

Libyan Journalists under Attack in Conflict Zone: The Challenges to Protect Transparency by Using Information and Communication Technology

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Abstract

Violence against journalists has increased in Libya, and many journalists have fled as a result of civil wars and Islamic groups such as ISIS, the main challenge for journalists covering war and conflict between civilians and Islamic groups such as ISIS. The article places a particular focus on the Investigation on political and financial corruption, the violations against Libyan journalists, and how can we protect Libyan journalists and the source of information?.

Our findings suggest that journalist needs to increase collaboration among members of the journalist community to generate and promote a solution that will ultimately provide journalists with comprehensive protection, and the governments should respect for the profession of journalism itself which is fundamental to guarantee that journalists who gather information about war and conflict are protected. Reporters must investigate about the financial and political corruption issues.

Finally, it's necessary to amend the laws of the international community to be more protection for journalists not only through organizations but we should make a cooperation of all international organizations and agencies to protect journalists from killing and torture.

Key words: Libyan journalists; Communication technology; Conflict zone; Libya civil war; Transparency; Financial corruption; Political corruption

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INTRODUCTION

Transparency has become one of the most important journalistic norms, not least because it is believed to promote credibility and accountability. In an essay on the concept of transparency, Plaisance (2007) argues that “for journalists confronted by an often hostile public, transparency is more than academic; it is an essential element of credibility, accuracy and responsibility” (p. 193). When Plaisance published his essay on transparency in journalism in 2007, he noted that “journalists themselves seem ambivalent about their commitment to the ideal of transparent behavior [and are] reluctant to expose newsroom deliberations to public scrutiny for various reasons” (p.193), and that journalists rarely disclosed the methods of their work. (Ulrika Hedman, 2016).

They are hardly aware of the process of selection, framing and the problems journalists face whilst doing their work. Journalists reporting from a zone of conflict is particularly challenging. Despite this, media has become a powerful conflict actor as its reports influence public opinion,(Schabas, W. A. 2003) the citizens in low freedom of press countries had gained a say in power politics (Howard & Hussain,2011, p. 48). According to the Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index in the North African country languishes in 2017 rank the

country from 171 out 180.(Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, 2017)

Journalists are investigating the causes of this corruption all sectors in Libya. the Libyan economy suffer from widespread corruption. Thus, the conflict between journalists and governments is cleared in terms of exposing corruption and violence directed at journalists.(Gross P ,2015) However, many journalists have uncovered oil corruption the public procurement sector and the oil industry are among the most affected. Bribery and favoritism are common practice in all sectors, and companies may struggle with unfair competition from state-owned businesses, which also dominate the local market.(Karim& Arturo) Corruption was rampant under Gaddafi's rule, and the situation has only worsened in the post-revolution period. The institutional framework to combat corruption is weak, and the rule of law is undermined by political instability and violence. (Libya Corruption Report,2016)

A large body of research has shown that journalism is susceptible to influences from external fields, mainly political (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995; Ciaglia, 2013; Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and economic (Bagdikian, 2004; Hanretty, 2014). The immediate work environment and organizational and newsroom structures also constrain journalism practice to investigating financial corruption (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Tuchman, 1978). Because governments did not want a democratic and political transition if this shift is made,(Amin, 2002) corruption will be eliminated the former regimes want to profit from the revolution and chaos in Libya. However, as (Votmer, 2006) argues, different trajectories against journalists of past regimes, including relations with media, (Kamel and Alabbasi,1997) result in silence journalists and there is a lack of safety and security for reporters which will increasingly be a problem for the media as well as for the public in the Middle East. (Marte & Rune, 2017, p.2). In that respect, Libya will not make any political instability, (Andresen et al. (2017).

The concern of this article is this growing global problem that threatens the practice of journalism and the ability of news media to fully inform the public about events occurring in the world, and covering war and conflicts .In this context, the purpose of this study is looking for violence against journalists in conflict zones, as well as investigation and disclosure of financial corruption cases in Libya. The study is based on a survey of a randomized questionnaire of journalists and activists a sample of 162 Libyan journalists' during year 2014 -2016.

TRANSPARENCY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST JOURNALISTS

There is a growing demand for transparency in journalism, as well as in the rest of the society. One

reason for this is an overall growing demand for organizational transparency in journalism, as "the transparency pursuit has great potential for enhanced organizational effectiveness and widened democratic practices," as described by Mikkel and Lars (2015, p.70), transparency focuses upon citizens trust in a government is important as it speaks to the quality of relationship that exists between citizens and their government for democratic development. (Spellman, 2005) Furthermore, when viewed through an administrative lens , the value of citizens' trust in government is also made apparent through its contributions to public sector efficiency and effectiveness (Yang & Holzer, 2006).

After the Libyan revolution, the journalism seeks to reach democracy. Democracy refers to a system of government and decision-making in which all members of society have the right to participate, vote and enjoy equal rights (Oxford English Dictionary).Nowadays, many countries are considered democracies and most parts of the world have been through a democratization process at some point in their history such as Libya. Samuel Huntington (1991) identified the existence of several waves of democracy in his work. The first wave of democracy took place in the beginning of the 19th century and the second wave transpired after the end of the Second World War. The third wave started in Middle East 2011 taking steps towards democratization (Diamond, 1999, p.2).The transition to democracy was not easy but through protests was to overthrow the authoritarian government , fight the long-standing political corruption and draw some attention to the shady political, social and economic situation of the countries (Howard et al., 2011, p.2). Journalists support for democratic processes is more common (Mishler and Rose, 2005) . Therefore, because of the important and diffuse implications of citizens' trust in government, Hence the role of the journalism in exposing corruption issues among citizens to clarify transparency by making competence are closely linked to government performance (Hetherington, 1998) . Second , journalists refer to citizens perception that their government acts with the public's best interests in mind (Levi and Stoker, 2000).

In Libya the former regime seeks to show journalists honesty, and show the public in the T.V investigations reports speaks to citizens' perception that their government is sincere in its dealings with the public and makes an effort to honor its obligations (McKnight, Choudhury, & Kacmar, 2002) . On the other hand, the governments across the globe often target journalists when reports and stories seem to offend them or contradict their policies.

But many Journalists worked on investigations issues to show to the world financial corruption in Libya for examples:

The first issue, French president Nicolas Sarkozy

"The former French president Nicolas Sarkozy has been placed under formal investigation for

illegal campaign financing, accepting bribes and the misappropriation of Libyan state funds over in illegal election campaign funding from the regime of the late Libyan dictator . from 2007 to 2012, Investigators are examining claims that Gaddafi's regime secretly gave Sarkozy €50m overall for the 2007 campaign. Such a sum would be more than double the legal campaign funding limit, which was €21m at the time. The alleged payments would also violate French rules against foreign financing and declaring the source of campaign funds. And also he organised fraud in the Gaddafi inquiry after allegedly receiving a bank transfer of €500,000, which he claimed had come from the sale of two paintings".(theguardian, Thu 22 Mar 2018)

Second issue, The Norwegian company Hydro

"During the period from 2004 to 2009, Yara company corporate and negotiated with the Libyan state-owned oil company the National Oil Corporation (NOC) regarding a joint venture for fertiliser production in Libya. Yara in early 2007 paid USD 5 million to the son of the Libyan oil minister and Chairman in NOC. The payments were delivered to a Swiss account through a third party, and split up into partial and advanced payments. The payments were made in the same time period as Yara and NOC were conducting their final negotiations. A third party was involved to disguise such financial corruption. In the years 2006 to 2008 Yara were also negotiating a cooperative agreement with a state owned Indian company KRIBHCO, which also specialized in fertilizer production. Yara's Chief Legal Officer and Chief Operating Officer offered, on behalf of Yara, in 2007 an agreement to pay the son of one of the board members in KRIBCHO USD 250 000 with the condition that the agreement would be signed. The offer also included a provision based salary to the board member's son based on Yara's future sales in India. This provision clause was later replaced with a onetime payment of USD 3 million. A payment of UDS 1 million were later executed through a third party. In Switzerland, the federal prosecutor convicted the president of an external military company, Andreas Zivi, of complicity to pay a bribe to a foreign public official (article 322 of the Swiss law) and sentenced him to a fine of 120 days' A banker in Geneva on behalf of a fictitious company belonging to Mohamed Ghanem (son of minister Shukri Ghanem). The former director of Nitrochem, the house of Robrecht, was sentenced to a fine instead of 30 days of incommunicado imprisonment for fraud: the company had recovered the amount from Yara through several shipments of ammonia." (Sofie, 2016)

Third Issue, illegal fuel smuggling

"Investigative Reporting by Project Italy (IRPI) and the newspaper La Repubblica, found that, The Guardia di Finanza, Italy's financial police, have spotted at least 12 acts of ship-to-ship smuggling operations in Malta's contiguous waters over the past six months, the same area where the practice occurred in 2016. Following Caruana Galizia's murder, she found some documentations provided by Maltese authorities about the illicit smuggling, "It is costing the country at least \$750m a year, according to the Libyan National Oil Corporation. About 30-40% of fuel produced and imported by Libya is stolen or smuggled". (Daphne , 9 May 2018)

Journalists always seek transparency because it is a right of the masses ; the crisis of corruption in Libya has become the major cause accounting for why the ruling regime in Libya

was unable to achieve its socio-economic and development objectives.(Wei, S. (1997) Ghaddafi's regime never took serious precautionary procedures against the elements of corruption. and he did not give journalists a chance to uncover corruption this reluctance is due to several reasons; Absence of media and press freedom, lack of access to public information records, absence of transparency in decision-making concerning the affairs of the State, and absence of the rule of law. The impotent and non-independent Supreme Audit Institutions (SAIs), offers poor wages of public servants provide breeding grounds for corrupted practices, and difficulty of living conditions, absence of civil society organizations and nepotism. (Andy FeftaWijaya,2016)

Therefore, we find that the conflict in Libya is not only through the war on terrorism, but the disclosure of financial and political corruption. Governments play a role to the press freedom has been obliterated by political conflict and violence (Lawyers for Justice in Libya ,2014) .The state has been torn apart by the power struggle between two rival factions, one in the west and one in the east, a fight that has made journalistic independence impossible and has turned journalists in targets. (Libyan Center for Press of Freedom, June 27, 2017).The crisis for press freedom in Libya has reached an unprecedented level seven years after the country's revolution. At least 18 journalists have been killed since the revolution. The two main military factions undermining the state since 2014 are "Al Karama" in Benghazi and "Fajr Libya" in Tripoli. News reporting has become virtually impossible because of the political polarization. Silencing journalists is a permanent goal for the many militias in both factions and their commanders. And also 67 journalists have fled the country and eight Libyan media outlets are now operating from bases in other Middle Eastern countries.(Ramzi Alzairi, Sep 12, 2017)

Moreover, Annabaa TV stopped broadcasting on 15 March 2017 when its Tripoli suburb headquarters were set on fire by one of western Libya's militias. This militia also obtained a list of the TV channel's employees and posted it online. they want to kill the journalists. (Libya Annual Report 2017/05/04)

RSF and the Libyan Centre for Freedom of Press (LCFP) set up a crisis unit with the aim of assisting Annabaa TV's journalists and helping them to leave Libya to guarantee their safety. Since then, 40 requests for help have been received by the crisis unit, and assistance has been provided to the 13 journalists most in danger, who were able to move to Tunisia and subsequently move again to Turkey to resume working for Annabaa TV after it relocated there. (Sami Zaptia. ,2018) . According to in RSF's 2017 World Press Freedom Index Libya is ranked 163rd out of 180 countries violence against journalists. "Libya is hemorrhaging journalists, who prefer to go into exile in order to continue reporting or choose to stop all journalistic activity because it has become too dangerous. Those who decide to stay are trapped and must choose between the rival factions. Media freedom and independence is nonetheless crucial for democracy and the rule of law."(Reporters Without Borders (RSF) 18 February 2018) This made the journalism in Libya difficult but journalism depends on new generations of activists to publish the news.

All this is due to the lack of disclosure of financial and political corruption and governments seek to conceal transparency to the public.

ICT AND TRANSPARENCY

Transparency information can be defined as “the availability of information about an organization or actor that allows external actors to monitor the internal workings or performance of that organization” (Meijer, 2013). Transparency is important because it facilitates citizens’ ability to observe and understand what is going on inside their government. (Heald, 2003) As such, attempts to enhance transparency are predicated upon government’s efforts to publicly disclose information pertaining to its inner workings and efforts by journalists to expose corruption within governments. (Etzioni, 2010) Hood, (2010), Showed the concept of transparency to the journalists stands out as a central element in some of the debates about the alleged deficit suffer from a lack of credibility from governments clarity because transparency is not always distinguished properly from the related concepts of legitimacy and accountability from governments they are working to show the authoritarian system.

ICT related innovation and growth represent a particularly important form of transparency infrastructure development and one that is arguably even more closely tied to politics and economics (Castells, 1999). As such, ICT’s has four major strengths for the journalists in Libya collaboration, participation, empowerment and legislation and transparency information (Bertot, Jaeger & Grimes 2010, p.266). Also referred to as “cyber activism”, it allowed the mobilization of collective action by creating an online community through activists, which turned out to be a crucial part of the revolution in Libya (Howard, Philip; Hussain, Muzammil, 2011, pp.35-48). Activists, usually young and citizens Journalists used social media and other platforms of online communication as a way of creating an online community where supporters and followers could interact with each other, despite the oppression of Libyan governments, activists are spreading the news with complete transparency (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011, p.1213). The journalists at high risk are used to discuss the political situation, talk about financial corruption, especially that Libya occupies high rates of corruption in the oil fields, democracy and cover the news of Islamic groups (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011, p.1208). Libyan journalists get the way to share and cover the war (Lynch 2011, pp.301, 310), which had never really been possible before because Muammar Gaddafi regimes had censorship against the journalists and the freedom of expression.

It gave journalists challenges to change their opinions with a certain degree of anonymity and safety (Howard

& Hussain, 2011, p.32). The journalists shows ICT complements democracy by enhancing communication between persons and groups, encouraging political participation by leveling barriers to it, and permitting an expanded array of ideas to shape public discourse through the transparency of information (Comunello and Anzera, 2012). Creation of international political debate, the second challenges for journalists reported and shared with the rest of the country and the rest of the world. Many journalists were angry about the censorship and felt that the political corruption, the violence and the state’s abuse were never acknowledged since international media was not able to report on it.

This changed Libyan journalists who used ICT since the state was no longer able to control what was being shared on traditional journalism outlets the state did not help journalists to investigate the Issues of corruption in Libya but the journalists use the Internet based platforms Its enabled every citizen to report, publish and broadcast information, which led to a democratization of the media (Bertot, Jaeger & Grimes, 2010, p.266). This created the access to information which has aided the development of e-government initiatives with accountability and transparency and private journalism organizations also they play a prominent role by issuing reports on press freedoms and disseminating information to the public with transparency. This roles is through using ICT (Saidi and Yared, 2002).

METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

As previous studies suggested (Cohen, 1963; Donsbach and Patterson, 2004; Starck and Soloski, 1977), the journalist’s role conception is an important factor influencing journalistic practice. This study examines how journalists and media organizations who covered the conflict in Libya, as well as financial corruption and investigative investigations and how the security situation influence in Libya.

Based on this, the following research questions were posed:

RQ1: How journalists are investigating for financial corruption and how transparency is shown to the public?

RQ2: What is the violations against Libyan journalists?

RQ3: How Libyan journalists depend on ICT to achieve transparency?

RQ4: How can we protect Libyan journalists and the source of information?

Based on my professional experience as a working journalist covering the conflict talks as well as previous research on media Policy, it is assumed that social milieu of the journalist can influence perceptions of the coverage of it.

In particular, the region in which the journalist’s news organization is based may play a greater role in media

coverage talks and the governments provide deeper background briefings to journalists from their own region according to their political ideology. But the conflict starts with, the governments have financial and administrative corruption and journalists after the revolution try to disclose this corruption. But these investigations make journalists die (Shoemaker and Reese 1996).

Sample

Before inviting journalists to participate in the survey, I conducted interviews with ten journalists to discuss their perspectives on journalists' roles in the related issues about the security situation of journalists and the protection of journalists and how corruption oil is covered. after that I analysis the interviews to build my survey, the journalists who participated in the interviews were invited to take part in the final survey.

There are obvious difficulties in interviewing. Firstly, many journalists didn't want mentioning their names for fear of killing or torture and imprisoning journalists. Secondly, its difficulties to conducting individual interviews, but I did it as groups, as well as travel difficulties from city to another to get interviews from journalists despite the war in the other cities.

Through the interviews, the sample of journalists and activists was identified that large groups of journalists had fled through organizations Reporters without Borders the interviewer found that most of the journalists were activists, the role of active journalists relied on sending information to the public and trying to reach sources of accuracy, honesty and transparency. Theses actives most of them were not graduate of school of journalism.

The questionnaire contains 162 interviews using a set of closed-ended questions due to time constraints and difficult access but I choose one open question about how can we protect Libyan journalists and the source of information.

The survey was collected during years 2014-2016. The Interviews were divided In May 2014, the list included 44 journalists to be able to analyze differences in journalists to know the violence against journalists and transparency among groups of journalists, the following background variables are used: gender, workplace location (geographical region), and workplace. All these variables are also found in the Libyan by Journalists Surveys.

Furthermore, In February 2015, Interviews were conducted included 32 journalists (reporter, editor, etc.) in September 2015 the interviews were included 45 and in January 2016 the interviews were included 41.

The sample included journalists who reported on the selected conflict case studies and varied in age and experience (junior, middle ranking, senior level) and had different positions (reporter, editor, subeditor, editor-in-chief) in various media outlets (public and private organizations; print, broadcast and online media). The

interviews were conducted in Arabic, digitally recorded, transcribed and translated into English. The average length of the interviews was approximately 1hour. We focused on the interpretation of responses based on specific questions from each interview guide about the main sources of pressures, political interference and practices of blackmailing, corruption and bribery

Regarding the responses to the interview questions as a whole, we categorized the content and interpreted it alongside the main theoretical concepts of this article. Open coding techniques were applied to identify patterns of influence affecting journalistic (Financial corruption in Libya, The violations against Libyan journalists, ICT supports Libyan journalists after revolution and How we can protect journalists). All interviewees remain anonymous and are referred to by their position in the media outlet and the year the interviews were conducted (e.g. (editors/ Al Bilad /2015), owner/ Al Bilad /2015).

Table 1
An Overview Name of the News Papers and Number of Journalists

Name of the news papers	Headquarters	Language publication	Number of journalists
Al Bayan	Benghazi	Arabic	16
Al Bilad	Tripoli	Arabic	12
Al Haqeeqa	Benghazi	Arabic	11
Al Kalima	Benghazi	Arabic	19
Al Manara	Benghazi	Arabic	18
Al Maydan	Benghazi	Arabic	6
Bernice	Benghazi	Arabic	17
Birniq	Benghazi	Arabic	12
Fabriar	Tripoli	Arabic	14
Hawsh Al Mighar	Derna	Arabic	13
Libya Herald -, online news paper	Tripoli	English	14
The Libya Time - online news paper	Tripoli	English	15
Libya Al Jadida - Tripoli	Benghazi	Arabic	10
Total number of editors and journalists responding	-	-	162

RESULTS

The graph shows the sample of the study was distributed by journalists. In terms of gender variant, the percentage of males was 82.7%, while the percentage of females was 17.3%. This ratio reflects the fact that males dominate the field of Libyan media and the low number of women among its employees.

In terms of the variable age groups, the sample was distributed among the different age groups, the percentage of the age group from 40 years to less than 45 years was 18.5%, followed by the age group from 35 years to less than 40 years by 16% In the same age group from 30

years to less than 35 years, then age group 50 years and above by 14.8%, and the age group from 25 years to less than 30 years by 14.2%, the age group from 45 years to less than 50 years by 13.6%, and finally the age group from 20 years to less than 25 years by 6.8%.

The educational level, the proportion by postgraduate with 58%, and then by graduates by 42%.

The date of joining the job, the attribution of people with experience from one year to less than 5 years 30.9%, for the category working in the field of media because the nature of the media in Libya started recently, followed by 21 years and over 24.1%, and from 15 years to less than 20 years by 21%.

The party affiliation, the ratio of party members was 49.4% for media professionals, especially in view of the recent multiplicity of Libyan parties such as the National Forces Alliance, which includes the Justice and Building Parties, the National Front, the Future Libya, the Libyan Democratic Gathering, the Libyan Accord and the Party. The Libyan Democratic Party, the Libyan Development Party, the conservative Istiqlal Party, the Libyan Central Party, the Libyan Youth Party, the Central National Trend Party, the Libyan Solidarity Party, the Change Party, the Free Libyans Party, and the Islamic Liberation Party. While those who do not belong to parties, reach 50.6% of the study.

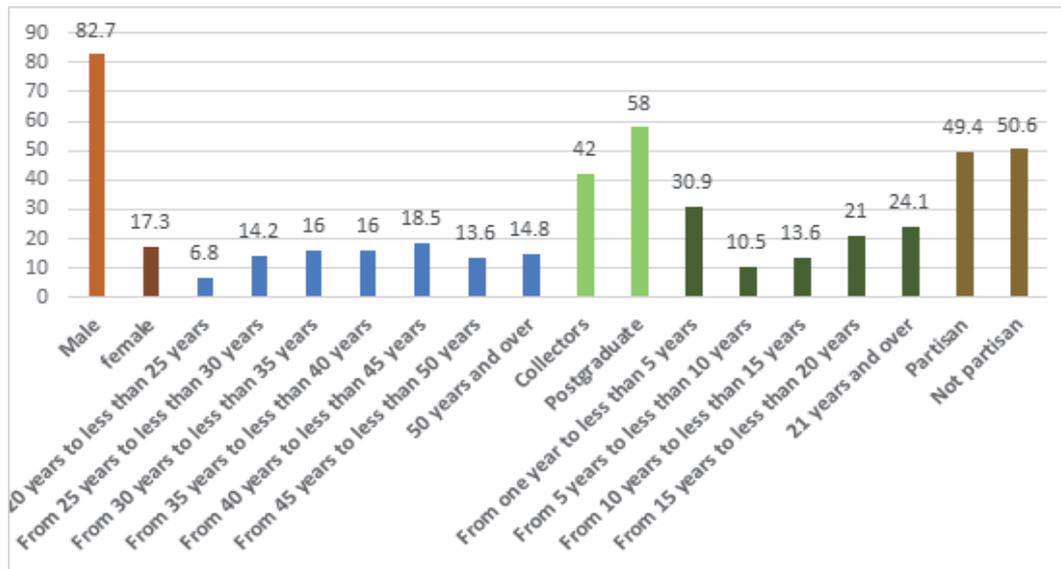


Figure 1

The Types of Journalists' Gender, Employees, Age Groups, Educational Level, Date of Joining the Job and Party Affiliation

FINANCIAL CORRUPTION IN LIBYA

During the first interview the journalists portrayed a picture of an underpaid, overworked, exploited and underestimated profession. As average salaries were not enough for a decent living, journalists admitted they were working in several media outlets to make additional income.

Many journalists did not have permanent employment, as media companies could not pay full salaries but rather paid contributors on an honoraria basis often without social benefits. Also journalists competed for scarce full-time employment which created an atmosphere of fear. Journalists always think twice before they speak up, after the war because all the journalists had fled and the rest of them were activists against the regime and the terrorist groups. Furthermore, murder and discipline when journalists published news stories about financial corruption. (editors/ Al Bilad /2015)

Journalists expressed about the corruption in Libya described the situation as “well beyond corruption we have reached the state of complete lack of concern for public funds. (journalists/Al Kalima/2014); worried about Libya future (editor/The Libya Time /2016) with politicians, militias, and a new oligarchy all benefiting immensely from billions of dollars in ill-gotten proceeds, war and instability in Libya have become business models (journalists/ Al Bayan /2015). Compared to previous decade, corruption increased from year 2015 till now the “Armed groups and criminal networks have further diversified their sources of financing, including through kidnapping and the smuggling of migrants, oil derivatives and subsidized goods, as well as profits from foreign currency exchange schemes.”

The majority of journalists said, corruption scandals ensnaring Libyan officials and high flying multinational executives stealing from the Libyan public purse since

before the Arab Spring” (journalists/Libya Al Jadida /2014). For example, Swiss broker Tradition are being probed in the US and the UK as to whether they used improper means to curry favour with the Gaddafi regime. They reportedly hired senior Libyan officials including Saher Koussa, son of Gaddafi’s notorious head of intelligence Moussa Koussa, and it is alleged that they paid for high end trips for Libyan officials to destinations such as Marrakesh, Dubai and London. The probe is “part of what authorities believe was a broad pattern in which Western companies used improper means to curry favour with officials in the Gaddhafi regime”. but till know there are no results on this issue of corruption . (Journalist/ Libya Herald/2015). Second case with Libya’s sovereign wealth fund, the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), filed a US\$1.5 billion lawsuit in 2014 in London against Société Générale alleging that the French bank paid at least US\$58 million in advisory fees to Saif Gaddafi’s through a Panamanian company. This was to obtain investments in the amount of US\$1.8 billion in complex derivative deal, (editor/ Fabriar/2015). However, there was also corruption about Canadian law enforcement authorities filed charges against two former executives of SNC Lavalin, the Canadian engineering giant, that include allegations of bribery of foreign public officials in Libya in March 2014. (Editor-in-chief, Birniq, 2015)

All these issues have been exposed, but unfortunately it is not the Libyan journalism, because the Libyan journalists are hiding from the regimes, but in European newspapers that have uncovered the facts about the financial and political corruption

The most important question I asked the journalists about what dose governments are doing to hide financial corruption from the public?

The journalists said throughout the interviews, the political and business elites bound by mutual interests form an unbreakable nexus with governments power to control the media. Influence on news practice was described as the synchronization, combination, coupling and interlinking of political with economic pressures .

However, the governments shows to the public there are terrorism inside Libya is that there are strong people like (America - Israel) who control Libya. But at the same time governments are linked to these strong personal interests by financial gain through oil during first years of transition. (subeditor, Al Bayan 2016; subeditor, Al Haqeeqa , 2014)

We heard about allegations clearly that foreign companies were complicit in improper business practices in Libya under the Gaddafi regime and the current investigations underway are commendable but we didn’t have any results . However, Transparency International’s research shows that only four countries (US, UK, Germany, Switzerland) are actively enforcing the OECD Convention against Bribery and it is probable that there are many more cases that have yet to be investigated. (Owner, Al Manara, 2016) &(reporter , Al Maydan 2014) & (subeditor, Al Bayan 2016)

So that, It was common for journalists to have a feeling of ‘serving the centers of power’ (journalist/TV/2005) and the governments made pressure on the media to focus on “ Gaddafi’s regime is better than today” . Political influence has become even more perfidious and dangerous because they only want to govern to practice corruption’. (Journalist/Al Maydan/2014)

The business–political network is illustrated as an ‘octopus’, with only a few powerful actors in the centre and arms stretching very far, the head politicians, make the very centre of that octopus and are believed to control 90%–95% of the total country , and the director of a Fabriar (2015) explained that ‘all television stations, except for the public service, are in the arms of governments.

Journalists suggest, to counteract the lax anti-corruption legal frameworks inside Libya, through the formation of a new government, legislative framework to combat corruption and international interference in Libya because the political situation is not in the hands of the transitional governments. (Editor-in-chief, Fabriar, 2014) & (Editor-in-chief, Birniq, 2015)

We think it is time for enforcement authorities in all countries where companies that conducted business with Libya are based to crack down on corrupt business practices. And when evidence of bribery is found, they should vigorously prosecute it according to the international trial and not the Libyan judiciary. (Reporter, Fabriar, 2014)

The Violations Against Libyan Journalists

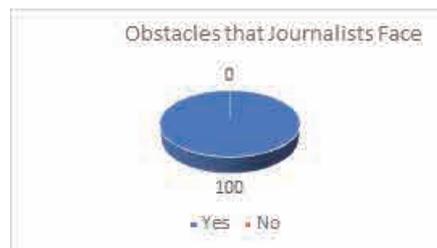


Figure 2
Journalists’ Opinion of Their Obstacles That Journalists Face in the Libyan

I asked the Journalists, do journalists face obstacles while covering conflicts or searching for an investigation story about corruption issues?

All journalists said yes with ratio 100% according to the media chaos and lack of security at present.

This results made me ask the second question about what kinds of obstacles.

After Libyan rebels killed former Libyan leader Mu’ammr al-Qadhafi in October 2011, the country rejoiced with hopes that a new generation of politicians would be able to address the grievances that gave rise to the revolution. But three years later, the failures of these Journalists leaders have spawned new frustrations that seem almost as insurmountable

These problems stem in part from the growing pains of unseasoned politicians and media . But the real dilemma Libya faces is that its citizens’ expectations are misplaced,the country has structural challenges that could take a generation to resolve.

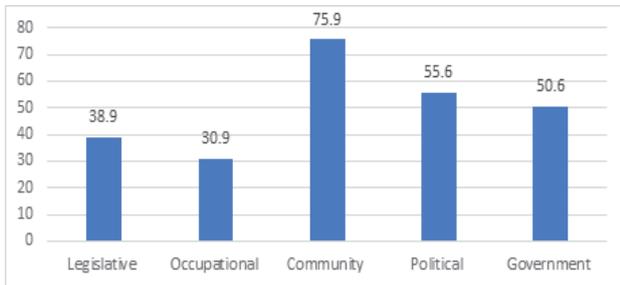


Figure 3
Journalists' Opinion of Different Kind of Conflict Facing Journalists

Most of the journalists said the first obstacles about the community with percentage 75.9 %.

“The community means sources of insecurity in the South, the main driver of insecurity is the collapse of already fragile institutions and social pacts after revolution and, more importantly, the inequitable distribution of economic resources”.

The outbreak of fighting among Arab, Tabu, and Tuareg tribes across the south can be largely attributed to competition for fixed economic streams derived from smuggling routes and access to oil fields. Interference by northern political actors is a further irritant: the payment and arming of young men from areas of Libya such

as Ejdabyia, Sirte, Sabratha, and the southern region. Terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and the so-called Islamic State have not found strong purchase in southern towns but have exploited the lack of southern governance for logistics and training.

The second percentage almost the same between political and government with (55.6 & 50.6) the journalists said, Libyan Civil War is an ongoing conflict among rival factions seeking control of the territory and oil of Libya. The conflict between the government of the House of Representatives (HoR) that was controversially elected in 2014, also known as the “Tobruk government”; also known as the Council of Deputies, strongest in eastern Libya, has the loyalty of the Libyan National Army under the command of General Khalifa Haftar and has been supported by air strikes by Egypt and the UAE and the rival General National Congress (GNC) endorsed government, also called the “National Salvation Government”, based in the capital Tripoli , based in western Libya and backed by various different militias mainly Libya Dawn coalition in west Libya and Libya Shield in the east with some support from Qatar, Sudan and Turkey. All this conflict resulted in a lack of consensus on the National Coalition.

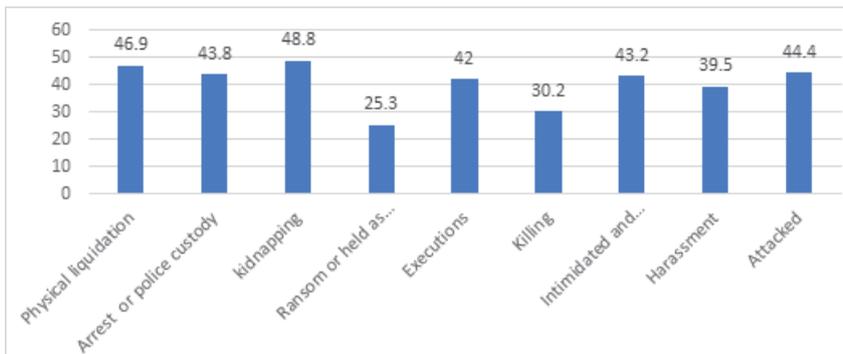


Figure 4
Journalists' Opinion of Violations When They Are Covering the War

Armed groups in Libya have killed, attacked, kidnapped, intimidated and threatened Libyan journalists with impunity over the past seven years the practice of journalism is increasingly dangerous and attacks on journalists continue . A particularly troublesome feature of this violence is that a rising number of journalists are being kidnapped for ransom or held as hostages with percentages 48.8% and 46.9%.

This growing global problem threatens the practice of journalism and the ability of news media to fully inform the public about events occurring in the world .Journalists and media workers are highly vulnerable to kidnappings because they often work in dangerous locations, seek access to adversaries involved in conflicts.

Journalists are in kidnap scenarios was starkly illustrated by the executions of Guardian journalist Ghaith Abdul-Ahad was detained in the Libyan town of Sabratha

in February 2011 by the country’s army. At least 91 cases between mid-2012 until November 2014, including eight killings and 30 kidnappings or short-term arbitrary detentions. There were also 26 armed attacks against the offices of television and radio stations by Islamist militias.

Examples include the shooting dead in May 2014 of Miftah Bouzeid, editor-in-chief of Burniq, an independent newspaper published in Benghazi, In October last year 2015 , Al-Mutassim al-Warfalli, a radio host for the Libya al-Watan radio station, was shot dead. He was a purported supporter of Islamist militias. Two Tunisian journalists, Sofiene Chourabi and Nadhir Ktari, were reported missing in eastern Libya in September 2014 and their fate remains unknown.(Roy Greenslade.2015). April 4,2017 the Security forces in the eastern Libyan city have twice arrest photojournalist Abdullah Doma March 17, 2017 Armed men attacked the Tripoli office of the Libyan TV

channel Al-Nabaa and set the building on fire.(cpj.2017). Most of these victims were experienced and combative investigative reporters. Despite threats, they continued to investigate and expose cases of corruption.

ICT SUPPORTS LIBYAN JOURNALISTS AFTER REVOLUTION

The role and importance of ICT for opposition, protest and revolution, was the core reason for the Arab spring that is known by “ICT Arab spring”, “ICT social change” and “ICT democratization”.

The journalists said, “From the day one of the revolution they depend on ICT the initial demonstrations started on February 15th 2011”. Moreover, 26.5% journalists said, “A turning point for opposition forces was the decision on March 17th 2011 by the United Nations Security Council to adopt resolution 1973 (2011). While 23.5% journalists mention “UN member states to take all necessary measures to protect Libyan civilians”, and 22.2% journalists published on Facebook and online news establishment of a no-fly zone and an arms embargo”. On the other hand, 16.7% journalists did not agree with the government and they mention “during the course of the spring, the rebels tried to establish themselves as a democratic alternative to the government in Tripoli”, and 11.1% journalists said, “the jihadist group and military campaign resulted in the conquest of Tripoli in late August and the killing of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi on 20th of October 2011”.

LIBYAN JOURNALISTS DEPEND ON ICT TO ACHIEVE TRANSPARENCY

Social media played a central and celebrated role in the 2011 uprisings that took place in Libya, facilitating the organization and coordination of popular resistance to dictatorial regimes (John Scott ,2013)&(Joseph, 2012:157). from that day the It has become clear that information and communication technologies ICT can play an increasing role in the protection of journalists. Information harnessed in this way can be used to assist investigations or secure accountability, but the technology can also ensure visibility or mobilize support for persons in immediate danger .(reporter , Al Bayan 2015) & (owner , Al Bayan 2014) & (reporter , Al Haqeeqa , 2015) & (reporter , Al Manara 2016)

46.3% journalists said “before the revolution, the government of Libya had relatively little censorship of the internet, relying instead on surveillance and threats of arrest to induce self-censorship to keep its political opposition in line so that we cannot cover any news in Libya”. In addition, 38.3% journalists said “the degree of surveillance was far greater before the revolution for those who used internet cafés and surveillance was in

the form of security service personnel”. While,42% of journalists in Libya said “we had laws that required users to show identity credentials and reveal their cell phone numbers in order to get a service that gave them limited space to know any information about Libya”. In addition, 34% journalists said, “Libya also have a number of secret surveillance systems, supplied by private companies”. Thales, Amesys, ZTE, among others, is supported by government and ISIS to arrest and kidnap journalists and activists”. Besides, 31.5% journalists said, “the regime used these systems to know the information about almost everything done online, such as emails, web browsing, voice over Internet”. 25.9% journalists said, “according to this information the regime pays huge amount of money to the journalists to transfer the information and according to this information they can kidnap the activists”. All of this for not publishing news or revealing financial and political corruption to governments

INFORMATION DISRUPTION FOR NON-ACHIEVING TRANSPARENCY

Libya creating strategies to optimally exploit information and creating information about ISIS to fight the former regime . (Omotayo, 2013) the Journalists play a role to be the central to transparent is access to information by the general public and the media. (Sva`rd, 2014) Transparency and accountability are negated where there is a culture of secrecy and lack of credibility to the public, in Libya the journalists depend on a large extent dependent on proper documentation of the activities of public institutions. This requires robust information management regimes and an information infrastructure that can facilitate the capture, management, dissemination, preservation and retrieval of government information, Lipchak (2002: 5) But governments are trying to break this up they didn't want transparency or credibility.

50.6% journalists said, “they didn't know anything about ICT before the revolution but now they depend on ICT for example, in a Facebook post on January 28th Libyans were encouraged to protest on a ‘Day of Anger’ on February 17th”. And, 53.1% journalists said, “The number of supporters grew to the point where the regime felt compelled to act. and Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi made a public statement where he warned against the use of Facebook. On the same day, he arrested more than 102 internet activists”.

As much as, 40.1% journalists mention “the regime removed programs such as Al Jazeera channel from the state television networks in Libya. They also took internet down and they are still doing it until now”.

Whereas, 39.5% journalists said” ISIS and the jihadist groups also used electronic warfare technology to disrupt communication with the Nilesat and Arabsat communication satellites”.

Furthermore, 28.4% journalists said “the regime of using electronic warfare to jam its transmissions using source of the jamming by government facility outside Tripoli”. The rebels used the available communication technology. They used cell phones for tactical battlefield communication, Facebook and Skype for planning and logistics, Twitter for propaganda and information. Although most of this communication was unencrypted and insecure, the immediate need overrode any security concerns”.

ICT SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIZATION IN LIBYA

In a context where the state-controlled media, it was almost completely blacked out shortly after the protests started, and social media and the internet featured prominently in the resistance movement in Libya (Rooney, 2012).

71% journalists said “we managed to release first-hand reports using satellite communications, to announce that Libya have new environment”, and 29% journalists said “ICT has the potential to assist this citizens by making more information available online, increasing online services and expanding avenues for participation in democracy and civic affairs “& “on July 7, 2012, Libyans used the first ICT in the election using social media and Facebook to announce people about the new election and they elected a 200-seat General National Assembly in their first democratic election. Libya used Shahed Network for Election Monitoring” (SNEM), (Gumuchian and Shuaib,2012). to involve the citizens and the journalists with 62 percent, the government used ICT to inform the citizens about new constitutional referendum and separate presidential election scheduled.

Other journalists from new Quryna newspaper said “there are two recommended policies to further advance the process of using ICT; improved ICT training in schools; and technical assistance to support government initiatives”. But other journalists thought that the role of the international community should be supporting these efforts without attempting to directly influence democratization processes because Libya needs new democratization to stop the civil war, also the Libyan government used SNEM recruited and trained over 2,000 volunteer observers, covering 78 percent of polling centers and 34 percent of polling stations in all 13 districts of the country (SNEM, 2012:1).All this is to support an attempt to support transparency.

How we can protect journalists

The world became acutely aware of direct attacks on journalists when Cameraman al-Jaber was killed during the armed conflict between Libyan rebels and forces loyal to leader Muammar Qaddafi. He was shot during an

ambush near the eastern city of Benghazi. in March 13, 2011. The increasing numbers of kidnappings and killings of journalists in recent years continue to demonstrate the vulnerability of those who disseminate information about the world’s conflicts.

Website updates and annual reports from the Committee to Protect Journalists show that the number of journalists who have been harassed, intimidated, threatened or deliberately killed has escalated in the last two decades (CPJ, 2018).

Journalists have become targets because of the complex role they play during conflict situations. ‘In war time, media are not mere observers but simultaneously a weapon, a target, and a battlefield,’ to gather information and report on the actions of warring parties. Today’s conflicts consist of a blurring between terrorism and war, with terrorism becoming an increasingly dominant form of international conflict (Tumber, 2002: 251).

Terrorists reportedly refuse to recognize past immunities previously offered to civilians and journalists and agreed upon through wartime conventions (Carruthers, 2000, p.163).

In order to understand the current need to protect journalists who gather and disseminate information during war, it is essential to review how the world has protected these journalists in the past. The protection of journalists was initially addressed in international documents in regulations dealing with prisoners of war.

First,” Geneva Convention in 1929 stipulated that: Persons who follow the armed forces without directly belonging thereto, such as correspondents, newspaper reporters, sutlers or contractors, who fall into the hands of the enemy, and whom the latter think fit to detain, shall be entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, provided that they are in possession of an authorisation from the military authorities of the armed forces which they are following”. (Plenipotentiaries of the Governments, 1929)

Second,” Third Geneva Conventions in 1949. Convention described war correspondents as civilian members of the military: Persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members thereof, such as civilian members of military aircraft crews, war correspondents, supply contractors,

members of labour units or of services responsible for the welfare of the armed forces, provided that they have received authorization, from the armed forces which they accompany, who shall provide them for that purpose with an identity card similar to the annexed model. (Plenipotentiaries of the Governments, 1949)

The fundamental problem for journalists in combat situations is the limitation of humanitarian law to protect them. (Evans, H. (2003) Under the Geneva Conventions Additional Protocols of 1977, journalists are to be considered merely civilians who place themselves in danger in order to disseminate the story of conflict. Consequently, current international humanitarian law

is insufficient in addressing the increasing danger faced by journalists in conflict. To address this limited legal protection, various organizations have introduced international proposals, documents and strategies, like the UNESCO, Medellin Declaration of 2007, provide a way for international organizations to formally commit to press protection. However, these declarations do not provide sufficient protection to journalists during war.

But the argument now these documents need to be amended because what is happening in the Middle East of killing and torture journalists and civilians is not compatible with these agreements.

So that , from this point I asked the journalists” **from your opinion how we can protect journalists in the conflict zone “?**

The journalists said, “the disagreements exist about the best way to protect journalists in conflict. Many of the journalists suggested that mere physical identification may not be sufficient or may even be a detriment to protecting journalists in conflict situations. (reporter, Al Maydan 2014; subeditor, Al Bayan 2016; editor-in-chief, Fabriar 2014)

Needs to increased collaboration among members of the journalist community to generate and promote a solution that will ultimately provide journalists with comprehensive protection. (editor, Al Haqeeqa 2016) & (editor, Al Kalima 2015) & (editor, Birniq, 2014)

The governments should respect for the profession of journalism itself is fundamental to guarantee that journalists who gather information about war and conflict are protected. (owner , Al Bayan 2014) & (reporter , Al Haqeeqa , 2015)

Reporters must investigate about the financial corruption issues. (journalists , Al Bayan 2014) & (journalists, Al Haqeeqa , 2015)

The main problem in the Middle East the journalists didn't get training to cover the war until late after 2011. So that ,the journalists need for awareness training regarding criminal investigations for journalists covering war crimes. They highlight two areas: first, awareness of a potential crime scene and the need to photograph, film and record potential evidence and second, awareness of the complex problems associated with reporting victim and witness testimony. Increased understanding of journalism's contribution to an open society will provide the first step toward an urgent appeal for the improvement of journalist protection under the auspices of international humanitarian law”. The role of journalists in society is a counterpart to power. (Joanne M. Lisosky, 2009)

It is therefore necessary to amend the laws of the international community to be more protection for journalists not only through organizations but we should make a cooperation of all international organizations and agencies to protect journalists from killing and torture, a journalist has to appear, to all sides of a conflict, to be objective, independent and determined to publish what he/she believes to be the truth. (reporter , Al Maydan 2014) & (subeditor, Al Bayan 2016) & (editor-in-chief, Fabriar 2014) & (editor-in-chief, Birniq 2015)

Finally the most important point about “sources and testifying must be protected”

The journalists said, “If a journalist had witnessed a war crime – but they should only appear as a witness to confirm what has already been published. The problem with this scenario is that journalists' notes are not protected, and therefore sources are not protected. There is no protection for journalists in the statutes of the tribunals.

If correspondents appear as witnesses, there is the potential for sources to dry up, for protagonists to refuse to be interviewed, and it would be more dangerous for them or other journalists to return to the area”.

The journalists said “ in these circumstances when we cover the war we couldn't promise anonymity the sources. because we have case “in 2014 anonymous users set up a Facebook page featuring the names, photos, and addresses of Benghazi journalists and activists calling for their assassination and kidnapping but the page was taken down after online activists reported it” (Coll, 2014).

Most of journalists said, “after the war we do not have the technical skills to ensure their practices to cover the conflict zone for this reason many of the journalists killed and kidnapping when they coverage the war .

So that, we need to change the behaviors of journalists and journalistic practice to save the information and rethink how to deal with their sources, with people and with whistle-blowers who provide them with information.

Finally, the journalists recommended, We need all of the international organizations look to us and give us support , because we are “Libya's future journalists” we are not like those who fled for fear of regime ,war and ISIS . We needs support and training if we cooperate with the international organizations we will stop the corruption in Libya, its good opportunity to build a free society with transparency.

Conclusion: Increasing protection from conflict zones

Nowadays the journalists concern is that the threats and high risk facing them while they are covering conflicts represent a threat in the long run to the role of the media. The journalists want to protect the information and save themselves. The greatest need is to enhance freedom of expression and democracy and disclosure of corruption issues.

Moreover, the journalists recommend that in order to protect freedom of expression, we should follow: all persons, regardless of status, age or nationality. It must be protected everywhere. It must be protected in every kind of media. Online content must also be protected and it should include the right to impart and receive news and information and disclosure the corruption.

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