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Social Solidarity and Houphouëtist Propaganda in Ivorian General-Interest Daily Newspapers

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Abstract

Purpose : This article aims to analyze the dynamics of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian daily general information newspapers concerning social solidarity from 2018 to 2025.

Methodology : Data collection was carried out using documentary review, thematic content analysis, reading grid, and purposeful sampling. The corpus mobilized for this purpose consists of seven Ivorian daily general information newspapers, namely *Le Patriote, Le Nouveau Réveil, Notre Voie, Fraternité Matin, le temps, le nouveau courrier* and *l'expression*. The analysis and interpretation of the results were conducted based on Max Weber's comprehensive method and Bourdieu's field theory.

Findings : At the end of this study, three fundamental axes emerge, namely the approaches to social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda, the dynamics of Houphouëtist propaganda around social solidarity, and the stakes of Houphouëtist propaganda around social solidarity.

Unique Contribution to Theory, Policy and Practice : This theory help to understand how social solidarity about houphouëtist propaganda contribue to explain political struggle in ivorian context.

Keywords : *Houphouëtism, Propaganda, General Daily News, Social Solidarity*

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Introduction

In Côte d'Ivoire, several situations have given rise to acts of solidarity toward the population, which are carried out jointly by the government, political parties, and certain civil society actors. These various acts of solidarity range from donations to various statements of support. In response to these situations affecting the people living in Côte d'Ivoire, the coverage provided by general-interest daily newspapers contributes to this national solidarity with these various social groups. In this context, such coverage cannot help but veer into Houphouëtist propaganda, given that since 2005, there has been a symbolic presence of Félix Houphouët-Boigny in Ivorian politics (Press review, 2005-2026).

When it comes to natural disasters, daily newspapers strive to portray the public figures with whom they are aligned as people who are sensitive to the suffering of the people. As such, these situations provide opportunities to highlight their respective leaders. This is why newspapers aligned with the opposition including those of the PDCI-RDA and the FPI, such as *Le Nouveau Réveil, Notre Voie, La Voie Original, LG Infos*, etc. while deploring the damage caused, have pointed to the government's responsibility and highlighted their leaders' closeness to the affected populations. For their part, general-interest daily newspapers aligned with the government including *Le Patriote, L'Expression, Le Rassemblement, L'Essor Ivoirien*, etc. have in turn lamented the damage and emphasized the measures taken by the government to assist the affected populations (Press review, 2018-2025).

As for disagreements over national governance, there are several, including the evictions in Abidjan. On the one hand, newspapers aligned with the opposition have worked to denounce the illegality of this operation and to highlight their leaders' solidarity with the affected communities. Among these general-interest daily newspapers are : Générations Nouvelles, Le Temps, L'Héritage, Dernière Heure Monde, Le Quotidien d'Abidjan, etc. Similarly, newspapers affiliated with the government have supported an initiative to modernize and develop the Abidjan District and improve the living conditions of the population. Among the newspapers that strongly supported this stance are: *L'Intelligent d'Abidjan*, *L'Avenir*, *Le Mandat*, *Fraternité Matin*, etc. These publications highlighted leadership focused on infrastructure development, the beautification of the city of Abidjan, and the well-being of the people (Press Review, 2020–2025).

Indeed, the coverage of eviction operations in the Autonomous District of Abidjan and of natural disasters by Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers highlights the partisan ideological divides that permeate national political life. These are : socialism (FPI and PPA-CI), liberalism (RDR, now RHDP), and nationalism (PDCI-RDA). It is in this context that, in their framing of current events surrounding Houphouëtism, these general-interest daily newspapers promote values and principles aligned with their respective ideological affiliations. In this regard, newspapers aligned with the FPI and the PPA-CI champion the values and principles of socialism. Conversely, those affiliated

with the PDCI-RDA and the RDR (now RHDP) focus on liberalism and nationalism (Source : press review, 2018–2026).

Furthermore, the Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers highlights various social inequalities in the construction of the public image of national political leaders. For example, while the eviction operation in Abidjan was criticized by many newspapers aligned with the opposition for its illegality, print media outlets aligned with the government defended the legitimacy of this government initiative. Thus, this public action, which began several years ago, has contributed to a polarization of Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers. Among the print media outlets that stood out in their coverage of this government initiative are : *Le Patriote, L'Expression, Le Rassemblement, Le Mandat, L'Avenir, L'Essor Ivoirien, Le Nouveau Réveil, L'Héritage, Le Bélier, Dernière Heure Monde, Le Temps, Notre Voie, Générations Nouvelles, LG Infos, Le Nouveau Courrier, La Voie Original*, etc. (Source : Press review, 2018–2026).

Despite the partisan ideological divides that shape the coverage of national political news, the Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers is also driven by social solidarity with affected populations. What explains the persistence of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity with the people ? What are the approaches to social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers toward the people ? What are the dynamics of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity ? What are the issues surrounding social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers ?

1. Methodology

This phase consists of three complementary elements: data collection methods, data analysis methods, and data interpretation methods.

1.1. Data Collection Methods

This section covers two essential tools: non-participant observation and content analysis.

1.1.1. Non-participant Observation

This study required the use of non-participant observation because it was impossible to observe behaviors in situ. In this regard, this method centered on the use of a multi-level observation grid. For the literature review, the observation grid involved reviewing documents and extracting information in accordance with the research objectives.

1.1.2. Content Analysis

This method made it possible to explore the content of general-interest daily newspapers over the period from 2018 to 2025. It revealed the content of Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity and Houphouëtist propaganda.

1.2. Data Collection Techniques

The various techniques used are : literature review, thematic content analysis, and purposive sampling.

1.2.1. Literature Review

This allowed for an assessment of the various theoretical perspectives related to the social phenomenon under study. This information-gathering process involved regular visits to the archives of the National Press Authority (ANP) and several digital libraries. These scientific research resources facilitated access to a wide range of documentation and helped identify authors who have addressed this topic. Due to its cross-disciplinary nature, the literature review was used to formulate the research question, define the methodological approach of this study, and discuss the results.

1.2.3. Thematic Content Analysis

This data collection technique was used to carry out two distinct operations, the first of which involved identifying news articles related to the theme of "social solidarity and Houphouëtist propaganda." To do this, the task was to examine the politics and society sections based on the stance taken by each print media outlet. The indicators used to carry out this activity were controversies surrounding social inequalities and the management of emergency situations. Following this, the second step involved classifying the statements into several respective categories or typologies. These were defined based on the ideological stance of the various media outlets.

1.2.4. Purposive Sampling

For the purposes of this study, purposive sampling was used for two main reasons. First, this study focuses on Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers and a specific theme, namely social solidarity. Second, among Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers, this analysis focused on those affiliated with national political parties namely, the PDCI-RDA and the RDR, which have since merged to form the RHDP. Accordingly, the daily newspapers included in this study are: Le Patriote, Le Nouveau Réveil, Notre Voie, Le Nouveau Courrier, and Fraternité Matin. These represent approximately one-quarter of all daily publications. Finally, in terms of time and place, this study aims to explore the coverage of social solidarity issues surrounding the Grand-Bassam attacks in November 2016, the torrential rains in June 2018, and the "Filets Sociaux" program since 2015.

1.3. Data Analysis Methods

Data analysis was conducted using two methods: Max Weber's interpretive method and discourse analysis.

1.3.1. Max Weber's Comprehensive Method

According to this author (1971), this method involves demonstrating the links between the study's objectives and the discourse on social solidarity found in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers. This analysis identified several indicators that help establish links between social solidarity and Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers. Among these indicators are : the newspapers' political stance, positive descriptive adjectives, and comparisons with the Houphouët era.

1.3.2. Discourse Analysis

Using this tool, the aim was to reveal the discursive substance of the publications on the topic under study. To this end, two distinct tasks were carried out: identifying the central idea of the discourse on social solidarity and Houphouëtist propaganda. To achieve this, the central theme of the study's corpus was identified in relation to the reported facts. Subsequently, this tool facilitated the identification of discursive connections surrounding this theme and the tracking of how the various discourses evolved.

1.4. Data Interpretation

To interpret the data related to the corpus, Pierre Bourdieu's field theory was employed. This approach makes it possible to construct a competitive semantic space among Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers centered on social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda. As such, this theory will enable us to explore four questions, including the following central one : "What explains the persistence of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity toward the population ?" Through this inquiry, the aim is to demonstrate the resilience of this theme in print media discourse surrounding Houphouëtism. This question will be explored through its discourse on social solidarity as it relates to Houphouëtism. In this regard, the concept that will be highlighted in relation to this inquiry is "Houphouëtist propaganda." This notion draws on two concepts from field theory. On the one hand, there is the concept of the "field," which represents the competitive space among print media outlets. On the other hand, there is the concept of "habitus," which refers to enduring and transferable dispositions that underpin the reproduction of social relations of domination.

With regard to Specific Research Question 1 (SRQ 1), it addresses the following statement: "What are the approaches to social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers toward the population ? " This question aims to explore the variable "social solidarity" and highlights two major concepts, namely "social actions" and "citizen." First, the term "social actions" helps to highlight the concept of "resources" from Bourdieu's field theory. Second, the term "citizenship" facilitates the exploration of the concept of "capital" within this theoretical framework, which can be observed through several indicators.

Regarding Specific Research Question 2 (SRQ 2), it is titled: "What are the dynamics of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity?" This question aims to highlight both the variables "social solidarity" and "Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers" insofar as it explores the discursive shifts that contribute to the perpetuation of media-political antagonisms. Based on this inquiry, the aim is to highlight the following Bourdieusian concepts : capital and resources. These concepts can be observed through the following indicators: ideological support for political parties, the ideological foundations of stances taken, direct and cross-referenced comparisons with Houphouët-Boigny, etc. The concepts from field theory that are utilized in the context of this inquiry are : capital, resources, and power.

With regard to Specific Research Question 3 (SRQ 3), it is titled as follows: What are the issues surrounding social solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers? This question allows us to address the variable "social solidarity." In this regard, this variable helps advance the analysis through the concepts of "resources" and "habitus." In this context, the examination of this variable focuses specifically on the following indicators: social initiatives by the government and political parties, the Grand-Bassam attack, and the torrential rains from 2018 to 2025.

2. Results

2.1. Approaches to Houphouëtist Propaganda in Ivorian General-Interest Daily Newspapers Through the Lens of Social Solidarity

This focus area is structured around two components : promoting civic ethics and maintaining close ties with the community.

2.1.1. The Promotion of Civic Ethics

The corpus analyzed revealed a civic ethic in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers such as Fraternité Matin, Le Patriote, l'expression, notre voie, le nouveau courrier and Le Nouveau Réveil. By way of illustration, the following excerpts from these publications are provided:

- The heavy rainy season is approaching. This time of year calls for increased vigilance and requires special measures to prevent any risk of landslides and flooding, with their resulting destruction of property and loss of life. With this in mind, the Minister of Water, Sanitation, and Public Health, Bouaké Fofana, launched pre-season work on Friday, March 29, in the Divo neighborhood of Koumassi, in anticipation of the heavy rains that are expected *(fraternité matin march 30th to avril 01st, 2024).*

- The Minister-Governor of the Abidjan District stated that his goal in carrying out these cleanup efforts is not to throw families out onto the streets, but to protect them from danger (...) The

President of the Republic has tasked me with combating urban disorder—that is, unsanitary conditions and bad behavior that lead to terrible consequences (le patriote of May 15th, 2024).

These excerpts from publications have helped highlight two approaches to this civic ethic. On the one hand, there is a proactive approach taken by national authorities in anticipation of the rainy season. This approach involves carrying out certain "pre-season" projects. These are aimed at reducing the impact of the rains on populations living in neighborhoods deemed to be at risk. On the other hand, the government seeks to improve the well-being of the population. This pursuit of well-being requires the implementation of drastic measures to counter certain attitudes that are sometimes harmful to people's living conditions and the natural environment.

2.1.2. Close ties with the people

- *A high-level government delegation, led by the Minister of National Cohesion, Solidarity, and the Fight Against Poverty, Myss Belmonde DOGO, and comprising the Minister of State, Minister of Public Service and Administrative Modernization, Anne Ouloto, and the Minister-Governor and Secretary of State, Serey Doh Célestin, visited Facobly on Sunday, June 9, to convey the government's sympathy to the affected communities (le patriote of June 11th, 2024).*

- (...) Without waiting for the government or the District which owns most of the flooded areas the Cocody City Hall immediately took the bull by the horns to come to the aid of the affected families and businesses. On the instructions of Mayor Jean Marc Yacé, the City Council immediately mobilized its services to organize emergency relief and expressed its solidarity and support to those affected (le nouveau réveil of June 19th, 2025)

- Myss Belmonde Dogo, Minister of National Cohesion, Solidarity, and the Fight Against Poverty, visited the Agneby-Tiassa region on April 17, 2025. Accompanied by her colleagues from the health sector—N'Gou Dimba Pierre, who is also President of the Regional Council, and Mamadou Touré, Minister of Youth Development, Professional Integration, and Civic Service— Myss Belmonde Dogo delivered government aid to the victims of the heavy rains and strong winds that struck the villages of Otopé 1 (S/P) in Agboville, Siafué (Sikensi), and Taabo last March (Le Patriote No. 7581, April 19–21, 2025, p. 6) .

Through excerpts from publications, print media outlets have described the emotional closeness of political parties and the government to the affected populations. This emotional closeness is highlighted by the comfort provided by high-ranking officials, including ministers and Cocody city hall officials. In this regard, these excerpts from publications also showcase the compassion and humanity shown toward their constituents through the notable presence of these officials at disaster sites and memorial services.

2.2. The Dynamics of Houphouëtist Propaganda in Ivorian General-Interest Daily Newspapers Focused on Social Solidarity

In this section, the data have been organized along two complementary axes: anticipation of events and social integration.

2.2.1. Anticipating Events

- *The floods, which used to be a nightmare for the people of Abidjan in this area, are now nothing more than a distant memory. Today, we can rightly say and with all due respect to the naysayers that Ouattara, "The Rock," has definitively defeated the "undeniable." (le patriote of June 17th-18th 2023).*

- Prevention is better than cure. Last year, the rain caused the deaths of 39 people. The government wants to take all necessary measures to ensure that this situation does not happen again. That was the goal of the high-level meeting held on May 29 at the Ministry of the Interior and Security in Abidjan-Plateau, ahead of the rainy season (fraternité matin of May 30th, 2024).

- Marchall Ballou : (...) we come together in a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, as is our tradition in the PDCI, always placing people at the heart of our actions. But every gathering of activists is an opportunity for reflection, because we are united by a common goal: to strengthen the PDCI-RDA and prepare for its return to power (the new awakening of June 25, 2025).

Based on these publications, the print media outlets *Le Patriote* and *Fraternité Matin* convey the government's and the President of the Republic's determination to put an end to the people's suffering. In this vein, these publications have presented the completion of the Indénié intersection project as a sign of the well-being to come, in the run-up to the upcoming rainy season. Similarly, these improvement efforts are continuing with the establishment of a disaster preparedness unit. It is in this context that an interministerial meeting is being presented as a forum for high-level discussions aimed at mitigating the potential disastrous consequences of torrential rains in Abidjan and the surrounding area.

2.2.2. Social Integration

- *TOURE Mamadou : " (...) Nearly 20 billion CFA francs to support the victims! The government is pulling out all the stops. We knew that the Head of State's concern was to save lives from tragedy through the resettlement programs. We now know that those who have been resettled will not be left behind. The people of Côte d'Ivoire have further proof that the Head of State places people at the center of the world, since he has given clear instructions to ensure that this (the eviction) is carried out in a humane manner." (fraternité matin of March 14th, 2024).*

- *This is a massive solidarity effort ! It was launched by the RHDP in the municipality of Koumassi to mark Lent and Ramadan, which coincide this year. On this occasion, Françoise Remarck, associate coordinator of the RHDP, who was dispatched to represent the Minister-Governor,*

oversaw the distribution of donations including food and cash worth 10 million francs to provide substantial support to the most vulnerable populations (le patriote n°7559 of March 22-23, 2025, p. 6)

- This is a massive solidarity effort ! It was launched by the RHDP in the town of Koumassi to mark Lent and Ramadan, which coincide this year. On this occasion, Françoise Remarck, associate coordinator of the RHDP, who was dispatched to represent the Minister-Governor, oversaw the distribution of donations—including food and cash—worth 10 million francs to provide substantial support to the most vulnerable populations (Le Patriote No. 7559, March 22–23, 2025, p. 6)

The excerpts above highlight the solidarity shown by the government and the RHDP in the context of the reintegration of disaster-affected populations. This reintegration requires the allocation of a budget considered colossal in order to address the urgent needs of these populations during this period. In the same vein, the RHDP undertook a similar initiative for the Muslim community. It involved distributing food and non-food items to help this community cope with the hardships they will face over the next few weeks. This distribution contributes to the social reintegration of vulnerable groups and fosters fraternal unity among Muslims during this period of penance.

2.3. The Issues Surrounding Houphouëtist Propaganda in Ivorian General-Interest Daily Newspapers Regarding Social Solidarity

The cult of personality and media controversy were discussed in the section of the results devoted to this theme.

2.3.1. The Cult of Personality

- *Edmond Clegbazah : " (...) We believe that the President of the Republic, who has been doing an exceptional job since taking the helm of the country, must pay close attention to the road construction projects that are costing Ivorian taxpayers and our country's development partners a great deal of money. It is high time to put a stop to this drain on resources by assigning responsibility here and now, before an irreparable tragedy occurs on our roads (le patriote of June 22nd, 2023).*

- *The PDCI-RDA, under the enlightened leadership of Mr. Tidjane Thiam, draws inspiration from the teachings of the founding fathers of Côte d'Ivoire, who built a country united in diversity, founded on solidarity, love for one's neighbor, and the aspiration for peace and prosperity for all and happiness for each individual (le nouveau réveil of March 19th 2025).*

- Laurent Gbagbo as the Phoenix (Front page of the daily newspaper Le Temps, October 20, 2021).

The cult of personality is evident in two main aspects : the preservation of the reputations of political leaders Tidjane Thiam and Alassane Ouattara, and the portrayal of these leaders as models of social solidarity. First, these excerpts from publications reflect an effort to preserve the public

image of the respective leaders. Second, they demonstrate these leaders' ability to inspire values of humanism and accountability toward vulnerable populations. Third, the excerpts from these publications serve as a means for activists or third parties to establish their sociopolitical stance vis-à-vis these leaders.

2.3.2. The Controversy

- "The Situation Is Under Control" (front page of Le Patriote, Issue 4878, Monday, March 14, 2016)

- "How the Government Deceived the Ivorian People" (Le Nouveau Courrier, n°1409, Tuesday, March 15, 2016, p. 2)

- "The Failure of Hamed Bakayoko's Methods" (front page of Le Nouveau Courrier, n°1408, Monday, March 15, 2016) ;

- "A Slap in the Face to the Government's Vuvuzela" (front-page subheading of Le Nouveau Courrier, n°1408, Monday, March 15, 2016) ;

- Sanogo Lacina : (…) It is thanks to President Tidjane Thiam that I am offering this food (…) Pray for him ; it was God who sent him (Le Nouveau Réveil No. 6828, March 24, 2025, p. 6).

- The FPI calls on the government (Notre Voie, June 21, 2018)

- Displaced women voice their anger (Notre Voie, June 22-24, 2018).

- The government stands firm (L'Expression, June 22-24, 2018).

These verbatim excerpts highlight an indirect dialogism between print media outlets aligned with the RHDP and the FPI now known as PPA-CI regarding the attack on Grand-Bassam and the torrential rains that struck Abidjan in 2018. This indirect and at times incongruous dialogue reveals a strategy of discursive positioning adopted by these newspapers regarding these current events, based on a strategy of mutual disqualification or refutative discourse.

3. Discussion

The corpus of this study made it possible to explore three fundamental findings. First, it identified two approaches to solidarity in Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers. These are : selective solidarity and spontaneous, circumstantial solidarity. Second, Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers exhibits a form of dialogism that is both horizontal and vertical. Third, Houphouëtist propaganda in these media outlets highlights the extension of political rivalry into the realm of social actions.

First of all, the analysis joined the work of Fofana Daouda published in 2024. In this study, autor encourages those involved in the fight against poverty to empower poor widows economically and to provide schooling for vulnerable orphans. It is based on the theories of reasoned action and social marketing. The survey took place in the town of Korhogo. The study revealed that

impoverished widows are illiterate, have difficulty accessing social services, have low incomes, and orphans are dropping out of school. A social marketing communications strategy was needed to combat these inequalities.

Similarly, this analytical approach goes beyond the research conducted by Yao Jean-Aimé ASSUE in 2023, which described the exploitation of social solidarity by the Ivorian print media. According to this author, an assessment of the results of the social safety nets allows us to conclude that the program's implementation has been satisfactory overall, as there has been a significant improvement in the living conditions of the beneficiary populations. This improvement is evident in terms of access to education as well as in health and economic conditions. Furthermore, the program has enabled beneficiaries to engage in income-generating activities and become self-reliant.

By drawing on emotion and victimization, this analysis aligns with Touré Amidou's (2019) publication on The Political Implications of Media Coverage of the Grand-Bassam Attack : The Dual Rhetoric of Emotion and Conflict. The purpose of his study was to describe how the Grand-Bassam attack was framed in the print media, drawing on the work of both Charaudeau and Bakhtin (1970). Regarding pathologization, the author highlighted that it was closely linked to various aspects of journalistic discourse, particularly the verbal dimension. In a second conclusion, the author noted the conflictual dimension of the attack as portrayed by journalists. According to him, through the use of dialogic techniques, journalists engage in a game of attack and response.

In the same vein, examining mass media control during times of conflict and crisis helps shed light on the Houphouëtist propaganda promoted by Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers regarding social solidarity. Bogui Jean Jacques and Christian Agbogbli (2017) undertook this task. According to them, the mass media which have long held a monopoly on information in society play a major role during these turbulent periods, and control over them becomes a key issue for political and economic powers. The rise of digital media has helped reduce the power of the mass media over the control and circulation of information and, at the same time, that of the public authorities that exert control over them. By facilitating citizen expression, social media helps raise activist awareness. However, these new media are not immune to disinformation and, just like the mass media, can become formidable tools of propaganda.

Furthermore, the analysis conducted by N'GUESSAN Atchoua Julien and Bogui Jean Jacques in 2016 explores the concept of selective solidarity at the international level. In this sense, it serves as a springboard for deepening the understanding of the present study by shedding light on the opinions of certain internet users regarding the media coverage provided by certain international news outlets. International media play an essential role in fostering a sense of international solidarity with victims of terrorist violence around the world. However, the way these media outlets report on such tragic events is often criticized by certain observers who accuse them of selective solidarity. Through content analysis of a corpus of online comments on African news

websites, we seek to demonstrate here how the selective solidarity attributed to major international media outlets during terrorist attacks around the world can have a negative impact on the harmonization of intercultural relations.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of this study, it is important to note that the persistence of Houphouëtist propaganda centered on social solidarity revolves around three essential elements. These are: the reputation of national political leaders, the ongoing spontaneous nature of social solidarity, and the segmentation of the target audience for social initiatives.

First, Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers has helped improve the reputation of national political leaders, a reputation that has been constantly tarnished by various actions. This improvement has centered on highlighting certain humanistic values and principles, including closeness, compassion, and philanthropy.

Next, the second key takeaway from this study concerns the ongoing emergence of spontaneous social solidarity. In this regard, Houphouëtist propaganda served to highlight several themes in the public portrayal of various leaders and their respective parties. This Houphouëtist propaganda was expressed through categories such as politics, society, nation, and economy, and addressed situations involving religion, citizenship, politics, and family life…

Furthermore, the third key point to note concerns the segmentation of the target audience for Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian general-interest daily newspapers. In the context of this study, the segmentation of the target audience based on section categories shifts toward segmentation by event. Thus, the target audiences for this propaganda include disaster-stricken populations, adherents of revealed religions, bereaved families, and the national and international political community.

However, this research does not claim to be exhaustive, as it has addressed several social initiatives. For this reason, other aspects of Houphouëtist propaganda in Ivorian daily newspapers concerning social solidarity deserve further study. These could focus, for example, on the dynamics of Houphouëtist propaganda in the coverage of eviction operations in Abidjan, front-page headlines, and the use of color in relation to social solidarity, among other topics.

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