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BROADCASTING PEACE IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE WHAT HAPPENS AFTER DEMOCRACY?

A case study of Côte d'Ivoire's UN radio- ONUCI FM

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Forward

This research was funded with my own private means and I am in not professionally affiliated with the United Nations.

I would like to thank Luc-Ronald Kouassi and Didier Blé for guiding me in Côte d'Ivoire. Without them this research would not have been possible. I would also like to thank F, a dear friend who made me discover the unique beauty of Abidjan.

It is my belief that journalism matter to the prospects of war and peace. I hope that this study can give an insight in the contribution journalism can have to peace.

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Abstract

This research will analyze the radio station ONUCI FM, UN's peace radio in Côte d'Ivoire. The central focus is on journalists' perception of their role as professional advocacy for peace and democracy. Personal interviews with five ONUCI FM-journalists provide the primary source of qualitative source.

In light of the Security Council's decision to end UN's peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire in 2017 followed an uncertainty of ONUCI FM's future before it was decided that the station would continue to broadcast under the Felix Houphouët-Boigny foundation. This research attempts to elucidate the consequences in similar previous cases. This research shows that the UN often lacks a long-term plan of how to handle their stations when their mission ends, thereby creating an indisputable journalistic vacuum where they previously operated. This research shows that few UN radios are capable of surviving without donations but that leaving abruptly may cause harm to the achieved peace. With the intention to provide a solution to the vacuum created after the UN this research explores the possibilities of citizen journalists filling the void after the organization's withdrawal. This research argues that Citizen Journalism is a suitable substitute to Peace Journalism when UN radio stations stop broadcasting.

Applied theories are Peace Journalism, Journalism ethics and Citizen Journalism. All theories are applicable in the analysis of journalists as nation builders, government partners, and agents of empowerment and also as watchdogs.

In conclusion, the purpose of this research is to understand the journalist's own experience of working at ONUCI FM and to analyze if a radio station such as ONUCI FM, when no longer supported by the UN, can benefit of Citizen Journalism.

Keywords: Peace Journalism, Citizen journalism, Development journalism, UN, peacekeeping radio, ONUCI FM, African media.

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1. Introduction

The Security Council of the United Nations decided that the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire [UNOCI] will end the 30th June 2017. One focus of this research is to understand how journalists at ONUCI FM perceive their work as peace journalists. It is also of interest to analyze Citizen Journalism as a substitute or complementary in a field that previously was dominated by professional peace journalists.

1.2 Aim and research question

The following research questions form the basis of this research.

Q1: How do journalists at ONUCI FM experience their role and the function of an UN peace radio in Côte d'Ivoire?

Q2: How could Citizen Journalism assist Peace Journalism when professional peace journalists no longer are in the field?

This study will hopefully provide some interesting inputs to Peace Journalism and accord to a broader understanding and evaluation of its practice in Côte d'Ivoire. The study can add some critical insertions to what happens with Peace Journalism when an undemocratic country gains peace. Additionally, this paper may likewise be a supplement to African media research that remains relatively unknown in comparison to Western media. The study provides an insight to some of UN's practices of Peace Journalism as well.

This research is even more relevant since the announcement from the UN that the organization planned to withdraw from Côte d'Ivoire after years of peacekeeping

missions since the West African country has managed to maintain relatively political stability after civil wars and years of ethnic hatred and violence. Along with the organization's departure followed the uncertain shutdown of ONUCI FM that now broadcasts as 'Peace Radio' under the control of the Félix Houphouët Boigny foundation.

2. Background

The correlation between media and democracy is a complex issue that should be analyzed with a broader understanding of democracy and the context in which it plays. Democracy comes in different shapes and there is no consensus on how to define its practice. However, principles such as legal equality, political freedom and a working justice system are common characters of democracy.¹ Political philosopher Richard Scruton argues that democracy alone cannot provide personal and political freedom without a present functioning civil society. Scruton disapproves of democracy being prioritized at any cost when Western foreign policy tries to impose democracy in countries that have not yet enjoyed its benefits. Scruton argues that the “idea that there is a single, one-size-fits-all solution to social and political conflict around the world, and that democracy is the name of it, is based on a disregard of historical and cultural conditions, and a failure to see that democracy is only made possible by other and more deeply hidden institutions.”²

As a custom UN sets up peace radio stations in countries in they operate in. Alan Doss, former chief deputy at the UN mission, stresses the importance of a UN radio. He says that "wherever we have these missions now, we've found it necessary to have a UN voice," adding that "the UN voice will be an independent voice, I hope an objective voice, interested only in the facts. We have only one ambition in Côte d'Ivoire, and that to help the country return to peace and prosperity."³

¹ Guillermo O'Donnell, "Why the rule of law matters". In *Assessing the quality of democracy*, Diamond,

² Scruton, Roger A Point of View: Is democracy overrated? *BBC News*. 2013-09-09.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-23607302>, retrieved 22 August 2016

³ 'UN Ivory Coast Radio Opens to Mixed Reviews - 2004-08-13', *Voa News*,
<http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-a-2004-08-13-20-1-66892532/261931.html>, retrieved 22 August 2016

2.1 Peace at a cost

It goes without saying that peacekeeping missions are very expensive. UN radio services comprise just a small piece of peacekeepers' telecommunications and public information and logistics budgets, and hence get little oversight or interest from peacekeeping contributors. Yet, of the almost 50 peacekeeping missions that were authorized or re-authorized by the UN Security Council in the past two decades, a dozen establish and ran comprehensive radio stations at some point in their tenure. According to Orme these UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations radio stations contributed more to democratization and media development in post-conflict countries than the media programs of the rest of the UN combined, even taking in account the many centralized media projects of UNESCO and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).⁴

Many of the former UN radio stations remain unprofitable and depend on contribution from external donors. But donors are unaware of their impact or scale, as the radio operations are buried in peacekeeping budgets and mission reports. Nor are there regularly evaluations of the stations' functions or performance. Public opinion polls and other field surveys show the large national listenership attracted by these stations but the surveys show measure of their impact on civic engagement, including citizens' knowledge of public affairs or their views on local peace processes and election campaigns.⁵

Marie-Soleil Frère, a researcher at Université Libre de Bruxelles in Belgium argues that "collectively, external partners have in effect taken charge of most of the media business

⁴ Scruton, Roger. A Point of View: Is democracy overrated? *BBC News*. 2013-09-09. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-23607302>, Retrieved 2016-22-09

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14

in the region."⁶ Professionals working at externally financed media outlets tend to be the only ones who are well paid. The Democratic Republic of Congo's UN radio, Radio Okapi's annual budget is 26 times higher than that of the second biggest radio station and the average salary for journalists at Radio Okapi is 10 times higher than that for journalists at other Congolese stations.⁷

This does not mean that UN radios are economical profitable. The former UN station in Sierra Leone still depends on donor support, including from the UN. Radio Ndeke Luka in the Central African Republic relies on donors as well, with more than 80 per cent of its annual budget funded by external partners.⁸

The shut-down or transfer of UN radios will remain ineffective unless the stations are able to generate enough revenue to survive on their own according to Francis Rolt. According to him "radio stations are expensive to run. Until the economic situation improves, there is little chance for success without outside financial support." Rolt adds that the radios need to become cost-effective. "In Congo, Sierra Leone or Sudan, radio just has to become a profitable business, like in Kenya or South Africa.", he says.⁹

UN radio stations surviving after peacekeepers absentia surely depends on a country's political and economic evolution. With weakened political institutions, countries recovering from conflict need reforms to be able to protect human rights and have free and fair elections. Former UN radio host-countries often have weak economies with tight government budgets. These countries do not priorities the setting up of independent radio.

⁶ André-Michel Essoungou. <http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol24no4/peace-radio.html>. *Africa Renewal*. 2010 December, p. 16, retrieved 22 September 2016

⁷ André-Michel Essoungou, "Can 'peace radio' survive in peacetime?", *Africa Renewal*, 2010 December, p. 16, <http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol24no4/peace-radio.html>, retrieved 22 September 2016

⁸ André-Michel Essoungou, "Can 'peace radio' survive in peacetime?" *African Renewal* <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2010/can-%E2%80%98peace-radio%E2%80%99-survive-peacetime>.

⁹ Ibid.

Furthermore, there is no real plan on how to proceed when UN peacekeeping forces leave a country. According to Susan Manuel, chief of the Peace and Security Section of the UN Department of Public Information this is not surprising as "UN radio stations are meant to be temporarily. "They were not originally designed to last after the peace missions. But the success they have had over the years caused this approach to be seen as flawed", Manuel says. Bill Orme, specialist in international media and strategic communications, adds that the radio stations tend to get forgotten because "when reviewing peacekeeping missions, not only is the focus mainly on the political and the financial aspects, but also those radio stations established by the UN represent a tiny portion of the mission's budget. They easily go unnoticed."¹⁰ The radio stations were created and managed with little consideration about the local media landscape and there lack in many cases plans to establish long-term sustainability national broadcasting services.¹¹

Furthermore, journalism assists to good government only if it is reliable and accurately informed to ensure that citizens can exercise their political and civil rights. Ideal democracy is hence achieved when citizens are informed.¹²

2.2 Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire has been in a near-constant state of political crisis since an attempted coup d'état in 2000. A conflict had already erupted when Henri Konan Bedié, successor of Côte d'Ivoire's father of the nation Felix Houphouet-Boigny in 1993 revoked all

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Orme, Bill, 'Broadcasting in Un Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio', 2010, p. 15, http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIMA-UN_Radio.pdf, retrieved August 22, 2016

¹² Hanitzsch, T. Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace Journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies*, Volume 5 , Number, 483-495, 2004, p. 238

citizenship rights of the Northern population in order to retain power. With one of Africa's most prosperous economies, mainly due to its cocoa production, Côte d'Ivoire quickly became a hub for immigrant workers all over the continent but notably from neighboring country Burkina Faso. Bedié's initiation of the concept "Ivrité" excluded all citizens with foreign backgrounds from seeking citizenship rights in Côte d'Ivoire. Neither were Ivoirians with foreign background allowed to run for presidency or vote.

The concept of "Ivrité" was introduced again in the 1995 election to hinder opposition and half-Burkinabe Alassane Ouattara from running for president. Nevertheless, election result declared Ouattara as president in the 2010 election. However, Gbagbo claimed that the election had been rigged in the northern part of the country and the Ivorian Court proclaimed Gbagbo winner of the President election. With both Gbagbo and Ouattara claiming victory, Côte d'Ivoire saw the beginning of a new political crisis.

The post-election tensions caused increased political violence and a refugee wave of more than 1 million people. A civil war erupted and the capital was the scene of war between March 30 and April 11, 2011, when Ouattara supporters who had the support of the UN and French forces forced Laurent Gbagbo to retreat.¹³ Ouattara was sworn in as President in May 2011. Gbagbo is in writing moment still awaiting trial in The Hague for crimes against humanity.

UN peacekeepers deployed in 2004 as a result of the First Ivorian Civil War are scheduled to leave the country by the end of June 2017.

¹³CIA The World Factbook, *Cote d'Ivoire*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iv.html>, retrieved 9 May 2017

2.3 Media in Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire ranks 81 out of 180 countries in the 2017 World Press Freedom Index. Freedom of speech and of the press, with the exception of prohibitions on speech that incites violence, ethnic hatred, or rebellion, is protected by law and in the constitution.

According to the World Bank only 14 out of 100 have access to the Internet.¹⁴ Reports from Reporters Without Borders (RSF) show that the state of the media is improving but has yet to achieve independence from the country's political leaders. The media has become partly free during the administration of Ouattara, with fewer restrictive press laws and official censorship.¹⁵

There are several daily newspapers such as *Fraternité Matin*, *Ivoir' Soir* and *Le Jour* but radio remains not surprisingly the most popular medium in Côte d'Ivoire where the adult literacy rate is 41 per cent.¹⁶

In 2012, the government eased up on television and radio industries to private broadcasters. The previous 2004 law allowed the few existing private radio stations to broadcast only entertainment and culture. Private broadcast outlets are no longer prohibited to cover political events. This has facilitated and paved way for private actors. There are several initiatives, such as citizen radio Arc-En-Ciel and Ivoire Blog Network, where ordinary citizens broadcast shows for sustainable development democracy.¹⁷

¹⁴ The World Bank, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=CIV&series=&period=>, retrieved 22 August 2016

¹⁵ Radio France Internationale (RFI) and the UN radio station Onuci FM were banned by Gbagbo but have operated freely since Ouattara took office.

¹⁶ There is no universal definition and standard of literacy.

¹⁷ 'Ivory Coast Profile media', *BBC*, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13287219>, retrieved 10 May 2017

2.4 ONUCI FM

The Security Council of the United Nations declared that they would end the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) in June 2017. UNOCI civilians, military and police staff are gradually withdrawing as UNOCI prepares to cease all of its operational activities in Côte d'Ivoire, including ONUCI FM. The UN announced that the radio would continue to broadcast but changes its name to "La Radio de la Paix" and would be managed by the Felix Houphouët Boigny foundation.

ONUFI FM- Peace Frequency was launched in August 2004 in the midst of a political-military crisis. Its aim was to cover both national news and UNOCI activities throughout the country that held more than 6,000 peacekeepers. The station is owned and funded by the UN with the aim to accompany the organization's peace process by disseminating information in a neutral, impartial and balanced way. The intention is also to deliver the peace agenda of UNOCI. After months of delays in broadcasting the radio managed to get the necessary approval from all necessary government agencies. Authorities opposed the launch and the Ivorian media regulators disapproved of the radio, describing it as a "pirate station". Former President Laurent Gbagbo's cabinet accused the UN of being soft on rebels who controlled the north part of the country. Gbagbo himself dismissed the radio as "propaganda".¹⁸ On its first day on the air, the UN radio played mostly music with message of peace.¹⁹

¹⁸ 'Row over UN radio in Ivory Coast', *BBC*, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3817357.stm>, retrieved 9 May 2017

¹⁹ 'UN Ivory Coast Radio Opens to Mixed Reviews - 2004-08-13', *Voa News*, 2009, <http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-a-2004-08-13-20-1-66892532/261931.html>, retrieved 22 August 2016



Locations of ONUCI FM radio stations in Côte d'Ivoire.

Map by ONUCI FM

The station broadcasts in French and English but also Ivorian languages Baoulé, Bété, Malinké, Wê and Yacouba. The radio was as of 2007 the third most popular in Côte d'Ivoire and appointed by its manager Sylvain Semilinko as the country's most reliable channel.²⁰ "You listen to Onuci FM if you want accurate, impartial and balance information- or you can also follow the information of international radios. However, since their programs do not offer information about Côte d'Ivoire, the only option left for you is ONUCI FM", says its manager Sylvain Semilinko. A survey from 2006 showed that 83 % of the Ivoirians listened to the station²¹, which broadcast daily around the clock. The latest survey from 2007 shows that Onuci FM at time had 19 regional stations with a staff consisting of 27 reporters, 15 technicians and 12 correspondents based both

²⁰ 'ONUCI-FM La fréquence de la paix', *ONUCI*, 2007, https://onuci.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/old_spip/docs/Leaflet4.pdf, p 2, retrieved 22 August 2016

²¹ ONUCI-FM *La radio de la paix*, *ONUCI*, 2007, <http://franceqsoradio.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/ONUCI-FM-fiche-presentacion.pdf>, p 1, retrieved 22 August 2016

in the whole country. Daily programs include four 20-minutes news programs covering local, regional and international events. The station also has programs about sport and culture. The radio station even plays music, everything from African pop to classical. In addition to covering the activities of the United Nations, ONUCI FM offers a variety of information related to political, cultural, social and health issues. Examples of programs are: 'Do not touch my rights'; 'On the rights of children and women'; 'Bridge' on methods of conflict resolution and 'Word to the elected' which provides a forum for the local elected representatives to express their opinions and ideas.²²

State radio tried for several weeks in December 2010 to broadcast over the same frequency as the ONUCI-FM, forcing the station to shift frequencies to be heard. All international radio and television stations had already successfully been pulled from the airwaves.²³ The Gbagbo government proceeded with attempts to prevent ONUCI FM from broadcasting. The National Council for Audio-Visual Communication revoked the 8th of February 2011 ONUCI FM's permit to broadcast as a response to UN's support to Ouattara. UN and French peacekeeping forces supported the pro-Ouattara forces in the final days of the conflict as they swept into Abidjan. However, Gbagbo retained control of the army, police and civil service. After invalidating nearly 600,000 votes in pro-Ouattara areas the constitutional council overturned the results and declared Gbagbo the winner. But also Ouattara declared himself as president and inaugurated a government.²⁴

U.N spokesman Martin Nesirky attested that ONUCI FM refused to stop broadcasting despite receiving official notification from the council on its suspension. "This is yet

²² Ibid.

²³ 'Row over UN radio in Ivory Coast', *BBC*, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3817357.stm>, retrieved 9 May 2017

²⁴ Ibid.

another unacceptable attempt by Mr. Gbagbo's camp to disrupt the mandated operations of our mission, but the mission is indeed still carrying out its operations," Nesirky said.

ONUCI FM was the only available channel not directly regulated by Gbagbo. It was also the only station that reported Ouattara's election victory and ensuing international support.²⁵ Journalists received death threats and visits at their homes by masked men at night. "We're limiting our movements and doing more interviews by telephone instead of going out into the theatre of action," says ONUCI FM's manager Semilinko adding that the "attempts to relay both sides of the conflict have been hampered by Gbagbo's hostility to the U.N, but that the station would continue to carry out its mission. "Members of Gbagbo's government refuse to answer our questions because they say we are an unauthorized radio station. But we're going to push forward. This isn't something that will stop us," says Semilinko.²⁶

3. Previous research

Anthropologist Francis Nyamnjoh states in his book 'Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging' how some scholars have described the press in West Africa as "light, frivolous, and full of shortcomings, and of using invective to gain cheap publicity"²⁷. Others have subsequently accused African journalists for lack of professionalism. Few studies in journalism research have looked specifically at the role of development journalism in African radio broadcasting. However, there are a number of relevant studies on the democratic impact development journalism as well as citizen

²⁵ 'UN radio ordered off the air in Ivory Coast', *CBS NEWS*, 2011, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/un-radio-ordered-off-the-air-in-ivory-coast/>, retrieved 9 May 2017

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, p. 58

journalism have. Additionally, journalism has played a key role in shaping democratic processes in Africa but it has also been accused of irresponsibility and for being a governmental mouthpiece.²⁸ Many African ex-colonies, countries such as Morocco and Ethiopia, remained under new authoritarian reigns after independence. Journalists were compelled to publish news that depicted the government in a positive image whereas initiatives asking for the autonomy of citizens were censored.²⁹ Furthermore, there are several cases in the continent when journalism has been used to facilitate genocide and fuel hatred and intolerance as M'Bayo documents in the cases of Rwanda, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.³⁰ Nevertheless, African regimes are not unaccompanied in using the press to their interest. Totalitarian regimes around the world, such as Nazi Germany to China's "watchdogs on party leashes" have understood the great possibilities of power when the press is under control.³¹

According to Nyamnjoh, Development journalism needs 'strong, courageous, socially engaged people willing to make sacrifices and able to stand conflicts, because development journalism is irreconcilable with servile government-say-so journalism.'³² Some research concludes that the journalistic content in African media is not professionalized and that journalists tend to fabricate stories.³³ This is often due to poor

²⁸ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 106

²⁹ Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, p. 58

³⁰ M'Bayo, R. T., *Liberia, Rwanda & Sierra Leone: The public face of public violence.*, 2005, p. 21–32

³¹ Weischenberg, S., & Malik, Journalism research in Germany: Evolution and central research interests. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future*, 2008, p. 159. See also Zhao, Y., *Watchdogs on party leashes? Contexts and implications of investigative journalism China*. *Journalism Studies*, 1(4), 2000

³² Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, p. 98

³³ Kafewo, Samuel. *Ghana: research findings and conclusions*, London: BBC World Service Trust, 2006, p. 58.

professional conditions many African journalists face. Bribery has become a major obstacle to independent media with journalists acting as governmental marionette dolls.³⁴ Consequently, as much as Peace Journalism and Development Journalism may have a positive influence on democracy it cannot be ignored that journalists do not always act with democratic interests or objectivity.

UN stresses the significance of peace-oriented journalism. The Brahimi Report, a report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations overseen by veteran diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi, shows both the strategic importance and chronic underfunding of the communications component of UN peacekeeping. “An effective public information and communications capacity in mission areas is an operational necessity for virtually all United Nations peace operations,” states the report to the Security Council, calling for an increase in-trained UN media personnel and more active communications outreach to the residents of conflict zones.³⁵ David Lyon argues that Peace Journalism is based on a “flawed notion that the world would be a better place if we reported wars in a certain prescribed way, encouraging peacemakers rather than reporting warriors. This prescription is the more dangerous part of peace journalism, as it tries to define itself as a new orthodoxy, ” claims Lyon. A peace journalism approach demands thus an active participation that Lyon believes is not the role of a journalist.³⁶

There is remarkably little institutional information about peacekeeping radios. There is no detailed UN budgetary or performance records of these radio services, because no

³⁴ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 110

³⁵ http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305

³⁶ Lyon, David. Good journalism or peace journalism? *Conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2007, p. 2. http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2007_2/pdf/loyn.pdf, retrieved 22 August 22 2016

member states or UN officials have had any demand for such accounting.³⁷ As witnessed by Bill Orme, a media expert at the UN Development Program (UNDP), many stations leave precipitously by simply "pulling the plug" when peace operations ended. Orme warns that an abrupt departure can leave a media void, backlashing the efforts to restore peace as in the case of UNAMSIL³⁸, which despite of being the Sierra Leone's most successful radio station, could not continue to broadcast independently when UN withdrew its 17,000 UN peacekeepers from the country. UNAMSIL supported the establishment of an independent public service broadcaster in 2005 after directive from the Security Council. The Sierra Leone parliament unanimously approved at the end of 2009 a bill drafted with UN support and which converted the government's traditional state broadcaster into a public broadcasting service. Radio UNAMSIL's administration emerged thus in March 2010 with government-controlled Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service in hope to create an impartial public-service broadcaster.³⁹

In conclusion, previous research shows that African media became controlled by totalitarian regimes, which many African countries found themselves under after independence. Professionalism amongst African journalists has thus been questioned. Furthermore, Peace-and-Development Journalism have been seen as important factors in peace process in Africa but not all scholars agree that the theories benefit neither peace nor journalism professionalism. Moreover, little research has been done on UN radio's impact on peace in the African context.

³⁷ Orme, Bill, *Broadcasting in Un Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio*, 2010, p. 15, http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIMA-UN_Radio.pdf, retrieved 22 August 2016

³⁸ <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2010/can-%E2%80%98peace-radio%E2%80%99-survive-peacetime>

³⁹ 'Radio Ga Ga', *The Economist*, 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21561923>, retrieved 22 August 2016 and 'East Timor profile', *BBC*, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-14952882>, retrieved 10 August 2017

4. Theory

The first part of this research consists of studies of literature and previous research that can provide information concerning definitions and understanding regarding Peace Journalism, one of the applied theories in this study. Macro-level analyses could offer a better explanation of journalism's social functions and its interrelation with the environment but this research will merely focus on the practice of some journalists working at ONUCI FM in Côte d'Ivoire due to practical limitations. This research should hence be seen as a case study of Peace Journalism.

This research draws on three major theories and theoretical traditions: Peace Journalism, Journalism ethics and Citizen journalism. These theories are applied because they all share the notion that media can have an influential role in how conflict and wars are treated.

4.1 Peace Journalism

Peace Journalism remains a normative theory rather than descriptive due to its requirements of what and how journalists should act and why they should act a certain way. Normative theories emphasize on the primary role and function of the media. Normative media theories focus thus on how media should operate if certain social values are to be observed or obtained. According to Hallin, “the field of communication, and most particularly the study of journalism, has always been heavily normative in character. This is due in part to its sourcing in professional education, where it is more important to reflect on what journalism should be rather than to analyze in detail what and why it is”.⁴⁰

Peace Journalism takes in account different narratives of a conflict without fuelling the

⁴⁰ Hallin, D., *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*, Cambridge University, 2004, p. 5

conflict.⁴¹ The concept of Peace Journalism was introduced in the 1970's by sociologist and peace researcher Johan Galtung who accused media for having a tendency to report violence and war in a way that benefitted, maintained or even escalated hostilities. Professors Bratic and Schirch claim that “history has shown that the media can incite people toward violence. The media’s impact on the escalation of conflict is more widely recognized than the media’s impact on peace building”.⁴²

Scholarly definitions of Peace Journalism vary. Hanitzsch defines Peace Journalism as “a programmed or frame of journalistic news coverage which contributes to the process of making and keeping peace respectively to the peaceful settlement of conflicts”.⁴³ Lynch and McGoldrick compare Peace Journalism to when journalists report in a way that creates opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict. According to Lynch and McGoldrick “Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices—of what stories report and about how to report them—that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict.”⁴⁴

Peace Journalism uses conflict analysis and transformation to achieve fairness and accuracy in reporting as it tries to offer a more balanced perspective on war and conflict than what is provided by the traditional mainstream media. Peace journalists further hope to encourage the understanding of multiple positions to each potential conflict. The aim of Peace Journalism is to construct realities from all sides, and to reveal indirect causes

⁴¹The requirements of Peace Journalism can be traced back already to the early 1960 social responsibility theory with Petersen stating media was “obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society”.

⁴² Bratic, V & L. Schirch, *Why and when to use the media for conflict prevention and peace-building. Global partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict* (Issue paper) 6:1-30, 2007, p.7

⁴³ Hanitzsch, T., Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace Journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies*, Volume 5 , Number, 483-495., 2004, p. 484

⁴⁴ Lynch, Jake & McGoldrick, Annabel, *Peace Journalism*. Stroud: Hawthorn Press, 2005 p. 5

and structure of war and violence.⁴⁵ Avoiding emphasizing what divides opposed parties, as is common in mainstream media war coverage, Peace Journalism seeks to find a common democratic ground between oppositional parties. The theory offers analysis of the causes to a conflict and tries to suggest how it may be resolved or transformed in cases where resolution is impossible or too difficult. As such, Peace Journalism evidently advocate for peace. While scholars have long studied how media report on war, attention given to Peace Journalism in the academy is relatively recent, dating from the 1970s. Galtung has curated a ten-point guide that he considers should be carried out by peace-oriented media.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 6

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 2

The conceptual development of Peace Journalism offers an interesting insight to objectivity. Galtung perceived ‘war- focused journalism as ‘propaganda-orientated’, and Peace Journalism as ‘truth-orientated’ and unlike war-journalism not an obstacle to objectivity. Objectivity should be the highest aim for every journalist, according to Lyon. Lyon demands “more traditional values such as fairness, objectivity, and balance – the only guiding lights of good reporting”.⁴⁷ Journalists should not interfere with their opinions as their task is “to seek to find out what is going on, not carrying any other baggage. If there is conflict resolution we report on it in context: We do not engage in it”, says Lyon.⁴⁸

There are naturally different journalism theories but there are also some principles of journalistic codes of ethics that can help to assist journalists to deal with ethical dilemmas such as their engagement in a matter.

4.2 Journalism ethics

Humans fall under general ethical principles such as to tell the truth and cause less harm possible. More than so, journalists as members of news organizations are obliged to see this as a duty because they as professionals have social power “to frame the political agenda and influence public opinion”.⁴⁹ The invention of the ethical discourse for journalism can be traced back to the beginning of modern journalism in Western Europe during the seventeenth century. Ethics in journalism seek to reason how individualist journalists should act in their practice. The theory can be defined as “a species of applied ethics that examines what journalists and news organizations should do, given their role

⁴⁷ Lyon, D., ‘*Witnessing the truth. Open Democracy*’
<http://www.opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/993.pdf>, 2003, p. 1-4, retrieved 22 August 2016

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 2

⁴⁹ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 296

in society.”⁵⁰ When analyzing journalism ethics areas such as editorial independence, verification, anonymous sources, the use of graphic or altered images, and norms for new forms of media are examined. There are four distinguish approaches in the Journalism ethics:

- (1) Liberal theory,
- (2) Objectivity and social responsibility theory,
- (3) Interpretive theory, and
- (4) Community and care.

The liberal theory

The American and French press was by the end of the eighteenth century a socially recognized institution. The post-revolution constitutions of America and France paved the basis for the idea of a Fourth Estate that made the press a governing institution in society.⁵¹ The idea of a Fourth Estate emerged during the nineteenth century with the liberal theory of the press which stated that the press had to be free and independent for the protection and promotion of liberal reform. The twentieth century saw a development and critics of the liberal theory whereas the “developers” constructed professional ethics of objective journalism that was influenced the social responsibility theory. Objectivism sought to strengthen impartiality in the press in a time when the press was increasingly sensational and affected by political interest,. The developers journalists were critiqued by the “critics”, journalists who rejected belief of objective professional reporting and practiced more interpretive, bias forms of journalism such as investigative reporting and activist (or advocacy) journalism.⁵²

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 295

⁵¹ Ward J.A, Stephen. *The Invention of Journalism Ethics: The Path to Objectivity and Beyond*, 2005 , pp. 89–173

⁵² Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 297

The liberal and the objective model were by the late 1900s questioned from many fronts especially as actors like bloggers and citizens began to engage in journalism. As a result, journalism ethics continues to be discussed.⁵³

Objective and Social Responsibility

Objectivism and social responsibility theory were liberal theories claiming that the press should be responsible of educating the population on matters of public interest. The liberal social contract gave rise to two principles, proactive and restraining, that are still dominant in most Western codes of ethics. The pro-active principles claim that journalists not only have the freedom to publish but it is also their *duty* to publish as truthful and objective as possible on matters of public interest. “Seek truth and report it” and “act independently” are primary pro-active principles of most Western codes of ethics. The restraining principles urge journalists to use this freedom to report in a responsible manner such as being as harmless as possible and remain accountable to the public for editorial decisions. Restraining principles call on journalists to use this freedom to publish in a responsible manner.⁵⁴ Before reporting the journalist should weigh principles, standards, facts, expected consequences, rights and the impact on personal reputations.⁵⁵ Thus, journalists should have a “reflective equilibrium” among their institutions and principles.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 298

⁵⁵ Black, J., Steele B., & Blarney, R., *Doing ethics in journalism* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999, pp. 29–30

⁵⁶ Rawls, J., *Political liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 8

Social responsibility theory

Another similar liberal theory is the social responsibility theory developed by American scholars and journalists in the late 1940s with front figures from The Hutchins Commission into the Freedom of the Press. The Commission stressed in its report, *A Free and Responsible Press*, that the main focus of the press was to provide “a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account” of the news and events and “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.” Furthermore, the press should provide a “representative picture of the constituent groups in society,” and assist in the “presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society,” and “provide full access to the day’s intelligence”.⁵⁷ The ideas of social responsibility theory have today won a global recognition but not without any critics.

Both interpretive and activist traditions have embraced the liberal ideal that the press should inform citizens on important public matters. Journalists have been openly biased for the major part of journalism’s history. Journalism became less biased first in the early 1900s. The second part of the twentieth century saw strength in the tradition of interpretive journalism. Activist-journalists from the 1960s onward defined “informing the public” as challenging the government, opposing wars and fight for social changes. These conscious journalists became advocates for “civic journalism” which believed that journalism was a catalyst for civic engagement. The roles of journalists are today many and keep changing. However, many journalists see themselves as some combination of informer, interpreter and advocate.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Hutchins Commission, *A free and responsible press*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 21–28

⁵⁸ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 299

Community and Care

The application of communitarian ethics to practices of journalism is another influential approach to journalism ethics. While the liberal theory emphasizes individual freedoms and rights; the communitarian and care perspectives values the influence journalism have on communal values and caring relationships. According to communitarians, journalists should support their community's values and ideals of a good life. The press' focus is to provide an open, interpreted dialogue with and among citizens that focus on "civic transformation".⁵⁹

4.3 Citizen Journalism

It is relevant to identify and characterize the practice of Citizen Journalism. Could it be in line with objectivism? And is Citizen Journalism so different from traditional journalism?

First, Citizen Journalism does differentiate from traditional journalism as it is not produced by news bureaucracies nor does act in accordance with set tradition of professionalism. The labor is not paid and neither stationed in news companies.⁶⁰ Citizen Journalism is when individuals without professional journalism training use the tools of journalism and modern technology to create, augment or fact-check media on their own or in collaboration with others. The audience becomes hence more in control of the journalism that is produced. Courtney C. Radsch describes Citizen Journalism as an "alternative and activist form of news-gathering and reporting that functions outside mainstream media institutions, often as a response to shortcomings in the professional journalistic field, that uses similar journalistic practices but is driven by different

⁵⁹ Christians, C., Preface. In R. Keeble (Ed.), *Communication ethics today* (pp. ix–xiii). Leicester, UK: Troubador, 2005, p. 65–66

⁶⁰ Waisbord S., *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013, p. 185

objectives and ideals and relies on alternative sources of legitimacy than traditional or mainstream journalism.”⁶¹

Clemencia Rodriguez defines the term ‘citizen’ as ‘individuals of a society who actively participate in actions that reshape their own identities, the identities of others, and their social environment, [through which] they produce power.’ Rodriguez disputes that people are better able to represent themselves and their community when they produce their own media. Independent media create possibilities for ordinary citizens to become politically empowered according to Rodriguez.⁶²

Citizen Journalism can challenge traditional journalist actors that often hold an academic training in the journalistic field. James Hamilton argues, in response to Raymond Williams’ explanation of public communication through the process of skills, capitalization and control, that we rather need to talk of de-professionalization, de-capitalization and de-institutionalization. This means that alternative media must be available to ordinary citizens without the request for professional training.⁶³

News are not required to pass through professional journalistic platforms to get spread due to technology and globalization as citizens are “armed with cellphones, Blackberries or iPhones” according to Peat. He recognizes “a walking eye on the world, a citizen journalist, able to take a photo, add a caption or a short story and upload it to the Internet for all their friends, and usually everyone else, to see”.⁶⁴ Convergent journalism, a modern form of journalism that focuses on the public’s demand for accessible news,

⁶¹ Radsch, Courtney C., *The Revolutions will be Blogged: Cyberactivism and the 4th Estate in Egypt*. Doctoral Dissertation, American University, 2013

⁶² Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 266

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 265

⁶⁴ Jenkins, www.phase1.nccr-trade.org/images/stories/jenkins_convergens_optional.pdf, p. 93

challenges the professional ground as different views are invited to tell the news themselves. Professor of communication Media scholar Henry Jenkins argues that convergent journalism contributes to a “new participatory folk culture” that provide common citizens tool to achieve, annotate, appropriate and circulate content”.

5. Methodology

Approaching the complex issue of Peace Journalism and objectivity and the impact ordinary citizen have on journalism requires a panoramic view into several angles involved in the equation. This overview helps to identify what impact media have on democracy while reviewing the objectivity of media and understanding the Côte d'Ivoire context amongst other things. Faced to the impossibility of engaging in all of these angles, this study offers an approach that has taken into consideration the complexity of the applied theories and practices, in order to provide some preliminary answers to the main questions posed.

5.1 Qualitative method

Preliminary literature and previous research is completed with a field study in Côte d'Ivoire. A qualitative method in the form of interviews was applied in order to analyze how peace journalist may perceive their professional career role since the aim of the study is to create an understanding of the journalists' subjective experiences and perceptions of their profession. This includes, for example, how they look at working conditions, and how critics and their audiences are treating them.

The five interviews with the UN journalist in Côte d'Ivoire I did during my field trip in Cote d'Ivoire is the core of this study. The qualitative interview in this study has both the

perspective of an actor and observer as such an angle provides a more versatile and valid view of the issue.⁶⁵

The interviewees in this research are employees at ONUCI FM in Côte d'Ivoire, two female and three male. Interviewed was Head- of- radio Griet Dierckxsens and Lucie Attikpa, Assistant head- of- radio. Also interviewed were journalists Kouasse Kouamé, Lazare Essoh and Malika Kamara.

The interviews were conducted in the UN's headquarter in Attécoubé, a suburb of Abidjan, where ONUCI FM also is housed. The interviews took circa 2 hours to conduct, each interview took about 20-30 minutes and they were all held the same day in May 2016. Moreover, the interviews were conducted in French and later transcribed to English.

No quantitative data were conducted due to the uncertainty beforehand on how many journalists were available for an interview. The actual low number of participants neither posed requirements of such a quantitative method.

Steiner Kvale et al. describes how a qualitative research interview helps the researcher to study interpretations, thoughts and self-perceptions as well as to describe and clarify the informants' own perspectives and living worlds. The method is particularly suitable when the researcher wishes to study experiences and chart patterns within the specific selection group. The method is also suitable as it can better deal with unclear opinions and contradictions, which is commonplace and natural in qualitative interviews.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Larsson, S., Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete*, 2005, p.110

⁶⁶ Kvale & Brinkmann, *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. 2. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009

Like Kvale et al., Alan Bryman considers that the characteristic of a qualitative interview is the proximity of the selected interviewer. A fundamental aspect of qualitative research is the desire to see or express events, actions and values based on the interviewer's perspective. Seeing the reality of someone else's eyes, in this case a peace journalist, is an approach that requires the researcher to relate empathically and open to one's interviewees. It demands that the researcher understands the subject from a research perspective and that the researcher also have the ability to understand events when incorporated into a historical and social context.⁶⁷

5.2 Selection of interviewees

The ambition of this research is to take part of the journalists' thoughts about the journalism and peace without making them representatives for the whole corps of peace journalists. The five interviewees were chosen randomly as there was no opportunity to decide and choose candidates. However, without putting specific weight on gender I tried to get as much diversity as possible because interviewees from different groups gives a wider and deeper understanding of the studied problem area from an actor- and-observer-perspective.⁶⁸

It was quite difficult to get an appointment with the journalists at ONUCI FM as their contact information is not available online. I searched for contacts through acquaintances. It was not until after recommendations from an Ivorian journalist friend and former ONUCI FM intern, Luc-Ronald Kouassi, who put me in contact with Didier Blé, a journalist at ONUCI FM, that it became possible for me to visit their headquarter in Attécoubé. Both Kouassi and Mr. Blé have provided information on practices and

⁶⁷ Bryman, Alan, *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*, 1:2 upplaga, Malmö: Liber AB, 2002

⁶⁸ Larsson, S., *Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion*. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete*, 2005, p.110

routines at the ONUCI FM office. All of the interviews were conducted in the headquarter.

5.3 Interview ethics

Many of the journalists seemed suspicious of being interviewed by a student they did not know. It was not until I was able to show a formal letter from a university supervisor that they accepted to be interviewed. I believe that this reluctance may have to do with culture differences as institutes in Sweden in my opinion are more open and demand less formal requirement than institutes abroad.

It was important that the interviewees were informed that they took part a scientific study as this type of interview is close to a usual conversation, a so-called informed consent. All interviewees were therefore well informed of the purpose of the study prior to the interview, that the conversation would be recorded and that notes additionally were taken as support for my work. The interviewees were also informed that their name and workplace would be printed in the research -but that they had the option to be fully or partially anonymous if they wanted to. According to Esaiasson the credibility of the investigation may be affected if anonymity is offered.⁶⁹

To ensure data collection each interview was recorded with a digital player.⁷⁰ The interviewees were informed that the recorded material would not made public. However, they gave consent for the material being shared with my professor. The recorded material is safely kept with me and will be erased after the research has been presented.

⁶⁹ Esaiasson, Peter, Gilljam, Mikael, Oscarsson, Henrik och Wägerud, Lena, *Metodpraktikan. Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik AB, 2007

⁷⁰ Larsson, S., *Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion*. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete*, 2005, p.110

5.4 Interview questions

The qualitative method of the research contains of personal interviews after the guidelines of Steinar Kvale's interview structures designed to "obtain descriptions of the interviewee's life-world in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena."⁷¹

Silence was used during the interview to give the interviewees time to reflect and think about the question before they answered. This way they were not stressed into answering.⁷² As researcher I aimed to create an empathetic approach towards the interviewees. The interview guide was therefore not followed in the planned order as I believe being dynamic made the interviews less formal and hence the interviewees more relax.⁷³

The conducted interviews in this research are oriented on the interviewee's own experience and about the subject. Anthropologist Grant McCracken recommends that interview questions are kept simple and short. The number of interviews should be conducted until a theoretical saturation is reached i.e. when no more relevant information can be extracted. 10 interviews per relevant group/ category are sufficient with a well-planned selection. A semi-structured interview technique was implemented in this research. It allowed the interview questions to be clear so that enough information was retrieved from the answers. However, it also left room for clarifications or for follow-up questions.⁷⁴ Follow-up questions were asked when the interviewees appeared to have more to add. This reinforces the need of an empathetic approach and active listening.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Esaiasson et al., *Metodpraktikan. Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*,. Stockholm: Nordstedt Juridik, 2009, p. 286

⁷² Kvale, S., *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997, p.125

⁷³ Ibid., p.138

⁷⁴ Esaiasson et al., *Metodpraktikan. Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*,. Stockholm: Nordstedt Juridik, 2009, p. 292

The questions are quite personal as the aim is to understand the interviewees' experience of working as a so-called peace journalist. I started the interviews by presenting my research, its aim and myself. I then asked the interviewees for a presentation about themselves and their working background. Each interviewees were asked the same question did not elaborate the same on each question why some topics were discussed more or less depending on interviewee.

Following questions were asked to the interviewees:

1. What is your previous work experience?
2. Does ONUCI FM conduct objective journalism or activism?
3. How do you market the radio?
4. Is there any evaluation of how many listeners you have?
5. How do you decide on what events to focus on?
6. Are there any threats against journalists here?
7. How do you obtain objectivity?
8. What do you think of the radio shutting down?

5.5 Analysis of material

The analysis of qualitative data demands the need to work with a large amount of text. Analysis is also about reducing the amount of data, i.e. removing the information that is not relevant to the question.⁷⁶ Moreover, I used a so-called part analysis when classifying

⁷⁵ Josselson, R., Förståelse av människans verklighet: Om empati, berättelser och det dialogiska jaget. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & Y. Sjöblom (Red.), *Narrativa metoder i socialt arbete* (pp.133-151). Lund: Studentlitteratur., 2008, p.137

⁷⁶ Larsen, Ann Kristin, *Metod helt enkelt: en introduktion till samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. Malmö: Gleerup, 2009, p. 101

the transcription. Doing so not only resulted in a better overview to find data relevant to highlight the research questions. The classification consisted of two themes, the journalists' perception of peace journalism; and exploring the possibilities of citizen journalism as a suitable substitute to peace journalism.

An adductive strategy has been used, it is a combination of inductive and deductive moments. An inductive research strategy is based on empiricism while a deductive strategy is based on theory. This research emerges from the inductive strategy by deriving patterns and concepts from collected interviews while the deductive parts consist of the theoretical perspectives regarding the design of interview questions and the interpretation of interviews.⁷⁷

The process of analyzing the material began when all interviews were completed. I first transcribed the interviews from the digital recorder. The interviews were thus written down word by word. I used the hermeneutic interpretation method and subsequently the whole text was interpreted through elaborated themes and main themes, which meant longer and more extensive interview statements when all the interviews were processed into text. The answers were thus reformulated into shorter and more summarized statements.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Larsson, S. & Goldberg, T. Närvarande och frånvarande berättelser. "Fronstage" och "backstage"-analyser. I Larsson, S., Sjöblom, L. & Lilja, J. (Red.), *Narrativa metoder i socialt arbete*, (s. 153-185). Lund: Studentlitteratur., s.163

⁷⁸ Larsson, S., *Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion*. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete* (pp. 91-128). Lund: Studentlitteratur., 2005, p.106

5.6 Validity and reliability

Validity refers to the relevance or validity that is collecting data relevant to the questions asked in the research.⁷⁹ Reliability refers to accuracy or precision, that the investigation is reliable and that the process has been performed with accuracy.⁸⁰

I believe that this study has a high validity and reliability. However, it would benefit a lot of deeper and longer interviews with the journalists working at ONUCI FM. The information shared by them was very interesting but could in some aspects gain prosperity given more time. Subsequently this study should be seen as an introduction to a deeper qualitative study of the journalist' work and practice of peace journalism.

Mr. Blé accompanied me to the headquarter and waited while I conducted the interviews. Being my pass-in he was obliged to stay with me. As much as he facilitated my contact with the journalists it was clear that my visit was rather unannounced hence adding to the stress. The staff was also on their way to lunch and others to field work. This meant that I could not interview more journalists but also that I did not have infinitive time at my disposal. Even if I doubled-checked directly the answers and had the interviews recorded, the research' purpose and problem area should have been communicated to the interviewees before the interviews to achieve a good interview result.⁸¹

A high degree of reliability means that the measure is stables and has not been affected and disturbed by factors such as time, place and interviewer. In order to achieve increased reliability, clear questions have been formulated during the interviews. This decreases the risk of the questions being perceived differently by the interviewees and leading

⁷⁹ Larsen, Ann Kristin, *Metod helt enkelt: en introduktion till samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. Malmö: Gleerup, 2009, p. 81

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Olsson, H., & Sörensen, S., *Forskningsprocessen. Kvalitativa och kvantitativa perspektiv*, 2007, p. 80

questions have so been avoided. Furthermore, questions were reformulated when they were not answered in the interview. Additionally, in order to facilitate their understanding the interviewer explained the question further if the interviewees asked.⁸² The interviewer did of course so without leading the interviewee into a certain angle.

The interviewees' statements could through follow-up questions be verified. This should have increased the research' validity.⁸³

All interviews were recorded in order to prevent a subjective interpretation, which would have been a risk if only notes were taken. The recording of the interviews should contribute to higher reliability as it has provided the research with an increased measurement accuracy of the interviews.⁸⁴

5.7 Generalizability

The possibility of generalizing the essay's results to a larger population is not possible when the selection of interviewees is relatively small and for a specific purpose.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the research is limited in terms of choice of subject, methods, theories, earlier research and interviewees. Peace Journalism is a broad field and UN radio stations a very narrow field. The generality of the research is therefore perceived as very low by the researcher.

⁸² Kvale, S., *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997, p. 213

⁸³ Larsson, S., Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete* (pp. 91-128). Lund: Studentlitteratur., 2005, p.117

⁸⁴ Wikander, B., Exempel på forskning ur ett multidimensionellt perspektiv. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete*, 2005, pp. 338

⁸⁵ Larsson, S., Kvalitativ metod – en introduktion. I S. Larsson, J. Lilja & K. Mannheimer (Red.), *Forskningsmetoder i socialt arbete* (pp. 91-128). Lund: Studentlitteratur., 2005, p. 118

6. Result and analysis

The following analysis is structured into four major themes. First, I discuss how the respondents define their profession, is it journalism or activism? The second section sets the focus on the future of an UN radio. Here I analyze what happened with previous UN radio that no longer broadcast. The third theme is an analysis of the background of the journalist working at UN. The last section investigates if common citizens can carry out the work of peace journalists.

It is admirable that peace journalists seek to give all parties a voice in a conflict. However, one must also take in consideration why and how someone became a part of a conflict. I believe that this is easier said than done. The logic of Peace Journalism and radio stations like ONUCI FM seems to be that media by failing to give all parties a voice, subsequently contributes to the conflict. But how much room can one give undemocratic expressions without that their presence weakens democracy? It is understandable that Peace Journalism has to stay firm in the belief of giving all parties in a conflict the opportunity to express themselves. However I believe that this urge of neutrality may harm democracy, as no all parties are considerate of peaceful tactics.

ONUCI FM - objective journalism or activism?

ONUCI FM is very aware of how they are perceived. One of its journalists, Lucie Attikpa reveals, they are even careful in what music they play since artists are influential. Her colleague Malika Kamara says “We respect journalistic ethics and aim to be neutral in over reports. We are careful with what facts we present.” Nonetheless, can media with an outspoken agenda- peace in this case- act totally objective. Does not assisting in peace making equal activism?

ONUCI FM journalist Lucie Attikpa believes that ONUCI FM “cannot be compared to activists as they have a fix idea. An activist is not flexible in his idea, he is fighting for a cause from his point of view. He doesn’t take in account other parties. We are not activists, we want peace for all parties.”

ONUCI FM journalist Kouasse Kouamé sees a risk with the station disappearing: “The crisis has although improved but there is still injustice. The crisis could turn badly anytime again. There is no media for opposition today, we are the only party giving everyone a voice. Shutting down the radio means a hit on democracy.” He adds that “activism is biased. Journalism is the information and the construction of an equal society. Activism is a choice we take and we only express opinions that will support this take and maybe even exaggerate facts that support our idea.”

Professional journalists transform to so-called watchdogs as they critically monitor the exercise of power. Watchdog journalists form The Fourth Estate in which they question and analyze the elite. The watchdog role places journalists between citizens and politicians, not uncommonly turning journalists to mediators as well.⁸⁶

ONUCI FM journalist Lazare Essoh believes that common citizens have it harder to balance this role. “ONUCI FM is professional journalism. Even politicians who don’t agree with us respect us due to our impartiality. We may have hypothesis in regarding an issue but we always ask involved parties how they want to obtain peace. That’s how we keep our equilibrium.”

⁸⁶ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 239

I am aware that the position of a citizen journalist can be very delicate, in some ways maybe even dangerous as you do not have the same recognition that can protect you as a journalist. However, as seen worldwide and in the case of Radio Okapi, journalists are targets to deadly treats. Their professionalism does not necessarily protect them. ONUFI FM journalist Malika Kamara witnessed how journalists during the Ivorian crisis were “physically and verbally harassed and afraid for our safety. Some thought that we had a political agenda which we of course don’t.”

Commercialism and the media industry

Contrary to commercial media, the main focus of Peace Journalism’s is not to produce profit. I recognize that there is a problem when Peace Journalism ignores the commercialize need of the media and that journalists need to target a specific mass in order to satisfy their advertisers. It is therefore somehow alarming when ONUFI FM’s Head-of-Radio Griet Dierckxsens admits that they do not even know how many listeners they have. Nor does the station market itself as it rely on “word to mouth”, something quite remarkable in today’s commercial journalistic field one must say.

Journalists are usually aware of their audience and are to a certain degree obliged to ‘satisfy’ their customers. Another would be to jeopardies the economic structure of media.⁸⁷ However, there has to be a balance in how commercialized media can be as media is less likely to be perceived as serious and serve as a forum for public debate if commercialism has a strong influence on news content.⁸⁸ As presented above, there is an obvious difficulty in reconciling apparent contradictions of Peace Journalism with roles and expectations in the journalistic industry. Peace Journalism fails somehow to adapt

⁸⁷ Hanitzsch, T., *Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace Journalism and mass communication theory: Journalism Studies*, Volume 5 , Number, 483-495. 2004, p. 489

⁸⁸ Wolfsfeld, Gadi, *Media and the path to peace*. Cambridge University, 2004, p. 39

media values and practices to current realities. Can Peace Journalism survive without its privileged status that, as in the case of ONUCI FM and other UN radio stations, has granted them economic benefits?

It is shown in the perspective of this work that shutdown UN radios are not profitable and rarely survives without donations. Furthermore, there is no real plan on how to proceed when UN peacekeeping forces leave a country. The radio stations were created and managed with little consideration about the local media landscape and there lack in many cases plans to establish long-term sustainability national broadcasting services.⁸⁹

Professionalism

Journalism as profession has long been discussed in the academic sphere and there are yet wide definitions. According to Hallin journalism is “very different from the classical professions—law, medicine, architecture, engineering—in that its practice is not based on any systematic body of knowledge”.⁹⁰ The theory of professionalization is widely studied in sociology although some, such as MacDonald believe it is not the task of sociology to scientifically formulate what makes a ‘profession’.⁹¹

The main question when discussing journalism educations is whether journalism should be regarded as a trade or a profession.⁹² Regarding journalism as a trade is seeing it as a habitual practice of an occupation. In this case journalists would not need any prior study

⁸⁹ Orme, Bill, ‘*Broadcasting in Un Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio*’, 2010, p. 15, http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIMA-UN_Radio.pdf, retrieved August 22, 2016

⁹⁰ Hallin, D., Commercialism and professionalism in the American news media. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (pp. 243–262). London: Arnold., 1997, p. 245

⁹¹ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 89

⁹² Tumber, H., & Prentoulis, M., Journalism and the making of a profession. In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists* (pp. 58–74). London: Routledge. 2005, p. 58

as an on-the-job training would be sufficient “to perpetuate practice”.⁹³ However, I believe that it is important to discuss the status of journalists as profession as journalism education is perceived as the “one way in which society can intervene to influence the development of journalism”.⁹⁴ Journalism as an academic discipline requires education, which is believed to improve the quality of journalism by making journalists better at their work. That education is important is confirmed by UNESCO that states that “journalism, and the educational programmed that enable individuals to practice and upgrade their journalistic skills, are essential tools for the underpinning of key democratic principles that are fundamental to the development of every country.”⁹⁵ Although education seems important for the practice of journalism only a minority of journalists have completed degrees in journalism, media or communication studies before entering the profession.⁹⁶ Furthermore, as few universities offer media studies, the majority of journalists become well acquainted with journalism practice after training or apprenticeship.⁹⁷ Thus, to be regarded as a profession, journalism needs to have some kind of education requirement. Sarfatti Larson views professions as social actors who “attempt to translate one order of scarce resources- special knowledge and skills- into another social and economic rewards.”⁹⁸ It is not necessary with an education to accomplish this and different media systems vary in their levels of professionalization.⁹⁹ Thus, being a journalist does not require a license, it is more centered in some core value

⁹³ Gaunt, P., *Making the newsmakers. International handbook on journalism training*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.1992, p. 1

⁹⁴ Curran, J., Foreword. In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists* (pp. xi–xv). London: Routledge., 2005, p. xiv

⁹⁵ UNESCO, *Model curricula for journalism education for developing countries & emerging democracies*. Paris: UNESCO., 2005, p.5

⁹⁶ Deuze, M., What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442–464., 2006, p. 22

⁹⁷ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 43

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 90

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 93

in the profession, objectivity being one of them. Furthermore, Ivorian journalists adopted in 2012 a new code of ethics. The practice of journalism is open to anyone and does not require a particular education or background. In October 2013, the commission responsible for administering press cards distributed almost 800 cards, rejecting fewer than 50 applications.¹⁰⁰

All the journalists at ONUCI FM have a journalistic education and long experience in journalism. Head-of-radio Griet Dierckxsens worked in East Timor for the UN Radio and prior to that for the Belgian national radio and for newspapers. Assistant chef Lucie Attikpa has worked as a journalist for 37 years with experience in television and as a correspondent for the Swiss press. Journalist Kouasse Kouamé started working as a freelancer for ONUCI FM in Bouna in 2006 close to the Burkina border. Also he holds a university degree in journalism. Lazare Essoh started working as a producer and news reporter at ONUCI FM in 2009 after five years as editor-in-chief at the regional radio Adzopé. Last but not least, Malika Kamara previously worked at radio Nostalgi before he joined at ONUCI in 2004.

Glasser and Marken believe that “being a professional means abiding by certain norms and accepting the uniformity of practice that this implies.”¹⁰¹ Professionalization asserts that only those with education can practice journalism. This view risks to make the profession elitist and exclusive rather than inclusive.¹⁰² I believe that we also have to perceive journalism in a contemporary context as it becomes more and more evident that the Internet challenges conventional notions of professionalism and journalists no longer

¹⁰⁰ Diamond, L., In Search of Democracy: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/c-te-divoire>

¹⁰¹ Glasser & Marken, 2005, p. 270

¹⁰² Nordenstreng, 1998, p. 126

have the same “communication autonomy”.¹⁰³ As seen in the case of Citizen Journalism the role of gatekeepers are switched when ordinary people begin to create news.

Citizens for peace

An educated journalist does not necessarily have to be a better candidate for journalism work. Griet Dierckxsens, originally from Belgium, says that cultural differences can affect how one approaches an issue. “There are some issues that for an outsider like me is very shocking. Take the issue with albinos, that people kidnap them and kill them for body parts or what happens to women when their husbands dies, in many part of the country she is kicked out of the house. Things like that or that women are called witches, the Ivorian reporters grew up with this so for them it’s part of life. As a foreigner you see differently.” In issues like this Griet Dierckxsens was able to gain knowledge from the others reporters who are from the country and “know the terrains”. This shows that professional journalists could learn from customs from common citizens.

Individual journalists are merely conformed to the norm and practices of news organizations since either the journalist; neither publisher nor the gatekeeping editors have the sole responsibility of creating news.¹⁰⁴

Griet Dierckxsens describes how ONUCI FM team chooses what issue to focus on by first “having an editorial meeting and decide on what topic to inform about. Then we decide who does what and start the fieldwork and reportage.” Citizen journalists can work in a similar way I believe. It would give them the support from other citizen

¹⁰³ Bardoel, 1996, p. 290

¹⁰⁴ Hanitzsch, T., *Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace Journalism and mass communication theory: Journalism Studies*, Volume 5 , Number, 483-495. 2004, p. 76

journalist, an update on what is happening in the area and such meetings can also create a coherence in the journalism created.

Not all scholars believed that journalists contribute to peace. Gadi Wolfsfeld agreed with Galtung that media can have an important role in promoting peace but added that journalism in practice has a “destructive role in attempts at making peace”.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, there is a wide misconception that African media would be free had it not been subject to governmental control. Such an assumption fails to recognize that the press can operate for other reasons than to invigorate democracy.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, having an education can give some sort of legitimacy in one’s work, why the position of a citizen journalist can therefore be very delicate, in some ways maybe even dangerous as you do not have the same recognition, which can protect you as a journalist. However, as seen worldwide working as a journalist can be dangerous. Radio Okapi’s¹⁰⁷ deputy editor-in-chief Leonard Mulamba and colleagues of his were frequently threatened for their coverage of clashes between rebel groups, local militia, and government security forces in the region. A colleague, Serge Maheshe, murdered in 2007 was the first UN journalist

¹⁰⁵ Wolfsfeld, Gadi, *Media and the path to peace*. Cambridge University, 2004, p. 15

¹⁰⁶ Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa’s Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, pp. 78-79 and 98

¹⁰⁷ Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, launched in February 2002 in collaboration with the Switzerland-based NGO Fondation Hirondelle, is with its 20 million daily listeners, a fifth of the population in DRC, the most popular radio station in Francophone sub-Saharan Africa. The Economist appointed the station as "one of Africa’s most admirably independent radio services.”

The station located in the Bukavu station 1,500 kilometers east of Kinshasa has maintained a staff of more than 200 throughout the country, in eight provincial studios as well as in its headquarters in Kinshasa. Its programs reach most of the Congolese population through 10 regional FM frequencies, about 20 repeater stations, short-wave broadcasts, and partnerships with 27 local radio stations all over the Congo.

’That sinking feeling’, *The Economist*, 2011, <http://www.economist.com/node/21540303> and Orme, Bill, *’Broadcasting in Un Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio’*, 2010, p. 43, http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIMA-UN_Radio.pdf, retrieved August 22, 2016

to be killed in the line of duty.¹⁰⁸ Their colleague Didace Namujimbo, murdered only 17 months later was the second UN journalist to be killed.¹⁰⁹ The World Press Freedom of 2016, published by Reporters Without Borders, showed an overall global decline in media freedom. In Africa, government have countless times legislated media laws supposedly for the national security but with the agenda to silence the press.¹¹⁰ Subsequently, governments have also understood the danger of people communicating and the Internet is routinely disconnected at elections, as in the case of Uganda and Gambia.

It is least to say that African Journalists face danger especially during political turmoil. Côte d'Ivoire's media has historically been polarised and regularly used as a tool for partisan propaganda. Côte d'Ivoire's rate of literacy makes radio the ideal media medium. Radio has lately also enjoyed a less restrictive law in right of broadcasting. As over the course of the post-election crisis from November 2010 to March 2011, the media landscape was rampant with biased polemic and misinformation from both parties of Gbagbo and Ouattara. Incitements to violence were not rare and journalists were also frequent targets of violence and intimidation.¹¹¹

Lucie Attikpa says that she and colleagues in the 2010 election “used to hide our badges because people thought that we were with the opposition party. Eventually people

¹⁰⁸ ‘Serge Mahese’, <https://cpj.org/killed/2007/serge-mahese.php>, *Committee to Protect Journalists*, retrieved 9 May 2017

¹⁰⁹ Orme, Bill, ‘*Broadcasting in Un Blue: The Unexamined Past and Uncertain Future of Peacekeeping Radio*’, 2010, p. 42, http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIMA-UN_Radio.pdf, retrieved August 22, 2016

¹¹⁰ Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, p. 254

¹¹¹ ‘*Broadcasting a peaceful future: the role of community radio stations Côte d'Ivoire community radio stations report- Broadcasting a peaceful future*’, *ERIS, Ethical Perspectives* 7, <http://www.ethical-perspectives.be/viewpic.php?LAN=E&TABLE=EP&ID=141> p. 4, retrieved 22 August 2016

understood that we were not taking sides, that we were there for the peace of Côte d'Ivoire. Our professionalism has made people understand that we are an important access for peace.”

But how much room can undemocratic leaders be given without that their presence weakens democracy? It is understandable that Peace Journalism has to stay firm in the belief of giving all parties in a conflict the opportunity to express themselves, however I believe that this urge of neutrality may harm democracy, as no all parties are considerate of peaceful tactics. However, as ONUCI FM journalist Kouasse Kouamé puts it: “How can people change if they are not given the opportunity to speak? We talk to all parties to also make them understand the importance of reconciliation.”

Galtung claims that humanizing all sides is not the same as legitimizing all sides. He urges the importance of objective journalists that are able to cover all sides of the conflict. Peace Journalism gives a voice to the unheard and calls out malice from involved parties.¹¹²

¹¹² *Broadcasting a peaceful future: the role of community radio stations Côte d'Ivoire community radio stations report- Broadcasting a peaceful future*, ERIS, *Ethical Perspectives* 7, <http://www.ethical-perspectives.be/viewpic.php?LAN=E&TABLE=EP&ID=141>, p. 163, retrieved 22 August 2016

7. Conclusion

Q1:How does journalists at ONUCI FM experience their role and the unction of an UN peace radio in Côte d'Ivoire?

The ideas promoted by Peace Journalism can be perceived as demanding journalists to be an active part of the solution and thus detach themselves from professional values of fairness and objectivity. Besides one ONUCI FM journalist saying that “neutrality does not exist” the overall sense amongst the colleagues at ONUCI FM is that the station is fair and balance in their broadcast and that it never takes sides in a conflict. Presumably, this goal of impartiality is most reached met since the radio really does interview all parties in a conflict. I believe that Peace Journalism as practiced by ONUCI FM therefor cannot be bias.

The principles of objectivity and restraining in the liberal social responsibility theories continue to influence media practice today. Although first released in 1940 the Hutchins Commission into the Freedom of the Press', *A Free and Responsible Press* remains highly influential in how we regard objectivity in journalism. We can also sense the activism ideal that media should be communal and caring where the press focuses is to, as stated above, “provide an open, interpreted dialogue with and among citizens that focus on “civic transformation”.¹¹³ As seen in activist traditions there has long been a relief that the press should inform citizens on important public matters. However, the journalist at ONUCI FM strongly oppose that they are activist.

Journalists may not have hidden agenda but it is questionable to ask if journalism after all can be entirely objective. According to journalist researcher Nkosi Ndlela, gatekeeping

¹¹³ Christians, C., Preface. In R. Keeble (Ed.), *Communication ethics today* (pp. ix–xiii). Leicester, UK: Troubador, 2005, p. 65–66

media represents the world rather than reflecting it.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the profession of journalists also gives them the role as gatekeepers of news as they decide what information will be published to the public. Some critics claim that there is no such thing as objectivity in journalism, meaning that news is shaped after the subjectivity of its publisher.¹¹⁵ Lucie Attikpa believes that neutrality does not exist but that ONUCI FM try their best to be impartial by taking in “all parties, even if some parties may be undemocratic, it’s not up to us to judge whether or not the person is democratic or not.”

Historically, activists have a tendency to not challenge their own perspective and to only give voice to those support their agenda. ONUCI FM has a habit to always interview all parties in a conflict, even parties that do not favor peace. ONUCI FM can therefore not be regarded as activism even if it acts with an agenda.

Q2: How could Citizen Journalism assist Peace Journalism when professional peace journalists no longer are in the field?

This research suggests that UN only should start its own radio stations where there is no other independent alternative to attain the same goal as with Peace Journalism. The optimal would be if peacekeeping radios were built as a bridge to an autonomous public broadcaster that could be established before the peacekeepers depart. Local professional journalists can assist in peace journalism this way. Further, there would not be a sudden void after the withdrawal of highly appreciated journalism. Moreover, to avoid this sudden void, peacekeeping radios should always have a plan for their eventual closure.

¹¹⁴ Hanitzsch, T., *Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace Journalism and mass communication theory: Journalism Studies*, Volume 5 , Number, 483-495., 2004, p. 163

¹¹⁵ White, D. M., *The 'gatekeeper': A case study in the selection of news*. *Journalism Quarterly*, 27(4), 1950, p. 390

Thus, the UN should before all else consider partnerships with credible and trustworthy local media outlets, such as independent public broadcasters or community radio networks before establishing its own station. This allows UN to preserve the infrastructure and a part of the editorial staff with the goal of supporting local media development.

A peace radio could be turned into a national news agency. When there are not sufficient professional journalists the bridge to do so could be through Citizen Journalism, which I believe can fill the gap when UN radio stations have to shut down and there are no professional peace journalists available to fill the void. It is of course desirable that news goes through trained or experienced gatekeepers but citizens should be able to obtain sufficient training from established UN journalists. As the citizens are local in their own country and affected by a conflict they are most likely for a peaceful community. It is in my belief that journalism matter to the prospects for war and peace, even if not in a linear or deterministic way.

New technology opens up for new possibilities. In journalism it can give us angels we have not caught before. The idea is not that citizens will replace journalists but that they can contribute to fair journalism, after proper training of objectivity. It is important to have a wide perception of democracy- to recognize why journalism not always reached a desired level of objectivity.¹¹⁶

Citizen Journalism does not operate after the same structure. Combined with Peace Journalism it can therefore be a possibility to peace. I believe it comes with a great risk to suddenly shut down an important voice for peace.

¹¹⁶ Nyamnjoh, Francis B, *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*, Malta: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2005, p. 250

We should not be afraid of letting others than professional journalists create news. Being a journalist does not require a license, it is more centered in some core value in the profession, objectivity being one of them. Giving ordinary citizens journalistic tools and training in objectivity can therefore contribute to peace. As shown in the research being a professional journalist does not mean that one per automatic is objective as work structures can complicate this. Peace process takes time while journalistic routines are based on rapidity. This causes a conflict in news production since “peace process is complicated; journalists demand simplicity. A peace process takes time to unfold and develop; journalists demand immediate results. Most of the peace process is marked by dull, tedious negotiations; journalists require drama. A successful peace process leads to a reduction in tensions; journalists focus on conflict.”¹¹⁷

Although this study claims that citizen journalism is a suitable alternative to peace journalism it also recognizes the importance of professionalism and role of journalists as gatekeepers, and albeit how journalism can be used to maintain peace is challenged when common citizens start to act as news-creators. Professionalism is indeed connected to the need of objectivity.¹¹⁸ Hallin and Mancini defined professionalism as a “greater control over [one’s] own work process”, the presence of distinct professional norms, and a public service orientation. Their definition of professionalism supports the idea that other actors in journalism can obtain this professionalism.

Citizen Journalism should be perceived as a suitable alternative to Peace Journalism although it does not operate after the same structure. Alone or combined with Peace

¹¹⁷ Wolfsfeld, Gadi., *Promoting peace through the new media: some initial lessons from the Oslo peace process*, Harvard International Journal of Press/ Politics, 1997, p. 67

¹¹⁸ Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 93

Journalism it can therefore be a possibility to peace. I believe it is risky suddenly shutting down an important voice for peace.

However, common citizens' participation in peace process does not equal new journalism ideology so new media practices does not have to affect journalism ideology. On the contrary, the practice of citizen journalism in a scenario like this can strengthen democracy despite a possible paradigm shift in traditional journalism practice. It is my conclusion that Citizen journalism is a suitable alternative to UN's peace radio

8. Future research

This research recognizes that there needs to be more studies in the understanding of radio and democracy. With more studies conducted on other parts of the world and the rise of Citizen Journalism, we can hopefully get a deeper understanding of radio media in Africa and the correlation to peace. Furthermore, seeing how few research there are on UN's peace radio future research could be done in this area as well.

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