internal politics of Côte d'Ivoire, the bombing of the French camp established in the premises of the Descartes High School in Bouaké and the response of the French army by the destruction of Ivorian Aircraft, youth movements in support of the President, prophetic analyses of the Ivorian crisis, etc. Everything is scrutinized on the Facebook pages, Twitter, and blogs of the pro-Gbagbo "pan-Africanists".

In this new vision, several initiatives by people who are favorable to the leader of the LMP since the 2010 presidential election have given rise to a large number of news blogs, support

pages, and various profiles of the politician on pages such as <http://twitter.com/#!/LaurentGbagbo10>, Facebook Victoire-pour-Laurent-Gbagbo, Facebook Simone-Ehivet-Gbagbo, etc. (see attached a page from Claudus Kouadio's blog for Gbagbo).



Figure 3 : Claudus Kouadio's Blog for Gbagbo Source: Claudus Kouadio's blog

Their activism for the political battle of Information on the Internet will go as far as discovering the grandiose operation of buying domain names with a link to Côte d'Ivoire under Laurent Gbagbo's regime in 2011. The information that Alassane Ouattara's camp and his supporters are the authors of this digital lockdown has been widely circulated on online information networks. The pro-Gbagbo have thus made the Internet and its applications privileged tools in their communications in ordinary times as well as in times of conflict (discussion, Ipothe Ruben, 2017). By the way, Ruben Ipothe is a blogger, supporter of the former president Mr. Laurent Gbagbo.

2.11 Bias Role in Post-Election Crisis of 2011

During the post-election crisis of 2011, the Internet was for some privileged Ivorians the main medium of information in the face of the risks posed by the situation of military confrontations in the streets. Ivorian daily general news dailies began to publish more on their sites so as not to disappear but have neglected the use of the Internet for too long, they were to be well ahead of the political staffs and bloggers in terms of disseminating "hot" information on the unfolding events in Côte d'Ivoire: amateur videos, sound sources, and hastily written texts were served to Ivorian's consumers in a conflictual political game.

For example, social media has posted images of dead people from the Kenyan post-election conflict in 2007 to manipulate the Ivorian public. These images originally from "YouTube" were posted as the death of foreigners killed by the Ivorian army. They wrongly showed the atrocity of the regime of former president Laurent Gbagbo.

Speeches oriented like those of Claudus Kouadio's Facebook page (pro-Gbagbo activist) illustrated above and Suy Kahofi's Mongoblog (pro-RHDP) on the outcome of the crisis on 11 April 2011 with a "Laurent Gbagbo still at his post" and another face of a "Laurent Gbagbo who signed his reissue" as shown in the attached picture. These contradictions hinted at the perpetuation of the conflict from the military field on the blogs.



Figure 4 Suy Kahofi's Blog (Pro-Rhdp) Source: Suy Kahofi's blog

In any case, for the French International Radio Station RFI, through the voice of Champion and Blettery (2011, 01 March), "in the crisis that Côte d'Ivoire is going through, the dissemination of information is taking a wrong path. Blogs, social networks, and mobile telephony are playing an increasingly important role. "The radio station in Côte d'Ivoire believes that Ivorians at home and abroad are using social networks to keep themselves informed. The Internet pages developed by them, therefore, serve as channels of information and "counter-power" with clear-cut positions that reflect the social divide.

The Ivorian political actors have therefore skimmed on no available means in their operation to charm the people of Côte d'Ivoire. Two of them have particularly distinguished themselves in this Ivorian political arena with an international flavor: Presidents Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara occupied the most present on social networks. This momentum is mainly linked to the post-electoral crisis and the desire to take over from his opponent by using all available communication media.

On both sides of the political camps in conflict, cyber-activist headquarters have also been set up to monitor operations on the Internet and manage accounts on social networks. This has led to the creation of many fake profiles on Facebook to infiltrate the adversary. In addition to such online warfare, the political use of the Internet also reveals tensions underneath political ambitions within the enemy camps as a reminder that "the worm can be in the fruit".

The case of the "positioning battle" of the pro-Ouattara ham back and Soro⁴ led the newspaper *La Lettre du Continent* (2013, 9 January) to write that: "Guillaume Soro and Ahmed Bakayoko are in the starting blocks, in the context of the battle of succession to Ouattara. Each of the two men is unfolding his strategy. In the field of social networks, [Soro Guillaume] is holding the jackpot high with overflowing activism: 31,000 fans on Facebook, nearly 16,000 subscribers on Twitter (Julien Atchoua, 2016).

Social networks are therefore not immune to the slightest socio-political conflict in Côte d'Ivoire. They serve as channels for the dissemination of information of cunning and hatred in times of crisis, the birth of urban legends, and the craziest rumors which have further weakened the Ivorian social fabric (death of President Jacques Chirac in 2005, of the rebel leader "Wattao" and President Alassane Ouattara in 2011). These "political" rumors in 2.0 mode, sometimes with supporting photographic or video images, convince even the most skeptical of the people being manipulated. They are often relayed or provided by the "lie-media".

Social networks such as "counter-power" and "counter-media" The daily news dailies of the blue press, often banned from speaking by way of suspension by the National Press Council (CNP) run by a pro-Ouattara administration since the RDR candidate and the RHDP coalition seized power, find a voice on pro-Gbagbo social media such as Théophile²Kouamou's Ivoire-blog, *Regards croisés* by Fernand Dindé, *AfriK53*, *Ivoirbusiness.net*, etc. Social networks then become a means of circumventing any act of muzzling.

Giving an interview to the French television news²⁴ on 7 August 2013 following his provisional release among 13 other pro-Gbagbo prisoners, Michel Gbagbo (son of the deposed president) testified to his condition of detention since 11 April 2013 in the following terms: "Yes! I have suffered some ill-treatment. I even think it came out on the social networks who had a few comments and all that! But it was at the very beginning of this amazing story.

This testimony about the conditions of detention of a political prisoner is also one of the uses of social media at times as pockets of expression where individual liberties are confiscated. It is therefore safe to conclude that social networks are important in the Ivorian political game. Laurent Gbagbo's LMP and its supporters have found a voice there after having lost the exercise of power since 11 April 2011 and whose public demonstrations are still not allowed two years after this change of course in Ivorian political life.

² *La Lettre du Continent*, (2013, 09 janvier) « Côte d'Ivoire : Duel tragique Bakayoko-Soro », n°650. Repéré à <http://www.africaintelligence.fr>

In addition to their manipulative nature, social networks can therefore serve as a freer channel of expression, thus situating these means of communication between freedom and ambiguity, which are the issues at stake.

Côte d'Ivoire has gone through many socio-political crises in which national, Western, and pan-Africanist media from all over the world have been used as "weapons" to impose divergent visions on the Ivorian crisis. Social networks are part of this pattern by positioning themselves as privileged vectors for the dissemination of manipulative information and as channels of "counter-power". The use, in other words, of the Internet as a medium for political propaganda does not only respond to the desire to establish a digital signature or to be seen to remind people that a political party exists. Today, the Internet is the place where political parties come to wage a merciless media war. The government uses the web to show each of its positive actions and even to justify those that no one would find inappropriate. The Internet has also become the arena for political wrangling. Within the same political party, executives sometimes attack each other through interposed tweets or rather virulent articles on Facebook and blogs. For example, after Gbagbo's departure to the Hague, FPI was divided into two fractions: FPI led by Affi N'guessan and the second fraction is still considering Laurent Gbagbo as the commander in chief (Interview with Kone Navigue, president of the Youth section FPI pro-Affi N'guessan, 2016).

Besides, the pages opened on social networks are used to break down political party press releases and articles from the press close to the political parties. While those close to power are doing everything to show that the pro-Ouattara Houphouëtistes regime is working to make Côte d'Ivoire a democracy, pro-Gbagbo cyber-opponents are multiplying the exits to show every slip-up in the regime. Electronic forums are becoming a kind of verbal battleground where rules of courtesy and civility are often non-existent. This can be seen in the comments left on the pages and the articles published on the country's burning news. For the opposition led by the pro-Gbagbo, the Internet is above all the privileged place to attack the government: Slogans and front pages of pro-Ouattara dailies derided, degrading caricatures of the Head of State by Photoshop. Everything is there to show the incapacity of one or the other regime. These social networks, modern communication tools, have thus contributed to maintaining and strengthening the military, political, economic, and ideological balance of power between the belligerents in the Ivorian crisis, although they have breathed new dynamics of information exchange into political communication.

To better understand the role played by the different national media, we will discuss the presented results with illustrations and based on the research question.

2.12 Freedom of Media in Côte d'Ivoire

Freedom of expression as expressed in Article XIX of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a fundamental right that fortifies all other rights and enables them to be expressed and realized. And Article 19 of the United Nations Declarations of Human Rights identifies media freedom as a right to communicate through both electronic and print media. Everyone has the right to communicate his or her opinions and ideas and share information in whatever form; thus, referred to as freedom of expression in human rights terms. It prohibits the state and other people in society from censorship and it can be restricted for only very serious reasons.

For a society to be democratic, freedom of expression is an essential human right that enables the free exchange of ideas, opinions, and information and thus allows members of society to form their views and express their own opinions on issues of public importance. Freedom of expression serves public debate and supports a free and independent press, informed citizenship, and the transparent functioning of the state (Freedom House, 2016).

The right to freedom of expression is very broad, however, with limits and possible restrictions. This is for example the case when the freedom of expression of one person infringes the rights of another person or the values of society. In situations like these, the state can lawfully restrict or punish such expressions as cause harm.

Freedom of expression gives special duties and rights to the media. The media informs society on matters of public concern and constitutes an important platform for public debate, inquiry, and reflection. Independent media and quality journalism, therefore, constitute a democracy's "watchdog". The media functions as the information conveyor between the state and the society, a function that calls for great responsibility on the side of media practitioners. As has been noted by the International Council of Human Rights, press freedom is directly connected to the practice of independent Journalism, without which, other human rights are threatened (ICHR, 2001).

Over the last few years under President Alassane Ouattara and Laurent Gbagbo, Côte d'Ivoire media environment has liberalized. Notably, the media was largely free to cover the presidential election in 2010 and 2015, as well as December 2016 legislative elections and an October 2016 constitutional referendum (Freedom House, 2016).

Whereas state-run outlets dominate the media landscape, space for an independent media outlet is expanding (Freedom House, 2016). The domination of most media sectors by state-run outlets has been established, and the High Authority for Audio-visual Communication (HACA), Côte d'Ivoire broadcaster regulator, has begun opening space for private television³ stations. In March 2016, it issued a call for tenders, and in December announced the approval of four new private television channels, and two companies to serve as multiplex operators (Freedom House, 2016).

Since the multi-party system was restored in 1990, the Ivorian media landscape has undeniably been well structured.

Indeed, several sectoral professional organizations have been set up to contribute to the modernization and professionalization of the sector.

On August 29, 1992, Ivorian media journalists adopted their first code for professional journalists. In 1995, at the initiative of the National Union of Journalists (UNJCI), the Observatory of Press Freedom, Ethics and Deontology (OLPED) was created.

To support the government's reconciliation program resulting from the Linas Marcoussis Agreements, Laws 2002-643 and 200-644 respectively on the legal regime of the press and the regime of audio-visual communication were adopted and promulgated.

These laws, known as twin laws, are to be free from the 1991 law, marking the media landscape for a plural expression. As far as the written press is concerned, the law stipulates in its article that the publication of any free newspapers or periodical, subject to compliance with the prescribed conditions. These conditions aim at imposing on the press enterprises, the respect of certain criteria of existence following the texts governing the economic sector. The regime of the press is therefore that of the declaration (Bailly, 2004).

Since the adoption of law 2004-643, journalists in Côte d'Ivoire hold no longer fear going to prison because of their professional activity. The first paragraph of article 69 of the law states that imprisonment is excluded for press offenses, which were disciplinary and administrative

³ Freedom house (2010) Censorship Without Borders-Freedom of the Press 2010. URL: <http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=543>

Diégou Bailly, 2004. L'OLPED face au défi de la liberté de la presse, les cahiers de L'OLPED.

sanctions. This law allows Cote d'Ivoire to be one of the few countries that have abolished the penalty of deprivation of liberty offenses committed through the press.

In 2014, the Ministry of Communication began public consultations on revising the 2004 press law, with the aim of “further liberating and professionalizing” the media and online media in particular; however, no revisions had been adopted at the end of 2015. Press offenses cannot result in prison sentences, but defamation carries a fine of up to 15 million CFA francs, and libel against the head of state or other state institutions is punishable by fines of up to 20 million CFA francs (Freedom House, 2016).

As the private media market continues to expand, lack of funding has become a more urgent problem, with a larger number of outlets competing for limited advertising revenues. The government does not explicitly give financial aid to any private media outlets, but backdoor financing from political actors is not uncommon. Journalists are poorly trained, and poorly paid, leaving many media practitioners vulnerable to corruption (Freedom House 2016).

2.13 Types of Adaptations and Journalists in Côte d'Ivoire

Based on Goffman's adaptation tactics, we have attempted a typology of Ivorian's journalists into three categories: peripheral journalists, institutionalized or installed journalists, and model journalists.

Peripheral journalists refer to journalists who are on the periphery of the profession, fake journalists, or editorial rats.

2.14 Editorial Rats

Editorial rats don't deserve to be called journalists. Journalists who have been removed from their editorial offices but continue to travel around the demonstration sites using fake identities. They introduce themselves as current journalists and sign on the attendance lists and get the same benefit as employed reporters. They manage to interview politicians, elites, powerful people to be supported materially and financially. There are so many fake journalists in this category. They use false, profiles, identities, and scam without fear because some of them are protected. Police have already arrested and released this kind of reporters (Cedric, Gnonzion, Dagry, 2017).

An example, one of the manager of media organization located in Abidjan was called, contacted by some politicians complaining about the company reporters. According to these politicians, the company doesn't play a good, fair role because their employees disappear after signing a

contract. But such reporters just use the press card of their previous employer to scam ordinary citizens. Indeed, they were previously employed by the press organization as a journalist, but they left, they are no longer working there. This is the meaning of editorial rat, fake journalist in the Ivorian media environment.

2.15 Lazy or Mediocre Journalists

Another category of peripheral journalists is described by their colleagues as mediocre or lazy journalists. These categories of journalists are well known because of their lack of qualification. Despite decades of professional experiences, they are still relegated to the bottom line because they are lazy, not improving, however, they are well protected, they are not removable from the media company. They are sometimes employed by state media houses such as RTI or *Fraternité matin*.

In fact, many of them have settled into the daily routine of "perdiems", "gombo, "small money = small paper", corruption issues. For these journalists, perdiems and okra are considered as conditions to exercise their tasks as reporter. As a result, no consequences, no sanctions. The practice is so famous and accepted, tolerated. In terms of ethics, these journalists practice the ethics of context, which they call pragmatic ethics inspired by the "politics of the stomach (Interview, 2016, 2017).

2.16 Modal Journalists

The last category of journalists in press institutions in Côte d'Ivoire is "model journalists". These are good, professional journalists. Their practices are in opposition to Editorial rat and Lazy Journalists. They are highly appreciated, respected etc. In general, these categories of journalist are well qualified; they have studied in renowned international journalism schools. They have a lot of experiences, rich CV. And they are among the best journalists in terms of articles, productions and in terms of compliance with codes of ethics and professional conduct. And they are also among the few journalists who are never caught by regulatory and self-regulatory organizations for nonstandard reporting issues.

Being a model journalist is therefore a question of personality, education, vision etc. It is a quality that implies both moral rigor and technical skills. It is moreover these same criteria of morality and technicality that Ogongo (2007) was talking about, wondering what a good journalist means in Kenya! And he proposed the answer of a Kenyan journalist from the old guard, Wahome Mutahi, holder of the "Whispers" column in the Kenyan daily the nation. The latter defined the criteria for a good journalist: It doesn't matter how good you are at executing

your professional duties, the moment you have no moral legs to stand on, I'll have very little respect for you. You may be the best writer on earth but if at the end of the day you can be influenced through an envelope with some money, then you are a failure. And it doesn't matter how good you are, if at the end of the day you are not going to be sympathetic to the causes of the poor, and downtrodden, then to me you are not a good journalist. Those are the values, empathy with the poor, empathy with the oppressed, if you do not have that, then I don't think you are called a journalist (Ogongo, 2007).

In other words, a good journalist knows how to combine technical with moral qualities. It must be directed towards the defense of the weakest, the oppressed, and have a sense of social justice. The good journalist must be the voice of the voiceless. As a result, it is better to be a bad pen that embodies moral values than a better pen but a moral misery (Ellemers, Pagliaro, Barreto, & Leach 2008).

2.17 Appropriation of Professional Ethics

The question of the appropriation of ethical standards at the level of the journalistic profession in Côte d'Ivoire deserves discussion and debate at the level of sociological theories. In the previous lines, we have tried to show that media professionals were staging a secondary adaptation by using prohibited means to resist the socio-professional context of the journalistic world. It is therefore a matter of adopting several strategies that allow them to achieve a kind of deviation or deviance. We would like to apprehend here the deviation, from the point of view of sociology, of symbolic interactionism, as a social construction, to the great displeasure of functionalist and critical approaches.

2.18 Deviance

Deviance as practice and behavior is indeed an attribute of life in society. Behavior is defined as deviant in a group of individuals or each society when it does not comply with certain rules, norms, and values established in that group or in that society (Boudon, 1992:389-422).

According to Cohen (1971:13), the term includes behaviors as diverse as deceit, slacker action, cheating, disloyalty, crime, "snitching", simulation, hijacking, immorality, dishonesty, treason, corruption and bribes, perversity, and offenses against propriety. The term "deviance" is even more precise when he writes that "Deviance is the set of behaviors and states that members of a group consider not in conformity with their expectations, norms or values and which, as a result, may lead to disapproval and sanctions on their part".

It classifies into seven categories what is deviance in sociology, namely crimes and offenses, suicide, drug abuse, sexual transgressions, religious deviance, mental illness, physical disabilities. But the question of deviance has been approached in different ways depending on the currents of thought at the sociological level.

3 MEDIA, CONFLICT, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

3.1 Introduction

The chapter examines the literature review on the influence of media as perpetrator of conflict and secondly underlines the influence of model media reporting related to conflict resolution.

Despite the significance roles played by the media in conflicts, this area has been relatively neglected by both scholars and practitioners. Most existing studies focus repeatedly on the negative contributions of the media to the escalation of violence phases of conflict. Few studies deal with the potential contributions to conflict resolution and societal peace. Scholars and practitioners have noticed how the media exacerbate conflict and have concluded that the media' role can be reversed and converted into positive contributions (Newbold, 1995). Newbold argues that most scholars and researchers have concentrated on the role of media in economic, social, and political issues affecting states with little attention being given to conflicts. Further, he posited that the media impact on conflict resolution is an emerging area that has been under studied due to lack of multidisciplinary models and concepts that would with media's role from peace and conflict realm.

The media, in some cases, has been charged with inciting violence, particularly radio and television were instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Bosnia and Rwanda. The broadcasting, especially Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines in Rwanda was used to lead the perpetrators of the genocide towards their victims (Des Forges, 1999). The media may also, through manipulation of, and or negative presentation of facts, incite violence as such misinformation creates the impression that the situation is worsening. Rwanda's RTLM, has urged listeners to kill "the cockroaches" was a codified name to identify the Tutsi. In Balkans, the media broadcasts split local communities to the point where, violence became a tolerable tool for dealing with grievances (Thompson, 1994:7).

According to Human Rights Watch (2013), hate speech and targeted attacks during 2013-2016 in the Central African Republic (CAR) spread through the media, which aggravated, a sectarian climate that resulted in the displacement of almost one million people and 75, 000 refugees.

Hate speech urging revenge between Muslims and Christian anti-balaka groups in media and online platforms gained prominence and it became easier for members from both communities to consider each other as collectively responsible for individual acts of visible extremes. This was the case for the 2007 presidential election in Kenya leading to the infamous 2007/2008 post-election violence. Media was used for the continuation of conflicts, with one journalist being among the people deemed to bear the greatest responsibility, and tried at the international criminal court, ICC at the Hague (HRW, October 2017).

Indeed, tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce or lacking (Dijk, 1997; Graber, 2002). Offering a variety of information that contains a range of facts, perspectives and opinions would therefore be a de-escalation measure. While this might oppose the media's professional objectivity above everything else, they must realize that how they report on and about a certain conflict can drastically affect their audience, and thus, can be used to promote peace and reconciliation.

Ross (2007, p. 57) stated that studies conducted over decades on the role of media on conflicts reveal that the media are generally unbiased in their coverage. Ross points to several factors that contribute to contemporary conflict coverage, among them governmental pressures and political influences, as well as propaganda mechanisms, foreign policy issues, commercial dimensions, structural constraints, political cultures, social norms and traditions, and nationalistic emotions. The media, under these influences, frame information about conflicts in ways that serve the hidden or prominent interests of the various actors in the conflict.

Tomalin (1969) argues that journalism is viewed as the first draft of history. Although journalists followed the oral tradition of storytelling, their so-called 'stories' were about reporting facts using their skills, observation, description, and recording. "Growing up in the profession meant discovering a treasure trove of impressions, claims, images and statements" (Lynch, 2013, p. 2). Journalists' ideals of what their role in society should be to provide information and educate the public. They were so-called the 'watchdog of democracy' in society, protecting the interests of the people, fulfilling their socially, responsible role in society (Robie, 2004). The journalists' positive role as social guardians of the right to equality, freedom of expression, and social justice became a reflection of the principles of democracy and the media was referred to as the fourth pillar of the state (Curran, 2011).

Consequently, in conflict situations, the media has a role to play. What that role is - perpetuating conflict or being an agent of peace - depends largely on the framing, agenda setting of the

media. Where the media's agenda is non-violence and the framing is peace-oriented and aims to reduce conflict and support reconciliation, it can and may quickly defuse violence and influence public opinion towards conflict resolution (Lynch & Galtung, 2010).

3.2 Agenda Setting

The agenda setting approach provides an alternative to the popular paradigm of "objectivity and bias" by aiming to uncover the hidden assumptions behind media coverage. Framing considers the ability of a media presentation to define a situation and issues, and to set the terms of a debate, and reflects the richness of media discourse. However, in some cases the term is used vaguely, most often as a metaphor (Tankard, 2001, p. 96-97). Frames are broadly defined by some authors as cognitive structures that guide the perception and representation of events (Goffman, 1974).

In contrast, some authors focus more on the active selection of frames and their outcomes. The frame is the selection of certain features of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text "so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p.52).

The Shaw and McCombs (1972) agenda setting theory provides an explanation for the strong effects of the media, which are closely related to the media's ability to reproduce the social and cultural aspects of society through the publication of information. The agenda in this context refers to how significant the issues are not to a predetermined goal of the media to influence audiences. It is suggested that the media affects the scope of public thought. By applying this model to the Ivorian political subversions of 2002 and 2011, it is found that through daily reporting, the media's coverage of issues (agenda) became public agenda.

Using the media to generate discussions on peacebuilding, journalists and policymakers can collectively shape the public agenda towards more constructive dialogues. The model suggests that contrary to the general assumption that the media has the power to directly inject behaviors and attitudes into people's minds, the media affects the scope of their thinking. This is further illustrated by Bernard Cohen's 1963 statement that "the press is not always successful in telling people what to think, but it does a remarkable job of telling readers what to think about".

Additionally, the media's agenda becomes the public's agenda through daily reporting. This suggests that in a conflict environment, the media reflects the disorder of society and does not necessarily generate conflict. Therefore, while this hypothesis challenges the idea that the media

can directly foment conflict, it provides a good focus for the analysis of the socio-economic and political structure inherent in the media in Cote d'Ivoire. There are two assumptions in setting the agenda: first, the media does not simply reflect reality, it rather filters and shapes it. Second, the media's focus on a few issues and topics leads the public to perceive these issues as more important than others (McQuail & Windhal, 1993).

According to Hall, (1998 cited by Street, 2001:243), agenda setting theory has been challenged for portraying the public as passive recipients. From this perspective, it has been argued that the media do not passively relay information from sources; they select or reject it based on the reality of the day, or the particular focus of the media outlet. In the absence of effective guidelines on conflict-sensitive journalism, practitioners are likely to inject their own biases into news commentary.

Dearing & Rogers (1996), meanwhile, assert and argue that most audiences are actively engaged in dominant societal discourses at any given time. This means that the media helps to reinforce the ideas and contexts in which information is perceived. The agenda-setting process is not static, but a continuous movement of different issues in the public domain that compete for the attention of the media, the public and political elites (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). Earlier, both Prosser and McCombs (1991) acknowledged that the public learns what issues are important from the media's selection of news and incorporates a similar set of importance into their own personal agendas.

3.3 Social Media's Role

Social media could also be a powerful tool, focusing worldwide attention on armed conflict and international humanitarian law (IHL). Due to its scale and the ability to reproduce information easily and exponentially, -as we saw with the massive viewership of the Joseph Kony 2012 video, -social media is useful for quickly and efficiently publicizing events and information which can be used to generate public interest, to bolster advocacy campaigns, and to educate about the law, social cohesion or living together, and on understanding citizenships issues.

Notions such as new media, social media, and alternative media are the terms used discontinuously to explain the technological changes that have revolutionized information gathering, news production, and dissemination regardless of borders. These platforms are rapidly becoming alternative venues for the dissemination of information (van Dijck & Poell, 2013) due to the increased content and function crossover.

Daily online news coverage is provided by almost all major media organizations, newspapers, and television stations, but they also have Twitter feeds and Facebook pages (Newman, 2011). Independent and smaller media outlets use these as their primary source for publishing news, just as journalists have their blogs, twitters, and Facebook accounts to provide their opinions and perspective. It is argued today that the rise of "citizen journalism and mass self-communication" is a direct alternative to "the traditional role or mission of journalism, its public responsibilities" (id).

Indeed, Lewis D'Vorkin, editor-in-chief of AOL News (as cited in Allan, 2007), asserts that "the world is looking to the fastest-growing news team - citizen journalists - for a human perspective through the eyes of those who have lived or experienced the news as it happens."

In keeping with this, Alia qualifies blogs as a new journalism, one that manages to cross geographical, cultural, and political boundaries and facilitate the creation of a community, transcending the limitations imposed by attitudes, policies, and governments of the regions and countries in which they reside (Alia, 2010, p. 36). The followers of Twitter as a platform start to work their way into mass media start-up system alongside media celebrities, with journalists treating the tweets of celebrities or politicians as "quotes" (Lesage & Hackett, 2013, p.7).

These platforms, therefore, are gradually becoming legitimate standards for measuring and tagging people and ideas; outcomes are further expanded by mass media and further empowered by users through social buttons such as follow and like (p. 7).

The potential for journalists to play a more positive role in conflict situations and to contribute to peacebuilding in societies through new-age media is well documented. Journalists, other media professionals, researchers, academics, peace workers, and communities should also develop a coherent and synergistic media approach in order to achieve successful and sustainable changes in society (Alia, 2010). Offering a variety of information which contains a range of facts, perspectives and opinions would therefore be a de-escalation measure.

3.4 Conflict

"Conflict is inevitable, but combat is optional", said Max Lucade.

Conflicts are moments of upheaval affecting previously coherent systems. These moments are diagnosed today at all levels of modern life, both individual and societal. For these authors, "crises" appear to generate disorder, the deterioration of social relationships (reduced solidarity,

weak ties, incivility), and interindividual relations (instability, aggressiveness) (Barus-Michel, Dorna, 2009).

Berghof Foundation glossary (BFG) defines conflict as a clash between antithetical ideas or interests within a person or involving two or more persons, groups or states pursuing mutually incompressible goals. Like all social phenomena, conflicts are usually complex and may emerge on different levels. Some are primarily intra-personal, while others are inter-personal, and there are conflicts across all layers of society. Conflicts may have a predominantly civil and internal dimensions or may take on transnational or even global forms. Each conflict has its own history, features, and dynamics. Since conflict is a social phenomenon, it is an inevitable part of human interaction. The role of conflict as a driver of social change can be constructive if the conflicting parties acknowledge the legitimacy of different interests and needs of all actors involved. Constructive approaches to conflict aim to create a social and political environment which allows the root causes of the conflict to be addressed and which enhances sustained and non-violent alternatives to the use of force destructive approaches are characterized by conflicting parties' efforts to resolve a conflict unilaterally and at the cost of others (BFG, 2012).

Morton Deutsch assumed that conflict is potentially of individual and social value; his basic question was how prevent conflicts from being destructive. Johan Galtung characterized conflict as two or more individuals or groups pursuing mutually competing goals with opposing interests and needs, and emphasized the linkage between structural, behavioral, and attitudinal aspects of conflict.

And Friedrich Glasl considers social conflict as an interaction involving at least two parties (individuals, groups, states) with at least one-party experiencing differences (distinctions, contradictions, incompatibilities, etc.) in perception, thinking, imagination, interpretations, feelings (sympathy-aversion, trust-mistrust) and desires (needs, objectives, purposes, goals) to the other party in such a way as to make them feel that potential for the realization of their ideas is affected.

Finally, Hummel's (1999, p. 13) defines conflict as a struggle between individuals or groups of people, overvalues or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the conflicting parties aim to assert their values or claims over those of others.

3.5 Galtung's Triangle of Conflict.

An ABC triangle has been elaborated by Johan Galtung (1996, p.72). there are three aspects of it which are: attitudes (A) of the actor involved, their behavior (B), and the contradiction (C). The contradiction of the actors involved is defined in terms of values or objectives that are incompatible with each other. Each of these three dimensions is interdependent and each of them can be the starting point for the development of a conflict. Conflicting goals, for example over territory, can lead to hostile attitudes and then to hostile behavior. Likewise, hostile behavior can lead to hostile attitudes and create an incompatibility of goals. Similarly, hostile attitudes between actors can lead to behavior that creates an incompatibility of goals. Thus, the basic proposition that conflict can begin at any of the three points (but must involve all three) becomes more complex when we examine what attitudes, behavior, and contradiction are, and how they interact.

This is an excellent model for both the beginner and the expert to use in trying to understand a given conflict. The model of the ABC triangle is simple, and the non-specialist may apply it in order to understand the underlying contradiction, attitudes of the actors involved towards each other, and their behavior resulting from the contradiction and attitudes.

Since the analysis can be initiated using any aspect as a starting point, the reviewer can identify what is driving the conflict and how the conflict can be defused. One good illustration is that of territory, which is often the focus of conflict. Indeed, while a dispute over territory is an obvious incompatibility of goals, an analysis of attitudes and behavior may reveal that the territory itself is not important to the actors, but their desire to keep it out of each other's reach is, revealing that the source of the conflict lies in their respective attitudes and determines their behavior. Another positive feature of the model is that it can be applied to all types of conflicts and multiple actors, making it a truly "general" model in its application.

In addition, it offers great adaptability because it encourages the analyst to think about the exact nature of attitudes, behavior, and contradiction, which encourages the application of specialized knowledge. With attitudes as an example, a psychologist will have considerable expertise that can be applied to understanding the attitudes aspect of the conflict triangle.

While this will help in understanding one aspect, working with other specialists, such as sociologists and historians, will help in understanding the other aspects. The model therefore may be used by you and me, by people in conflict situations and by specialists, all using the

same model as a reference point: the ABC triangle may be as simple or complex as desired by the user.

According to Barash (2000), there has always been a link between peace, war, and conflict. He strongly argues that peace is never fully achieved, but it can be approachable.

After establishing a fatal link between peace and war, Galtung (1996) calls the simple "absence of war" or fire "negative peace". According to him, "positive peace" is the condition in which society has alternative "nonviolent" means of dealing with conflict.

And Lynch (2013, p. 50), points out that aspects of structural and cultural violence are exposed and challenged in positive peace, requiring openness and inclusion in public spheres, to enable a monitory democracy. And she further asserts that if conflict is defined in terms of "human relations, then peace would be defined as the absence of violence that is parallel to the absence of conflict.

The concepts of peacebuilding and peacekeeping are related to peace. Collins (2003) defines peacekeeping as "the prevention of further fighting between hostile forces in an area. In this case, the presence of internal and external forces to monitor and enforce the truce between opposing parties may be required. For example, UN-administered peacekeeping forces. The consolidation of the peace is the process of creation of self-sufficient structures that eliminate the causes of the wars and offer opportunities of development (Galtung, 1998). And he (2003) advocates the integration of these mechanisms into the structures of society that should be considered as a reservoir from which the system itself can draw, just as a healthy body has the capacity to generate its own resources, its own antibodies and does not need the ad hoc administration of drugs.

3.6 Peace and Media Discourse

Peace (Galtung) can be defined as an absence of dissension, violence, or war, a meaning found in the New Testament and possibly an original meaning of the Greek word for peace, Irene.

Pacifists have adopted this interpretation, for to them all violence is bad. This meaning is widely accepted among iridologists and students of international relations. It is the primary dictionary definition. Peace, however, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquility. It is viewed as peace of mind or serenity, especially in the East. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers.

In his study of peace discourse in the Israeli media, Mandeltis (2007, p. 98-99) points out the lack of conceptualization of the notion of peace and that in general, studies of media discourse on peace are scarce. Moreover, the issue of peace itself is not strongly emphasized in media coverage. She thus relates the scarcity of literature on the relationship between media, communication, and the culture of "peace" to the lack of perspectives on peace.

These observations were not lost on Groff and Smoker (2002), who questioned the lack of precise unanimity on how the concept is interpreted by UNESCO's leadership.

Another finding is that Bratic and Schirch (2008) give the theoretical argument for the impact of media on peace is underdeveloped, practical projects are widely scattered, and a systematic analysis of practice is lacking. Furthermore, the debate reiterates the media's model of social responsibility and "its universal and philosophical nature tends to distract and dilute the discussion." However, they do not doubt the positive change and positive influence of the role of the media in conflicts and consequently their resolutions.

Building on Wolsfield's (2008) idea, Hawkins (2011, pp. 262-263) argues that a successful peace process requires patience, and the media requires immediacy. Peace is more likely to develop in a calm environment and the media has an obsessive interest in threats and violence. He argues that "peace is a process, not an event, and disapproves of the needs of media companies in their information-building activity because they do not fit well with the needs of peace-related journalism.

Hawkins (2011, p. 264), finds it pathetic that enemies, actors involved in conflicts come to sit at the table while the outbursts of violence continue to make their way. But this initiative, sitting down at the table would allow the media both positive coverage that would target negative action or conflict resolution.

3.7 Conflict Resolution

The expressions most often used are conflict resolution, conflict transformation, peacebuilding, peacekeeping etc.

Conflict Resolution (CR) is a way for two or more parties to find a peaceful solution to a disagreement among them. The disagreement may be personal, financial, political, or emotional. Bonta defines conflict resolution as the settlement or avoidance of disputes between individuals or groups of people through a solution that refrains from violence. It implies setting an issue of a manner that is acceptable to all conflicting parties and each party going back to

their lives with an answer to their problems. He adds: this answer may range one which addresses the disputing parties underlying needs, both tangible and intangible, through a decision which puts an end to the current context in which the parties are involved (Bonta).

It focuses on the deep-rooted causes of conflict, including structural, behavioral, and above all, attitudinal aspects. As with management, there are many different understandings of resolution, which practitioners and scholars have long been at pains to distinguish. It is often used as an umbrella term for the whole field, especially in Anglo-American literature. Conflict resolutions aim to help parties explore, analyze, question, and reframe their positions and interests as a way of transcending conflict. For many, the learning process entailed in resolving a conflict is just as important as the end state it hopes to achieve: the future is not seen as conflicts free, but as one where bonds and models exist that conflict parties can use to find further resolutions instead of resolving to violence (BFG, 2012).

3.8 Burton Arguments on Human Needs for Conflict Resolution

John Burton is the pioneer of the human needs approach who based his approach on Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, a model of psychological motivation, in which needs flow from psychology to self-actualization. This means from basic survival needs to the realization of one's potential. Burton's approach is an example of the application of an established theory from one field of knowledge (psychology) to another (conflict resolution). Maslow's model has also been widely used in business and management training.

Burton's approach is that human needs are universal and if they are not met in society, frustration and conflict will occur. He believes that for a state to be legitimate, it must satisfy human needs, values, and interests. While needs are universal and primary in nature, interests are linked to the aspirations of the individual and identity groups, which means that needs, values, and interests constitute a hierarchy from the essential of needs and values to the desirable of interests. The requirements of needs and values are non-negotiable, while interests are negotiable, because needs and strongly held values are drivers of human survival and development. From a conflict resolution perspective, when a conflict is at the level of human needs, the conflict tends to become irreconcilable because situations involving needs do not respond to negotiation, bargaining or coercion.

The focus of the human need approach used to be on the state as the unit of analysis, with the state serving to satisfy or frustrate basic community needs, and thus to promote or prevent conflict.

3.9 Conflict Transformation

Conflict Transformation (CT) is the process by which conflicts, such as civil war, ethnic conflict, etc., are transformed into peaceful resolutions. An important model of conflict resolution was introduced by Lederach, a leading peacemaker who, in the late 1980s, identified links between people and conflict. It suggests that the resolution of disputes could be achieved by working on the interrelation between the conflicting parties. His model of conflict transformation considers conflict to be in the great sea of relationships between groups or parties in conflict. A conflict transformation, however, begins with an understanding of the larger patterns, the flow and ebb of different energies, times, maybe entire season, in the great sea of relationships, not a narrow focus on the single wave that rises and crashes on the shore. As metaphor, the sea does indeed suggest that there is a rhythm and a pattern to the movements of our relationships. Sometimes, the movements of the sea are predictable, calm etc. periodically, events, seasons and climates combine to create great marine changes that affects everything around them.

Conflict transformation (CT) is a process, as Miall (2004) points it out. It is a process of engaging with people and changing their relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the reconstruction of the society that supports the continuation of hospitality through violence. Therefore, conflict transformation involves a long-term process which occurs at different levels of society and focuses on transformation conflict by negotiation, advancing understanding and acceptance, and reaching a compromise.

Beyond conflict resolution, the intractability and protracted nature of some conflict situations has led to thinking about conflict transformation so that conflicts can be pursued through non-violent means. This approach seeks to address conflict as a multi-layered and multi-dimensional situation: in complex conflicts, the resolution of the conflict requires sufficient understanding by the analyst of conflicts involving multiple state and non-state actors, motivated by multiple causes, and which extend beyond state borders with different levels of society involved.

The human needs and conflict triangle approaches discussed above provide a "pragmatic" approach in that they work best in structured and organized societies such as states, where the number of actors involved in a conflict is small and the written and unwritten rules governing behavior are clear. In situations in which actors are convened for talks and negotiations, it is clear who they represent, and they have the authority to act on behalf of the people they represent and to reach agreements. In disorganized societies, without common rules and with

multiple actors representing diverse groups crossing state boundaries, pragmatic approaches do not work as well. This requires a "holistic" approach that sees conflict transformation as deep, that works at the grassroots level (without excluding others), and that aims for profound change that takes time to occur. This approach takes time to achieve. The transformative approach is a commitment to long-term change that involves all levels of society (Miall, 2004).

John Paul Lederach's approach shows that the focus on the grassroots approach does not mean that other levels are excluded. In this approach, a conflict-affected population is presented as a pyramid, with three levels: the grassroots leaders, many of whom live day-to-day; the mid-level leaders, who hold some sway; and the top-level leaders, who are empowered but highly visible and therefore locked in their positions. If the bottom level is the engine of transformation, then the mid-level serves as the link to the top level. Using level-appropriate methods, peacebuilding can be pursued at all levels and focuses on what Lederach calls the "epicenter" of a conflict: the system of inter-related patterns from which conflict "episodes" emerge. Thus, Lederach's idea that conflict can be transformed from violent to non-violent is a major conceptual development beyond human needs theory. But Lederach does not reject "pragmatic" conflict resolution out of hand but includes it in a more "holistic" framework. It aims to transform conflict into a conflict where there is recognition and inclusion at the base, middle and top of the hierarchy, with the base driving the transformation Miall (2004).

The media has the great advantage of seeing conflict beyond the legal jargon and the hearing room and moving it into the human circle, portraying human emotions and feelings of pride, fear, loss, and gain (Lynch & Galtung).

3.10 Media Impact on Conflict Resolution and Transformation

“The more we sweat in peace, the less we bleed in war: Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit”.

The practice of ‘conflict resolution through the media consists of educating, giving confidence, denouncing the stereotypes and clichés that incite and engender conflicts, analysing the underlying causes of conflicts, and humanizing the protagonists; on the other hand, ‘mediation journalism’ involves putting the accent on the reconciliation of apparently irreconcilable points of view to arrive at consensus (Howard, 2005). Conscious of their role during the war, ‘mediator journalists’ should avoid being irresponsible so as not to aggravate the conflict.

And there is a significant measure of peacebuilding which can be supported by peace media reporting. The objective of peace media reporting is to uncover the causes of a conflict and the

true objectives of all involved, while ensuring that all victims of the conflict are humanized. Peace reporters do not seek the exploitation of loss and suffering but work to balance reporting and show how easily information can be manipulated. An ethical guideline for such reporting is to highlight people who use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence, and at the same time report on suffering and loss on all sides. Focusing on alternatives and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict is also central to peace journalism. The framework suggested for peace-building media can involve different strategies such as (1) peace and conflict-sensitive journalism; (2) peace-promoting entertainment media; (3) media regulation to prevent incitement to violence, but also (4) peace-promoting citizen media (Galtung & Lynch, 2010).

Practicing quality journalism is challenging work but it is very useful for conflict resolution. To overcome these difficulties and provide accurate and unbiased information, journalists rely on their training and standards. This matches up with the primary role or traditional role of journalism, which is to enable the public to make information decisions (BFG, 2012). Reliable information to the conflict in times of violent conflict requires additional skills from reporters. They need to deepen their knowledge of the causes of conflict, how it develops and how it ends. It requires them to know where to find these causes and solutions. Because journalism provides information, the public is much better informed about the conflict behind the violence and can help to resolve it. Awareness of this crucial role that journalism can play in times of conflict is essential for journalists (BFG, 2012).

By reporting on conflicts and ills in society, the media provides a synthesis to the social problem and an opportunity to correct errors. Thus, the media can be utilized to bridge the gap between violent conflicts and societal peace and in turn promote dialogue. The essential role of the media in reporting conflicts is to accurately present events in a fair and balanced manner. Usually, these values are used interchangeably and simply mean, allowing each side to express its opinions (Betz, M. & Williams, K. 2017).

Wolfsfeld (2004) anticipates that media can positively influence the peace and nature of the debate about the peace process. He suggested that during the conflict, the media can itself reframe issues to make the conflict more tractable, which in turn, helps the parties in reframing issues and formulating possible solutions. The influence of the media is closely related to the conflict dimensions about the communication of attitudes and perceptions that influence legitimacy and credibility in any political system. These dimensions are particularly important

in weak states and democratic transitions, where a transfer of power must be made from certain elite groups to include all actors in civil society.

The media bears the responsibility of informing the public and politicians about national issues and suggest ways to promote and protect citizen's rights in any country. In their capacity as watchdogs, the media are the "eyes and ears" of the public. They are defenders against possible abuses of rights in society (Watson, 1998, p. 94). While the mainstream media endeavours to achieve these roles, it cannot ignore competition from the alternative or sensational media. Alternative's press is sometimes characterized by the manufacture of misinformation and falsehoods (ICHRP, 2001).

Thus, by engaging incredible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening communication channels among parties in a conflict, the media can contribute to societal peace. By doing so, the media can disseminate information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict.

A good example is Mega FM, which has promoted peace, reconciliation, social cohesion in Northern Uganda with positive effects since 2002 Struges (2007) further noted that the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) leadership was encouraged to listen to the station and on several occasions joined radio call-in talk shows and held discussions with government and civil society representatives, a good step in peacebuilding.

And in February 2002, MONUC (the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Hironnelle Foundation, a Swiss NGO, set up Radio Okapi as a means of promoting peace and reconciliation in DR Congo. With staff made up of mostly native Congolese journalists and broadcasters, Radio Okapi produced news, music, and information on MONUC activities. Radio Okapi has been on air for 16 years now and has contributed a lot towards reunification of the country (DR Congo) by way of programmed broadcasts across the frontlines in both government and rebel-held territory. Since its inception, Radio Okapi enlightened listeners on the peace process success, failures and hopes (Betz, 2004). Other than peace process, Radio Okapi has also developed programs dedicated to health, education, Human rights, culture, and music, the last of which is crucial in gaining the interest of Congolese radio listeners (ibid).

In Côte Ivoire, Radio ONUCI has been used to create the common good for the people to dialogue, to express their opinions, and to promote societal peace/cohabitation (Interview, 2017).

However, an important dimension of any conflict is the struggle over the media. This may be seen as a particular arena in which actors compete to control or influence the media in various ways in order to gain or maintain political influence (Wolfsfeld, 1997). This involves an ongoing and competitive dynamic that involves being able to communicate to the public (or prevent communication) to promote one's version of the story. For example, being able to show who is "good" and who is "bad" and thus justify policies and actions.

A common assumption among actors competing for media outlets was that success in controlling access would automatically lead to success in the second dimension, the cultural dimension or framing. In societies where the media are heavily controlled by the state or other interests, this is usually the case. Yet, as the media become more independent, this becomes more difficult. There is also a relationship working in the opposite direction, with the particularities and characteristics of media functioning at all levels having important implications for how a conflict will play out between the main parties to the conflict (Dixon, 1996).

3.11 Focus of Peace Media Reporting

Conflict does not appear spontaneously and does not end by itself. Certain things must occur for the conflict to end. Some differences and conflicts can be resolved through a dialogue and peaceful means, while the ones that remain unsettled can brew, escalate, and give rise to violence or armed means. One of the most important means to resolve a conflict is communication. For two sides in a conflict to move towards a non-violent resolution, they must first talk. This communication often leads to amicable resolution of disputes and conflicts. This is where journalism models become crucial in conflicts and where the media can perform the role of peace agent. Necessary to that end is that journalists should not only repeat old grievances by the old elites, but rather they should seek out other parties and other points of view. As through good reporting and accurate and impartial news conflicts are often reduced (Pandeli, 2017).

Pre-conflict phase	The media highlight the divergent interests of the conflicting parties, which may lead to a conflict situation, with a view to finding common ground for a negotiated settlement of the disputes and thus generating demands for peace.
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Period of conflict	The media highlight the human, economic, social, and political impacts of conflict and thus reinforce the need for peace.
Post-conflict situation	The media keeps an eye on the implementation of peace agreements that have been put in place by the competing parties and ensures that they are implemented in a meaningful way.

Table 1 Peace Media Reporting

Peace media reporting may positively affect the audience. It is important for media to understand what conscious and unconscious role it plays in its routine work reducing or at times aggravating conflicts. In the process of a conflict, the media perform the following roles that can eventually lead to peace making.

Theoretical framework on media reporting and their resolution are explored in the following chapter.

4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PEACE JOURNALISM

This chapter focuses on the conceptual and theoretical framework/development of peace journalism. Models that relate to the structure and responsibility of journalism include Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm’s (1963) social responsibility model of journalism; Herman and Chomsky’s (2002) propaganda model of the media; Shoemake and Reese’s (1996) hierarchical model of media content influences; and Pierre Bourdieu’s (1998) notion of the field of journalism discussed by Hackett (2007).

4.1 Conceptual Framework: Social Responsibility of Media Reporting

Although many examples of the media’s negative contribution to the escalation of violent conflicts, fair and accurate journalism, and media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions may have the potential in both conflict prevention and transformation. Newbold (1995) posited that the media impact on conflict resolution is an emerging area that has been understudied due to a lack of multidisciplinary models and concepts that would look at media’s role from a realm of peace and conflict resolution.

The theoretical framework of peace media reporting is essentially rooted in Siebert⁴, Peterson, and Schramm's (1963) social responsibility of media reporting. The Siebert model assigns a social responsibility to journalists who monitor those in power on behalf of peoples and societies, serving more or less as watchdog because of their right to communicate (Shaw, 2011, p. 114). The 1978 UNESCO Declaration, Article 3 (UNESCO, 1978, p. 1), states that media have an important contribution to make in the campaign against racism, apartheid, and incitement to war.

The social responsibility of journalist or reporter is placed within this framework by Shaw, Lynch, and McGoldrick (2005, p.5) claim that journalists are responsible both for the way they report and for providing opportunities for the wider society to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict (cited in Shaw, 2011, p. 114). This simply means media has the responsibility of reporting accurately, prominent an open debate, representing diverse views, and protecting citizen rights against abuse.

The media reporting is considered by Hackett (2007) within three conceptual frameworks: Herman and Chomsky's (2002) media propaganda model (a); Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchical model of media content influences (b), and Pierre Bourdieu's (1963) understanding of journalism as a field (c).

4.2 Herman and Chomsky (2002) Propaganda Model

It is argued in Herman and Chomsky's (2002, p. 298) propaganda model, that the true societal purpose of the media lies in its capacity as an instrument for inculcating and defending, social, and political agenda of the privileged groups that dominate national society and the state. According to Hackett (2007, p. 79), the model, which is grounded in extensive studies of U.S. media coverage during the Cold War, identifies specific cultural links between media and power, exemplified by the state and the elite. As a result of the model's moral and empirical clarity, it has regained an audience among young people and social movements, which is seen as an antidote to naive liberal notions of the free press.

According to Lynch (2013, p. 2), both Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has potentially demonstrated a capacity for prediction. In the agenda-setting and information-framing aspects, it has led to a major change in how information is perceived and examined, with special emphasis on conflict reporting.

⁴ Fred S. Siebert. 1984. The libertarian theory of the press (pp. 39-72)

4.3 Shoemaker & Reese's (1996) Hierarchical Model Influence

In contrast to the propaganda model, Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchical model discusses a wider range of pressures on media production (Hackett, 2007, p. 80). The model identifies five layers of influence on the media that exist at the micro and macro levels of the professional media. These layers are hierarchically structured as follows: media themselves; daily newsroom; the wider organizational imperatives of media institutions; as well as those of extra-media influences and finally the ideological influence (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 80-81).

Especially if they are in an editorial position, the media, their work-related roles, their ethical standards and their beliefs can influence the news. A second category of imperatives is the need to gather raw materials (news) from suppliers (sources) and deliver them to customers (audiences), in resulting in standardized and recurring content patterns (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p.109, cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 80).

There is a third category of broader organizational imperatives of media institutions, dealing with profit, ownership, and community influences. And the fourth layer consists of external influences such as advertisers, sources, market structures and technology. Finally, the fifth is the influence of ideology, defined by Shoemaker and Reese as a system of values and convictions which governs what audiences, broadcasters and other actors in the information system take for granted and which, in addition, serves in part to maintain dominant power relations (1996).

Hackett argues that Shoemaker and Reese's model is useful in organizing the literature on media sociology to identify the extent of corporate influence at different levels of the new system. The same ought to be possible with regard to both the reinforcement of conflict reporting, and the openness to the practice of peace reporting (2007, p. 81).

4.4 The Bourdieu (1993) Model of Journalism as a Field

This model reviewed by Hackett (2007) relies on the French social theory of social structure (Foucault, 1984; Bourdieu, 1993) which considers the media as a relative autonomous institutional sphere possessing a certain logic of its own (Hackett & Zhao, 1998, p. 6). The Bourdieu definition of journalism as a field is relevant to the process of understanding media structure as it pays more attention to the potentially asymmetrical relationship between and within institutional spheres (Hackett, 2007, p. 85). Thus, every field is relatively autonomous, governed by its own laws, rules, and logics, while being structurally homologous to the others,

which gives it the second and third dimensions such as symbolic power and the reality effect (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 21-22; cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 86).

The approach taken by Bourdieu does suggest that journalism and the mass media should be seen as relatively autonomous fields within a larger field of power and economics, something we can observe in the growth of the visual corporate media and the prevailing culture of the ratings (Hackett, 2007, p. 86). This provides a rich framework that can be applied to features of information more directly relevant to peace journalism (Hackett, 2007, p. 87).

However, there are contrasting views on the social responsibility role of the media. The concept of 'conflict resolution tends to generate controversies with media professionals.

4.5 Hackett's Cases

The three frameworks mentioned above, however, have limitations, says Hackett (2007):

The worldwide landscape of media is changing in ways that these models cannot fully handle, since they are grounded in relatively stable national system. Both oppositional and grassroots media on the internet are challenging the mainstream media's dominance, bringing in news voices and expanding the definition of journalism (Hackett, 2007, p. 91).

In Hackett's final analysis, practicable approaches to peace journalism would be to build a new field, alongside existing journalism. This option is to have alternative media organizations, sponsored by civil society, independent of corporate or state power, and able to put the ethics of peace journalism into practice (Hackett, 2007, p. 93).

An alternative strategy would be to change the landscape of journalism, the forces of gravity to which it is subject (p.94). among these are citizens movements who contribute to making the media more accountable, more diverse, and better quality and who have the right to demand democratic reform of state communication policies.

And finally, peace journalism's third approach would be to reform the field of journalism (p. 93). It is indeed necessary for dedicated journalists to take the lead, as teachers, practitioners, writers, and advocates he says (p.93).

Lauk (2004) separately criticizes this role as too idealistic in the absence of free and democratic structures.

The concept of Bourdieu that journalism is understood as a field (with norms, forms, roles, voices, hierarchy, openness and closeness towards other field, and public debate) is

characterized by Johnson (1993, p. 9) as radical contextualisation. The concept highlights the spectrum of choices available for news production (what events will be covered, in what form, for how long) and explains that production is based on the professional strategies of the agents within the field (e.g., junior reporter, senior reporter, commentator, editor).

And Hallin (1996) considers that the journalist's conception of autonomy (Chomsky & Reese) as a false consciousness, based on idea that news judgements can be politically neutral. Far from being a mere lie or illusion, it is a deeply held system of consciousness that profoundly affects both the structure of the news organization and the day-to-day practice of journalism (Hallin, 1986, p. 23). Thus, the rise of professional journalism gave journalists ground to claim their own authority (Allan, 1997; Schudson, 1978; 2001) in the sphere in which they communicate primarily to members of their own profession (Hallin, 1986; Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Weaver, 1998; Deuze, 2002).

4.6 Broadening the Model of Journalism

Gumede (2012) sees broadening the journalism modal as a more practical way for journalists to ask relevant, critical questions, expose the truth, and help opening dialogues. This call is reinforced by her emphasis on what they can learn from the field of conflict resolution, transformation, dialogue building, and to bring conflicting parties to a platform of communication. Thus, he believes that journalism must transform itself to keep up with numerous actual changes, mutations, and to reflect the reality of situations.

Gumede (2012) states, "one of the reason people get tense about the news is simply due to the use of the orthodox model that does not help to resolve the conflict issues. This model is therefore ineffective because everything is dark about the conflict and there is no prospect of anything but indefinite continuation of the conflict."

4.7 Media Networks and Conflict Reporting

The evolution of the role of the media has been associated with the historical change of the public sphere from an institutional domain to a new space of communication', which has become the forum for social dialogue and negotiation of power (Castells, 2007, p. 238).

As a result, the use of news and information is not only limited to power, money, and politics, but it is also used for "entertainment" (O'Neil, 2011). The advancement of the worldwide digital revolution and new media technologies has made information more 'entertaining, interactive and instantaneous. In addition, it has offered public a great access to world events, with

immediate and detailed reporting on war'. But it has ironically turned into a tool of state ideological propaganda, a mechanism to push and defending the economic, social, and political agenda of the privileged groups that dominate national society and the state' (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 298).

For Ross view (2007, p. 54), the media have become invaluable to the citizens as they depend on it for information and opportunities. As a result, communication plays a key factor in conflict and conflict resolution, thus generating awareness and attentiveness to the other party. The media's failure to provide accurate and trustworthy information can be a critical contributor to the escalation of conflict (Lake & Rothchild, 1996, p. 73).

Social media networks are re-writing the tenets and protocols of war and conflict reporting rapidly, Matheson and Allan (2010, p. 187) assert. They highlight that in situations such as the Arab Spring in 2011, social media networks have been used to establish connections across the world, mobilize support and construct complex global spaces outside those established by news organizations and states, thus unlocking a number of distinctive new forms of communication which journalism can no longer afford to ignore.

For example, Facebook, blogging, and twitter were identified among the most known due to the recent events for example in Hong Kong, Kashmir (Asia), in Lebanon, Algeria and Tunisia (Arab world), in Venezuela (South America). New technology has strengthened the power of citizens who, often more quickly than professional journalists themselves, can report news as they happen. Some argue that citizen's journalism can be extremely useful in contexts of oppression or state control over mainstream media (Charaudeau, 2011, Breton, 2000, & Vedel 2010).

The interplay between mainstream media and social media makes most news organizations recognize that there is no turning back from the new social ecosystem. New Networks as Google and social aggregators like Flipboard, WhatsApp, news.me to name a few, are emerging and will continue to become more personalized and tailored to audiences.

However, the role of traditional news organizations cannot fully be replaced at this juncture. Producing, packaging, and distributing quality content remains crucial to the functioning and flourishing of the news ecosystem, even if news publishers already realize that there is no choice but to make a firm and rapid commitment (Newman, 2011, p. 56).

4.8 Criticism Against Social Networks Derivatives

Increasingly, online journalism and citizen media are booming. The emergence of new online communication channels, such as Skype, WhatsApp, Messenger, LINE, and many others, has also led to an unbridled increase in the spread of fake news (I. Lapowsky, 2018). Furthermore, one particularly blatant and direct way in which inaccurate beliefs have been propagated via social media is through fake news. While citizens are often misinformed about political issues and candidates, the circumstances in which inaccurate beliefs arise are not yet well understood.

Intentionally false and unverifiable articles, which are intended to manipulate the perception of the reality by people, have been used to influence politics and to support advertising, hate speech, etc. thus, they also became a method to inflame and intensify social conflicts. Stories that are false and intentionally mislead readers have caused a growing distrust among the American people in recent years (CNN News web, 2020).

In such cases, this mistrust is translated into civilities, protests about imaginary events or violence. The result is the unravelling of the fabric of life for citizens around the world, pitting neighbors against each other. It is also used by people, organizations, and governments, foreign government, etc. to intensify social conflict and undermine people's trust in the democratic process and their ability to work together. These tactics may also distract people's attention from important issues, so that these issues remain unresolved (M. Fisher, J. W. Cox, and P. Hermann, 2018).

Users, for instance, often post a lot of information, political convictions, and other intimate beliefs on the pages (Semitsu, 2011) that may not be publicly disclosed yet present on social networks (e.g., marked as private or posted just for me). Social networks presently play an important role in the political cyberecosystem as well as a tool for communication and expression of opinion for many politicians, ministers, presidents, activists, and others (Zeitsoff, 2017).

And some of the opinions expressed, like calls for demonstrations, rhetoric, and instigation of violence, cannot be considered as positive. The use of social networks for political purposes can be highlighted only in a few cases: Recruitment of Jihadists in Kashmir (Kaura, 2017); protest movements in Libya, manipulation of public opinion in Russia and Syria, and paid online commentators in China (Zeitsoff, 2017); protests in Hong Kong (Chan, 2016); Gezi protests in Turkey (Haciyakupoglu & Zhang, 2015); protests in Spain (Hermida & Hernandez-Santaolalla, 2018); Gilets Jaunes in France (2019); etc. these and similar cases may all give

countries compelling ethical reasons to conduct surveillance on cyberspace users in order to develop counter-protest tactics and ensure greater security (Zeitzoff, 2017).

The link between both has been discussed in the literature from various perspectives. Whether it is changing conflict reporting (Aslam, 2016), providing a new platform for previously oppressed people (Diamond, 2010; Zeitzoff, 2017), empowering groups of people to organize to protest, or enabling radicalization from a distance.

The militarization of warfare has been achieved through the following means: allowing the actors in the conflict to take control of the narrative (Zeitzoff, 2017), permitting direct communication from incumbents, insurgents (Mesquita & Dickson, 2007; Rosendorff & Sandler, 2004 cited in Zeitzoff, 2017), and election candidates (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012), to micro-targeting of messages, foreign interference in elections, building support for conflicts (Mutz, 2006), and giving platform to whistleblowers (Panama Papers), encouraging citizen journalism, coordination to end security in times of conflict (Castells, 2007), and an ability to elicit an international response and expose wrongdoers as well as complicity in genocides Rwanda (Deane, 2013), legitimizing negative messages through their publication or tacit legitimization (Mutz, 2006; Mikkonen, 2017).

Exposing misinformation may not be enough to build up confidence between stakeholders. This can be a very difficult to correct and can have long lasting effects even after it has been discredited. Consequently, it may create mistrust and undermine the whole peace negotiation effort.

The above section has illustrated the potential of fake news to exacerbate conflict and suppress conversation on social issues. Plotters around the world, with varying political motivations, post messages on social media to inflame ongoing national or international conflicts, and some governments have used fake messages on social media to keep citizens happy and distract them from important social issues. The purposes for which fake news is used may vary, but fake news systematically undermines the ability of citizens to participate in the governance of their country and to make important decisions about the fate of their nation.

Confronted by this situation, and since peace journalism especially focus on people's rights to vote, to express their view without fear, to freely access to reliable source of information, to descent conditions of life, should it remain ignored or promoted. May peace journalism be a principal alternative for conflict resolution (CR)?

4.9 Peace Journalism: Alternative for Conflict Resolution and Societal Peace

According to Spencer Brown (1969), the field on which peace journalism is grounded has its roots in the non-sectarian Christian peace movements and societies of the early nineteenth century, which published periodicals. Sectarian organizations also created peace-oriented publications as part of their proselytizing in the 19th century, as did utopian communities of the time. In the 20th century, an important example of sectarian peace-oriented journalism is Dorothy Day's Catholic Workers movement which started with the Catholic Worker newspaper, created to stake out a neutral, pacifist position in the increasingly war torn 1930s.

And finally, Peace journalism became a concept, carefully developed by a prominent professor Johan Galtung, the founder of "peace and conflict studies" and "peace research". The field of peace journalism entered the academic and professional arena in the late 1990s and the theory was championed by former journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick.

The Norwegian, Johan Galtung first introduced the idea of peace journalism to a group of journalists from different countries in 1997 at the Summer School on Conflict and Peace Journalism at Taplow Court, UK. A network of academics and journalists candidly engaged in discussions and debates about the strengths and weaknesses of peace journalism during conferences and workshops held each summer between 1997 and 1999. From the proceeds of the summer schools, Jake Lynch wrote a handbook entitled "The Peace Journalism Option." As a follow-up to the summer schools, a group of journalists, including Jake Lynch, created a web page called reportingtheworld.net, which hosts discussions among journalists interested in a wide variety of conflicts around the world and, more importantly, how to report on them (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

To date, the roots of peace journalism lie in Galtung and Ruge's seminal article (1965). In this article, they were critical of the structure of the Western mass media and the resulting bias in the media's coverage of foreign affairs. Such biased reporting was called by the authors "war journalism". And Galtung has further elaborated and advocated for implementation of alternative practices, which would lead to type of content he has labelled as "peace journalism".

It has been discussed by Lynch and Galtung (2010) that much of the western mass media's coverage of conflict tends to possess the characteristics of war journalism. Important attributes of war journalism are orientations toward (1) propaganda, (2) elites, (3) violence, and (4) victory. Any such coverage creates a skewed picture of events and greatly oversimplifies reality.

Galtung and Lynch both defines peace journalism as a kind of journalism with peace as the main aim i.e., a normative model of responsible and conscientious media coverage of the conflict that aims at contributing to peace making, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace.

There are two main forms of peace journalism: (A) a scholarly concept of how to understand and analyze journalism and (B) a journalism practice reform movement. Both these forms of peace journalism are tightly linked on the basis of Galtung's philosophy of peace journalism and conflict resolution, which could be described simply as a conflict sensitivity approach.

In the view of Lynch and Galtung, peace journalism should reflect a more balanced reporting style on conflict with focus on (1) the truth, (2) the people, (3) the solution. In the first place, truthful reporting highlights a number of different parties involved in a particular conflict. In addition, the suffering and lies of all sides must be exposed through peace journalism, without tolerance for cover-ups or demonization of certain groups.

They consider conflict reporting as an opportunity to "report only the truth and the whole truth (2010, p. 2)." Access to the truth is possible through "providing evidence and references, to alert readers and audiences" to the propaganda trappings of conflicting parties (Lynch, 2013, p. 38). Besides, it empowers editors and reporters to choose what to report and how to report it, creating opportunities for the public to find nonviolent responses in society (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). Truthful, inquisitive, and professional reporting that makes conflict more transparent is peace journalism (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17).

Hackett (2011, pp. 47-61), believes that peace journalism can legitimately present itself as a more complete and accurate form of journalism than the standardized and stunted practices of objectivity if the arguments discussed above are considered.

The second requirement for peace journalism is to include the stories of people from various levels of the affected societies, not just the stories of the elites. And third, the conflict orientations of peace journalism mean identifying where the conflict originated and understanding the grievances of the parties involved. Because violence is only a symptom of conflict, reporters need to investigate the deeper causes of each conflict. Finally, the fourth assumption of peace journalism is the responsibility of journalists to provide a summary of possible nonviolent alternatives to address a specific conflict.

Essentially, with peace journalism, there is a commitment to providing more unbiased coverage of conflict as well as potential directions for conflict resolution (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2013). Beyond that, there is also a propensity dimension to peace journalism to bring about a radical change in society to become more peace friendly. Shinar (2007, p. 2). Provided the following characterization of the concept:

Peace journalism refers to a prescriptive mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims to contribute to peacemaking and peacekeeping, and to change the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, and the audience regarding war and peace. Any such goals are sought through (1) critical assessments of the current state of conflict coverage and (2) efforts to conceptualize professional and practices in theoretical and operational term.

As for broader implications of peace journalism effort, it is a movement for heightened global sensitivity to conflict understanding issues between groups of people. For this reason, peace journalism is also being referred as conflict-sensitive journalism par Yiping (2011).

The conflict sensitive concept is prominent as it offers a wider range of understood rhetoric implications than does the peace journalism concept. So, in this, the notions of peace journalism and conflict sensitive journalism are used both interchangeable and in conjunction with each other. They share the same basic principles. Conflict sensitive, however, is a term that captures the notion beyond a simple dichotomy between peace and journalism. It can be understood as an aspect that makes peace journalism the process of being one step ahead of the dominant social discourse in the direction of de-escalation, conflict resolution and reconciliation (Kempf, 2019).

The term's reference to journalism merely restricts its involvement to the journalistic profession, thereby failing to embrace the reality that a massive amount of media content is now being produced outside the profession, for example user-generated content (Dylko & McCluskey, 2012). As a result, Ward (2014) described the journalistic ethos of professional media as outdated in the modern era. He promoted a radical global communication ethics construct as a normative code to provide guidance to both journalists and the audience at large in making decisions about what and how to say on different media platforms.

This means that any discussion of radical communication and media ethics presented in this research would be well served by considering that conflict sensitivity is not exclusively limited by professional affiliation. A more appropriate label for this might be conflict sensitive

communication it is a type of communication, both professional and non-professional, that should be one step ahead of the dominant peacebuilding discourse (Kempf, 2003).

The peace journalism is supported by framing (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). They draw on Entman's (1993, 2003) framing model, in which frames are considered structures of elite discourse and media coverage, as well as patterns of audience interpretation. Framing, through the listed stages of its existence, supplies both a specific definition of a problem, and attribution of causes, a moral evaluation, and a recommendation for remedy. Gitlin (1980) highlighted the fact that journalists could not avoid framing because only a restricted number of attributes of a problem physically fit into a new story.

Proponents of peace journalism have therefore argued that conflict sensitivity should be the preferred frame adopted (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). In essence, peace journalism illustrates the framing theory's expansion into a normative domain (Wilkins & Christians, 2009). It's argued in the normative recommendation that peace/conflict sensitive journalistic framing is an ethically preferable way to describe conflict situations that war journalistic framing. However, such moral superiority is rooted in Galtung's more comprehensive theory of peacebuilding, development of more deeply peaceful global societies (Ramsbothan, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2001).

These principals have been identified as the assertion that conflict coverage needs to be framed in a particular way that is sensitive to the complexities of the situation, the range of parties involved, the positive and negative actions of all parties involved, and the possible nonviolent ways of resolving the issues. Such conflict sensitive coverage is justified by theorists as one of the essential components of a more sustainable world peace.

However, it does raise questions about the validity of the objectivity regime and the dominant values of information. In conflict situations, for example, journalists are caught in a feedback loop with political actors who, through their distortion of facts, half lies, secrecy, propaganda, and embedded journalism tactics, can cause journalists to unwittingly play a role in the escalation of the conflict. As a result, objective journalism can be "irresponsible" insofar as it escapes Max Weber's ethic of responsibility in public affairs, a notion that runs counter to journalists' moral responsibility to society. Therefore, peace journalism challenges the very epistemological basis of a position of detachment, calling instead for journalists to self-reflect on the institutional biases of their routine practices (Hackett, 2011, p. 42).

Hackett (2011, p. 43) argues that peace journalism also challenges dominant news values, which implicitly provide a criterion and "regularly guide journalists in selecting and constructing the news narrative. In one of their follow-up studies, Harcup & O'Neil (2001), identified ten dominant elements of what constitutes news: power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, breadth or scope, relevance, follow-up, and the newspaper's own agenda.

Hackett's (2011, p. 44) final argument for peace journalism is that it involves "not only the right to free speech, but also the right of access for all important voices to the means of public communication. Keeble (2010, p. 64), also shares Hackett's view. According to Keeble, there is "a need to recognize the right of all (not just members of the professional, privileged, largely white male elite) to communicate in mainstream or alternative public spheres." He strongly advocates that peace journalism be adopted in mainstream media and become a "political practice" in Internet-based media. His reasons are based on Falk's (2008, cited in Keeble, 2010, p. 64) argument that "if peace journalism is to become more than an argument on the margins of political debate, it must become a political project on the agenda of global reform.

Social or alternative media can provide platforms through which peace journalism can emerge. It is important to have a synergized media strategy between journalists, academics, peace workers and researchers to use the traditional media space by employing the journalistic creativity that peace journalism offers. The advantages go hand in hand with the disadvantages. For all its advantages, however, the nature of social media does present a number of potential concerns. Some of their posts often turn out to be unverified and give rise to false rumors. Media platforms should be explored, including news media, entertainment media, and advertising. Journalists, non-news media professionals, academics, peace workers, and researchers need to team up to work in their own fields and find creative ways to give voice to the voiceless and effectively disseminate messages for peace and nonviolence.

5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the methodology of the study. It outlines the various experiences I went through. Various developments about the role of the media in conflict were made in the previous chapters. The most important of these is the positive role that the media can play in providing information about conflicts, analyzing them in context, and enabling the public to better understand these events (Ross, 2007). This study aims to assess the impact of digital and print media on conflict resolution, using peace media reporting or good journalism as an

appropriate tool for conflict resolution. And this chapter proposes participatory research method as an appropriate methodology for this study.

5.2 Research Questions:

The research develops and explores the following research questions:

- How did the Ivorian media shape conflict resolution and societal peace in the country between the civil war of 2002 and the post-election conflicts of 2011?
- Although most media in Cote d'Ivoire was and is politically dependent: Was the positive influence on conflict resolution and societal peace during these political subversions?
- How did the idea of the freedom of the media develop in this decade?
- How did the relative growth of digital (social) media change these effects?

5.3 Methodological Approaches

Since the study' mostly focused on respondents' perceptions of media that could contribute to education issues through good journalism, one that would meet the needs and demands of working journalists, media scholars, peace workers, and peace organizations.

The use of participatory methods research is considered to be the most appropriate overall methodology to explore this topic. The approach has a dual nature of combining research sources for the theoretical part and field research for the practical part. These two approaches helped to extract maximum information and therefore conclusions.

Among these experts may have an impact on the general public's perception and interpretation of conflict are media educators, journalists, peace organizations (NGO's), and academics. While their evaluations of the media's role in a conflict are documented in articles, books, and reports that are included in the literature, face-to-face interviews with them allowed more direct interaction and focused questions on the topic.

Each of these stakeholders is actively involved in shaping the general public's perception and interpretation of the conflict. Moreover, their relationship is complex, and they independently have experience and understanding of the conflict situation as individuals, they also depend on each other for their understanding of the conflict.

A study that aims to examine the contribution of all these actors is therefore necessarily complex, and a participatory approach is best able to incorporate some of this complexity.

5.4 Participatory Research Approach

The field of participatory research method in recent years has emerged as an important methodology with its root in social psychology. Flick (2009) defines it as “a kind of research in which all concerned parties are involved in actively examining together the current action to improve it.

This is accomplished by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic, and other contexts that give it meaning.

It is research followed by action, change, and new research, as part of the research process, by the participants. Action research is investigated, changed, and re-investigated by participants as part of the research process by participants. The suitability of the method for the topic being studied is even more helpful, useful in participatory research than in other qualitative research approaches (Flick, 2009).

With participatory research methods, Reason & Bradbury (2008a, p.1) discuss how they bring things together from two perspectives - science and practice. In the best-case scenario, both parties benefit from the research process (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

An important strength of the participatory research process is that it "allows co-researchers to step back cognitively from familiar routines, forms of interaction, and power relations, to fundamentally challenge and rethink established interpretations of situations and strategies" (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

The participatory methodology is organized around three sets of relationships: relationships between individuals within communities and groups; relationships between these groups and communities; and relationships between individuals and their physical environment (Israel et al, 1998). This approach is designed to recognize all groups as a unit of identity; encourage equal participation of all participants; build on their knowledge and partnerships for the mutual benefit of all participants; and involve a cyclical and iterative process that empowers and disseminates knowledge to all partners (Israel et al., 1998).

Participatory research is particularly useful in the areas of health, medicine, minority or ethnic groups, youth groups, and marginalized communities, according to Bergold and Thomas (2012). For them, the reasons for this are the principles of the participatory research process, which include "free" and "equal" involvement of the researcher and other participants; an "open" and "safe" workspace for them; and their "willingness" to share their experiences and

knowledge in an atmosphere of "mutual respect" and understanding. Besides, the maintenance of a democratic atmosphere is important to the participatory research process, as is the preservation of the 'multiple' aspects of the perspectives and voices, and vocal responses of all participants in the results.

As much as participatory research principles offer considerable flexibility and freedom to the researcher and participants, Bergold and Thomas (2012) also highlight issues of "control" and "direction" in the research process that are deemed important in conventional research methods.

Through the process of getting to know the participants and building relationships between them, the research can lose its "contours." There is also the dilemma of finding financial and logistical resources for participatory research projects, as they require time, effort, and financial support to complete. Also, compared to conventional methods, the hypothesis is not formed at the outset but emerges during the participatory process of dialogue and research.

Participatory research approaches also raise ethical issues regarding the "safety" and "privacy" of participants (from sharing their experiences and knowledge with others); power relations between participating groups (e.g., one group dominating the other socially or economically); the visibility of invisible members of the field (as in the case of members of marginalized communities who may be more vulnerable than others); and the potential for results to be made public. Both researchers and research funders cannot exercise sufficient control over how results are reported (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

Several participatory research methods are used in this study: it explores the sets of relationships between academics, journalists, peace workers, and education/training institutions. Some of the aspects identified above by Bergold and Thomas (2012) regarding power relations and invisible members of the same field, can be applied to journalist groups that include subgroups of photojournalists, reporters, and editors. Media structure and agency have their power relations and influences (e.g., advertising, political influences, and government/peer pressures).

These are theorized in Herman and Chomsky's (2002) model of media propaganda, Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchical model of influences on media content, and Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) notion of journalism as a field.

Precautions were taken for ethical reasons to ensure the "voluntary" participation of all participants who were interviewed and invited to share their knowledge and experiences

without their "security" and "privacy" being threatened. Each participant was informed of the nature, objectives, and scope of the research.

The following methodological approach combines the above aspects of participatory research with various traditional techniques for obtaining and analyzing data, such as benchmarking and interviews. Besides, personal observations, the research in this study includes interviews with journalists, academics, and peace workers in the field, both face-to-face and online, depending on their accessibility.

Furthermore, the researcher hopes that the results of the study will benefit journalists and that they will also be useful to students in their careers, in Cote d'Ivoire and all over Africa.

5.5 Interviews

To refine the literature and documentary evidence, conflict resolution and societal peace through digital and printed media, as well as gaining primary insights from their experiences, twenty-three individuals were interviewed for this study, among them a mix of journalists (women and men) academics, peace workers, and politicians.

Interviews and conversations on a personal level provide insight into everyday human experiences. They also give indications of the feelings and attitudes of people who help shape the social reality. Gabriun & Holstein (2003) view interviews as the most flexible and unpredictable form of social research, but an effective way of making meaning out of personal experiences.

The use of interviews involves the act of speaking to respondents who are selected to provide answers to research questions based on a particular topic under study (Hart, 2005).

Keats (2000, p. 72) defines an interview as a controlled situation in which one person, the interviewer asks a series of questions of another person, the respondent. Some instances in which the use of interviews could be efficient include the need-to-know what people are thinking and the need to explore the reasons and motivations for the attitudes and opinions of people. There is an element of specificity in the use of interviews. For example, it is the means through which the rationale for the interviewee's responses could be ascertained and enhances the verification of the reliability of the responses when the interviewer asks probing or follow-up questions.

The interview is defined by Kvale (1983, p. 174) as a qualitative research tool used to gather a description of the life world of the interviewee to interpret the meaning of the phenomena described.

Such interviews may be carried out face-to-face, over the telephone, on the inter-network (for example MSN), or by e-mail. As face-to-face interviews are held in a real place, which is different from a virtual place such as cyberspace or the internet, it is synchronous communication. Whether one prefers one over the other depends on the information desired, especially the importance of social cues that are reflected in voice, intonation, body language, etc (Opdenakker, 2008). Conducted in groups or with an individual, interviews such as these are an important part of the participatory research process.

Because conflicts have different contextual interpretations, semi-structured interviews were used to give more room for closed and open-ended questions. The consistent of open-ended and flexible questions, which, according to Byrne (2004, p. 182) are likely to get the more considered response and therefore provide better access to interviewees views, interpretations of events, understandings, experiences, and opinions. In a semi-structured interview, the interview usually has a framework of themes to explore.

To frame the questions, an interview guide was developed for this study. The term “interview guide” is defined as an informal, but subject-specific, the grouping of topics and questions that the interviewer may ask participants in different ways (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 195). Questions guides focus the interview on what is being discussed without constraining it to a particular format. Such flexibility can help interviews adapt their question to the context/situation of the interview and the people they are interviewing (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 195).

Applying some aspects of “reactive interviewing” as described by Rubin (2005) was also used by the researcher. This means that the researcher asked additional questions in response to the participant’s input rather than depending on predetermined questions. The use of responsive interviewing highlights the importance of working together with interviewees as partners rather than as research objects.

5.6 Data Collection Methods

In participatory research, two procedures seem to be applied very frequently, namely interviews and focus groups. And interviews are normally semi-structured, a type frequently used in

qualitative research. Clearly, in a participatory research situation, the outcome of an interview must be seen as a situation-dependent cooperative construction on the part of the interview partners (see McCartan et al., 2012).

To the in-depth analysis, medias affiliated to political parties such as Notre Voie, Le Nouveau Réveil, and Le Patriote, and the state media Fraternité Matin and RTI were selected for their coverage of the political subversions of 2002 and 2011.

Regarding independent media, we selected Nord-Sud Quotidien, Soir Info, L'Inter, L'Intelligent d'Abidjan, social media and community radios also because of their positive effects on conflict resolution and social cohesion both before and after the 2011 post-election election.

A Secondary analysis of all leading newspapers and journals in Cote d'Ivoire was conducted. And focused interviews were conducted with both print and digital journalists, as well as with political scientists. Digital media focus group discussion with community radio listeners, literature reviews, observations were also used for data collection.

We have set up a schedule to interview journalists in Abidjan from January to June 2016 and from April to August 2017. And this calendar was made through phone calls and writing application letters. And the following list of questions for local journalists was approved by the committee examination.

All the questions have been translated into French but are listed in English below:

The media in Côte d'Ivoire, both digital and print media, played a crucial and essential role in the political crises of 2002 and 2011. Although they provided important information and called for peace in several cases, in other cases they were accused of inciting violence through the dissemination of hate speech (UN, EU, AU, 2011).

- In your opinion, does this reflect the reality of the media in Côte d'Ivoire?
- What are your comments on the role of the mainstream concerning the ethnic and xenophobic press before the civil war in 2002 and during the electoral crisis in Côte d'Ivoire?
- What role did the opposition and government media play in the presidential campaigns and how did this influence the opinion poll?

- What role did the media play before, during, and after the 2002 civil wars to promote social peace?
- In general, would you say that the media played: an important role, a small role, or no role at all in promoting societal peace before and during the situation of violence?
- Currently, what is the role of the media is focusing on societal peace issues, especially after civil wars? Please comment with references.

5.7 Freedom of the Press and Promotion of Social Peace

- What factors do you think have affected the capacity of the media and journalists in Côte d'Ivoire to effectively set the agenda for social peace?
- Have the Ivorian media operated in a free environment?
- What were the restrictions ?
- Do you have any comments on the role of the international community in general in the Ivorian political crisis?

5.8 Beyond the Civil War and the Post-Election Conflict

- What are the lessons learned from the consequences of the 2002 civil war and the post-election violence of 2011?
- How have regulatory organizations and civil society responded to the role played by the media in the Ivorian crisis?
- How have the Ivorian media themselves responded to some of these criticisms?
- What role did the media generally play in the conflict situation?
- What types of online technologies did they use in their reporting during and after these crises?

These interviews have helped to put the news footage into context and disclose the practical logistics of their daily reporting while trying to keep news production in motion.

A further important distinction was made between a media academic and a media trainer, the first being someone who has an academic qualification and is involved in teaching at a university or institute of higher education. He/she engages in scholarly debate, discourse, and analysis, as evidenced by his/her writing. In contrast, a media trainer may be academically unqualified but engages in professional and skill-based training because of his/her expertise in the field, such as a highly skilled photographer or cameraman (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2013).

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2013), training is defined as "the process of learning the skills you need to do a job"; the term generally refers to a profession using formal or semi-formal means. formal or semi-formal means: in journalism, this may involve improving skills in the use of technical equipment, camera operation, design, or writing, usually focusing on one aspect of a journalist's work.

The term "education" is used to describe the academic form of "knowledge acquisition," which is generally aimed at students in schools, colleges, and universities. In the journalistic context, it implies a holistic approach encompassing both the theoretical and practical aspects of journalism as a field and a profession. Journalism syllabus, therefore, refers to the scope and breadth of knowledge that schools and university journalism departments deem necessary to impart to students for them to understand and master the field at a given level (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2013).

5.9 Planning Issues

The results of my investigations such as interviews, discussions in some offices, in the maquis, etc., were very often discussed with certain journalists who were enrolled in a master's program to confirm or deny the allegations, especially to get their opinion as a local media professional. In 90% of the cases, they confirmed what was said. The rest of 10%, according to them, were either afraid or unfamiliar with the subject.

5.10 Planning 1

Initial planning focused on gathering information about the purpose and importance of the study and the existing literature.

5.11 Action

A 2016 field research trip to Côte d'Ivoire was made to conduct interviews and collect additional data and engage in conversations reflecting on the information gained to date.

5.12 Planning 2

A 2017 second field research trip to Cote d'Ivoire was made to fill the gap of the lacked information I got from the first interview rounds, which was in 2016. The second field research was shorter than the first but rich, interesting, inspiring.

In Ivory Coast, it was initiated a hobby time called “After Work”. After work was a kind of diner with lecturers in journalism that started at 5:30 pm, sometimes earlier (depending on the individual schedules). It was organized in some famous local restaurants called “Maquis”.

In Maquis or in Allocodrome, they mostly sell various local foods. The menu is always rich with famous food such as Allocco, Sauce graine, sauce feuilles, poulet, poissons braisés etc. They also sell drink, different types of imported and local beer. It is opened every day in the afternoon (around 3pm) but earlier during the weekend, around 12 pm.

This “after work program” was supervised by two different lecturers, Dr. Pascal Kadja and Dr. Celestin Gnonzion.

The main discussed topics were the lack of organization and implementation of educational programs, and the selection of new students in communication and journalism studies at CERCOM. In addition, national and international political issues were also among the different topics. The case of the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo was very frequently discussed as well as the role of France in his arrest, United Nations, African Union was critically tackled. Themes about the media and its institutions were also critically debated. I was free to raise requests if necessary. I was discretely taking notes, using my smartphone.

However, I was not allowed to record the different discussions and no student was allowed in After Work. So, I was the exception, privileged one.

My main task was to listen and gather information from the discussed topics and to summarize them. And I had asked a lot of questions and raised a lot of issues related to Ivoirité, immigration, xenophobic rhetoric in the media outlets, and the motivation of churches to get involved in the Ivorian crises. These issues were among many pointed out by Marcoussis report as the causes of Ivorian conflicts. All these questions were answered by different academics. There was no contradiction or opposition among them. All of them pointed to both the political media reporting issues and the responsibility of political parties, which are in general the owner of the Ivorian political media.

5.13 Comments based on the discussion from after Work.

The Ivorian media are grouped into three categories:

5.14 State Media

State medias are those who consist of justifying the record of the ruling regime. Through their coverage, they spend most of their time justifying and defending the record and projects of the regime they serve. According to the panelists, these justifications are usually not supported by reliable evidence. The government uses the media to instrumentalize, mislead, and manipulate the public.

They don't focus on the mismanagement, corruption that is taking place within the government. These media are promoting the systemic Elites. As a result, they contribute to the different frustrations that are usually the genesis of demonstrations that often end in violent conflicts, which drive to civil war.

5.15 Political or Opposition Media

As for the opposition media, they direct their different articles to challenge the power, the ruling regime. Their objectives are usually to get the majority seats in the Senate, National Assembly, etc.

To do so, their articles are critical of the mismanagement of the government which they treat with all the evils names. Certainly, they expose and denounce the inadequacies, corruption, etc. but they often go too far and do not favor dialog. They mislead and open the door to radicalize citizens, especially their followers, members of their political party. They practice the same method as the state media. Some of their articles are based on rumors whose sources remain difficult to verify. Voluntary or involuntary, they never apologized, thus refuse to correct their everyday mistakes, lies etc. This type of media also generates conflicts because their main objective is to gain access to the power. These media are not fully concerned about their social responsibility, which is to advocates harmony, social peace promoted by Lynch, Galtung, UNESCO, Development through media initiated by many NGOs based in developing countries since 19993.

5.16 Independent Media

The independent media are more opened because they accept to cooperate with both, the state, and the opposition media. Their articles are balanced, fair which promote social cohesion. And through their reporting, articles, they oppose to tribalism or xenophobic rhetoric issues. They are opposed to the methods implemented by the state and political media outlets. Their publication comes from verifiable sources.

However, for commercial reasons, there are often exaggerations, using vocalizations that are not adapted to the situation just to stimulate the sale of their products, brands. They often tell half-truths about the ruling regime; they pretend not to know anything about the mismanagement of the regime; simply to be safe from sanctions. Many of these independent media depend economically on Fonds de Soutien et Développement de la Presse (FSDP), which is the fund for support and development of the Ivorian press.

The three categories have different modes of operation. The state and opposition media have a particular agenda because they pursue the same basic interests, the state media helps the ruling regime to keep the power and the opposition media is in the conquest of this power. They are certainly useful, but they do not invest enough in social peace.

Unlike the first and two, the third and last media tries to play a leading role, the one that deserves the public and can create dialog, to reconcile everyone. It is the type of media that Johan Galtung (1965) and other scholars like Lynch (2013), McGoldrick (2011) has supported; this type of media focusses more on peace reporting than war framing.

5.17 Comment on Dailies Practices of Local Reporters

5.17.1 Perdiem

According to the panelists (2017), the phenomenon of perdiem has become chronic in the local media. Many journalists like this practice. They claim their perdiem even when they are not often present or invited to the event. They have their names written by some of their colleagues on the attendance list and then come to claim money they don't deserve. The practice has become cultural.

But he also points out the responsibility of the managers of the newspaper they work for.

- He believes that the journalist should not deviate from his main task. He should serve the public, audience through information. He should work instead of spending time chasing money. For him, money can distract and influence the quality of the framing, journalistic reporting. He would no longer be able to play his role impartially; and the notion of objectivity, responsibility would be questioned.
- He also blames those in charge of the Ivorian press for allowing this practice. Indeed, these officials do not equip their personnel sufficiently. They send journalists to cover events without ensuring their transportation costs. They often recommend their

employees to manage as best they can, as they are used to do, and promise to pay their bonuses as soon as there is extra money in the company's fund.

- Such a situation is worrying because it jeopardizes the image and credibility of journalism among the general public and therefore could not influence any aspect of conflict resolution as advocated by Lynch and Galtung.

It is necessary to put special emphasis on peace reporting which will help to initiate dialogue, to focus on social cohesion. Intensive training such as seminars, workshop, etc. could better strengthen the skill, capacity of African and Ivorian's journalists to play a responsible role in society, by publishing credible information that can influence successfully conflict resolution and societal peace.

5.18 Findings and Analysis

The results of the study were compiled to identify areas that could improve the media reporting oriented towards peace journalism.

They were analyzed considering the following two aspects:

- a- Knowledge of conflict resolution that should be useful for journalists to understanding violence and conflict resolution.
- b- Journalistic trends, practices, and values highlighted by academics that are relevant to the journalism program.

5.19 Limitations of the Study

This study is a doctoral research project with limited time, funds, and resources and it was carried out in Ivory Coast. The "Blue", "Green", "Independent", and "Fraternité Matin" newspapers, RTI, Community radio, and Social media are chosen with particular references to the 2002 civil war and the post-electoral conflict in 2011.

Data collection was delimited to use observations and key respondent interviews together with literature reviews on the role of media in conflict resolution.

The study attempts to analyze the media reporting to determine their role and influence on conflict resolution and to find ways to integrate social responsibility of reporting into the journalism curriculum. This study evaluates the conflicts in the years 2002 and 2011.

Unexpected negative response from the interviews because they were not forthcoming about disclosing sensitive agency information. This was limited by cross-checking the secondary

literature review and by desk reviews. Some several considerations or influences limited the study.

The following are some of the factors:

5.20 Confidentiality

Preserving confidentiality was one of the factors. This was because the researcher felt that some interviewees were afraid to give out information for fear that it would not be treated confidentially or that it would be misused, which would affect their jobs. To address this problem, the researcher ensured that the ethics of the research were fully respected, thus convincing them that the information was treated with the utmost confidentiality.

5.21 Distrust

Furthermore, the researcher considered that the study was limited by the respondents' fear that the study was being conducted for the benefit of influential individuals or a competitor who wanted to improve its strategy for competing denominations. All these fears were tried to be overcome by the researcher by convincing them that this was an academic objective.

5.22 Communication Barriers

Another issue that the researcher identified as limiting the study was the communication barrier, which occurred when the respondents gave brief/vague information on the questionnaires that were not understood by the researcher, thus compromising the interpretation process. Considering the above reasons, the researcher tried to compare the two methods, namely interviews and questionnaires, to see if the researcher can overcome this limitation.

The number of the field study was limited to two. The second research field was shorter than the first one.

5.23 Scope of the Study

This study aims to investigate the influence of the media on conflict resolution. It highlights peace reporting as a model that could pave the way for conflict resolution.

Another important focus of the research is to identify organizations that offer peace journalism courses to journalists at the professional level rather than the academic level. According to existing literature, some organizations offer conflict reporting training to working journalists. They provide guidelines for conflict reporting, teaching survival skills, and organize workshops

on post-conflict trauma. Although not part of this study, these initiatives could be the subject of separate research.

The present study took place from October 2016 to April 2021. During this period, the conceptualization and development of 'peace reporting' have grown considerably. As the critical debate on peace journalism continues, it will highlight new approaches.

5.24 Data Management and Ethical Issues

Research has an ethical-moral dimension, and therefore the researcher prepares himself and considers ethical concerns as he designs his study so that sound ethical practice is built-in. This will create a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants will please respond candidly to obtaining results, and constructive conclusions by the community.

We approached the media leaders to consent to the interview that was carried out with some chiefs in the editor and some journalists of some selected electronic and printed media. This helped to protect the right of the research participants and organization.

This research guarantees participants' anonymity and confidentiality to protect the privacy of the research participants. A journal to record all observations made and the activities taking place in the organization is kept. Respondents were informed of all processes of research including tape recordings to which they were asked to consent before starting this research.

As this research deals with sensitive issues that could damage the reputation of certain media outlets and involves people who are perceived to have suffered greatly from the civil war in 2002 and post-election conflict in 2011, their rights to confidentiality and privacy were essential. So, the researcher used both informed consent by thoroughly illustrating the purpose of the research and the certainty of confidentiality in the prelude before and during the interviews. The most important principle of ethics in research is that the respondent must always give informed consent (Gray, 2009). To respect the principle of anonymity, the data recorded were anonymized in the study, where requested or deemed appropriate.

5.25 Theoretical Framework for this Study

This research examines the influence of digital and printed media on conflict resolution and societal peace. This theory postulates that media has the responsibility of reporting accurately, prominent an open debate, representing diverse views, and protecting citizen rights against abuse by government machinery. It tackles conflict resolution as a deliberated by Johan Galtung

(1969) and Lederach (2003) in relation to their practical application media structure and agency as developed by Hackett (2007) and Lynch (2013).

The preceding chapters' review of the media literature highlights several observations by researchers who stress the importance of altering the approach of journalism to the way conflicts are experienced, framed and reported by new agency; as well as facilitating the process of deconstructing conflict and helping to resolve them by finding non-violent responses in society. Qualified journalists, Hackett (2007, p. 93/ argues, are required to provide leadership as educators, writer, and advisors. Media education would thus play an important role in achieving the required changes, not only at the vocational level, but also in the classroom, seminar, workshop, etc. The news coverage is supposed to be significantly shaped by both subjective and objective reporting, defining, and probably manipulating reports to suit a particular interest, while objective reporting would imply use the source.

6. ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION

6.1 Introduction

The chapter 6 explains the use of data collection techniques, it looks for example at the content analysis and interviews, have provided insights into conflict practices and coverage through field reporting.

Field trips are recognized as important moments in learning. Field trips expose researchers to new experiences and can increase interest and engagement in science regardless of prior interest in a topic (Kisiel, 2005; Bonderup Dohn, 2011). Research has demonstrated that field trips can be designed to support researchers learning more effectively. Field trips work best when they provide support for researchers to explore in a personally meaningful way (Dewitt, 2008).

Peace through media is an innovative and interesting research topic, especially dealing with political subversions of 2002 and 2011.

Indeed, I have been in the research field in Ivory Coast from January-June 2016 and April-August 2017 collecting data from Ivorian media houses. These two data collection trips helped to understand the media's role in portraying the facts and its contribution to decrease these political crises. Following a participatory research method, the role of the media during the 2002 civil war and post-election conflict in 2011 is addressed through interviews with media experts, peace workers, academics, political and religious leaders as well.

Conducting interviews, observing the media landscape was inspiring, interesting since it allowed me to learn, gather news experiences, and meet new people with various opinions, views on the role played by the Ivorian media.

But this trip put considerable pressure over me, and it was frustrating from time to time because of the distrust, the fear of the reporters to interact with me during the interviews. They always showed their concern at the beginning of every discussion or interview because of the harassment they had been subjected to.

According to the editor-in-chief of Notre Voie (Blue newspaper), some journalists had been lynched by extremists during and after the 2002 civil war and during the 2011 post-election conflicts. Besides many of them had been victims of infiltration. Also, some of them were not familiar with the ongoing research topic. Thus, I always took time up to 20 minutes to introduce myself, to explain the choice of the topic related to the role of Ivorian media on conflict resolution.

And some of my questions were not answered because of the of its complexity. Particularly the questions related to the international community and the freedom of media. I understood their fears since they worked for media houses that belong to the political leaders. They said that their principal roles during the conflict were not to comment or to give their view but to convey the information, news to the partisans (confirmed by 80% of reporters, interview 206, 2017).

However, some of my discussions, interviews were successfully conducted. The atmosphere was amazing, and the responders were more than happy to answer and comment on all types of questions. I have visited many head offices of the Ivorian media houses. I met and talked with each chief and associate editors-in-chief as well.

Some journalists gave me what they called interviews-bonus which are related to another type of official violence coming from student associations such as FECI. FECI was established since decade as a police force. They could force small businessmen and women who were foreigners and uneducated to pay conflict taxes. They killed many foreigners and burnt their houses, especially those who refused to cooperate with their requirements. They have committed considerable crimes. They caused a lot of damages (Interview, 2016, 2017). And these crimes unfortunately were attributed to Gbagbo regime.

There's another dangerous which are called "Microbes". They also committed many crimes and dispossessed the population of their property without being punished until 2014-2015 (interview, 2016,2017).

Furthermore, I had a general understanding that the media house in Ivory Coast has powerful ties with the political realm. Public and private media outlets remain in the hands of the members of government and key political figures. This means that mainstream media is one of the privileged instruments to show and translate personal and social leverage by powerful people, political figures, regardless of their limited sale results, as was pointed out earlier.

6.2 Findings Presentation

This subtitle presents the results of the survey conducted to determine the role of the media in conflict resolution. It provides a detailed analysis of the data collected, a description of the results with figures/illustrations, and discussions and concludes with a brief comparison of the role of the media during the 2002 and 2011 political subversions. The most used sources in the research were both conventional media and social media. The results of our research will be discussed in four sections. The first section (I) presents the printed media which are affiliated with the political parties, the state, and independent media. The second section (II) is devoted to the presentation of the respective results. The third section (III) concerns the discussion, and the last section which is section four (IV) is dedicated to a brief comparison between the media freedom during the 2002 civil war and media freedom during the 2011 post-election conflicts.

Just after the presidential election results in 2010, around 29 dailies and 24 weeklies most popular watchdog institution were operating in Ivory Coast. Based on an informal evaluation, after interviewing 23 media experts, peace workers, political leaders, academic scientists, etc, we discovered that Notre Voie, Le Nouveau Réveil, and Le Patriote are considered as political media because they have a strong link with the political parties. Nord-Sud Quotidien, Soir Info, L'Inter, and L'Intelligent d'Abidjan are considered as independent media and are also classified among the most influential daily newspapers in Ivory Coast. Fraternité Matin and RTI are both state media, but they still represent the ruling regime for decades.

All these newspapers are in Abidjan. And they are printed and published in French. Each copy of the newspaper costs three hundred CFA francs. And all of them have low sales. But they are available online. Therefore, anyone in the country or abroad can access them via the Internet and can partially read them for free. www.abidjan.net is the most popular website. It was created

in 1998 by two young Ivorian's businessmen and publishes articles from all the Ivorian press companies.

In 2010, the sixteen observed daily newspapers put on the national market nearly thirty-eight million copies of turnover (sales per copy) of more than four billion five hundred million FCFA.

During that year, the public service daily, *Fraternité Matin*, was the main force, 21,5% market share.

It was followed by the daily newspaper close to the PDCI, *le Nouveau Réveil*, with a 15% market share. The independent daily, *Soir Info*, came third with 13,9%. The daily close to the RDR, *Le Patriote*, had an 11,9% market share and was in the fourth position. The ruling party newspaper, FPF, *Notre*, was in the sixth position with a 7,6% market share, just after *L'Inter*.

From October to November 2010, i.e., during the entire campaign period, all daily newspapers significantly improved their sales. During this period, two dailies can boast excellent performances in terms of market diffusion. One of these was the FPI's associated newspaper, *Notre Voie*, which saw the circulation increase by 81,1%, from 193, 270 to 350,142 copies. It was followed by *Le Patriote*. A daily newspaper close to RDR, whose circulation rose from 304,756 to 546, 790, an increase of 74,23%.

Moreover, apart from *Soir Info*, all the so-called independent *Quotidien's* recorded a decrease in circulation from October to November 2010. The public service daily, *Fraternité Matin*, recorded a slight increase of 8.6% from 527001 to 572,382 copies, with sales of 80,3%, which remains the best of the market.

Nevertheless, the number of private newspapers in Côte Ivoire has drastically reduced. Of the remarkable figure of 178 newspapers founded in the press spring, only 30 were still active at the end of 2011, after the post-electoral conflict. The circulation statistics of all these newspapers have slumped considerably. Almost 8 million purchases were lost, from 35,984,611 copies in 2001 to 29,501,504 in 2005. The largest newspaper, *Fraternité Matin*, was selling only 30,000 copies a day in 2011. Most newspapers are experiencing high rates of unsold copies (National Press Council, 2011).

This section entails the presentation of; (a) the different media, and (b) the results.

6.3 Presentation of the different newspapers which influenced the Conflict.

The following selected newspapers for the framework study are pro-Gbagbo, pro-opposition, and independent.

- Media Affiliated with Political Parties



Figure 5: “Notre Voie” which is affiliated with FPI of the former Ivoirian president Laurent Gbagbo

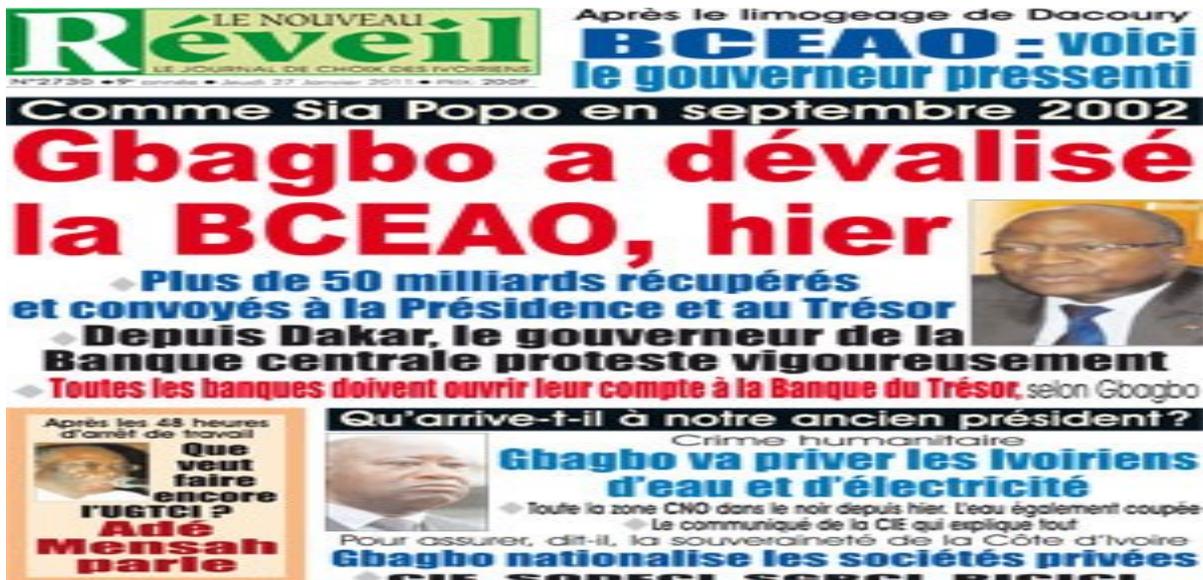


Figure 6 “Le Nouveau Réveil” affiliated with PDCI of the former (second president after Houphouët Boigny) President Mr. Henri Konan Bédié



Figure 7 "Le Patriote" affiliated with the RDR of Allassane Dramane Ouattara



Figure 8 Fraternité Matin (State Newspapers)



RADIODIFFUSION TÉLÉVISION IVOIRIENNE

Figure 9 La Radio Television Ivoirienne (State Radio Television)

- **Independent Newspapers, which are not affiliated with Political Parties.**

Independent newspapers have no clear political preferences. They were approached and blamed at the same time by all major political parties because of their flexibility, independence.



Figure 10“Nord Sud-Quotidien”



Figure 11 L'Intelligent d'Abidjan



Figure 12 L'inter



Figure 13 Soir Info Sources: National Archives-Ivory Coast

All these above-mentioned media played a crucial role during political crises in 2002 and 2011 in Ivory Coast. Many of them were biased but some have demonstrated their abilities to reach every household by allowing them to get accurate, balanced, and fair information on the conflict that leads to conflict resolution.

6.4 Display of the Results

Four media houses such as Notre Voie (1), Le Nouveau Réveil (2), and Le Patriote (3) affiliated with the political parties and state media, which are Fraternité Matin and RTI have been selected on their coverage before and after the civil war of 2002 and 2011 post-election conflict.

Because of the low rate of media participation during the 2002 civil war, independent medias such as Nord-Sud Quotidien, Soir Info, L'Inter, L'Intelligent d'Abidjan were only selected on their reporting before and after the post-election election in 2011. Social media and community

radios as well were selected only during the 2011 post-election conflicts because of their positive effects on conflict resolution and social cohesion during this period.

A Secondary analysis of all leading newspapers and journals in Cote d'Ivoire was also carried out. We used a textual analysis of 80 news articles to determine the pattern of news framing in local news coverage during such environmental political subversions. And focused interviews were conducted with both print and digital journalists, as well as with political scientists. We have conducted 23 interviews with 10 reporters from political and independent media, 6 academics (lecturers in journalism and political sciences), 2 political leaders from RHDP and FPI parties, 2 peace workers from National commission for reconciliation and compensation of victims (CONARIV), the chief executive officer of National Islamic radio Al Bayane, Directeur general of MOZAIK: École des radios, Focus group discussions with 3 religious' leaders, 12 students (Master and Bachelor level) in journalism school (CERCOM, Felix Houphouët-Boigny University), 2 bloggers, and with the former President of the Observatory of Press Freedom, Ethics and Deontology (Olped) and of the Network of African Media Self-Regulatory Authorities (RIAAM).

In addition, we have examined 500 tweets from digital media news framing. And we had focus group discussion with 7 community radio listeners. Literature reviews, personal observations during our field research in 2016 and 2017 were also used for data collection.

I have provided each interviewee a copy of the guided interview. And most interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes.

They fully agree with the interview guides, but they use to spent between 15 to 20 minutes reading the different questions by highlighting some of the sentences.

I transcribed all the interviews from French to English language and from the audio format into transcripts in Word. I reviewed my research questions for study after done with the transcripts.

Some of them, however, out of fear or because they are not familiar with the issues related to the conflict, they simply refused to let me record the interview. They preferred to keep the interview guide to answer the questions in handwriting. And we use to schedule one more appointment for collecting the handwriting answers, comments.

The second vague of journalists did not want to provide an accurate answer because of fear, punishments from their employer, or retaliation from authorities.

According to Michelle Koffi (*“L’Intelligent d’Abidjan”*, 2017), these categories of journalists are afraid because they didn’t get the permission from their enterprise.

According to her, working as a journalist in a private media requires strict adherence to our tasks, job specifications. So, by refusing to follow the company’s instructions, we know to what we will be exposed, to what type of sanctions we are going to face; we can easily lose our job. The salary is moreover low, but it is paid regularly, which allows us to pay some family expenses. That is why we must follow the media house instructions faithfully, even though it is sometimes frustrating. Working here is not easy like in Europe where companies care about human rights, job rights, etc”.

During many interviews, meetings, some reporters were a little bit shy, sometimes nervous when it comes to answer questions. And they have provided little information, no specific details about the questions from the interview guides. Most of them did not have experience because they were recently recruited (Abdoulaye Wilfried Sanogo from “Notre Voie).

The last category was those who had been arrested, intimidated, humiliated, subjected to inhuman treatment which was frustrated during interviews. They could not answer some questions because they were upset, traumatised. Some of the questions from our guide interview remind them of the atrocities, difficulties, and bad experiences they have been through (Interview, 2017). I have listed 6 journalists who did not trust or believe that I was working for academic purposes. Some journalists have tried to understand my motivation, the reason why I chose to investigate the Côte d'Ivoire medias. They were simply reluctant because they had recently experienced some distressing situations.

This shows the vulnerability of reporters during time of crises. And this security issues were discussed with peace workers during our face-to-face interviews. They suggested that journalists need to be protected because they are subject of intimidation, physical treatments etc, especially in developing countries.

In comparison with the media coverage before, during, and after the 2002 civil war, the rate of participation of the media coverage in 2010/2011 has considerably increased. The rate of media participation was 62% in Abidjan and 38% in the rest of the country. In the contrast to the civil war of 2002, social media and SMS-messages played a role during the presidential election in 2010 and the post-election conflict in 2011.

There is a broad feeling from interviewees that certain Ivorian media, especially those affiliated with political parties, has failed to condemn violence, xenophobic rhetoric, etc. Most editors from media tied with political parties were biased. Digital and Printed media have in certain level crossed the line and were criticized for flouting ethical guidelines. The articles they published were inaccurate, biased. And some journalists did not assume both moral and responsibility for all that they had published during the crisis. They published a lot of unverified sources of information; they spread unfounded rumours, half-truths, and mobilized people to commit acts of violence. They became the mouthpiece of the government, the political leaders to promote street demonstrations (Zio M., 2012).

In a time of crisis, journalists or reporters should be paid extra attention, should be accurate, and should make a special sacrifice to be professional. Unfortunately, some media have failed to act as a watchdog, to decrease the tensions. Some journalists, reporters exclusively from blue and green newspapers, which are affiliated with the political parties, carried out the false information and rumours which triggered the street violence.

For example, in terms of fair and balanced coverage of political issues, there is a relative consensus among respondents regarding the polarization and unbalanced coverage by the RTI. Its role as a combat media is particularly stressed in the responses. Printed media linked to political parties and Radio stations (RTI) and religious radio stations oversee chasing away the supporters of each party. They have played a massive role in stirring up emotions and fuelling acts of rage in the run-up to the elections. The main public station, RTI, which is watched by the vast majority of Ivorians was the mouthpiece for government propaganda (Raymond B., 2009).

The findings of the study also disclose that media are mostly in the hands of the political leaders or owned by the member of the government. Most of the Ivorian media represents the ideology of the political parties. This means that journalists are assigned a mission, that of making propaganda for the political party for which they work. Journalists were not free to fulfil their duty as a watchdog that guards against government abuses of power. The media houses were segmented and had created camps. Thus, they were used to escalate conflicts through inflammatory language which incited large-scale-violence. They created an atmosphere of hostility that made the 2002 civil war and post-election conflict in 2011 possible (Zio M., 2012).

The study also unveils that the Ivorian media and the communication of foreign media fought the war in the same way. Each expressed the crisis according to its bias. For example, bloggers from the Ivorian diaspora (Interview, 2016).

However, the findings also reveal that media as a double-edged sword that can impact both peace and conflict has played a crucial role in leading to conflict resolution. They reached the audience with balanced and fair information.

The findings of the study did not reveal only negative connotations from media. Positive impacts were also noted during the period of conflicts. There were positive aspects from Ivorian media. This was the case of independent media, state newspapers, and the community radio, which played with difficulty a positive role during the 2011 post-election conflict (RWB reports, 2011). Some of these media have several occasions alerted authorities about corruption, social inequalities, tensions between communities, etc. (interview, 2016).

In terms of fair and balanced reporting of political crises, the findings reveal that the opinions of the interviewees remain the same. The results of the research indicate that not all the authors of the articles had condemned the violence. More than 50% of interviewees agreed that certain printed media particularly from Independent Newspapers and *Fraternité Matin* were blameless because most of them remained less biased. The quality of their articles reflected the reality on the ground, and it helped people to make their judgments, opinions.

For instance, community radio has de-escalated tensions among communities. By transmitting a piece of accurate and impartial information, it has helped to reduce inter-community tensions and empower people. Obtaining timely, effective, fair, and accurate information in every village, every community, to every citizen is essential to reduce tensions, especially with the upsurge of violence during the post-election conflict in 2011 and the 2002 civil war in Cote d'Ivoire.

This is where community radios have played a crucial role in defusing tensions and building social cohesion. Isolated populations were informed, rumours were more easily dispelled and tensions between local communities were reduced. There is another perspective that media is valuable in contributing to conflict management proposals in places where societies have knowledgeable wars.

According to the findings, the outlets of media affiliated with political parties were more inflammatory. Their framing was mostly oriented towards war framing than independent media who did the opposition by framing in the peace issues. This means that these two types of media

did have different agendas. The agenda of media affiliated with political parties was to get to power, to win the election ignoring the basic principle of journalism. Whereas independent media had also their agenda which was oriented towards business issues, besides, to provide the information to their audience and the public.

Apart from the conventional media, social media and SMS-messages played an important role; especially social media have been identified as the most promising media for peace reporting because they have actively promoted human rights and social progress.

6.5 Use of Social Media During Post-Election Conflicts

Many of us in this new era are always connected to the internet and this is how we receive, sift and filter daily news.

The findings of this study revealed that local Ivorian reporters have tried to counterbalance this situation by publishing some accurate information using online coverage through Abidjan.net, Facebook, and rarely Twitter. The online reporting made indeed local news frames more available to international audiences such as African, Ivoirian diaspora. The use of the internet by Ivorian news agencies, journalists, bloggers, citizens, and expatriates during the electoral crisis presents a stream of hyper-localized feedback to international audiences.

6.6 Online Media Activity

This chart below summarizes the different online activities carried out to freely express their views on issues related to the electoral crisis.

<p>Abidjan.net www.connectionIvoirianne.net http://koaci.com</p>	<p>The local newspapers use it for the publication of the daily edition. The comments section is prominently displayed, and a live forum provides live information.</p>
<p>Facebook</p>	<p>It used by some journalists to gather information on the current events and to publish/post news.</p>
<p>Twitter</p>	<p>#CIV2010 became a popular hashtag for diaspora abroad and politically inclined citizens to tweet.</p>

Alert. Info	A text-message based news service which delivers small texts to mobile phones.
Blogs	La Plume, La Voie de Golfe
Local newspaper websites	The websites of the main local newspaper such as Fraternité Matin, Notre Voie, Le Patriote etc. were short-lived in the electoral crisis.

Table 2 Main online organizations producing news in Côte d’Ivoire, 2010-2011.

6.7 Abidjan.net

Abidjan.net, connectionIvorianne.net, and koaci.com were three local Ivorian local websites, operating in the run-up to the electoral crisis. Abidjan.net, which was the most website, accepted PDF editions of all Abidjan daily newspapers every night during the crisis. And the emails of the editors were published below many of their published articles. And the interested readers would call or email them back for any question or comment on the articles. I discovered during my research field that the website was famous and the most important in disseminating the crises debate on the local political scene. Thus, Abidjan.net was the main portal for Ivorian diaspora or interested ex-pats to catch up with their preferred newspaper’s political stance on the crisis.

According to my findings, Abidjan.net has created a small online community that was frequently visited by their potential users. During the electoral crisis, numerous themes on the Abidjan.net site were solicited. Anyone could get on the live chat on Abidjan.net. It was a module that we use to put in place during big events or crises. The users were free to post comments to any Abidjan.net story. And the politicians were intentionally paying supporters to leave comments supporting their cause online. But it was taken down because of insults, harassment, verbal rhetoric, etc.

Besides, since Abidjan.net became famous and trusted, it had hosted a live forum where users could post news updates related to the post-election conflict. Thus, many unverified updates were posted on the Abidjan.net websites. For example, they used to receive a message such as the shooting or capture of former president Gbagbo. It was not easy to confirm that news because of the credibility of the alert. For verification, confirmation and to get more and specific details, Abidjan.net had called our co-worker living in that neighborhood.

Here are the shared statistics of the online audiences of four months in 2011, which showed most of their readership were in:

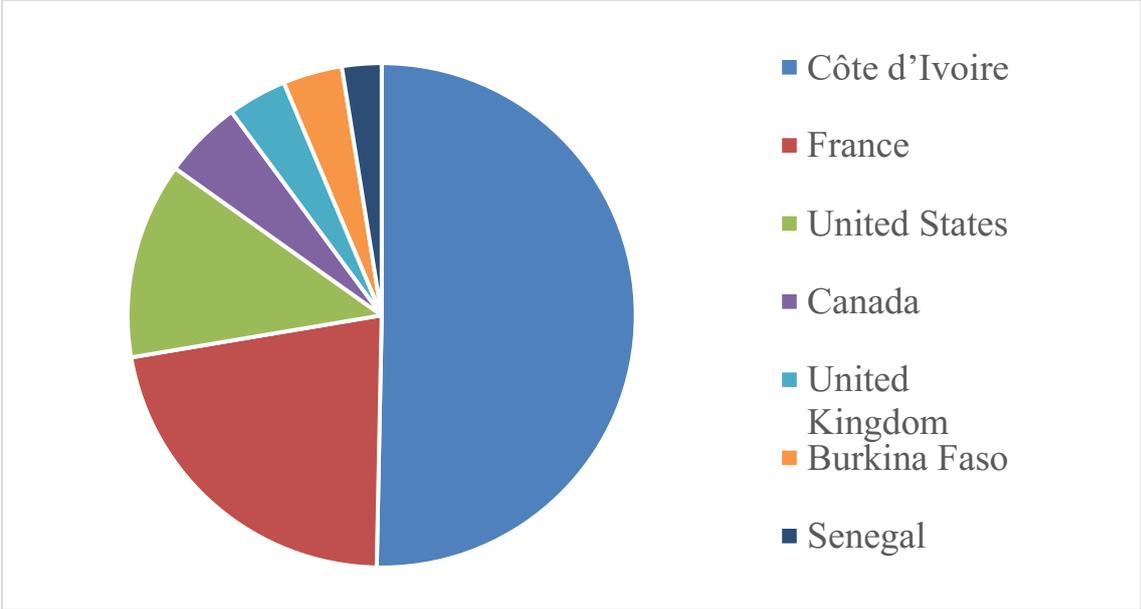


Table 3 Statistic Sources: Net’s company CEO

It was stated by many reporters and editors in chief that their newspaper’s daily editions were exported as a PDF to Abidjan.net every day during the electoral crisis. Their email was identifiable below their published articles. Readers, the public audience could email them, if necessary, with comments on their articles having them read off the Abidjan.net website (Field Research, 2016, 2017).

This initiative was relevant to inform and involve diaspora and Ivorians who are out of the country and those who are interested in the post-election crisis. Since the worldwide readers, the audience has only access to the version of western media, the internet was an opportunity to disclose local media news from the exterior. Thus, the objectives were clearly to inform the public locally and internationally and better understand the Ivorian crisis, the implication of France, the resolutions of Conseil de Sécurité de l’ONU, and all the condemnation they went through.

According to Ruben Ipothe (blogger) and another anonymous reporter (2017), the crisis had financially affected Abidjan.net. The company’s profits were severely hurt and had led to shut down the office and withdraw all the equipment and staff. Many employees were kicked out. Also, other media houses, such as Notre Voie, Le Patriote, etc. were targeted and destroyed, burned.

And Abidjan.net back normally online only after several months, when the stabilization of the situation on the field was stabilized. Abidjan.net started by improving the quality of its service, publication. The information they publish was reliable. Local readers, activists, and followers could give their opinions as usual on political issues. Shortly after the post-election conflicts, Abidjan.net provided a highly interactive online media sphere, specific to Ivorian news, with Ivorian viewpoints for online readers.

6.8 Facebook and Twitter

The findings of my study disclose that Facebook and Twitter also served as online hubs of news to the online world during and after the electoral crisis. Interviews with journalists showed they frequently used both sites to gather news tips and follow up with sources about developing news events. Journalists from *Le Patriote*, *Notre Voie*, *Nord-Sud Quotidien*, *Soir Info*, *Intelligent d'Abidjan*, etc. each said they checked multiple news from local and international websites each morning, including social media such as Facebook and Twitter.

The same *Soir Info* journalist told me they published weekly editorials on the conflict to their own Facebook page, as a “teaser” piece to get readers interested in the full editorial published in the next day’s print paper. And they had a considerable number of followers, but I cannot tell you the exact number of followers because of their instability, frequency, etc.

Using social media to gather news tips, contact sources, or tease the news for the next day all build on the model of asymmetric communication mentioned earlier. The functions of Facebook and Twitter add an element of interactivity to the news, such as the ability to contact other people for what they have posted on their page. Again, much like Abidjan.net, the interactive nature of social media strengthens the flow of inter-connected news within and outside Côte d’Ivoire, forming a second, alternative method for local journalists to build Côte d’Ivoire’s media sphere with locally curated news tips (Interview with Ruben Ipothe is a Blogger from UEESO-Cocody-Abidjan, 2016).

#CIV2010: contrary to the other new media visited above, the active comments on the #CIV2010 hashtag during the electoral crisis were collectively produced by the citizenry, in particular the Ivorian Elites. People. Facebook and Twitter were the most used online social media by the Ivorian Elite, the Ivorian diaspora during the post-election crisis.

Despite the minor role played by social media, it did help by disclosing some comments related to the coverage of the election. Facebook and Twitter were the most widely used during the post-election crisis, but it was mostly used for partisan commentary.

The findings of the research highlighted that among the main problems with election reporting is that traditional media, and even more social media, are based on extreme and unusual reporting, such as violence, very large or small crowds at rallies, long waits at polling stations, or a complete absence of voters, and allegations of misconduct. Observer groups try to put these facts into context by trying to assess whether violence or long waits at polling stations are common, but they do not report until after the elections when most people have lost interest in these issues, and it is too late to react (interview, 2017).

After the presentation of the results, we have discussed them and illustrated them through graphics.

6.9 Discussion Based on the Results of Findings

In the following discussion section, we will start with the role played by the Ivorian media coverage in the 2010/2011 (I) and follow the 2002 civil war (II). We will focus on how Ivorian media shape conflict resolution and societal peace between the post-election conflict of 2011 and the 2002 civil war. Furthermore, we will look at the influence, on the positive effects during these political subversions. And we will also scrutinise the freedom of the Media develop in this decade. Also, we will reveal the relative growth of digital (social) media and the role played by community radios during post-election conflicts in 2011. And we will complete this section with a short analysis comparing the role of the media in the conflicts of 2011 and 2002.

6.10 Negative Media's Role in the Post-Election Conflict of 2011

We have presented the results in three different sections which emerged from frameworks in the local press in a textual analysis of the 55 articles from printed media during the presidential and post-election conflict in 2010/2011. We focused on offense, criticizing the political opponent, inciting to the violence through xenophobic rhetoric, appealing to the power of God.

The content of printed media from the presidential election to the post-election conflict was particularly inflammatory, incendiary, provocative, etc. The local political and cultural rhetoric used by the blue newspapers acquired to former president Laurent Gbagbo and the G7 acquired to the president Dramane Alassane Ouattara, had used rainbow-colored with religious, sometimes tragic and even metaphorical language” to express their views on the crisis.

Most of the local news was expressions of views and not information. The numerous comments from the articles, 10 from the bleu papers and 10 from the G7, were commentaries related to the news about the presidential elections and post-election conflicts.

The coverage in these newspapers of that period was exhaustive because it included analyses, comments, and opinions that were different from the traditional media coverage.

The reporter from Soir Info, Cedric Zoe believes that by writing more political commentary than news, local sources of Ivorian newspapers cited fewer concordant, accurate sources.

According to the articles from the priest, the coverage in the local press was focused on three major topics which are:

6.11 Attack against the Political Adversary

Attacking, criticizing opponents or political adversaries in the local press was a reality stimulated by partisans during both the 2010 presidential election and the post-election conflict in 2011. In general, journalists from bleu newspaper describe their opponent candidate using a series of cynical names and they further assimilated the opposition candidate Alassane Ouattara as a candidate of the international community.

This is a kind of manipulation, because instead of simply saying “pro-Ouattara”, the blue press created a charlatan of vocabulary marks to be launched on opposite sides.

One article from Notre Voie (bleu newspaper) which is titled “*Attaque Rebelle Contre Les Biens Publics*”: Alassane Ouattara is described as a little dog of the West. Besides, he was described as an enemy of educational institutions in the Ivory Coast. And the article adds this:

“After making slight gains in the central, northern, and western zones of the country, this candidate in the last elections now wants to ruin the hope of the future generation in the country”.

This article has referred to the destruction of the University of Abobo-Adjame. The article pointed out the responsibility of the opposition candidate in the burning of the university. It is Ouattara’s supporters who burnt the University”, “supporter of the candidate of the international community”.

As illustrated by this type of framing, one of the clear objectives of the blue newspaper is to smear their opponent’s name, especially by linking his name to the great western imperialist powers. The blue newspaper was not only writing against the pro-Ouattara press but also against

the imperialist powers and their respective media. Indeed, the blue newspaper challenged the pro-Ouattara press and the international community's position, which was united in saying that Ouattara had won the election.

A similar type of media coverage was found in the pro-Ouattara press (Le Patriote, G7/opposition newspaper), which constantly targeted the pro-Gbagbo press as their enemy. We have extracted from some "Patriote" articles a large part of the tactics used by the pro-Gbagbo press. It can be said that is the same formula, the same strategy but with a different adversary who this time was Gbagbo.

The green newspaper (pro-Ouattara) considers Gbagbo as a dictator who is against freedom, progress, even as a killer. Also, Le Patriote newspaper "call pro-Ouattara partisan to mobilize in the Place of the Republic". And the journal praises Alassane Ouattara as a modern, unifier, visionary, and respected leader even by the international community. The complete antithesis of the ongoing president Laurent Gbagbo.

And the green newspaper calls Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) to denounce and condemn acts committed by forces loyal to Gbagbo that are countless, unacceptable; this means large-scale massacres already carried out, the planning, preparation, and systematic organization of mass crimes in the vein of ethnic, religious, and xenophobic hatred was attributed to Laurent Gbagbo regime.

6.12 Invocation of God during the Presidential Campaign and Post-Elections Conflicts

Media coverage had used several Catholic, Muslim, and Christian sermons. And had urged believers of each religion to align themselves behind one or other candidates according to the religion of the candidate.

Referring to the power of God as promoting political camp, journalists and editors from both political camps have devoted much of their information to Christians and Muslims on the crisis. It is little surprise that God mostly on Ouattara's or Gbagbo's side, whichever was targeted.

This was confirmed by Reverend Pasteur Jules Blibo (2016) from Eglise Evangelique UEESO de Cocody Cite des Arts which is in Abidjan, situated not far from Gendarmerie Nationale. He disagrees with the involvement of church leaders, organizations in what he called: *paranoia coverage*. For him, churches or any other religion should not get involved as partisans but only as mediators.

He added: Christians and Muslims had the opportunity to heal the country, but they failed. Religious leaders have crowded into media reporting; they have acted as an activist using even inflammatory speeches in the media and during their respective community meetings. They have successfully converted their believers into political parties' supporters. But he was critical of the international community because they have violated human rights by blocking the entry of medicines into the country. According to him, medicine was intentionally blocked by France and his allies because of Laurent Gbagbo. The international community has sacrificed the whole country just because of Gbagbo. And he said the outcome of this decision was catastrophic.

As a result, many patients lost their lives because of that decision. And since the banks were closed, it was a human disaster. So, he asked me to make the difference between people killed because of diseases, lack of treatment, lack of food in the country, and people killed by the army before making any credible statement, confirmation. Thus, the inventory or observations made by Human Rights Watch was not convincing. The human losses of more than a thousand lives were not only due to the weapons but to the bad decision of the international community, including the African Union. For him, getting Laurent Gbagbo out of the country did not require the blocking of pharmaceutical products in the country. and nobody dares to talk about that because of the fear of retaliation.

Boazo Séraphin (2016), a pastor and journalist (not fully educated), director of the Sassandra Biblical Institute, a consultant at "*Fréquence Vie radio*", moderator of the "Allo Pasteur program" and fervent supporter of former president Gbagbo Laurent, thinks that it is too easy to condemn the media. He believes that decision-makers are the cause of partisan media coverage. Journalists have suffered many types of humiliation, physical and psychological torture, in short, they have been the enemy of everyone against them.

He added by stating that the media are the cheapest of the Ivorian". Yet they reflected the image of their societies. Bamba Sidikki from UFRICA told me the same thing. He said that Ivorian media are influenced by Ivorian readers, society, culture. Moreover, Boazo defend their case by saying that they were in a dangerous environment, they had no control over their articles. The published many articles that didn't come from journalists. It was fabricated by politicians, activists etc. They just used the newspaper as cover up.

Religious people also had no choice other than to join political parties to help Ivorians defeat the satanic powers. The Ivorian population was under the domination of Satan.

Also, I (2016) have several times discussed with Pastor Gondaman Jean Seraphin from Evangelical Free Baptist Churches Association of Ivory Coast (Association des Eglises Evangeliques Baptistes Libres de Côte d'Ivoire). He kindly accepted to share more than 50 articles related to the involvement of the religious organization in the Ivorian presidential campaign and post-election conflicts. We had a long discussion lasting more than five days. He told me that the media had been invaded by activists, preachers, and charlatans of all kinds during the post-election conflicts. Their intervention in the presidential campaign and post-election conflicts had contributed to the negative transformation of the local media landscape. This situation did not allow reporters to do their job at all. This was deplorable. By giving excessive coverage to churches, activists, fanatics, local media owners have a share of responsibility in the treatment of the news. So, not all media failures can be blamed on local journalists.

And Luc Gondo (2016), an agronomic engineer and chairman of the executive board of SEGLAPE-COOP-CA believes that the foreign media, especially French media expressly refused to investigate or talk about the crimes committed by the opposite side. He further expressed his disappointment over the role played by uncritical foreign media, which blindly supported the action of the international community. They had only one opinion, they gave the floor only to those who thought like them.

However, he acknowledged that the international community, supported by France, had as well discarded one of the candidates to put an end to the post-election conflicts that could have become eternal as in the case of neighbouring Liberia. And this view is shared by almost all reporters, peace workers and especially authorities that I have met during my stay, recherche trip in Côte d'Ivoire.

There are some Illustrative examples in the following lines, namely *Fraternité Matin*, a state newspaper, which has published this: “The international coalition against Côte d’Ivoire, led by France, will sadly not triumph because their army is not spiritual”.

"Dr. Yaye Dion Entrusts the Country to God", (*Fraternité Matin*, April 1, 2011) "Israel was attacked and asked for help from its ally, Egypt, who refused. It is in the same way that Côte d'Ivoire asked France for help when it was attacked, and France refused". He went on to say that Egypt preferred to ally with Sancherib, Israel's enemy. The difficulties for Israel were great. "This is what we are experiencing today.

France refuses to help us, and it has allied itself with the rebels, organized a rebellion, with the help of Burkina Faso, just as Egypt did with Sancherib in Assyria. And now there is an international coalition against Israel. Hezekiah was a king who believed in God and prayed".

The international coalition against Côte d'Ivoire, including United Nations, France, United States, African Union, CEDEAO will sadly not triumph because their army is not spiritual. We have angels who are spirits at the service of God and Côte d'Ivoire. That is why you have nothing to fear... The angels are before and behind us. At this point in the sermon, testimony was given by a repentant rebel from Abobo who, after seeing angels at the side of the Ivorian army in battle, told the congregation: "We are not alone, because Côte d'Ivoire has done nothing wrong. She is the one who feeds the others. Laurent Gbagbo has done nothing wrong" (Fraternité Matin, April 1, 2011).

And *Le Patriote* the opposition newspapers published the following sentence in French: "Nourrissez-Vous d'Amour et Non de Haine", "Nourishes Yourself on Love, not Hate". Les signes de l'éternel", the Signs of the Eternal". With the signs of the last days, Mother Mary weeping in Agboville, a heart found in a bowl of palm rice, the sun, and a rainbow, God is giving us a message. But what message? We hear these things and interpretations of all kinds, coming from false prophets or famous magicians who unfortunately deal with lies, manipulations, and heresy of my brothers of the LMP (League of Movements for Progress, pro-Gbagbo militia), the heart in the Bible is the center of emotions, and the heart that appears in the rice bowl of the wife of an LMP soldier, especially in these times of madness, is a call to intervention for the LMP - for the conversion of the hearts of the LMP leaders". (March 24, 2011).

6.13 Xenophobic Rhetoric

The local press has systematically used xenophobic rhetoric to constantly invite the native ethnic group to free themselves from invaders.

Ivorian media notably the blue newspaper has constantly during political crises engaged in xenophobic rhetoric, which also reflects the social climate of the time. It seems always referred to Burkina Faso or Senegal citizens, which work for Ouattara's military, to emphasize that the country's real Ivorians must stick together and protect their interests.

Fraternité Matin compare the invasion of Cote Ivoire by African coalition, African union is similar with the invasion of Libya by the coalition European Union and United States and

published the following statement: "La Coalition Africaine en Côte d'Ivoire, comme la Coalition Etats-Unis et Union Européenne en Libye" (30 March 2011). During the post-electoral crisis, the pro-Gbagbo arena was attacked led by France helped by UN forces, which hides well the international community conspiracy against the regime of President Gbagbo.

In addition, *Fraternité Matin* Added this: "Les Forces Onusiennes et Françaises en Première Ligne dans les Combats Contre l'Armée Ivoirienne", "UN and French forces first in line in combat against the Ivorian army" (30 March 2011). These foreign forces, which are supposed to be a source of intervention between the fighting parties, are unfortunately on the side of the rebels attacking Ivorian's soldiers.

6.14 Manipulation by the State Media: Radio Television Ivoirienne (RTI)

It was in May 2017; it was very hot that day. I had been invited to attend Dr. Pascal Kadja's lecture. The course was called political communication of organizations and was held in an auditorium. It was a course that was given to students who were enrolled in journalism, public relations, marketing, etc. the course was largely devoted to the manipulation by politicians through media, more precisely the Radio Television Ivoirienne (RTI) on the massacre of pro-Ouattara women in the municipality of Abobo.

I have learned a lot from this participative course in which all the participants could intervene. On this day, I met a journalist from Radio Al Bayane called Ali Anouzla with whom I had a conversation. He had even given me an appointment, but it was no longer held because of the strike of the former mutineers on that same day. In 2016, 2017, former mutineers were regularly claiming their war bounty.

Here an extract from RTI's manipulation of the massacre of pro-Ouattara women during one of their peaceful demonstrations.

During its coverage on March 3, 2011, Radiodiffusion-Télévision Ivoirienne, the public television channel had also portrayed the crises through commentaries related to religious issues. The channel had twisted a viral video of the massacre of the Abobo pro-Ouattara women's rally, screening a young girl dying in the street. An additional body is shown with its arms and part of its head torn off. The girl, who is surrounded by a pool of red, tries to stand up and then starts to lower her head into the blood. Her movements are erratic and unresponsive. She is in the middle of dying. The station shows it in a monotonous twist showing how she raised her head, folded it down, then raised it again.

According to the broadcaster, “*the girl dies when she wants to and then comes back to life when she wants to*”. And she compared this to the death of Jesus which took three days to come back to life” (RTI, 2011). The purpose of the presenter through these news spots was to dismiss the reality and convince the audience that Gbagbo’s military did not kill anyone during the women's march. The presenter claimed that these women were killed by other pro-Ouattara demonstrators, they were killed by other demonstrators. Besides, he stated that the dying girl of simply pretending to die.

There is a second RTI clip that showed the bodies of several rebels loyal to Ouattara killed by Gbagbo's regime soldiers. The bodies are scattered in the street, one of them with an open gunshot wound in the ribs. But the news presenter says that God must bless Gbagbo's army with angels because angelic clouds are descending on the station. The clip ends with a statement by the presenter: "If God is for us, who can be against us? (Extracted from the bible, Romain 8:31, RTI, 2011).

This study presents a dimension of the Ivorian political press during the crises that the country experienced in 2002 and 2010/2011. The relationship of the press violence to violence on the ground, the use of God as a tool for mobilization for action is best understood as a culturally appropriate strategy for advocacy based on a pre-existing faith. This style is opposed to the Western mainstream media, which write in general for a different medium with different values. In Cote d’Ivoire, local journalists seemed to act more like political commentators who in keeping with Ivorian culture and Ivorian values, such as religion. It is, therefore, useful to continue to see local journalists as political actors of a social movement, who use their positions in the press as a tactic to mobilize their political party (members, partisans). And it is unimaginable that the Ivorian media cannot influence, mobilize for debate, for dialogue for tackling the issues of living together especially in a peaceful climate, in an environment of social peace.

According to CISSE Sindou (2016), to the editor-in-chief of the independent newspaper “*Nord-Sud Quotidien*”, there are constant routines that emerged in the way prejudices and feelings are covered in local newspapers. “There was a lot of propaganda because we are writing as someone close to a political party. We participate in a bit of propaganda because our objective is to encourage the population to adhere to the ideas of the politician we defend”.

After the illustration related to the manipulative role of RTI, our study also revealed a positive role played by community radio which is not tied with a political party. Community radio was

the most trusted and had a considerable follower all the time said Wilfried Ezzo (2016). Wilfried Ezzo was the one who helped me as a guide during my research visit.

6.15 The Role of Community Radio during Ivory Coast's Conflicts

According to my findings, communities' radio has played a positive role during the political crisis in Ivory Coast. They gave voice to those who cannot express themselves through the traditional media, private or public. Their role was based on the principle of journalistic neutrality.

Besides, its welcomed differences are expressed in programming based on different local languages. And they have promoted harmonious integration of the population from the ethnic groups it serves through programs broadcast in their language (Interview, 2016).

The findings of the study highlighted the importance of community radio stations which has enabled isolated communities across Ivory Coast to speak out. Ordinary citizens debate on the airwaves on issues that affect them closely, such as gender relations and the fight against discrimination and mismanagement from the government. They exchange farming techniques and ideas for income-generating activities or ways to improve education.

The findings of the study revealed that community radio is the most needed in Ivory Coast because it provides opportunities to the local population such as news, entertainment etc. The opinion of the local population is a "point of reference" that is often missing. Community radio stations enable listeners in remote rural areas to keep up to date with current events, get practical information and find out what their neighbours think. Although not all local radio stations have the same effect, they often provide remote villages (many of which do not receive public radio program) with the means to learn, express themselves freely and communicate, while at the same time making the history, music, and oral traditions of the local population known.

I (2017) was invited by Dr. Pascal Kadja to spend a weekend in Tiassale which is a village not far from Abidjan. The aim was to discuss and to get the view of local community. They are not educated but their view about the root of Ivorian crises matters. We had an amazing weekend; they share with me their view about the Ivorian crises. Most of them was Laurent Gbagbo supporter. Although they share different view on the Ivorian politic landscape, I found both pro-Ouattara and pro-Gbagbo moderate and tolerant.

Pro-Ouattara considers the change of the regime, power from South to Nord is a good move to unite the country. They find that all formers' presidents were from the South, and they have

developed and privileged only the south regions, areas. For a long time, they have fostered despotism, favouritism, tribalism, Xenophobia, and contempt for the population from the north of Cote d'Ivoire.

The pro-Ouattara believe that the North is only an electoral battle. They were interested in this part only when an election is approaching. That is why media are partisan. They do not blame media reporting at all. They do not even know more about printed media, RTI, or social media. Thus, they mostly listen to the community radio which is in local languages. And community radio updates them about the news related to their business.

And pro-Gbagbo did not agree with their opponent. They think that Gbagbo was a very good president, but he was weakened by the rebellion. Since the country was split, he had no margin of power to unify, reconcile the country and implement his development projects for which he was elected. And they consider the Ouattara's accession to the power has rather divided the country. They also do not follow printed, social media, etc. because they can't afford them; it is expensive for them to buy newspapers. However, they think community radio is enough; they can listen to the music, news and they are free to express their view, debate, to tell stories all in local languages. So, media issues are for rich, educated people which live in Abidjan.

According to pro-Ouattara and Gbagbo, community radio has changed/improved many lives in Tiassale. They said: "because of community radio, they feel part of this country. Indeed, thanks to these community radios, one can now keep up to date with what is happening here and elsewhere. There are also positive changes at the personal level. The community radio projects allow community members to learn new skills and thus improve their employment prospects in commercial stations.

The findings of the study highlighted that the responders are not unanimous in their perception of the role played by community radio during the political crisis. from 15 interviewed persons, only 12 believed that community radio has played a massive role related to conflict resolution. And the three others do not think that community radio has played a single role because radio stations are in general not allowed to broadcast political issues on their behalf.

Imam CISSE Djiguiba (interview, 2016) de la Grande Mosque du Plateau and Chairman of the board of Radio Albayane defends the importance of community radios in the daily life of the population in Ivory Coast. He assessed that the transmission of accurate and impartial information has helped to reduce inter-community tensions and empower people.

Timely, effective, fair, and accurate information in every village, every community, to every citizen is essential to reduce tensions, especially with the upsurge of violence during the post-election conflict in 2011 and the 2002 civil war in Cote d'Ivoire.

This where community radios have played a crucial role in defusing tensions and building social cohesion. Isolated populations were informed, rumours were more easily dispelled and tensions between local communities were reduced. These last points are very important, as these isolated communities often feel powerless during conflicts.

According to Konan, a security officer in Riviera Plameraie (Cocody) is a regular listener of the radio stations, believes that community radios have defused tensions and created avenues for inclusive dialogue during the conflicts that emerged from the 2002 civil war and the post-election conflict in 2011. "It made us feel part of a society, we can sit around a table, discuss and above all hear each other" (Interview, 2016).

Kouame (Interview, 2016) Office Manager of the Evangelical Hotel appreciated the quality of the program from community radio which enabled these productions to reach isolated areas to promote social cohesion and raised awareness of a culture of peace during the political crises in Cote d'Ivoire. Currently, there is a clear disappearance of inter-community violence in the country due to community radio, which has innovated a set of access programs on dialogue, social peace, exemplary harmony, etc.

According to Edouard Dagry (Interview, 2016), a country where 36% of the population can read and write, gives local radio a crucial informative and educational role. It informs, raises awareness, and promotes dialogue exchange with listeners. Education through information is at the heart of our radio's mission argued Boazo Seraphin (2016).

According to Souleymane OULAI (interview, 2016) the executive director of MOZAI: "School of mass communication, Ivorian was affected by the two deadly political crises urgently needed reliable, balanced, and timely information and this is what community radio has offered during these conflicts that took the lives of more than 3,000 people and caused thousands of Ivorian to flee to countries in the sub-region. He assessed that community radio has helped to heal the country by allowing people to speak, to tell their stories, share their view etc.

Nowadays, community radio stations have a network of exchange and solidarity that defend and promote the right to communication. More specifically, they contribute to the expression of different social, political, and cultural movements, as well as to the promotion of all

initiatives in favour of peace, the friendship between peoples, democracy, and development. Community radios are therefore well equipped to act as actors for peace as social media as well. Social media has played little role but important.

In comparison with the printed media, community radio is the most appreciated, most useful because it facilitates integration, social cohabitation, and provides opportunities through its publication, news. Also, we have noted that printed media close to the main political parties is biased. It helps the party to whom they belong by promoting their action, including manipulating issues which are listed among the causes of Ivorian conflicts. They frame by using incendiary rhetoric.

6.16 The Impact of Social Media during Ivory Coast's Conflicts

These findings answered whether Twitter and Facebook have influenced by playing an important role during the presidential campaign in 2010 and the 2011 post-election conflict in Cote d'Ivoire.

Concerning the role played by the diasporic blogs in reporting the crisis it is not clear to what extent they played a significant part in shaping attitudes. In any case, they were active outside the country, but not very much relevant inside Ivory Coast, due to the low access to the Internet, especially outside of Abidjan.

According to the findings of the study, Twitter was mainly used by the Ivorian diaspora and had more followers than printed media. They have published a lot of images, damages caused by the conflicts, but did not use inflammatory speech, xenophobic rhetoric etc. Therefore, their framing had positively impacted on conflict resolution than newspapers. However, the access to Twitter was limited to the local population because of the insufficient know-how and financial resources, the limitation of Internet access, an illiteracy rate of 43,1% (UNDP, 2013, Table 1). Also, the infrastructures were almost destroyed by the violent conflicts.

6.17 Freedom of the Media

The findings reveal that the freedom of communication in Ivory Coast is real, and, in such contexts, digital and printed media are an essential element in strengthening the democratic process.

To support the government's reconciliation program resulting from the Linas Marcoussis Agreements, Laws 2002-643 and 200-644 respectively on the legal regime of the press and the regime of audio-visual communication were adopted and promulgated. These laws, known as

twin laws, are to be free from the 1991 law, marking the media landscape for a plural expression. As far as the written press is concerned, the law stipulates in its article 1 that the publication of any free newspapers or periodical, subject to compliance with the prescribed conditions. These conditions aim at imposing on the press enterprises, the respect of certain criteria of existence following the texts governing the economic sector. The regime of the press is therefore that of the declaration.

Since the adoption of law 2004-643, journalists in Cote d'Ivoire hold no longer fear going to prison because of their professional activity. The first paragraph of article 69 of the law states that imprisonment is excluded for press offenses, which were disciplinary and administrative sanctions. This law allows Cote d'Ivoire to be one of the few countries that have abolished the penalty of deprivation of liberty offenses committed through the press (Interview, 2016).

During the analysed decade, media had negative and positive effects on conflict resolution and societal peace. The overall polarization of the Ivorian society shrunk during the period. And independence of the media slowly grew during the period. Digital media (social media, community radios) had more positive effects on conflict resolution than printed media

Despite the biased reporting of political media, they have often offered peace issues to their respective audiences. International criticism on partisanship of Ivorian media had a positive long-term effect.

6.18 Freedom of the Media in 2011

Since the adoption of law 2004-643, journalists in Côte d'Ivoire hold no longer fear going to prison because of their professional activity. The first paragraph of article 69 of the law states that imprisonment is excluded for press offenses, which were disciplinary and administrative sanctions.

There was a significant rate of participation of the media coverage in the presidential election in 2010 and during the post-election conflict in 2011. Social medias were used during the presidential election and post-election conflict, and have reported on registration, campaign, voting, and counting. Violence's and misconducts were in general reported at the local and national level.

Although the adoption of the law 2004-643, the study has highlighted abundant forms of victimization or persecution, warning, arrest, harassment, and imprisonment of journalists by the government and rebels. The media was under civilian pressure, they were targeted by the government and rebellion side as well. For instance, printed media like "Le Patriote" or "Notre

Voie” faced legal harassment and physical violence perpetrated against its journalists, and its infrastructures were destroyed respectively by pro-Laurent Gbagbo and pro-Alassane Ouattara. Some journalists told me that their relatives and family were constantly intimidated by the supporters of both candidates Gbagbo and Ouattara. The context was particular and could not allow journalists to fulfil their duties. But the attacks against reporters, journalists, media enterprises, even newspaper vendors, and newshounds were not the same as in the 2002 crisis. And the polarized press, dependent on government and opposition has increased the information flow. Media has increased with relative freedom during the decade. A main factor for improvement was the rise of social media and online news portals. It has reduced the power of the mass media to control and flow information. It has increased the mere amount of information about political deficits such as human trafficking, gender inequalities, environmental crises, and a myriad of political, social, economic, and cultural issues.

6.19 Freedom of the Media in 2002

The rate of media participation during the civil war was low. Many newspapers were banned from zones held by the rebels. violence and misconduct were not silenced because of the lack of media freedom. Media was under civilian pressure. Attacks against reporters, journalists, media enterprises, even newspaper vendors, and newshounds have increased. Many journalists have been killed or assaulted and wounded during this long-armed conflict. For example, “Le Patriote” faced harassment and physical violence against its journalists and infrastructures. Social media and SMS-messages were not used because African countries started using these tools in the years 2006. These tools were used by privileged, rich citizens.



Figure 14 Newspapers that Played Role during the Civil War in 2002 (ANCI, 2014).

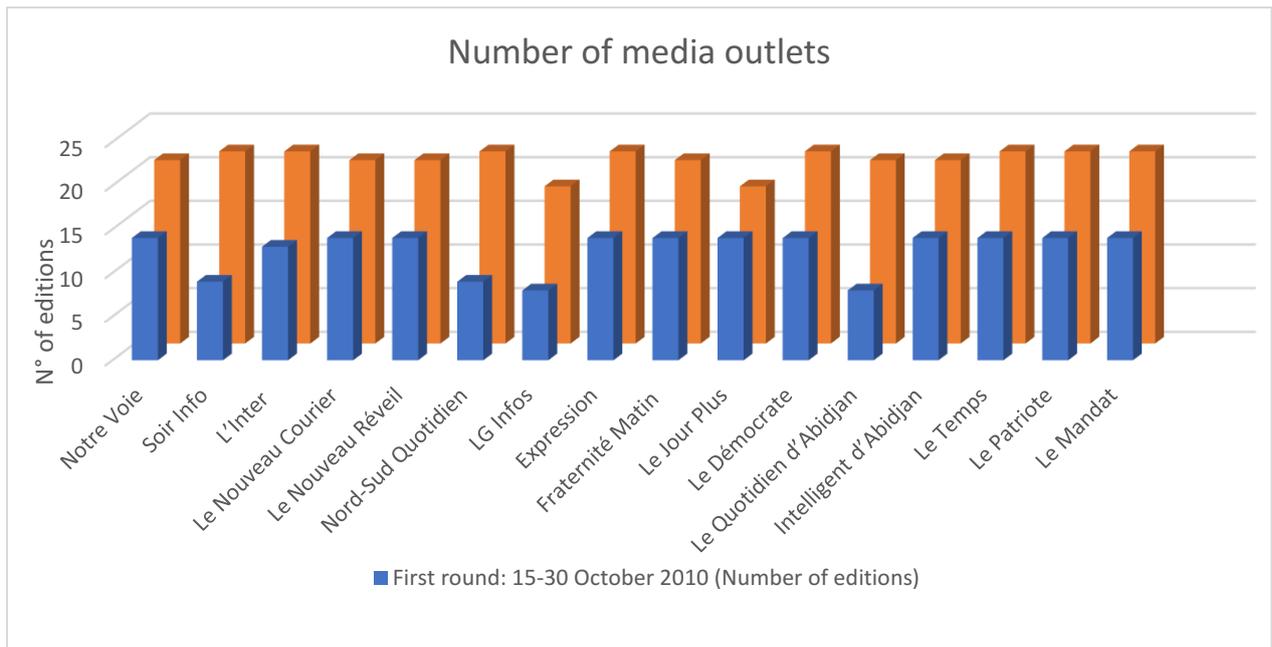


Table 4 Number of media outlets during the presidential election in 2010 (CNP)

The table above shows the plurality of media, this means there is a freedom of media in Ivory Coast.

According to the Conseil National pour la Presse (CNP, 2010), the number of media coverage during the first and second round of the 2010 presidential election, and during the 2011 post-election conflicts, has considerably increased indicating the existence of the freedom of media, communication in Ivory Coast.

Sixteen media houses have participated to the coverage of presidential elections and post-election conflicts. And they have from October to November 2010 published 539 editions.

The findings disclose that there was stronger adherence to the code of conduct by certain media, especially independent media, and community radio regarding coverage of the 2010 presidential election and the 2011 post-election conflicts.

The findings of the study also revealed that despite the freedom of communication, media was under civilian pressure, they were targeted, subjected to harassment, physical threats by the government, opposition, and some radical supporters both pro-Gbagbo regime and pro-opposition called G7.



Figure 15: Press coverage during the first round of presidential election in 2010 (CNP)

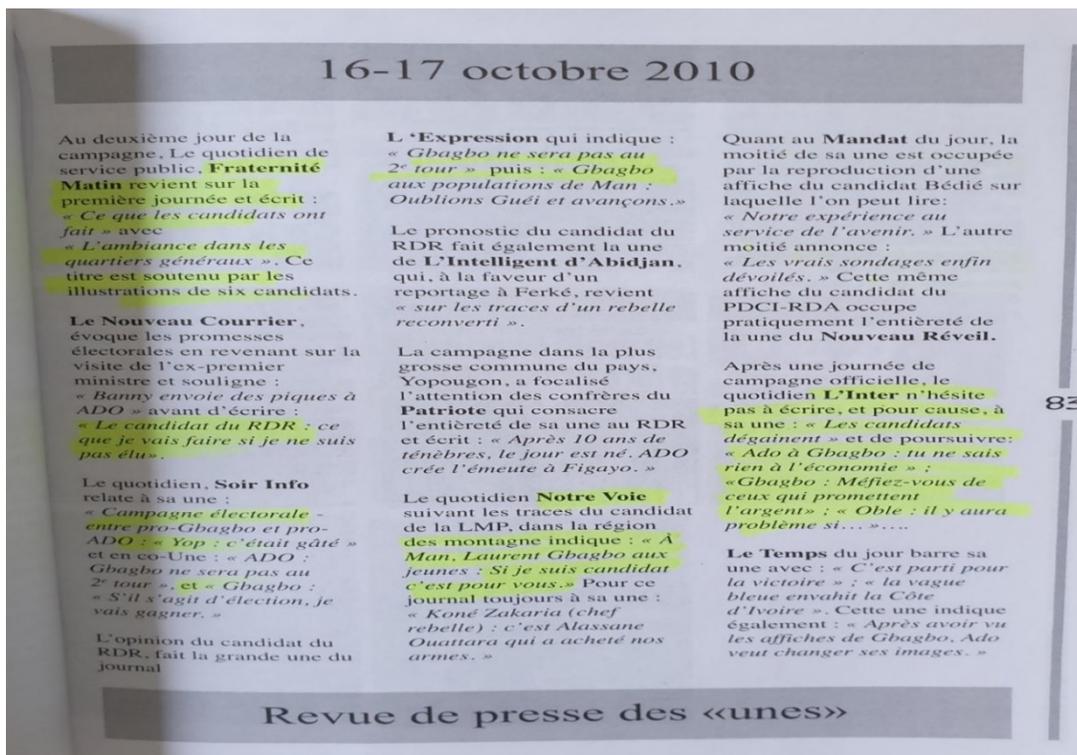


Figure 16 Press release of the first round of Presidential Election in 2010 (CNP)



Figure 17 Press coverage of the second round of the presidential election in 2010 (CNP)

According to Michelle Koffi (L'Intelligent d'Abidjan, 2017), theoretically freedom of media exists in Ivory Coast. But the reality on the ground during these political subversions didn't help the journalists or reporters accomplish their duties. Too many instructions given by their bosses, companies were confusing for them. In general, reporters must have a story to tell because their job is to gather and disseminate information to the public, audience. But some politicians have created a link with a media organization or journalists which had influenced journalist's decisions about what they should or should not report during the conflicts.

This testimony from Michelle Koffi raises a serious question about the social responsibility of journalists. In such context, the theoretical framework of model journalism which is essentially rooted in Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm's (1963) need to be implemented; it could help to improve this kind of situation. The Siebert model assigns a social responsibility to journalists who monitor those in power on behalf of peoples and societies, serving as watchdog because of their right to communicate (Shaw, 20011, p. 114),

Most 80% of journalists (from all sides) affirm that a free, independent media is only possible when journalists are free to monitor, investigate and criticize some social policies. This was not the case during the 2002 civil war. The reporters were in danger because of the deadly crises.

The findings of the study underline that community radio has been used during the 2011 post-conflicts more than any other media because of its accessibility, costless, and high effect on illiterate people. It is the most readily accessible of all media. As a result, community radio has played a crucial role during these two crises. According to my interview (June 2016) with Imam CISSE Djiguiba of Grande Mosquée du Plateau d'Abidjan and Chairman of the board of Radio Nationale Islamique Albayane defends the importance of community radios in the daily life of the population of the region. He assessed that the transmission of accurate and impartial information has helped to reduce inter-community tensions and empower people.

Timely, effective, fair, and accurate information in every village, every community, to every citizen is essential to reduce tensions, especially with the upsurge of violence during the post-election conflict in 2011 and the 2002 civil war in Cote d'Ivoire. This where community radios have played a crucial role in defusing tensions and building social cohesion. Isolated populations were informed, rumors were more easily dispelled and tensions between local communities were reduced. These last points are very important, as these isolated communities often feel powerless during conflicts.

Also, the findings of the study reveal that political patronage and interference, as well as poor economic incentives, were primary determinants of low levels of professional capacity for media in conflict-affected countries.

The findings of the study show that journalists operating on the fringes of what is deemed to be acceptable very often found themselves the subject of considerable intimidation by agents of the state. Thus, the journalists did anything to fulfill their agenda. The freedom of journalists to express themselves was unusual because their role during this period was to convey the message of the politicians.

The findings of the study pointed out that the working condition for journalists in Ivory Coast varied from one to another. The professional of media said this scenario hindered their effectiveness as conveyers of information. They argued that those employed were poorly paid and in constant fear of losing their positions, given a lack of job security, and increasing competition in the Ivorian media market.

Cedric Zoe (Soir Info, 2016) pointed out that the rights of journalists have been violated and abused by their employers. The expecting provisions are not adequate to provide journalists with protection, while employers abuse their rights to fair pay. The crises have also affected the moral of reporters.

This could explain the facts on the ground concerning a body of opinion that holds the view that while private media is perceived as free and independent, the ownership and vested interests for which they hold brief manage public opinion through influence reportage.

Theoretically, the freedom of the press exists but during the time of conflicts, the landscape of media was polarized and did not allow media to follow the standards rule. But despite this difficult time, media had tried to do their best to inform the public through accurate and balanced piece of information.

6.20 Positive's Effects of Media approach to Conflict Resolution in 2011

The findings reveal those private newspapers namely Soir Info, L'Inter, Nord-Sud-Quotidien, Intelligent d'Abidjan, and Fraternité Matin as state media were less unbiased and have shown their professionalism. They had integrated the conduct of rules, they have informed, exposed the mismanagement from the political leaders.

According to the statistic related to the different penalties, we have observed:

- The absence of certain media on the list of media that were sanctioned, blamed. This proves that certain media had nevertheless displayed their know-how and professionalism.
- According to Wilfried A. Sanogo (2016), the editor-in-chief of Notre Voie, the media was under civilian pressure. The journalists were working in difficult situations with many risks. But they have survived, they have helped many Ivorian in danger, they have provided useful piece of information to avoid conflicts zones.
- Most of the media that received negative remarks were under the control of political parties or government. Many of them didn't care about the instructions which were given by their boss. That's why they were intimidated, beaten etc. They have challenged their oppressors by exposing them, reporting the truth. And that was confirmed by Cedric Zoe (2016) during our discussion, interview. He said that many journalists were blamed, harassed by both pro-Ouattara and Gbagbo, even by their own employer for refusing to follow the instructions.

The findings of the study show that despite the difficult conditions of work, the partisanship, certain media took their responsibilities by reporting in conflict resolution. A few days before the presidential election in 2010, some editors in chiefs sought to prevent conflict.

For example, a few days before the official opening of the electoral campaign, in his editorial of 4 October 2010, the Director of Publication and Editor in chief of the daily newspaper “Notre Voie”, Cesar Etou, wrote: “It is obvious; we continue to support Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, the candidate of the presidential majority. However, we know that the appointment of the presidential election, especially in this country emerging from the crisis, must be made by fairness and elegance.

Version française: Quelques jour avant l’ouverture officielle de la campagne électorale, dans son éditorial du 4 Octobre 2010, le Directeur de publication et Rédacteur en chef du quotidien Notre Voie, César Edou, écrit: “C’est évident, nous continuerons de soutenir à fond le candidat de la Majorité Présidentielle (Lmp), le Président Laurent Gbagbo, notre favori. Cependant, nous savons que le rendez-vous de l’élection présidentielle, surtout dans ce pays qui sort de crise, doit être fait d’équité et d’élégance.

Charles Sanga, the editor in chief of “Le Patriote” a newspaper closed to RDR, said: “People must start thinking about challenging politicians about their speech. Whatever the result of the election on October 31, we are for national unity and social cohesion. The journal is part of the dynamic of societal peace and will denounce the derivatives of politicians.

Version française: le Directeur de Publication de Le Patriote, Charles Sanga, journal proche du RDR, note qu’il faut plutôt que les gens commencent par penser à interpeller les hommes politiques sur les discours qu’ils tiennent. Nous sommes pour l’unité nationale et la cohésion sociale. Quel que soit le résultat du scrutin au 31 octobre. Le patriote s’inscrit dans une dynamique de paix et dénoncera les dérives des hommes politiques”.

In the run-up to the elections, Nord-Sud Quotidien increased the space devoted to political news on the newspaper's 12 pages. "We are giving a voice to the people, the candidates, and their representatives and civil society. We have opened two pages of debates, "the debates of North-South," says editor Kébé Yacouba Jr, who reveals, 'we try to challenge, employing a barometer, those who make statements that go against the climate of peace or give a mention to those who are more appeasing'.

Version française: Nord Sud-Quotidien a accru l’espace consacre aux informations politiques sur la douzaine de pages du journal’ “Nous donnons la parole à la population, aux candidats et à leurs représentants et à la société civile. Nous avons ouvert deux pages de débats,” les débats Nord-Sud”, souligne le directeur de publication, Kebe Yacouba Jr. qui révèle “nous essayons

d'interpeller, par le biais d'un baromètre, ceux qui tiennent des propos qui vont contre le climat de paix ou décernons une mention à ceux sont apaisants.”

L'Inter published a remarkable free forum entitled: “Do we want Rwanda “Bis” in Ivory Coast? It noted that the tribal anchors of the main political parties are the breeding ground for the tribal derivatives of the campaign. L'Inter rise to say enough to the politicians, leaders of tribal communities, media houses for glorifying in the thing that divide Ivorian's citizens. They call fakes thing true and true things fake. The journal was not complicit or silent on the manipulation by the politicians.

Also, in an article entitled: « Verbal drift, violence – who wants to burn Côte d'Ivoire? “Published on November 24, 2010 - n° 3760, journalist Assane Niada launches a real cry of the heart. “The political climate in Côte d'Ivoire does not promise anything good”, he wrote big clouds are gathering if we stick to the spectacle of violence that we have been seeing lately, and especially to the rumors of coup d'Etat that the press has been reporting. The comments heard here and there, the hateful SMS messages, the images of war projected across Abidjan and certain cities in the country, all this gives you a chill.

The author raises the question of who wants to burn down the country. What is happening right under our eyes, he continues in his alert, six days before the second round does not augur well. (...) No one will gain by engaging the country in a Rwandan, Kenyan, or Zimbabwean pattern. The obsession to retain or to conquer power should never justify the use of violence. This country must be spared another bloodbath! Candidates Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara, who claim to be pro-democracy, should refrain from using invective and other inflammatory rhetoric such as that which has been served up to us in recent days. Such remarks have the disadvantage of warming up their supporters, who come to challenge each other in the streets, as was the case last Friday in Cocody, and the day before yesterday in Port-Bouët, Williamsville, in Abidjan. If we are not careful, this type of skidding could spread to other cities and even become widespread. Therefore, we must avoid the most urgent matters now. Afterward, it will be too late,” concludes Assane Niada with extreme lucidity.

Version française: Dans un article intitulé : « Dérive verbale, violence- Qui veut brûler la Côte d'Ivoire? », publié le 24 Novembre dans le quotidien L'Inter n°3760, le journaliste Assane Niada lance un véritable cri du cœur. « La météo politique en Côte d'Ivoire n'annonce rien de bon, écrit-il. De gros nuages s'amoncellent si l'on s'en tient au spectacle de violence qu'il nous est donné de voir ces derniers temps, et surtout aux rumeurs de coup d'Etat dont la presse s'est

fait l'écho. Les propos entendus çà et là., les SMS haineux, les images de guerre projetées à travers Abidjan et certaines villes du pays, tout cela donne froid dans le dos ». L'auteur s'interroge et pose la question de savoir qui veut brûler le pays? Ce qui se passe sous nos yeux, poursuit-il dans son alerte, à six jours du second tour n'augure rien de bon. (...) Personne ne gagnera à engager le pays dans un schéma rwandais, kenyan ou zimbabwéen.

L'obsession de la conservation ou de la conquête du pouvoir ne devrait jamais justifier le recours à la force. Il faut épargner à ce pays un autre bain de sang! Les candidats Laurent Gbagbo et Alassane Ouattara qui se targuent d'être démocrates, devraient se garder de verser des invectives et autres propos guerriers comme ce qui nous a été servi ces derniers jours. De tels propos ont l'inconvénient de chauffer à blanc leurs partisans, qui en viennent à se défier dans les rues, comme ce fut le cas vendredi dernier à Cocody, et avant-hier à Port-Bouët, Williams ville, à Abidjan. Si l'on n'y prend garde, ce type de dérapages pourrait s'étendre à d'autres villes et même se généraliser. C'est pourquoi il faut parer au plus presse maintenant. Après, ce sera trop tard », conclut avec une extrême lucidité Assane Niada.

These different remarks made by the national and international electoral observation confirmed what we just here from different reporters, journalists, editor in chief etc.

National and international electoral observation	
National Human Rights Commission of Cote d'Ivoire	Considered that "in general, the media as a whole provided acceptable coverage of both the campaign and the elections".
Reporter Without Borders	Noted equitable treatment of the two candidates and neutral coverage of the campaign in four daily newspapers and the audio-visual media.
MOE-CSCI	Second round of the presidential campaign: RTI and Fraternité Matin ensured a perfect parity in the media coverage of the two candidates.
Convention of the Ivorian Civil Society	Found despite the tensions, Nord-Sud Quotidien and the Inter were neutral in the treatment of Information.

European Union Electoral Observation Commission (EUEOC)	Despite the bias from local media, EUEOC welcomed the coverage of <i>Fraternité Matin</i> , <i>Soir Info</i> and <i>Intelligent d'Abidjan</i> .
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Table 5 Monitoring of National and International Electoral Observation

This table revealed the nature of positive coverage during the presidential election in 2010. Almost all observatory commission agree in the fact that reporting was acceptable even if certain media did manipulate, were partisan and didn't seek the truth, spread rumors, unverifiable sources. This kind of reporting has helped Ivorian's citizens to overcome the difficult situations they were facing. Also, this has contributed to decrease tensions and paved the way to the conflict resolution.

At the end of the first-round campaign, the National Human Rights Commission of Cote d'Ivoire (CNDHCI) considered that "in general, the media, overall, provided acceptable coverage of both the campaign and the election. However, some newspaper headlines were very virulent."

During the 6 a.m. edition of Radio Côte d'Ivoire's 6 o'clock news on 11 November 2010, the Reporter without Borders (RWB) representative remarked about the coverage of the first round by the public service media that "journalists neutrally treated all the candidates.

Version française: Au cours de l'édition du journal de 6h de Radio Cote d'Ivoire du 11 Novembre 2010, le représentant du de Reporter sans Frontières (RSF), a remarqué au sujet de la couverture médiatique du premier tour par les médias de service public que "les journalistes ont vraiment traite tous les candidats de manière neutre. Ça c'est vraiment bien par rapport à la situation qui était celle des médias audiovisuels avant la crise.

In its assessment of the media coverage of the Second Round released on November 27, 2010, illustrated with graphs. Reporters Without Borders (RWB) noted equitable treatment of the two candidates and neutral coverage of the campaign in four daily newspapers and audio-visual media.

The organization indicated that the two candidates, Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara, were treated fairly with respectively 54% and 46% for *Soir Info*, 52% and 48% for *Intelligent d'Abidjan*, 55% and 45% for *Nord-Sud Quotidien*, and 46% and 54% for *Fraternité Matin*. It

emerges that these four dailies gave almost identical editorial surfaces to the candidates. This attitude was also observed in the public service audio-visual media. The two RTI channels, The Premiere for Television. And the Nationale for Radio, each granted 51% of airtime to Laurent Gbagbo and 49% to Alassane Ouattara, noted Reporters Without Borders (RWB).

Besides, this organization also noted that the inflammatory messages made by the two candidates and their staff during the second round harmed the tone of the campaign in the four daily newspapers previously mentioned. In this regard, RWB stressed that the journalist often has no choice but to broadcasting these allegations, always and attributing them to their authors, as they are elements of the campaign that can help voters to better understand the candidate's personalities.

However, a sense of responsibility requires that journalists should always refrain from amplifying them or draw attention to the risks to the public from politician's verbal excesses.

Version française: Dans son bilan relatif à la couverture médiatique du second tour publié le 27 Novembre 2010, formidablement illustré par des graphiques, « Reporter sans frontières (RSF) relève un traitement équitable des deux candidats et une couverture neutre de la campagne dans quatre quotidiens ainsi dans l'audio-visuel public. »

Cette organisation indique que les candidats Laurent Gbagbo et Alassane Ouattara ont eu un traitement équitable avec respectivement 54% et 46% pour Soir Info, 52% et 48% pour L'Intelligent d'Abidjan, 55% et 45% pour Nord-Sud Quotidien et 46% et 54% pour Fraternité Matin. Il ressort que ces quatre quotidiens ont accordé des surfaces rédactionnelles sensiblement identiques aux deux candidats. Une attitude observée également au niveau des médias audio-visuels de service public. Les deux chaînes de la RTI. La Première pour la Télévision et la Nationale pour la Radio, ont accordé chacune 51% du temps d'antenne à Laurent Gbagbo et 49% à Alassane Ouattara, constate RSF.

Par ailleurs, RSF souligne également que les propos incendiaires tenus par les deux candidats et leurs états-majors lors de ce second tour, ont eu un impact sur le ton de la campagne dans les quatre quotidiens précédemment cités. A ce sujet, RSF stresse que « le journaliste n'a pas souvent d'autre choix que de diffuser ces propos en les attribuant toujours clairement à leurs auteurs car il ils sont des éléments de la campagne qui peuvent aider les électeurs à mieux comprendre la personnalité des candidats.

Toutefois, RSF appelle le sens de la responsabilité qui doit guider le journaliste tout en s'abstenant toujours de les amplifier ou d'attire l'attention sur les risques que les dérapages verbaux d'hommes politiques font encourir à la population »

The MOE-CSCI, through its report on the second round of the presidential campaign, published the same remark in its report that the National Television and Radio and Fraternité Matin ensured a perfect parity in the media coverage of the activities of the two candidates who were running. The institutional of the Head of State was reduced to a minimum in the state media.

Version française: La MOE-CSCI constate dans son rapport que « durant la campagne du second tour, la Télévision et de la Radio nationales et Fraternité Matin ont assuré une égalité parfaite dans la couverture médiatique des activités des deux candidats en lice. Les activités du chef de l'État ont été réduites au minimum dans les médias d'Etat.

Same judgment, assessment of the convention of the Ivorian Civil Society (CSCI) found that despite the tensions, Nord-Sud Quotidien and the Inter were neutral in the treatment of Information before, during, and after the 2010 elections.

Version française: Même jugement, appréciation de la convention de la Société civile Ivoirienne (CSCI) a estimé que malgré les tensions, Nord-Sud Quotidien et l'Inter ont été neutres dans le traitement de l'Information avant, pendant et après les élections de 2010.

The National Convention on Human Rights of Côte d'Ivoire (CNDRCI) considered that "in general, the media as a whole provided acceptable coverage of both the campaign and the elections".

Version française: La Convention Nationale des Droits de l'Homme de Côte d'Ivoire (CNDRCI) a estimé que "d'une manière générale, les médias ont, dans leur ensemble, procède à une couverture médiatique acceptable tant de la campagne que du scrutin".

The European observers in general welcomed the behavior of the Nord-Sud Quotidien first, then that of Soir Info.

Indeed, in its final report, the European Union Observer Mission in Côte d'Ivoire emphasized in the media coverage of the first round that, in general, "the written press proved to be very partisan during the first round. Fraternité Matin and the private newspapers such as Soir Info and Intelligent d'Abidjan were the only exceptions to this rule".

Version française: Les observateurs européens en général ont salué le comportement du Nord-Sud Quotidien d'abord ensuite celui de Soir Info.

En effet, dans son rapport final, la Mission d'observation de l'Union Européenne en Côte d'Ivoire souligne à l'occasion de la couverture médiatique du premier tour, que d'une manière générale, "la presse écrite s'est révélée très partisane lors du premier tour. Fraternité Matin et les journaux privés Soir Info et l'Intelligent d'Abidjan ont été les seules exceptions à cette règle".

For example, the European Union Electoral Observation Commission, the National Human Rights Commission of Côte d'Ivoire, and Reporter without borders (RWB) did agree with the professionalism of the media RCI (Radio Côte d'Ivoire) and RTI (Radio Television Ivoirienne). And private media such as Soir Info, L'Inter, Intelligent d'Abidjan, Nord-Sud Quotidien, and Fraternité Matin were well rated as well.

Moreover, in all the reports of the observers invited to this important presidential campaign, they unanimously appreciated the behavior and professionalism of both private and public media. And they have also highlighted the lack of media guidelines, the lack of professionalism of certain media.

The findings of the study indicate that in situations of conflict or peace, the relationship and especially trust between the media and the public is very important. And lack of information can make people desperate, restless, and easy to manipulate. The need for information increases because the public depends on the media for information about the ongoing conflict.

The results showed that the public would need information about potential threats and how they can deal with them. From this point of view, the media can support peace initiatives because they have the power to influence people's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes.

The findings of the study pointed out that the application of media guidelines and compliance with requirements regarding the role of the media during reporting can catalyze neutral political reporting that does not risk provoking political tensions.

According to the findings of the study, both politicians and the media were informed about their responsibility to ensure that information disseminated by the media does not disturb the public. This section has illustrated with many examples the positive role of media. Despite the negative roles of certain media, despite the conflictual context, Ivorian media has tried to publish accurately and have tried to bring people together. This matches with Shaw, Lynch, and

McGoldrick (2005, p.5) who claim that journalists are responsible both for the way they report and for providing opportunities for the wider society to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict.

Therefore, media has generally played important role but not always in the positive way, they were somehow unethical. The following monitoring is one of the examples of misconduct during the election issues.

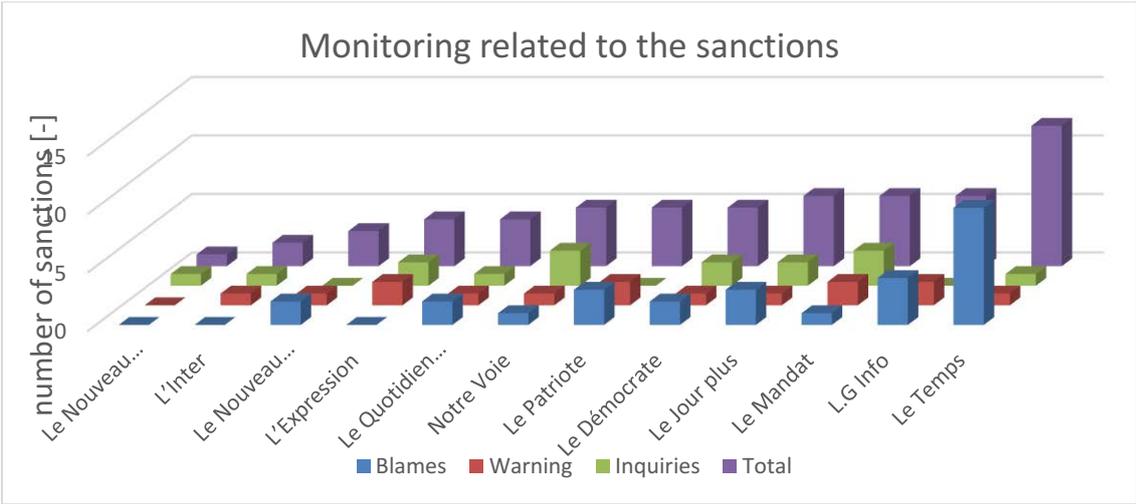


Table 6 Monitoring Related to the Sanctions during the Presidential Election Sources: CNP (2010)

This graphic shows 9 newspapers that have been warned and blamed because of their misconduct during the presidential election in 2010. These numbers exposed the dilemma of media function during this period.

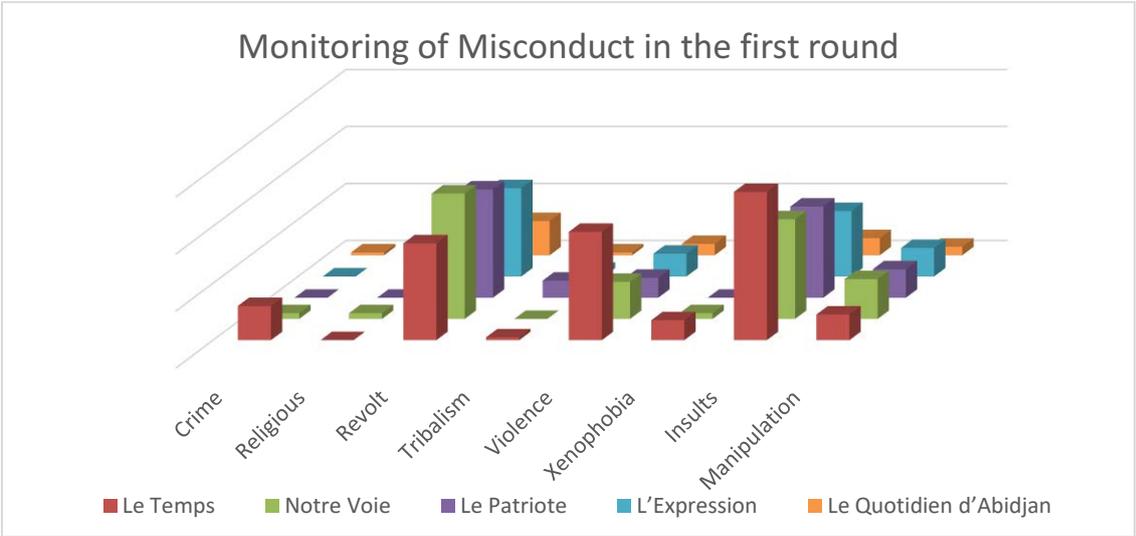


Table 7 Monitoring of Misconducts during the First Round

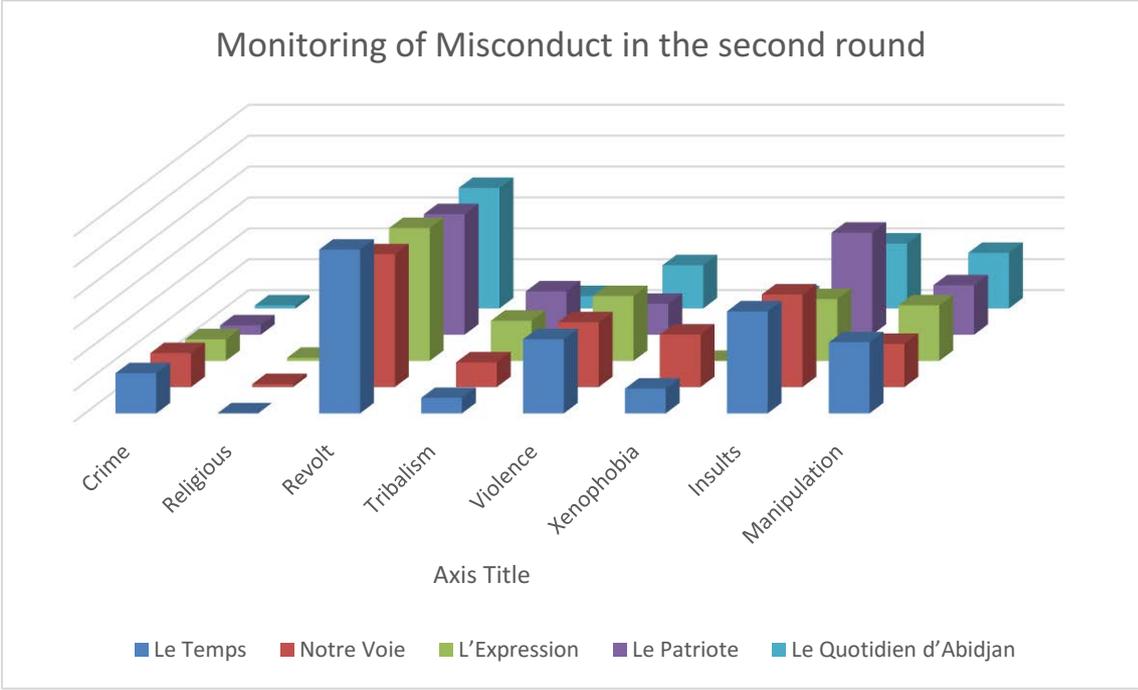


Table 8 Monitoring of Misconducts during the Second Round

The monitoring of the first round and second round of the presidential election in 2010 indexed different incitement to the crime, religious discrimination, violence, Xenophobia, etc., from 5 newspapers. They are mostly partisan because they are linked to the political parties such as Notre Voie, Le temps which are Blue Newspaper and Le Patriote followed, supported opposition. This means biased have increased the tensions, invited extremists to commit crime.

During our field research, we have learned and briefed about the crime committed by extremists, followers of political media (Cedric Zoe, 2016).

The findings of the study shown that after the results of the election of 2010, some of the blue and green newspapers took a very clear conflict stance whereas, the independent newspapers stances were somewhere in the conflict resolution. From blue newspapers in general, Alassane Dramane Ouattara was always portrayed as criminal, evil, unreasonable, supported by the external forces, the cradle of terrorists, etc., whereas the green newspapers were portrayed Laurent Gbagbo as incompetent, looser, and a dictator.

The study revealed that most newspapers used vivid remarks by politicians and opinion leaders to reconstruct their news headlines, sometimes concerning past emotive even, selective reporting, and common prejudicial stereotype about the targeted group. This promoted hatred amongst the already polarized citizen and resulted in violence. Besides, some editors in chief

and reporters from all sides recognize that some media did not withhold information but gave reports that suited their listeners and political affiliations.

This was not the view of Theophile Ninsoh Touhou and Mrs. Berthe Yabah BOGNINI from CONARIV (2016). CONARIV is the national commission for reconciliation and compensation of victims of Ivorian conflicts. According to both, despite the important number of biased media reporting, some media sought to spread societal peace. Ivorian media provided people living in affected communities needed information about routes out of the combat zone and about water and food supplies. Local population knew where to obtain medical care and where armed groups were mobilizing. Thus, we cannot label all the Ivorian media as perpetrators of hate speech.

In conclusion, the effects of media in 2011 post-election conflicts were viewed in terms of positive on conflict resolution. This was the case of independent, social media, and community radios. But the political media reporting has played a negative role, especially after the publication of the presidential results.

This strongly demands the importance of peace journalism through training, as the workshop can help to improve and meet the needs and requirements of working journalists.

According to the study, it emerged that the media houses in 2002 took side. Most editors were compromised with some media houses became sensational and unnecessarily alarmed their audiences.

6.21 Positive's Effects of Media approach to Conflict Resolution in 2002

The 2002 coup under Laurent Gbagbo's regime put Cote d'Ivoire in an armed crisis, the longest since its independence. The failed coup d'État of the 2002 split the country in two, with the northern region under rebels' control and the south controlled by the regime. As results, the crisis caused numerous human losses. Thus, several attempts to resolve the crisis have been initiated and led by France and CDEAO.

The Ivorian media, more specifically the press, was constantly engaged in polemics during these different stages of agreement negotiations. The treatment of the information by the newspapers reflects the position of the different political party. On the eve of each attempt at an agreement, newspapers close to the political parties display the position of the parties they are called to endorse.

Three political media outlets, Notre Voie (1), Le Nouveau Réveil (2), and Le Patriote (3), and Fraternité Matin and RTI (4) which are the state media were selected on their coverage before, during the civil war of 2002, and the various peace agreements.

6.22 The media reporting before the failed coup of 19 September 2002.

The Ivorian media's coverage in July 2002 focused on four main topics, namely the issuance of a certificate of nationality to Alassane Dramane Ouattara, the elections of the general councils, the strike of transporters and the negotiations for the formation of a government of national unity.

The issuance of a certificate of citizenship to the leader of the Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR), Alassane Dramane Ouattara, was announced and commented on 1 July 2002 by almost all the local media. The issuance of this certificate will allow the RDR to take part in the first ever democratic elections of the general council's members held on 7 July 2002 in the country after the presidential elections of 2000.

August 2002 will remain an eventful month and the topics that will mark the Ivorian press are related to the assassination of Balla Keita on 1 August in Ouagadougou, the negotiation with RDR party to form a government of broad openness (of national unity where all political parties will be represented), the Independence Day, the eligibility of Alassane Ouattara and the robbery of the BCEAO in Abidjan.

6.22.1 Notre Voie reporting before the failed coup of 19 September 2002.

The findings of the study revealed that the blue newspaper Notre Voie was engaged in accusing Alassane Ouattara, discrediting him through direct messages such as:

- We (Ivorians) should never let a corrupt leader like Alassane Ouattara (RDR) to lead this state. And before general council's members election which held on 7 July 2002, the newspaper invites Ivorians to go out massively on July 7 to block RDR leaders by casting their vote for the FPI leader, Laurent Gbagbo (No. 1228, Tuesday 2 July 2002).

In addition, the newspaper calls the FPI partisans for violence against Alassane Ouattara: "We must react now to avoid being caught short" (No. 1231 of Tuesday 16 July 2002 and No. 1231 of Tuesday 16 July 2002).

Côte d'Ivoire is in danger. The leader of RDR, Alassane Ouattara is preparing the final assault (N°1231 of 5 July 2002). The journal presents Ouattara as a real gangster, danger (N° 1229 of 3 July 2002).

All these rhetoric used by the newspaper close to the Gbagbo regime do not seem to favour either a climate of peace dialogue in the country.

6.22.2 Nouveau Réveil reporting before the failed coup of 19 September 2002.

The findings of study show that the newspaper Nouveau Réveil close to the former president Konan Henri Bedié (1995-1999) also describes Côte d'Ivoire as being in 'danger. The newspaper alerts the Ivorian about the lack of experiences of the Gbagbo regime. Cote d'Ivoire is in danger because it is led by people who do not have enough experience. And it highlighted the incompetence of ongoing government by calling the regime 'political bandits', 'dictators etc. (No. 206 of 12 July 2002 and No. 211 of 19 July 2002).

These expressions make it clear that the situation is conflictual. But the tone used does not give an air of extreme seriousness that is worth calling on Ivorians to mobilise and use violence to put up any resistance.

6.22.3 Le Patriote reporting before the failed coup of 19 September 2002.

The findings of the study highlights that the daily newspaper close to Alassane Dramane Ouattara, portrayed a Côte d'Ivoire in the grip of violence and xenophobia before 19 September 2002.

This violence was mainly the responsibility of the FPI, the party in power. The newspaper states: "Since taking power, the FPI has used "fascist methods" to govern and to impose itself: (...) the violent state that FPI has established in Côte d'Ivoire since its advent in October 2000. (N°914 of Monday 19 August 2002).

This daily does not contain any incitement to violence or the use of violence. But the tone speaks volumes and can already arouse the anger of the political opponent.

The findings of the study revealed that the red map below of Ivory Coast showed by the newspaper had been variously interpreted. The map was divided into two parts with different colors, North and South. But according to the editor in chief Francelin Glode (2016), the map was just designed as an alarm. They just tried to warn the government about the consequences of mismanagement and xenophobia that had reached some level before the failed coup.

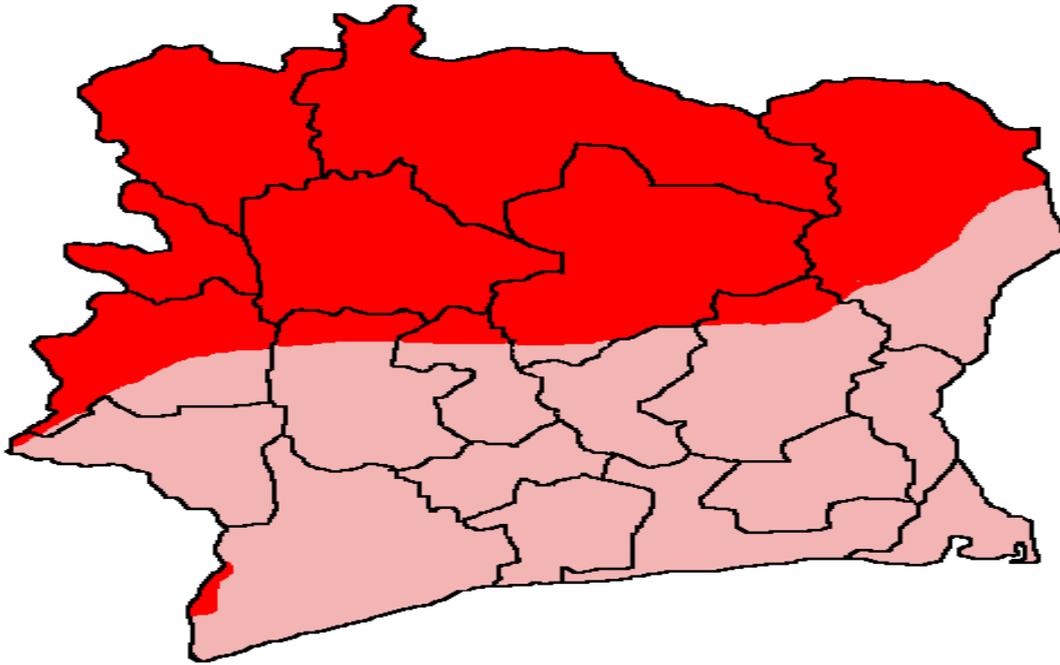


Figure 18 Warning Map before the 2002 Civil war (“Le Patriote”).

In this specific case, “Le Patriote through “the above Map” has alerted the Regime of former President Gbagbo Laurent on the relevant issues which could harm the harmony of the country.

The red colour means “Blood, disaster”. The findings revealed that the country was deeply in trouble because of the consequences of the mismanagement since decade. The population from the North feels discriminated, excluded. The newspaper said: “it was rather a question of drawing the attention of the authorities, of the government of the time, to the numerous abuses suffered by certain citizens. The frustrations were everywhere, the tensions were obvious”. Because of the potential danger, the newspaper warned the former regime to come up with a solution otherwise the country could be split. The newspaper posted on the first page of its publication a Map of Cote d’Ivoire, which is in two different colours, clearly means division.

The newspaper tried to expose the report of its various investigations. In view of all the above, the newspaper preferred to alert the public by means of a map showing a country divided in two. The newspaper was giving a sign to the Ivorian leaders on the possible civil war. It was, according to the newspaper, a messianic message, sign far from a message of a Prophet of Doom.

This was an illustration that shocked the Gbagbo regime, its sympathizers, and even some of the apolitical community. This card is the publication of the newspaper “Le Patriote” it had a

particular echo, a newspaper that calls for rebellion, to shed the blood of Ivorians such was the reaction of the power that was in place. As a result, the newspaper's infrastructure was burnt down, sold by a part of the population.

The study concluded after reading many articles before the conflict of 2002 that *le Patriote* was just right; it was the voice of voiceless, check the facts and exposed the feelings of the abused, discriminated population.

According to the interview with Wilfried A. Sanogo the editor in chief of *Notre Voie* which was affiliated with the FPI, "Le Patriote was for the split of the country. It has demonstrated that the newspaper was biased and played a divisive role.

From the other side (editor in chief of *Nord Sud*, Mr. Cindou CISSE, 2016), it emerged that *Le Patriote* did a great job by alerting the government on discrimination, xenophobic rhetoric, insecurity which characterized the difficult conditions of life of the population from North of Cote d'Ivoire. The newspaper alerted and denounced the incapacity of the former regime to maintain security, to create a peaceful environment and opportunities for all. It fought the high level of discrimination and corruption in the country, which has led to the rebellion in the year 2002. And he concluded by saying that it was also the case of *Nord-Sud-Quotidien* who act always as watchdog.

6.22.4 Fraternité Matin reporting before the failed coup of 19 September 2002.

According to the findings of the study, the state newspaper is aware of the conflictual atmosphere in the country. It describes it as a "situation of neither peace nor war" and "a situation of heavy skies that risks falling on our heads" (No. 11294 of Monday 1 July 2002).

Fraternité Matin did not have a position that favoured the interests of a party or that was provocative of a party or a political leader. Rather, the newspaper seeks to be a faithful echo of the statements of all political medias.

6.23 The media reporting after the failed coup d'état of September 19, 2002.

On September 19, 2002, Côte d'Ivoire was attacked by a group of armed individuals. What was initially considered by national and international opinion to be a coup d'état, quickly took on the appearance of an armed rebellion, consecrating the partition of the country and plunging it into a situation of civil war. This was a difficult and very sensitive time during which rival factions and populations were on the verge of confrontation. In this context,

information becomes a key factor in shaping the situation. The Ivorian press unanimously condemned the attack, but with different interpretations.

6.23.1 Notre Voie and the failed coup coverage

The newspaper quickly designates the authors of the failed coup, indexing General Robert Guéi and Alassane Dramane Ouattara. Assailants, terrorists, and rebels are the expressions used by the newspaper to designate those who took up arms against Côte d'Ivoire:

- General Robert Guéi and Alassane Ouattara instigators of the coup de force (N°1295 of September 22, 2002).

The designation of a perpetrator appears to be an act that generates eviler social tension. This justifies the appeals launched to rally all Ivorians against the enemy by this newspaper and the national radio and television (RTI) for campaigns giving rise to hyper nationalistic slogans and the writing of a new anthem called the ode to the fatherland.

- "The time for patriotism has come. Get up and show solidarity to save the country";
"All the children of Côte d'Ivoire must unite their forces to save Côte d'Ivoire"(N° 1300 of Friday 27 September 2002).

6.23.2 Le Nouveau Réveil and the failed coup coverage

The findings of the study carried out that Nouveau Réveil did not fail to regret the numerous losses of human life caused by this mutiny. According to the newspaper, the mutineers have "possible manipulators" who are not named by the newspaper to avoid an uprising against any individual or group.

- "It is no longer a question of knowing who is right or wrong, Côte d'Ivoire must be saved".
- "Ivorians, more than ever, must put aside their differences and act together to free Côte d'Ivoire:
- "It is necessary that all Ivorians without distinction of ethnicity, religion or political sensitivity put themselves together."

- " In 1999, the people lacked solidarity with President Bedié. In 2002, they must not repeat the same mistake with President Laurent Gbagbo (CODESIRA, 2008).

6.23.3 Le Patriote and the failed coup coverage

According to the findings of the study, the Patriote did not fail to highlight the path to follow so that Côte d'Ivoire can overcome this crisis.

- "We had at heart, under the Second Republic which wants to be democratic, to fully play our role of fourth power of counter-power, by relaying opinions and different sensitivities. Nothing more, nothing less. "
- "In the name of the fatherland, we pledge to contribute to the return of civil peace and the restoration of territorial integrity (N°942 of Thursday, October 10, 2002).

But the failed coup d'état of September 19, 2002, will be severely felt by "Le Patriote" as well as other press organs. This daily will be the subject of threats and assaults by young so-called patriots who see through this newspaper an accessory of the mutineers or rebels. The newspaper disappeared from the newsstands during the first days of the failed coup.

6.23.4 Fraternité Matin and the failed coup coverage

Fraternité Matin, as well as Nouveau Réveil, and Le Patriote, is careful; it did not make any comments that could provoke anger against a leader or a political party. The daily hopes to make Ivorians aware of the situation and hence calls the population without exception to block the progress of the rebellion:

- " If the rebel uprising is pursued and successful, everyone will live and suffer the consequences (...) necessarily harmful" (N° 11364 of Friday, September 23, 2002).
- -" Each Ivorian must consider himself as a conscript of the military and civil contingent for the defence of the Republic". (11364 of Friday, September 13, 2002.

The findings of this research revealed that the attack of September 19, 2002, brought the Ivorian press closer together, and they now seem to focus on the interest of the nation.

However, the accusations made by Notre Voie may have aroused hatred for certain individuals or groups, thus creating mistrust at a time when unity and solidarity were being sought more than ever.

6.24 The Ivorian Press and the Coverage of Crisis Issues Before the Various Agreements

6.24.1 Notre Voie before the various agreements reporting.

The findings of the study disclose that Notre Voie presents President Gbagbo as the defender of the nation and the others conflictual parties as the enemies who seek to destroy the country.

- "While the Ivorian political parties' concert and prepare to speak with one voice at this summit, the Bouaké rebels are instead preparing to boycott it".
- "ADO, the rebel leader and rebels have no arguments to justify why they are killing, raping, and destroying Côte d'Ivoire since September 19" (2002 (N°1394 p. 4 of January 22, 2003).

6.24.2 Le Patriote before the various agreements reporting.

The findings of the study showed that the Paris summit appears in this newspaper as the object of great manoeuvres on the part of the presidential camp before the start of the round table.

- "(...) Gbagbo summoned the parties close to the government to unify them around him and merge them into the mould of a single thought: his own" (N° 1012 of Friday 10 January 2003).

Despite the accusation against Gbagbo camp, the daily presents the Marcoussis agreements as a solution to end the killings, the death squads, the partition of the country, the resurrection of the economy, the reunification of torn families, and the end of exile for thousands of displaced persons" (No. 1028 of Friday 10 January 2003).

6.24.3 Nouveau Réveil before the various agreements reporting.

Nouveau Réveil projected the Paris round table as the scene of democratic expression: "In Paris we are not going to issue a simple and insipid declaration only to return to wage war on the ground (N° 347 of Friday, January 10, 2003).

6.24.4 Fraternité Matin before the various agreements reporting.

Fraternité Matin has expressed any opposition about the summit but has some doubts about the impartiality of France in this war. For the journal:

- "France has, since the beginning, taken its side" and this in favour of the "good guys who are the rebels" (N° 11451 of January 9, 2003).

The journal praises the commitment made by the political parties (except for the RDR) to remain united, cohesive, and supportive. This union of political parties around the nation is an appreciable attitude to help find a solution to this crisis. And the refusal of the RDR to be part of this alliance is considered an act of high treason towards "the dying motherland"(N° 11451 of January 9, 2003).

6.25 The Ivorian Press and the Reporting of the Marcoussis Agreements

6.25.1 Fraternité Matin reporting on Marcoussis Agreements.

The state daily expresses its opposition on the Marcoussis agreement by stating this: "Ivorians are not ready "to accept the diktat" (No. 11464 of January 24, 2003). And the daily called Ivorians to mobilize to resist their application: "Nothing that will have been decided at the Linas-Marcoussis round table, to resolving this crisis can be applied without the Ivorians' consent"(No. 11464 of January 24, 2003).

6.25.2 Notre Voie reporting on Marcoussis Agreements.

Notre Voie presents the Gbagbo regime as the victim of a plot in Paris. This conspiracy comes from the other political parties as well as from multifaceted enemies (N°1400 of Wednesday January 29, 2003).

6.25.3 Le Patriote reporting on Marcoussis Agreements.

Le Patriot newspaper called the attitude of the regime towards the Marcoussis agreements as ridiculous and incomprehensible: "When you don't agree with something, you don't sign"(N° 1028 of Friday 2003). Besides, it urged the ongoing regime to accept the Marcoussis propositions.

- "The application of the Marcoussis agreements is the lesser evil for a country that otherwise risks tipping over into chaos and without Gbagbo at its head"(N° 1026 of Wednesday January 29, 2003).

6.26 The reporting of Accra III Agreements

6.26.1 "Notre Voie" reporting on the Accra III Agreements

The findings disclose the characterisation of the rebels by the journal simply shows that the conflicting parties don't trust each other. The journal treats rebel's and PDCI delegations to Accra III as specialists in cunning:

- "They will inevitably find something to complain about in the Accra III agreement"(N° 1855 of Thursday, August 5, 2004;1854 of Wednesday, 4 August 2004).

6.26.2 Le Patriote reporting on the Accra III Agreements

Le Patriote describes the Accra summit as a triumph for the whole of Côte d'Ivoire:

- "no one has lost, no one has won. It is peace in Côte d'Ivoire that has a chance to smile again"(N°1475 of Wednesday 4 August 2004).

6.26.3 Le Nouveau Réveil reporting on the Accra III Agreements.

According to the findings, Nouveau Réveil presents Accra III as a corrective to the previous agreements, namely those of Linas-Marcoussis and Accra II:

- "The merit of Accra III is to have succeeded in obtaining a written and signed commitment from all the parties involved in the crisis"(No. 811, Monday, August 2, 2004).

6.26.4 Fraternité Matin reporting on the Accra III Agreements.

The findings of the study revealed the deception of the state media:

- Presented as the meeting of the last chance, the Accra III summit, intended to put Côte d'Ivoire back on the rails of peace and development, did not achieve the expected results"(N°11919 of Saturday 31 July 2004).
- "Our heads of state and the UN have done things so well that we are leaving Accra more perplexed and confused than before "(N°11919 of Tuesday, August 3, 2004).

But the state media sees through Accra III the "rehabilitation of the Head of State who had come out of the Linas Marcoussis round table very humiliated, where he had been stripped of all his powers. The Head of State is now at the heart of the peace process. He is "the driving force (N°11922 of Wednesday August 4, 2004).

6.27 The Ivorian Press after the Ouagadougou Agreements.

6.27.1 Notre Voie reporting on the Ouagadougou Agreements.

The findings of the study disclosed the position of the regime through its newspaper calling the opposition leaders "chameleons", "cowards. The Newspaper also attacks the international community through its headlines "the end of the myth of the incapable negro".

- "Far from the noise of the international community, Ivorians have decided to smoke the peace pipe, after 4 years of belligerence. It is the first time that a conflict opposing African brothers is settled by Africans. "

The Ouagadougou Accords appear to be a victory for the President's camp over his political opponents, who stubbornly supported the strict application of Resolution 1721, as reported in Notre Voie.

6.27.2 Le Patriote reporting on the Ouagadougou Agreements.

The findings of the study highlighted the unacceptable behavior of Ivorian media vis-à-vis to the former President of Burkina Faso, Blaise Compaoré:

- Better yet, this agreement is seen as an act that rehabilitates Burkinabe President Blaise Compaoré, long vilified by the press close to the presidential camp accusing him as the instigator of the rebellion.
- "Transforming yesterday's enemy into a hero, the Ivorian head of state has made Blaise Compaoré the providential man of Côte d'Ivoire.

6.28.3 Le Nouveau Réveil reporting on the Ouagadougou Agreements.

The findings of the study showed the satisfaction of Nouveau Réveil about the Ouagadougou agreement and the daily invited the Ivorian people to take ownership of this agreement (...) by concluding this agreement, you bury the civil war hatchet definitively.

It emerges from the findings of the study that Ivorian press had a heavy responsibility in the 2002 crisis that the country experienced in the sense that it contributed to the deterioration of the socio-political atmosphere. Local media, especially the newspapers close to the political parties such as "Notre Voie", "Le Patriote", and "Nouveau Réveil", report the crisis following the will of their political party leaders.

However, the pro-government newspaper Fraternité Matin stood up during this period, trying as best it could to report the conflict with impartiality to strengthen conflict

resolution. *Fraternité Matin* has remained faithful, without bias, the state newspaper has endeavoured to inform Ivorians, in the spirit of the reconciliation so desired by Ivorians of all sides.

And this was also the case of “*Nouveau Réveil*” has sometimes oriented its publications towards conflict resolution. For example, in its publications No. 347 of January 10, 2003, and No. 350 of January 14, 2003. The newspaper stated that the Lina Marcoussis agreements should allow the parties in conflict to express themselves to find a solution. He invites the conflicting parties to seek a definitive solution to the crisis before the Lina Marcoussis talks.

6.28 Difference between Media reporting in 2002 and 2011

Crises are usually a test for journalists and the media. It requires them to demonstrate, more than usual, their social responsibility through their professionalism, respect for certain moral values, and cardinal virtues, ethics, and deontology of their profession.

One of the biggest challenges for Ivorian media was to survive the trauma of witnessing the conflict both physically and emotionally. What happened to local journalists, their life, family, job, or property after the stories were published was a very painful moment, far pressing issues.

To support the government’s reconciliation program resulting from the Linas Marcoussis Agreements, Laws 2002-643 and 200-644 respectively on the legal regime of the press and the regime of audio-visual communication were adopted and promulgated. These laws, known as twin laws, are to be free from the 1991 law, marking the media landscape for a plural expression. Since the adoption of law 2004-643, journalists in Cote d’Ivoire hold no longer fear going to prison because of their professional activity.

The first paragraph of article 69 of the law states that imprisonment is excluded for press offenses, which were disciplinary and administrative sanctions. This law allows Cote d’Ivoire to be one of the few countries that have abolished the penalty of deprivation of liberty offenses committed through the press.

But it does not mean that the 2004 law has put an end to violations of freedom of the press and the physical integrity of professional media. Ivory Coast was indeed divided in two after the revolution initiated by rebels from the North and West of the country on September 19, 2002. In the aftermaths, former president Robert Guéï and his family, together with Minister of Interior Emile Boga Doudou, were murdered.

So, from the outbreak of the crisis on 19 September 2002, it was therefore simply enough for media to follow this inclination of servility to line up in battle orders behind the belligerents. Low rate of media participation on the civil war. Many newspapers were banned from zones held by the rebels. violence and misconduct were silenced because of the lack of media freedom. Social media and SMS-messages were not used because African countries started using these tools in the years 2006. These tools were used by privileged, rich citizens.

Thus, there are two opposing camps: “on the one hand, the rebel and pro-rebel media and on the other hand, the local media to the official government/regime” (Diégou Bailly, 2004). Thus, many newspapers were banned from entering the so-called Centre-Northwest (CNO) zones held by the rebels and warlords. Antennae of the Ivorian Radio and Television Broadcasting (RTI) were destroyed or hijacked for propaganda purposes by the rebellion, which had created its newspapers.

On October 21, 2002, barely a month after the outbreak of the rebellion, the patriotic movement of Cote d’Ivoire (MPCI) launched from their capital, Bouake in the Centre of Côte d’Ivoire, a television channel initially called Télé-mutins which was quickly christened TV-Notre-Patrie.

Its program schedule consisted essentially of speeches by the leaders of the movement and reports on their meetings. If it is not yet possible today, in the absence of documents, to objectively evaluate the content of the media created during the crisis. They did dictate most of the conversation revolved around which stories should be filled and which should be killed (Diégou Bailly, 2004).

Their media only radiated in the besieged areas, a part of the national territory forbidden to all other media, written press, and audio-visual media. TV-Notre-Patrie borrowed without asking for it, therefore in its way, the equipment of the Ivorian Radio Television Broadcasting (RTI).

Katiola, Khorogo, Odienné, Séguéla, towns in the North, and Man in the West have been equipped with radios: Radio-Mutins. In these towns, the rebels have taken over the equipment and premises of either community or church radio stations. Finally, the rebels published in Katiola, a town in the north, a biweekly called Liberty, and in Man in the West, another called, Tam-Tam (Diégou Bailly, 2004).

Wilfried A. Sanogo, the editor in chief of “*Notre Voie*” acknowledged during our interview the threats and dangers faced by the journalists in a conflict zone when they are ill-qualified, ill-equipped, inexperienced, and not trained especially when there is no organizational support system at any level for them. They are learning conflict reporting the hardest way, it says by

risking their lives in their efforts to keep the flow of information running, uncultured from all around propaganda permeates the province.

And Mr. Samba Kone (interview, 2016) assessed that the decision to investigate, to report was though for journalists in the zone controlled by rebellion.

Thus, between their duties, their ambitions, their perpetual desire, i.e., the breaking news, to keep a job or their need for knowledge, and their concern for their safety, journalists in rebel's zone were attentive to both news and the repercussions of their assignments.

Moreover, in the rebel-controlled area, journalists from newspapers closed to the Gbagbo's regime are not welcome because they are systematically suspected of being spies on behalf of Laurent Gbagbo regime. Many reporters have been subjected to inhuman treatment; they were killed, arrested, tortured, or threatened by the local administration or law enforcement agencies in the rebellion zone.

Media was under civilian pressure. Indeed, attacks against reporters, journalists, media enterprises, even newspaper vendors, and newshounds have increased. Things went from bad to cruel, from simple arrests to death. Many journalists have been killed or assaulted and wounded during this long-armed conflict. For example, "Le Patriote" faced harassment and physical violence against its journalists and infrastructures.

Here are the short lists:

- 1- Jean-Hélène, correspondent of Radio France Internationale in Abidjan was shot dead on October 21, 2003, by an Ivorian policeman. He was about to meet some opponents who had been released from prison.
- 2- Kloueu Gonseu, an Ivorian journalist with the AIP was killed and the body was found on 19 March 2003 in Toulepleu region, which is in western of Côte d'Ivoire (Germain B., 2007).
- 3- October 20, 2002, the home of Tapé Koulou, the editor of the newspaper « Le National » was attacked by armed men, killing his sister and friend.
- 4- September 20, 2003, Christophe Koffi, correspondent of the Ivorian Press Agency in Burkina Faso, travelling to northern of Côte d'Ivoire, was arrested in Korhogo by rebel leaders.
- 5- October 17, 2002, Gael Mocaer, a French freelance journalist, was arrested by the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST) and released on 23 October 2002.

- 6- Anne Boher, a French journalist working for Reuters, was arrested by the police in San Pedro.
- 7- October 16, 2002, around 9.30 am, armed group broke into the gate of the Mayama group's headquarters, which publishes newspapers close to the RDR, and destroyed all the editorial materials.
- 8- October 14, 2002, César Etou, editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper Notre Voie was a victim of attack on the street in Abidjan. On the same day, the daily newspaper Le Nouveau Réveil published a one-page appeal to the international community and all human rights defenders, announcing the planned kidnapping of Denis Kah Zion, its publication director, and some of his collaborators (Ble., 2007).

It goes without saying that the sole purpose of these abuses in both the North and the South is to prevent journalists from doing their job, which constitutes an obstacle to freedom of the press, freedom of opinion and expression, but they also have political and economic consequences (Interview with Cedric Z., Edouard D., 2016).

These illustrations reveal the scale of the problem faced by journalists engaged in conflict reporting when they find themselves in such a dilemma; they do not have access to information about the conflict when they have no information about torture, violence. Furthermore, there is no opportunity to film scenes, and when all the parties in the conflict, including the local community, do not trust them like in 2010 when the country was once again reunited, reconciled.

In comparison with the media coverage during the civil war which started in 2002, significant rate of participation of the media coverage in the presidential election in 2010 and during the post-election conflict in 2011.

According to S. Samba Kone, former chairman of the Observatory for Press Freedom, Ethics and Deontology (OLPED), the billboard coverage was 62% in Abidjan and 38% in the rest of the country. And media has played a more prominent, transparent role, which has helped to change the regime through a quiet fair election.

Social medias were used during the presidential election and post-election conflict, and have reported on registration, campaign, voting, and counting. And the community radio and other local media have indeed in a daily newspaper, websites, etc., reported on registration, campaigning, voting, and counting. And they have spontaneously published information related to violence and misconduct at the local and national level, which generally resulted in rapid

responses from authorities. Attacks against reporters, journalists, media enterprises, even newspaper vendors, and newshounds were not the same as in 2002. Evidence provided by local journalists, as well as continued media pressure, forced the holding of a new recount of the results of the election in some rebel zones. Information on the presidential voting in the newspapers, on radio, and television was generally verifiable. Community reporters known and trusted in their communities received complaints about abusive election practices and had appropriate contacts to verify or refute these claims. As a result, the contribution of local journalists ensured the accountability of political parties and the electoral system.

We have had to witness the advent of a partisan media, by its autism, violence, extremism, and the overuse of its tone, its technique of recruitment and brainwashing makes the bed of rejection. This was the case in Ivory Coast during the reign of Robert Guéï and during the 2002 civil war. However, it is necessary to associate these very partisan media with the success of the 2010 presidential election to get Cote d'Ivoire out of the impasse, the long crises, to reconcile, reunite the country which has remained divided for eight years. The elections took place throughout October and November 2010. Alassane Ouattara backed-up by Henri Konan Bedié and his PDCI party, as well as several smaller parties, defeated Laurent Gbagbo in the second round of elections that took place in November.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of the Study

Chapter six sets out the conclusions and recommendations we made for this study.

To better understand, we find it crucial to underline the background in the light of this research and its findings.

Firstly, the purpose of this study is not to transform media professionals into actors in conflict resolution and societal peace. Rather, it aims to raise awareness of the role that media play and can play in violent conflicts such as the case of Cote d'Ivoire.

The research topic was carefully investigated to give the best answer on the capacity of media as a fundamental player in the decreasing of conflicts. It brings together the different resources on conflict resolution and societal peace through media influence. It puts forward a chance for further research which can improve knowledge in this field.

Therefore, this theoretical contribution focuses on peace media reporting that considers conflict resolution and societal peace as a relevant and convenient way to help mainstream media to cover conflicts.

Secondly, it is not argued in this study that better conflict resolution skills are the answer to all kinds of challenges related to dealing with contemporary conflict reporting standards. The findings reveal several considerations that highlight existing issues and concerns in conflict reporting. Many of them are applicable at personal, social, such as personal prejudices, linguistic or cultural barriers.

Yet, many of them play a role in enabling conflict reporting to become a complex phenomenon for reporters. Just a simple fact such as local and foreign journalists reporting on a conflict situation from different angles may lead to different coverage. It argued that journalists may not need formal classroom training on these issues. However, they need to be advised that raising reporter's awareness of these factors is the first step in seeking solutions to address them.

Additionally, this is a doctoral thesis that deals with a topic that is multifaceted because the role played by the media in conflicts has always been a challenge worldwide. It has always attracted the attention of experts in peace and conflict issues, promoters of peace journalism, etc. Ivorian media like in Rwanda have been scrutinized at the level of international law as a perpetrator of political violence. But the findings of this study also reveal a positive role played by Ivorian media by publishing faithful, unflinching information which respects human rights, and represents varying opinions.

The main purpose of the study was to question the role of political media in conflict resolution in the Ivory Coast. The specific objectives of this study were to evaluate the conflict in the years 2002 and 2011 and to focus on the specific positive effects of the Ivorian media approach in conflict resolution and societal peace. This study applies the social responsibility theory of media reporting to explain and develop the conceptual framework. It is the kind of media that advocates, promotes responsibility, and exposes mismanagement. The 2002 and 2011 crises serve as a typical example of the process from crises to conflict resolution.

- How did the Ivorian media shape conflict resolution and societal peace in the country between the civil war of 2002 and the post-election conflict of 2011?
- Although most media in Cote d'Ivoire was and is politically dependent: Was the positive influence on conflict resolution and societal peace during these political subversions?

- How did the idea of the freedom of the Media develop in this decade?
- How did the relative growth of digital (social) media change these effects?

7.2 Key Findings

No two reporters have the same experiences, attitudes towards conflicts. During the analysed decade, media had negative and positive effects on conflict resolution and societal peace. The overall polarization of the Ivorian society shrunk during the period. The conclusion of this study, therefore, highlights several negative and positive aspects related to media coverage. Some of these aspects have contributed to fuel the conflict but also have favoured social cohabitation and helped in conflict resolution. The media in 2002 was more polarize because the conflict was intensified with no exterior eyes. Most printed media took side, became sensational and unnecessarily alarmed their audiences. They published a lot of unverified sources of information, and they spread unfounded rumours. They became the mouthpiece of the political leaders to promote street demonstrations.

Regarding the first research question, the findings of the study revealed that editorials of independent newspapers, community radios, and social media framed the conflict more in the peace frames than war frames. The effects of media were positive, reliable, counteracting misperceptions and broadening understanding of grievances and causes of conflict. And despite the strong link of G7 and Blue newspapers to the political arena, they didn't miss the opportunity to inform the public, their followers during the two political subversions of 2002 and 2011.

Despite their bias reporting, they have often offered peace issues to their respective audiences, especially when they were criticized by international communities because of their partisanship. They were invited to follow journalistic standards by taking in account deontological, and ethical issues. Also, by taking side against each other, political media have unconsciously helped to expose mismanagement from each side which is positive and put pressure on the government, corrupted Elites, and political party for more transparency, justice, and human rights issues. Even the political media in favor to Gbagbo affirmed during our talks that 2011 post-election conflict was less polarized. And this attitude was positive, it follows peace media reporting, which is highly supported by Galtung, and Lynch (2010). This kind of media pave the way to conflict resolution as discussed in the fourth and fifth chapter.

For the second research question regarding the positive effects on conflict resolution and societal peace during these political subversions, the study underlined that Côte Ivoire has

historically been a victim of biased media much before the split of the country in September 2002. This biased media later in its 'ultra-nationalist avatar spoiled every move for the resolution of the dispute. During the 2002 and 2011 political subversions, Ivorian media provided people living in affected communities needed information about routes out of the combat zone and about water and food supplies. Local population knew where to obtain medical care and where armed groups were mobilizing.

The findings of the study highlight that media has offered an effective platform to promote societal peace. Editors in chief from Notre Voie, Le Patriote, L'Inter, and Nord-Sud Quotidien have raised their voice, requesting to the candidates, a few days before the official opening of the electoral campaign, asking them to avoid inflammatory messages, which could fane the flame to the violence. And they invited them to focus more on the rights of the voters, their security etc.

For instance, Charles Sanga, editor in chief of "Patriote" a newspaper closed to RDR (Alassane Ouattara, current president of Ivory Coast) said: "People must start thinking about challenging politicians about their speech. Whatever the result of the election on October 31, 2010, we are for national unity and social cohesion. The journal is part of dynamic of societal peace and will denounce the derivatives of politicians".

In his editorial of October 4, 2010, the Director of Publication and Editor in chief of the daily newspaper "Notre Voie", Cesar Etou, also wrote: "It is obvious; we continue to support Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, the candidate of the presidential majority. However, we know that the appointment of the presidential election, especially in this country emerging from the crisis, must be made by fairness and elegance.

And Nord-Sud Quotidien increased the space devoted to political news on the newspaper's 12 pages. "We are giving a voice to the people, the candidates and their representatives, and civil society. We have opened two pages of debates, "the debates of North-South," says editor Kébé Yacouba Jr, who reveals, 'we try to challenge, employing a barometer, those who make statements that go against the climate of peace or give a mention to those who are more appealing".

L'Inter published an outstanding free forum entitled: "Do we want Rwanda "Bis" in Ivory Coast? It noted that the tribal anchors of the main political parties are the breeding ground for the tribal derivatives of the campaign. L'Inter rise to say enough to the politicians, leaders of tribal communities, media houses for glorifying in the thing that divides Ivorian's citizens. They

call fakes thing true and true things fake. The journal was not complicit or silent on the manipulation by the politicians”.

Besides, even the great and credible European Union Electoral Observation Commission, the National Human Rights Commission of Côte d'Ivoire, and Reporter without borders (RWB) did agree with the coverage of Radio Côte d'Ivoire (RCI), Radio Television Ivoirienne (RTI), and private media such as Soir Info, L'Inter, Intelligent d'Abidjan, Nord-Sud Quotidien, and Fraternité Matin, especially during the second round.

On the third research question, the findings of the study disclose that independence of the media slowly grew during the period. There was a significant media participation in both the 2010 presidential elections and the media reporting of the 2011 post-election conflicts.

Since the adoption of law 2004-643, journalists in Côte d'Ivoire hold no longer fear going to prison because of their professional activity. The first paragraph of article 69 of the law states that imprisonment is excluded for press offenses, which were disciplinary and administrative sanctions. This law allows Côte d'Ivoire to be one of the few countries that have abolished the penalty of deprivation of liberty offenses committed through the press.

But the findings of the study also revealed that the media freedom during the 2002 crisis was challenging because of the split of the country. The media was under civilian pressure, they were targeted by the government and rebellion side as well. For instance, printed media like “Le Patriote” or “Notre Voie” faced legal harassment and physical violence perpetrated against its journalists, and its infrastructures which were destroyed respectively by pro-Laurent Gbagbo and pro-Alassane Ouattara.

The findings of the study showed that printed media had difficulties because of the lack of funding which has become a more urgent problem in the private sector, with a larger number of outlets competing for limited advertising revenues.

The study highlighted the difficulties surrounding the poor training and low salary, leading many media practitioners vulnerable to corruption. That is the reason many journalists in press institutions have settled into the daily routine of the context: reporting, "perdiems", "gombo".

For the fourth research question, the findings of the research outlined the role played by the digital media, which had more positive effects on conflict resolution than printed media. This especially perceptible during post-elections conflicts of 2011. Local Ivorian reporters have tried to counterbalance this situation by publishing some accurate information using online coverage

through Abidjan.net. The online reporting made indeed local news frames more available to international audiences such as African, Ivoirian diaspora. The use of the internet by Ivorian news agencies, journalists, bloggers, citizens, and expatriates during the electoral crisis presents a stream of hyper-localized feedback to international audiences. The findings of the study disclose that Facebook and Twitter also served as online hubs of news to the online world during and after the electoral crisis. Interviews with journalists showed they frequently used both sites to gather news tips and follow up with sources about developing news events. Journalists from Ivorian's journalist published weekly editorials on the conflict to their own Facebook page.

Despite the critical condition of works and their biased reporting, Ivorian media have tried to frame on conflict resolution. They raise human right, security, fair and balanced election issues by giving voice to voiceless. This indicates the positive effects of the Ivorian media's approach to conflict resolution and societal peace during the political subversions.

7.3 Recommendations

In the light of the findings outlined above, several recommendations are made. While they are not specific to any country, some of them can be used for specific or interests, needs, etc. This study argues for the universal models that not only allow for the understanding of conflict resolution but also for their implementation within the media studies agenda without imposing national or regional boundaries.

The following recommendations concern media schools. They could for example advocate and work with other similar journalism organisations, develop work programs and promotes an environment that encourages training in peace journalism, both for learners and for journalists working in the field:

7.4 Promotion of Peace Media reporting

Rather than being passive recipients of information, it would be suggested that any peace journalism training in the form of a course be designed as a workshop in order to stimulate students to actively participate. And in an attempt to give them an insight into the different aspects of investigative peace journalism, the practical part should be equal to the learning and understanding part so that they have sufficient opportunities to apply what they learn in terms of skills, ethics, and journalistic creativity.

7.5 Participation of Working Journalists in Short Courses

Media schools should seek to involve working journalists in academic debates and forums on peace journalism, peace media reporting. This may take the form of short courses, workshops, seminars etc. This may improve their conceptual and practical understanding of peace and conflict. Furthermore, these measures may provide a useful platform for the working journalists to come together with other professionals, share experiences and reflect on practical issues of implementing peace journalism. This kind of interactivity may also help to overcome the academic and professional gap that exists between them.

7.6 Training in Conflict Sensitive Journalism

Media professionals must have skills in conflict sensitive journalism. The African media should invest heavily in training journalists to address and deal with the critical issues underlying conflict situations. Regarding election coverage, the media should be informed and provided with timely guidelines on how to deal with the campaign until the election results are published. They should collaborate with the Election Commission and check the results to avoid any speculation, false rumours. The role of the media as monitoring bodies should be used to denounce and condemn election mismanagement.

7.7 Supplementary Training Programs on Peace Journalism

The course on peace journalism needs to be followed by a course on peace and conflict, including a unit on conflict analysis and conflict resolution principles. This may help to strengthen student, journalist's knowledge on the subject and enable them to understand the dynamics of peace and conflict, and conflict management.

There is an increase in deliberate peacebuilding programs such as journalist's capacity building and training and program content that is intentionally pro-peace. As a driver of peace, the media can initiate building bridges between individuals and/or organized groups, enlighten people on issues that may otherwise be too complex, act as whistle-blowers, and raise warnings in times of potential crisis, inspire people to act in a manner that fosters peace, and act as an outlet for people to express their emotions (Elba., 2020).

7.8 Creation and Awareness

Media education institutions should create space in their publications, websites and university radio stations for the promotion and awareness of peace journalism.

7.9 Channelling Communication

It becomes imperative for the African continent to use social media to transform its societies, which is generally very much affected by endless violence and armed. In this way, social media can help to raise awareness and spread messages of peace, encouraging dialogue between people from different ethnic's background. It can influence perception on ethnicity, change attitudes, and promote tolerance and mutual understanding. Thus, it can bridge the divide between ethnic groups that wouldn't otherwise communicate with one another.

It is necessary to promote training in the appropriate use of social network, especially in the promotion of social peace, sustainable development, human rights, and the fight against global warming, and the promotion. All these initiatives will not only improve the lives conditions of the African population but also contribute to appease different tensions and to create a safe space for the future generation.

It is very important for African countries to set up commissions for conflict prevention and management through social networks.

7.10 National Reconciliation

- to initiate Reconciliation Commission's website issues like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Website in Liberia which helped local population and Diaspora to express their opinions, to raise their voices, difficulties through a constructive dialogue.

7.11 Peacebuilding

- to use social media to crowdsource information in conflict hotspots as part of various conflict prevention measures in countries, especially around elections.

- to encourage citizens to proactively get involved in disseminating information and messages of peace using SMS, Twitter, and the Internet.

7.12 Improving the working Conditions of Journalists

The low remuneration and lack of security of journalists hinder the freedom and plurality of the media. Substantial progress in strengthening the media will not be possible unless journalists' working conditions are improved. Recognizing the importance of the media as a system of checks and balances in a democratic society, the study proposes innovative financing mechanisms to strengthen this sector. Such initiatives can help the journalistic profession to fulfil its civic duty. This type of support is necessary to modernize media companies and support

their resources and technical capacities. Through these initiatives, the media can become autonomous and break with the political and ethnic barriers that hinder their work as human rights watchdogs and program makers.

Reporting accurately is a key step in the role a journalist can play in conflict resolution. Journalists do not aim to reduce conflict, but rather seek to present accurate and unbiased information that can help to reduce, often to resolve, conflict. The following study proposes ways to provide relevant and professional training in journalism and conflict resolution as part of the journalism curriculum. It examines the factors that affect the way conflicts are reported and interpreted in the media. The research concludes, through the participation of journalists, media educators, peace workers, academics, and students, that it is possible to integrate elements of conflict resolution, such as conflict analysis, effective communication and interviewing skills, negotiation skills, mediation, and facilitation, into the journalism curriculum; and that peace journalism can incorporate these elements into its values and ideals.

7.13 General Conclusion

Given the theory of social responsibility, the media must present a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of conflicts by separating facts from opinion and providing interpretation to put the events of the conflict in a prosperous perspective. One of these duties of social responsibility of the media is the agenda setting. When setting the agenda for conflict resolution, the media should be able to select topics or make suggestions and highlight them, which would allow the public to perceive them as important. Such suggestions or issues can generate interest and debate that can ease tensions when the parties engage each other in discussion and negotiation. This study has ascertained that media had a crucial role in stimulating and advertising the belligerents in Ivory Coast. It has numerous times pointed out that the most vital items are mostly published on the front and editorial pages since these are the areas that gain control over the readers. The polarized press, dependent on government and opposition has increased the information flow. Media has increased with relative freedom during the decade. The study has highlighted abundant forms of victimization or persecution, warning, arrest, harassment, and imprisonment of journalists by the government and rebels.

Disseminating information through community radio stations also helped reaching people in different regions more easily. Thus, it was possible to speak directly to the people, and their personal experiences and lives can be incorporated much better than with foreign media. Finally, the study has highly highlighted abundant forms of victimization or persecution-such

as warning, arrest, harassment, and imprisonment of journalists, reporters by the government, rebels during the political subversions of 2002 and 2011. And while the mainstream media is made up of anonymous and faceless people who decide what is printed and broadcast or not, the creation and consumption of news and information in our society is changing in this new era of the internet and the variety of social media. A main factor for improvement was the rise of social media and online news portals. With the rise of digital or social media, the power of the mass media to control and flow information has been reduced, and at the same time the power of the public authorities to control it has been weakened. A new trend is the rapid transformation of traditional print media into online portals. Online news portals and social media have much to teach us, explicitly or implicitly, about current events such as human trafficking, the struggle for gender equality, the environmental crisis, and a myriad of political, social, economic, and cultural issues.

However, these new media are not immune to misinformation and can, like the mass media, become formidable means of propaganda. Fake news has become a breeding ground for social media. Fake news crisis on various social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, You-Tube, Instagram, and several popular communication apps, including WhatsApp, LINE, Messenger, and many others, is worth studying for many reasons. Social media specialists are digging into this vast terrain to examine the effect of fake news in our society.

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APPENDICES

Appendice 1. Field research activities

Date of the arrangement for Interview	Place	Date of interview	Details
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	03.06.2016	The interview with Pr. Julien ADHEPEAU took place at 11 am: Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication.
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Félix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	06.06.2016	The interview with Dr. Alain Regis Diasse took place at 9:30 am : Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication.
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	06.06.2016	The interview with Pr. Raymond Kouassi Kra took place at 10:30 am: Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication.
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	07.06.2016	The interview with Pr. Bamba Siddiki took place at 11:30 am: Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication.

Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Grande Mosquée du plateau	13.06.2016	The interview with CISSE DJIGUIBA, Imam de la Grande Mosquée du plateau (Abidjan) took place at 6pm,
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Cathédrale St Paul du Plateau		The interview was not carried out.
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Fraternité Martin”		The interview was not carried out. Contact: +225 20 37 06 66
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head office of “Le Patriote”	20.06.2016	The interview with Mr. Glode Francelin, the Director of human resources, took place at 12 pm. Contact: +225 21-75-45-45
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Soir Info”	12.06.2016	The interview Mr. Zoe Cédric Ange. with took place at 4:30 pm. Contact: +225 47 63 62 57
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of « Studio MozaiK »	08.06.2016	The interview with Mr. SOULEYMANE OULAI, Directeur Général of studio Mozaïk, took place at 12:30 pm. Contact: +225 22 50 11 20 / 77 73 93 77
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Notre Voie”	16.06.2016	The interview with Mr. Abdoulaye SANOGO, the Chairman of the committee of professional journalists, took place at 12 pm. Contact : +225 05 64 60 31

Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of « Nouveau Réveil »	10.06.2016	The interview with Mr. Benoit HILI, in charge of political affairs, took place at 5pm. Contact: +225 20 38 67 91/ 07 78 63 99
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Nord-Sud-Quotidien (NSQ)”	09.06.2016	The interview with Mr. CISSE Sindou, Editor in Chief of (NSQ) took place at 11:30 am. Contact: +225 22 42 96 54 Fax: +225 22 4215 95
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Le temps”		The interview didn’t take place.
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Intelligent d’Abidjan”	19.05.2017	The interview took place in 2017 with Mrs. Michelle Koffi, Souleymane, and Sylvain Dakouri. Contact: +225 22 42 71 61; Fax: +225 22 42 11 70
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Front Populaire Ivoirien.”	16.06.2016	The interview with Mr. KONATE NAVIGUE President of the youth of Front Populaire Ivoirien, took place at 2:30 pm. Contact : +225 49-89-31-93 E-Mail: naviguekp@gmail.com
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of “Parti Démocratique de Côte d’Ivoire »		The interview didn’t take place.

Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of «Rassemblement Des Républicains »	21.06.2016	The interview with Mr. JOEL KOUADIO N'GUESSANG, ex Minister of «HUMAN RIGHT's», the Spokesman of the RDR, took place at 12:30pm
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Head Office of «CONARIV» (National Commission for the compensation of victims of the war)	16.06.2016	The interview with Mrs.YABAH BERTHE BOGNINI and Mr. THEOPHILE NINSOH TOUHOU, took place at 4:00 to 5:30 pm Contact: +225 22 48 15 00
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	20.06.2016	The interview with Pr. Gnonzion Célestin took place at from 10 to 12pm. Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication. Contact : +225 58693270
Nov. 2015-Avril 2016	Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) : CERCOM	22.06.2016	The interview with Pr. Jean-Jacques Boli took place at 12:18pm. Enseignant chercheur au département des Sciences de l'information et de la communication.

Resource Persons to meet

Nom et Prénom	Fonction	Date	Détail
Moussa Samba KONE	Président du comité scientifique des Etats généraux de la Presse Ancien Président de l'Observatoire pour la Liberté de la Presse, l'Ethique et la Déontologie (OLPED), journaliste	The interview took place in Mai 23, 2016	After several missed appointments, I met Mr. Samba Kone in Treichville and we discussed for two hours. And we discussed several times over phone and through SMS. Contact : +22507037597
Dr. Moussa ZIO: January-April-Mai-June 2016	Président de l'Observatoire pour la Liberté de la Presse, l'Ethique et la Déontologie (OLPED)	The interview didn't take place.	I didn't meet Dr. Zio Moussa. And according to the secretariat of OLPED, he was too busy. We both scheduled many interview meetings, but it was not successful. Contact : +225 05059613
Moussa TRAORE: March-April-June 2016	Président de l'Union National des Journaliste de Côte d'Ivoire	The interview didn't take place.	He only gave me wrong appointments: March April-Mai-June 2016. Contact : +22508081539

Prof. Alfred DAN Moussa: January-March-April-June 2016	Directeur de l'ISTC et Ancien Président de l'OLPED	The interview didn't take place.	I didn't meet Prof. Alfred DAN Moussa. He gave me many wrong appointments. He was too busy by teaching program, seminars, and workshops. Contact: +22505051147
Germaine BONI: January-March-April-June 2016	Journaliste, Fraternité Matin	The interview didn't take place.	She invited me to her workplace, but we couldn't make the interview because of an emergency.
KAMNYATSI Quenteng: March-April-June 2016	Représentant de Search for Common Grounds de Côte d'Ivoire	The interview didn't take place.	I reached him by phone, then later through mail. He was too busy. However, he recommended me to meet his Colleague Mr. Aliou Toure, the coordinator of the program, but I failed to meet him. Indeed, I called his office more than 15 times but in vain.
Amoikon Cécile : April-Mai-June 2016	Présidente du Fond de soutien et de développement de la presse	The interview didn't take place.	Mrs. Amoikon Cécile was too busy. She accepted to answer the different questions from interview guides. We used email to discuss. She was helpful.

Mme Le Dron : April-Mai-June 2016	Chargée des questions des Médias de l'ONUCI-FM	The interview didn't take place.	She was busy. But we discussed twice over phone, and we emailed each other. And she has partially answered my questionnaire.
Israël Guebo (Yoroba): February-March-April-Mai-June 2016	Secrétaire général des blogueurs	The interview didn't take place.	I met Mr. Israel Guebo. But he never answered my questionnaire. He ignored all my calls, my sms etc.

I hereby would like to draw your attention on my integration in the Department of Information and Communication Sciences (UFHB). during my field research in Ivory Coast. Thanks to my tutor Dr. Kadja, I was quickly introduced to the general secretariat of Université Felix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB). He put me in contact with several professors in Journalism, Marketing, public relations, Communication for Development etc. These contacts allowed me to attend their seminar, workshops, and to discuss and to conduct interviews. Ours discussions focused on the role played by the media in the civil war of 2002 and the post-election conflicts in 2011. We also, discussed on the freedom and the impact of traditional and social media on conflict resolution. I met many students in journalism schools, reporters from blue, opposition, independent newspapers, and state media such as RTI and Fraternité Matin.

Appendice 2: Geographical Division Map of Ivory Coast (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004)



Appendice 3: Map of the Conflicting Cities: OCHA-RSO: 2003



Version - 01 / 04 / 03

LES NOMS ET LES LIMITES SUR CETTE CARTE N'IMPLIQUENT PAS L'ENDOSSEMENT ET L'ACCEPTATION PAR LES NATIONS UNIES

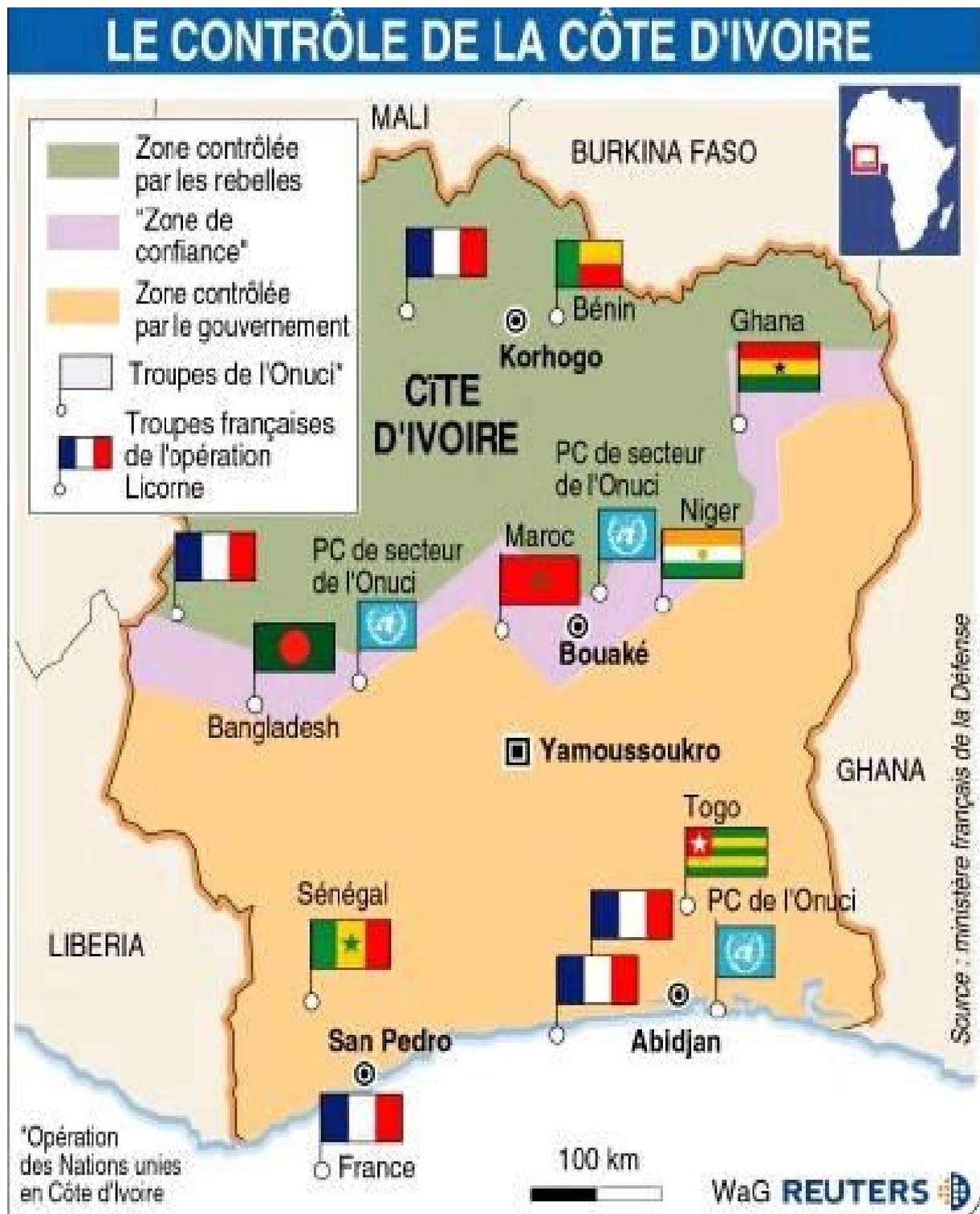
CÔTE D'IVOIRE

- GOVERNMENT FORCES
- MPIGO
- MJP
- MPCJ



Produit par OCHA-RSO en partenariat avec le CNTIG sous financement du Fonds de contrepartie Ivoiréo-Canadien

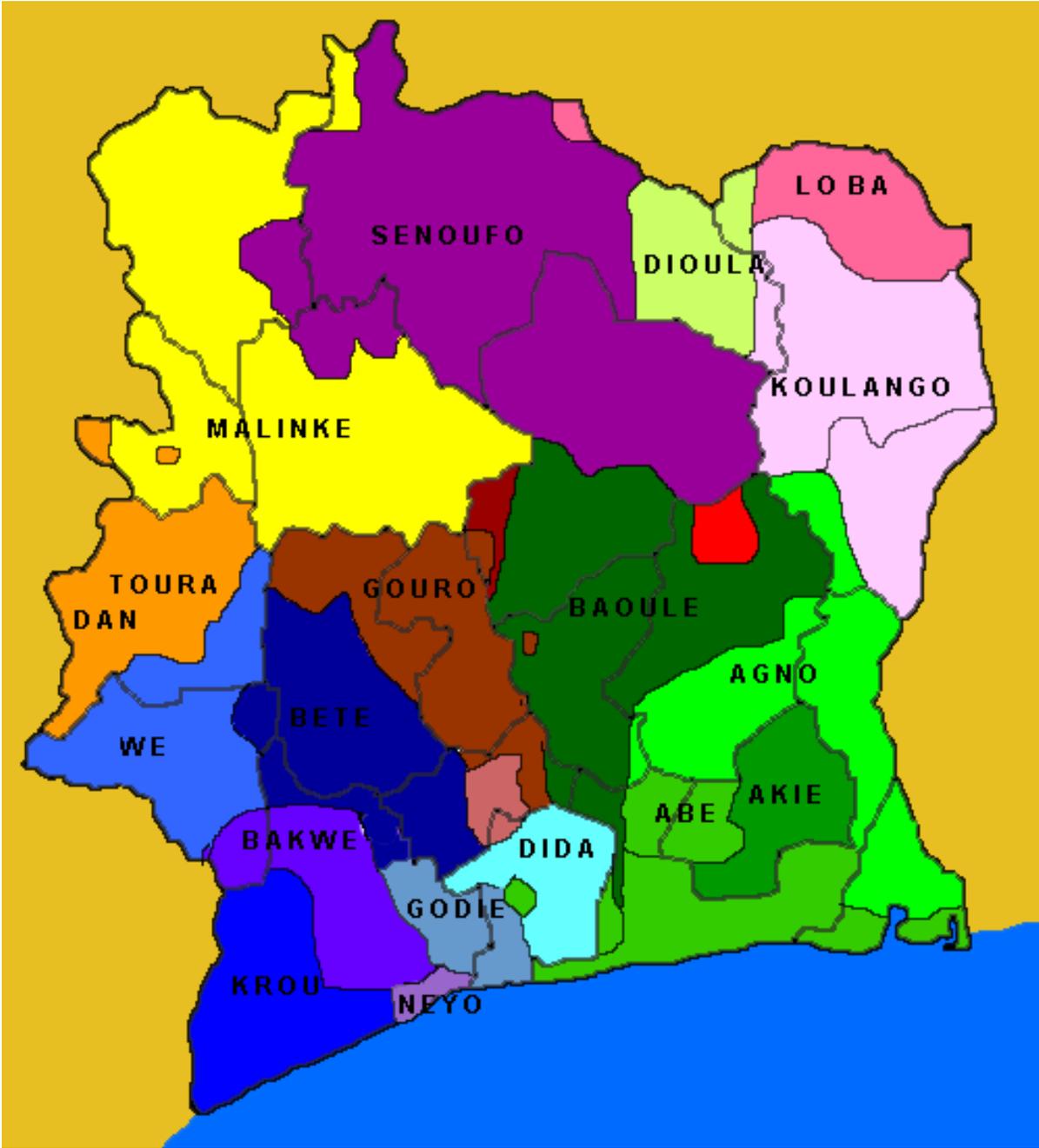
Appendice 4: Map of the split of country, from 2002-2010: World atlas (2002).



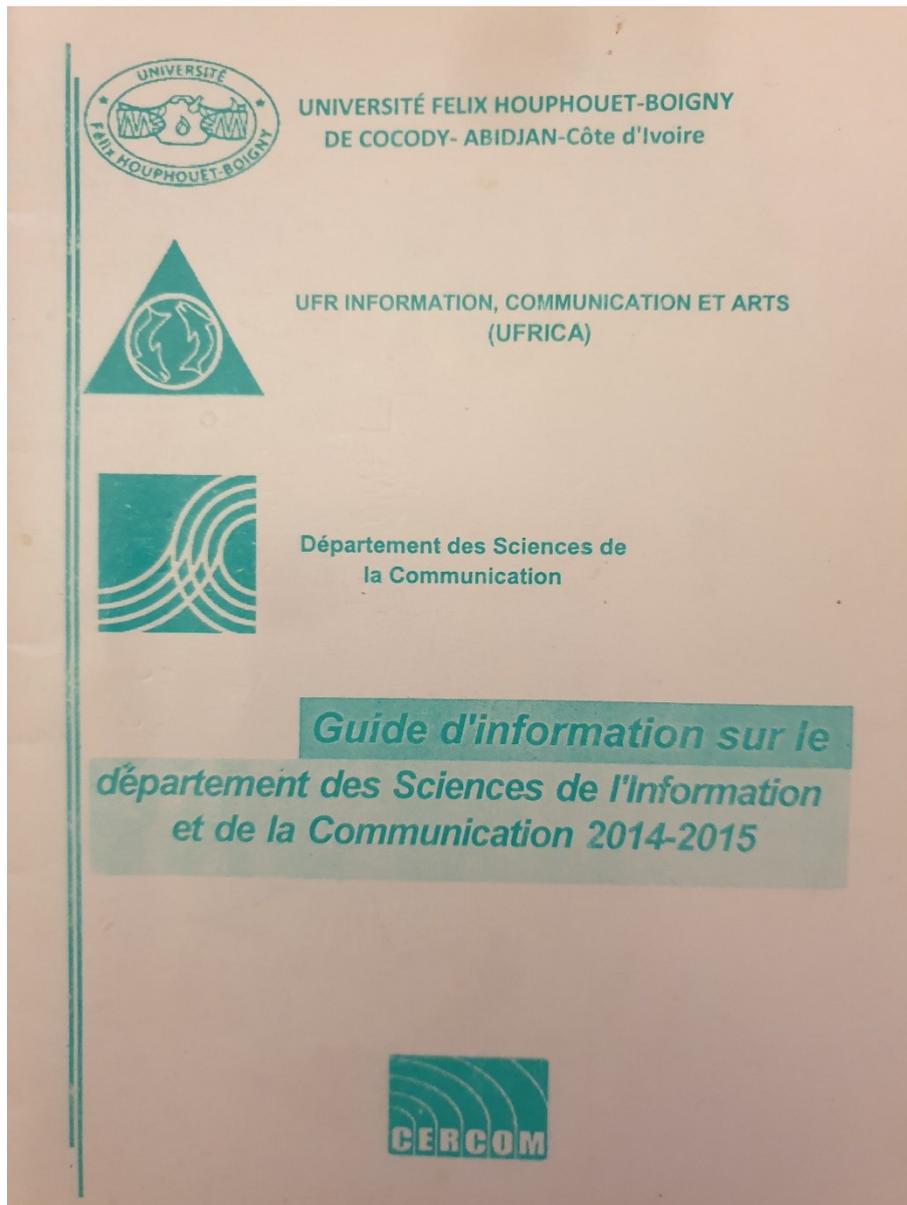
Appendice 5: Map of 2011 post-electoral conflict
 (https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/Ivory-Coast)



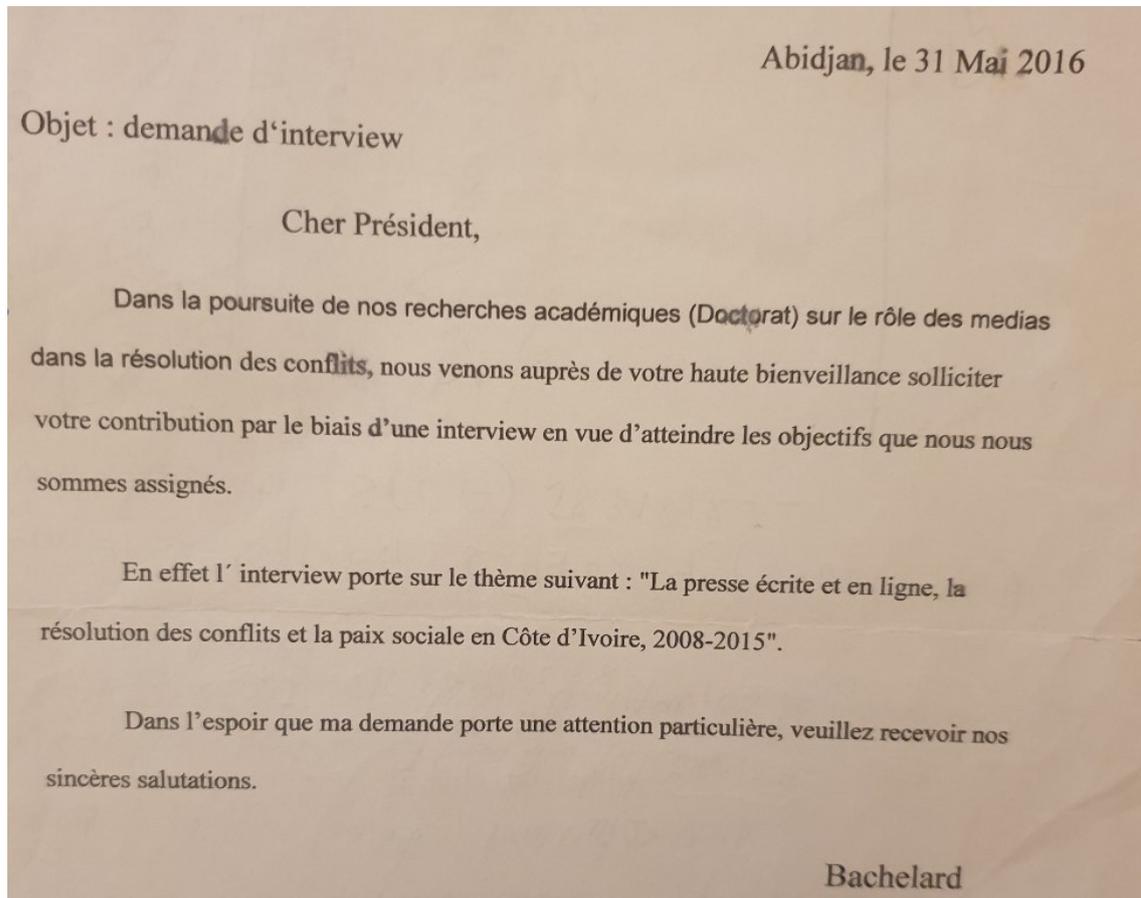
Appendice 6: Map of main ethnics in Ivory Coast



Appendice 7: Curriculum-UFRICA



Appendice 8: Sample of demand for appointments



Appendice 9: Head office of “Notre Voie”, destroyed by extremists during 2011 conflicts.



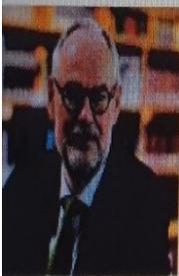
Appendice 10: TU-Intern newspaper

Page view | Read aloud | Draw | Highlight

TU berlin intern

Nr. 5/Mai 2018

DIE HOCHSCHULZEITUNG DER TECHNISCHEN UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN



Die Herausforderung des Alterns

Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen und Zuwanderung veränderten die deutsche Gesellschaft in den letzten Jahrzehnten. Die Herausforderung der Zukunft wird die Alterung sein, sagt C. G. Wagner, Leiter des Sozio-oekonomischen Panels

Seite 2



Neue Medien für Afrika

Viele Medienhäuser ergreifen Partei, sagt Doktorand Ruben Bachelard Mbima. Er forscht über den Zusammenhang von Presse und sozialen Unruhen in Afrika

Seite 3

Ein Schatz wird gehoben

Die vielen Kunstwerke und Denkmäler auf dem TU-Campus in Berlin-Charlottenburg sollen aus ihrem Schattendasein heraustreten. Was der Campus an Kunst zu bieten hat

Seiten 4 und 5

Die heilige

Schutz
der Berg
Foyer d
des Ber
Hüttenw
Bronzesk
Erich F
(19



Einladende

Neue Medien braucht das Land

Der Doktorand Ruben Bachelard Mbima forscht über den Zusammenhang von Presse und sozialen Unruhen in Afrika



Ruben Bachelard forscht unter anderem an der Elfenbeinküste

Ruben Bachelard Mbima schätzt das Bildungssystem in Deutschland. „Hier hat jeder freien Zugang zu Bibliotheken“, sagt der Kommunikationswissenschaftler aus Kamerun. Seit 2015 promoviert Bachelard an der TU Berlin bei Prof. Hans-Liudger Dienel am

Institut für Berufliche Bildung und Arbeitslehre. Seine Forschung beschäftigt sich mit der Rolle der Medien für die Lösung der hochangespannten politischen Lage an der Elfenbeinküste. Gefördert wird der Doktorand zusätzlich von Prof. Hans-Joachim Giessmann,

dem Direktor der Berghof Foundation für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, eine unabhängige und gemeinnützige NGO, die Konfliktparteien in Krisengebieten dabei unterstützt, politischen und sozialen Wandel sowie dauerhaften Frieden in ihrer Gesellschaft zu erreichen.

Das Doktorandenstipendium von „Brot für die Welt“ ermöglichte dem Absolventen der Protestant University of Central Africa seinen Forschungsaufenthalt in Berlin. „Ich habe von Kindheit an die Erfahrung gemacht, dass die Medien, die zu 80 Prozent in staatlicher Hand sind, einseitig über Konflikte berichten und die Stimmung im Land negativ beeinflussen“, begründet Ruben Bachelard die Wahl seines Forschungsthemas. Er vergleicht die Berichterstattung der Medien an der Elfenbeinküste aus dem Jahr 2002, als die ethnischen Spannungen das Land in einen Bürgerkrieg führten, mit der Regierungskrise im Jahr 2011 rund um

die Präsidentschaftswahlen, die zu einem erneuten Bürgerkrieg führte.

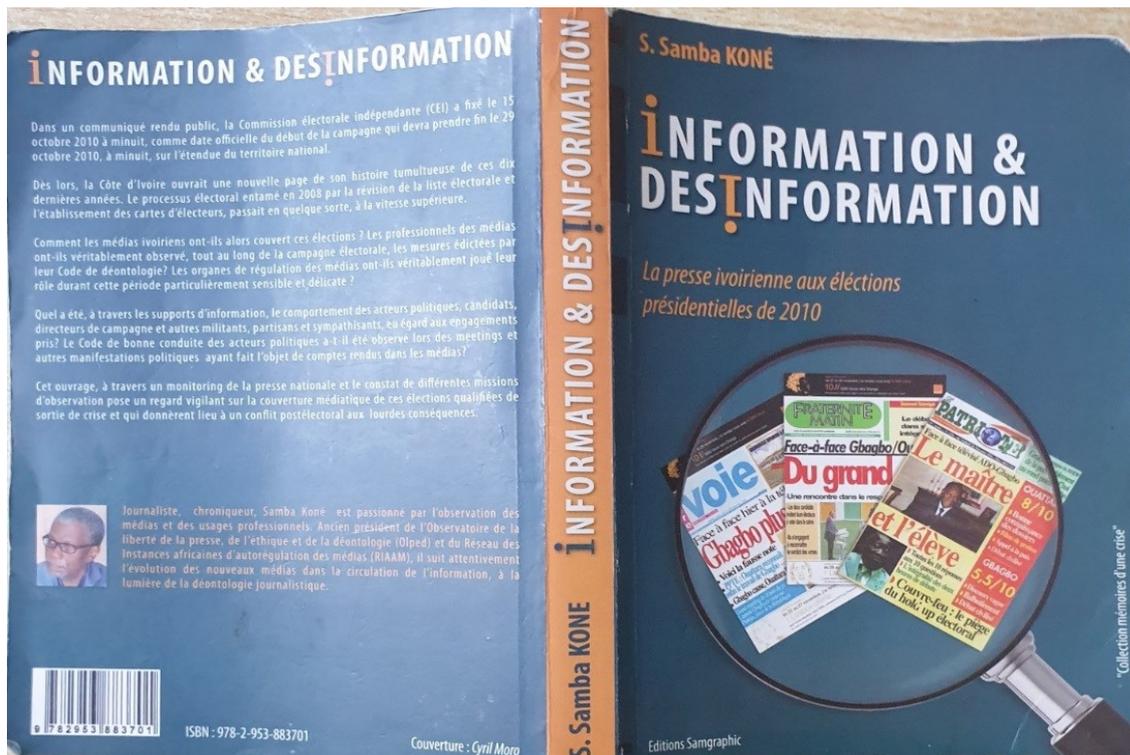
2016 und 2017 machte Ruben Bachelard Recherchereisen an die Elfenbeinküste, sprach mit Redakteuren und Vertreterinnen von Verlagen. „In den Interviews zeigte sich, dass viele Medienhäuser Partei ergreifen“, sagt Bachelard. „Meist für die Regierung.“ Positiv sei jedoch, dass mittlerweile auch einige Publikationen zum gesellschaftlichen Frieden beitragen, Missverständnissen entgegenwirkten und Missstände benennen würden. 2002 hätte es nur drei entsprechende Publikationen gegeben, 2011 bereits 16, von denen einige unabhängig berichten würden. „Unabhängige Berichterstattung wird dem Friedensprozess nützen“, sagt er.

Die Erkenntnisse, die Ruben Bachelard durch seine Studien über die Elfenbeinküste gewinnt, lassen sich auch auf seine Heimat Kamerun übertragen. Wenn er zurückkehrt, will er sich beruflich dafür einsetzen, dass die Menschen freien Zugang zu Bibliotheken erhalten, sodass sie sich eigenständig und unabhängig informieren können. „Zudem muss die journalistische Ausbildung verbessert werden“, sagt er. Er will sich für einen Journalismus engagieren, der den Menschen zugutekommt. Dagmar Trüpschuch

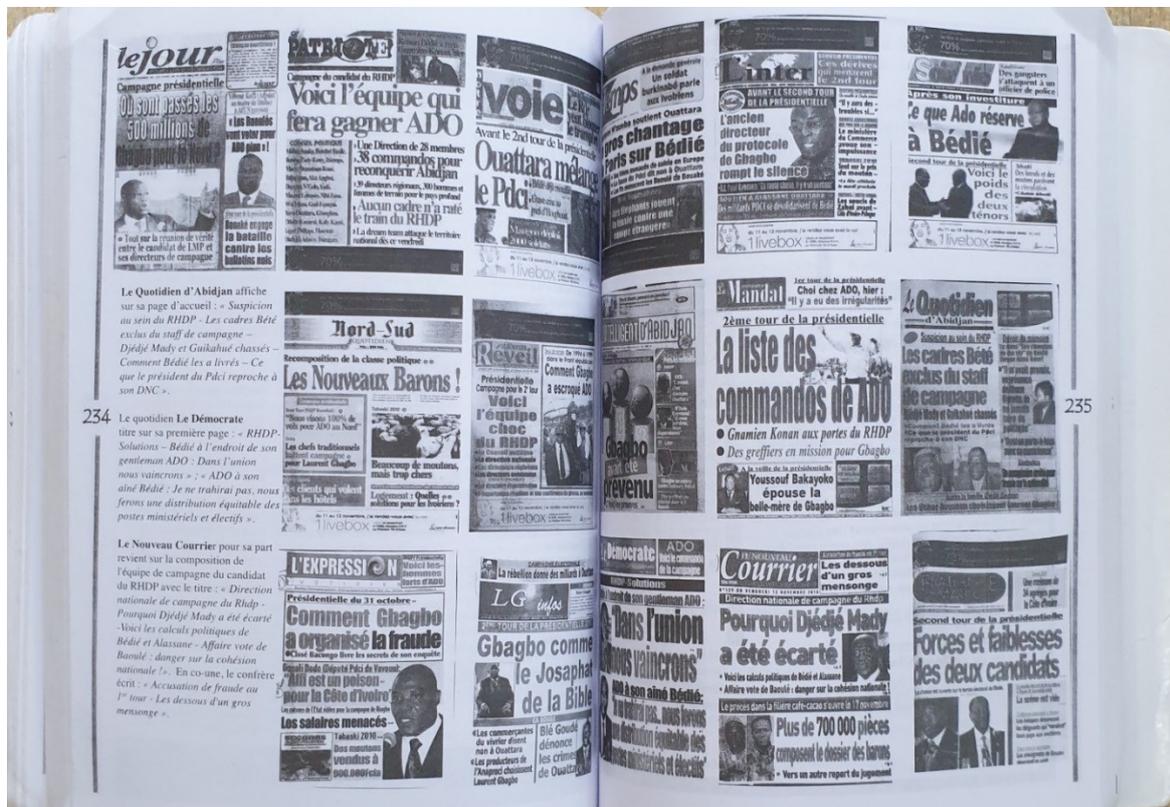
Appendice 12: Lecures in auditorium Boua N’Goran (UFB).



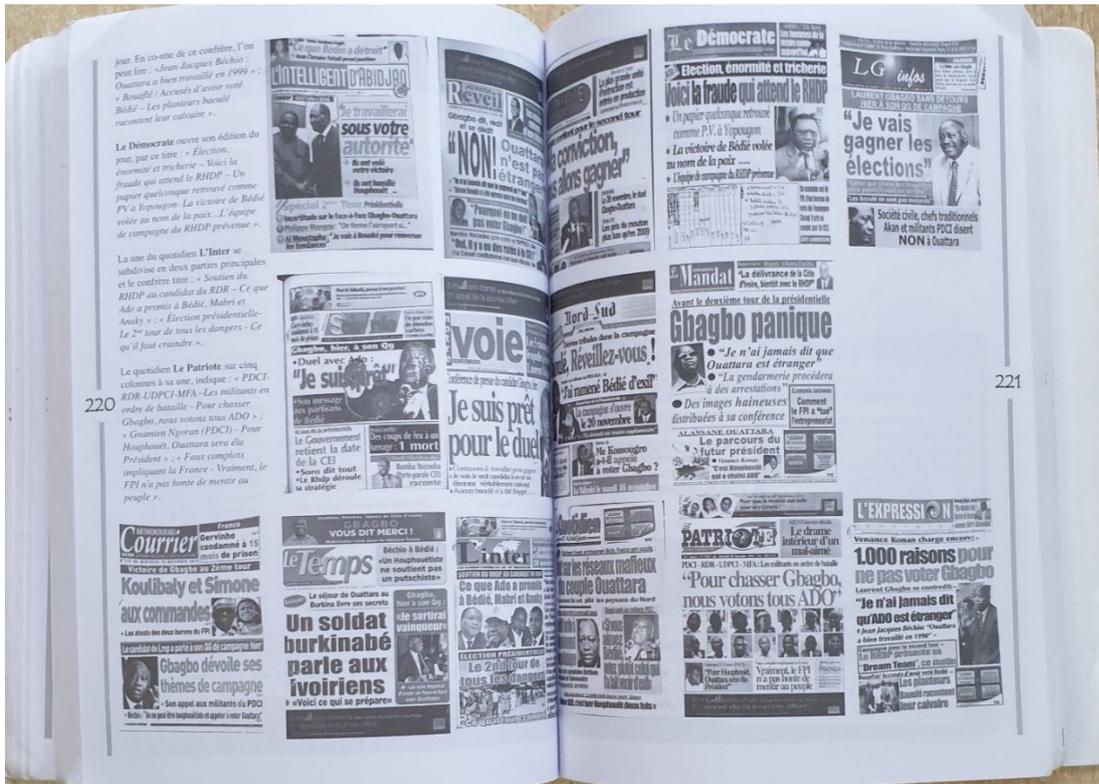
Appendice 13: Ivorian Printed media



Appendice 14: Number of newspapers during the first round



Appendice 15: Number of newspapers during the second round A



Appendice 16: Number of newspapers during the second round - B



Appendice 17: MOZAIK School



Appendice 18: Archive offices of “Notre Voie”



Appendice 19: Interview guide

Interview guide for Media professional:

The purpose of this interview is to gather information from media professionals.

From Television, Radios stations, Newspapers, Regulatory organisations etc.

Your responses will be used only for the purposes of academic research. University and research ethical guidelines will be strictly adhered to.

Section 1: General Information

Gender:

Marital status:

Education background:

Institution/Organisation:

Years(you've) been in the organization:

Which media house (do you work for):

Section 2: List of Interview respondents:

- 1. Media Analyst:**
- 2. Editors/producers**
- 3. Journalists**
- 4. NGO's (media development)**
- 5. Authorities (press owners)**
- 6. Civil society**
- 7. Regulatory organisations**

"Digital and printed media, conflict resolution and societal peace, 2002 and 2010-2011 in Ivory Coast".

The Ivorian media especially the digital and printed media played critical roles in political crises in 2002 and 2010-2011. While in some cases they provided important information on the election and called for calm, in other cases, they have been charged with inciting violence through the dissemination of hate speech (UN, EU, UA, 2011). Please use the interview guide to provide responses to questions regarding the state of the media in Ivory Coast, particularly its role in the violent aftermath of the 2011 elections and peace process that followed.

Section 3: Interview Guide

The Role of the Media in Peace and or Violence.

According to the agenda setting theory, the media has a powerful ability to create and influence public awareness and concern of significant issues.

1. According to you/ in your view, does this reflect the reality of the media in Ivory Coast? Do the media function in a free environment? What are the restrictions?
2. Remark on the role of the mainstream in relation to the ethnic, xenophobic press before civil war in 2002 and in election crisis in Ivory Coast?
3. What the role did the media play in the campaigns of both the opposition and the government and how did this affect the opinion poll?
4. Presently, what is the role of the media as regards to stress societal peace issues, especially after civil wars? Please, comment with references.

Freedom of the press and societal peace

1. What factors do you think have affected the ability of the media and journalists in Ivory Coast to be effective agenda setters for societal peace?
2. What role did the media play before, during and after the civil wars to promote societal peace?
3. In general, would you state the media has played: a significant role, small role or no role in promoting societal peace before and during the violent situation?

4. Comment on the role of the international community in general in Ivorian's political crisis?

Beyond the civil war and the Post-Election Conflict

1. What have been some of the lessons learned in the aftermath of the civil war in 2002 and the post-election violence?
2. How have regulatory organisations and civil society responded to the role played by the media in Ivorian crisis?
3. How have the Ivorian media itself addressed some of this criticism?
4. What role has the media played, generally, in conflict situation?