# Policy Levers in Côte d'Ivoire[1]

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## Executive Summary

The Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) conducts research on the relationship between conflict, inter-group inequalities, (ethnic) identities and human security, using inter-disciplinary and comparative methods. The overall aim of the CRISE-project is to identify policies that will promote *ethnic* peace and help prevent the emergence of politically, socially and economically destructive conflicts. In order to design our research in a relevant way and to get our policy recommendations put into practice, it is important that both domestic and international policy levers and influencers are identified and integrated into the CRISE research project.

The policy levers' involvement in the CRISE research project could be active; meaning that they would be invited to participate in workshops and internal CRISE seminars, for instance. Or they could participate more passively; meaning they would, for example, only receive regular updates on the research progress in the form of publications or CRISE newsletters. This policy paper identifies both types of policy levers and influencers in the case of the Côte d'Ivoire.

The paper first briefly discusses the political developments in Côte d'Ivoire since the democratisation process was initiated in the early 1990s. More specifically, it shows how the introduction of multiparty elections in 1990 led to the country's political disintegration and the establishment of a climate of ethnic tensions, intolerance and xenophobia. These mounting tensions resulted in a military insurgency in September 2002, which quickly developed into a full scale civil war. It further discusses current obstacles and setbacks to the Ivorian peace process. In the light of these events and obstacles, many observers acknowledge the possibility of a complete breakdown of the peace process.

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[1] To a considerable extent, this policy paper is based on interviews and discussions that I held during my research visit to Abidjan, Côte D'Ivoire, from 14-29 September 2003. In this regard, I would like to thank Professor Francis Akindes of the University of Baouké/IRD (Petit Bassam) for his help in setting up these interviews as well as for his instructive comments regarding the content of this paper.

The paper then presents a brief background to Côte d'Ivoire's economic structure and performance in the post-colonial period. Côte d'Ivoire has a market-based economy, which is heavily dependent on the agricultural sector. Another important characteristic of the Ivorian economy is the presence and economic influence of a large non-Ivorian population in Côte d'Ivoire. Due to the continued influx of foreign labourers in the post-colonial period, Côte d'Ivoire was able to achieve an average *real* GDP growth rate of seven percent in the period 1960-1980. Following this remarkable economic progress, international observers referred to Côte d'Ivoire in complimentary terms such as *the African miracle* or *the Ivorian model*. In contrast to this view, section three will also briefly point to some fundamental weaknesses of the Ivorian development model.

The most important and extensive part of the policy paper considers the structures and policy levers within, looking at consecutively, the formal political environment, the informal environment and the international environment.

The formal political structure of the *République de Cote d'Ivoire* is characterised by a unitary state with a multiparty presidential regime. As stipulated in the Linas-Marcoussis Peace Agreement of 23 January 2003, the national government is to be headed by a consensus prime minister, Seydou Diarra. The aim of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement was to create a transitional power-sharing regime under the guidance of a consensual, but powerful, prime minister. However, in practice, President Gbagbo has successfully thwarted the transfer of most of the agreed executive powers to the prime minister. He therefore remains in charge of the executive branch. The main policy levers in the context of the formal political environment are, among others: the Presidency; the Office of the Prime Minister; the Ministries of Economy and Finance, Education, Communication and Agriculture; the National Assembly; and the Economic and Social Council.

The main policy influencers in the informal political environment are grouped into the following categories: ethnic and religious leaders; popular organisations and local NGOs; media; and academic institutions, think tanks and individuals. Côte d'Ivoire is an ethnically and religiously diverse country, where ethnic and religious leaders are still highly respected and influential within their respective communities. Further, civil society in Côte d'Ivoire has a rather politicised character, meaning that although these organisations and associations are officially 'independent', they are typically very closely linked to certain political parties or interest groups. The existing media also lacks independence and is typically allied to one of the political parties. Some potentially interesting informal policy levers and influencers with respect to the CRISE-project are: *Mouvement ivoirien des droits de l'homme* (MIDH); *Ligue ivoirienne des droits de l'homme* (LIDHO); *Association des femmes Ivoiriennes; Collectif de la Société Civile pour la Paix; Forum des Confessions religieuses*; and *Groupement Interdisciplinaire en Sciences Sociales - Côte d'Ivoire* (GIDIS-CI).

As a result of the violence and lack of security, many international and regional actors and organisations have significantly reduced their operations in Côte d'Ivoire. Nevertheless, international policy levers remain highly influential in Côte d'Ivoire. Further, Côte d'Ivoire is a member of most of the major international organisations. From an economic point of view in particular, Côte d'Ivoire is an extremely important member state of the main regional organisations such as *Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine* (UEMOA), *Economic Community Of West African States* (ECOWAS) and *Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (BECEAO).

The following regional and international organisations and actors have considerable influence and/or leverage over domestic policy making in Côte d'Ivoire. First,

stemming from their shared historical background and close economic and political ties, France is undoubtedly the most influential and active international player in Côte d'Ivoire. Second, the most active regional organisation in the context of the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Several other international organisations have significant impact on domestic policy making, in particular with respect to economic and development issues. The most prominent organisations in this respect are: World Bank, UNDP, African Development Bank (AFDB) and European Union.

Conclusions are drawn about the general policy environment in Côte d'Ivoire. The main conclusion highlights the challenges of the current policy environment in Côte d'Ivoire. A synopsis is also provided of the potentially more active participants in the CRISE-project as well as the policy levers and influencers that should be treated more passively.

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## 1.  Introduction

Contemporary political conflicts occur disproportionately often in low-income countries and result in enormous social and economic costs, including economic stagnation[2]. Recent research has increasingly focused on the economic causes of conflicts. Although this research has its merits, it largely ignores the complicated relationships between (ethnic) identities, inter-group inequalities and human security. The research conducted by the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) aims to fill this void. In our view, political conflicts or instability, ethnic tensions or violence, and humanitarian emergencies for that matter, cannot be correctly understood or explained without researching and analysing these relationships in an inter-disciplinary way.

In both today's political practice and social science research, terms like *ethnic conflict*, *ethnic hatred* or *ethnicity* have become part of the common vernacular. However, in many instances it is not clear how these terms are defined. It is therefore worthwhile emphasising that we define ethnicity not only as being a largely socially constructed concept, but also as a very broad concept that encompasses any significant perceived cultural differences among groups of people, such as religious, regional, tribal, racial or clan differences. It is important to recognise that group mobilisation can happen along any of these identity lines or markers.

The overall aim of the CRISE-project is "to identify policies that will promote *ethnic peace*"[3] and help prevent the emergence of politically, socially and economically destructive conflicts. In order to get our policy recommendations put into practice, it is essential that both domestic and international policy levers and influencers are identified and integrated into our research project. The policy levers' involvement with the CRISE research could be limited and passive; meaning they would only receive regular updates of the research progress in the form of publications or a CRISE newsletter, for instance. Or they could take part more actively; meaning that they would be invited to participate in workshops and internal CRISE seminars, for instance. This policy paper identifies both types of policy levers and influencers in the case of the Côte d'Ivoire.

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[2] See for example: Stewart *et al.*, (1997); Fitzgerald, (1997); and Collier, (1999).
[3] See CRISE Inception Report, September 2003, p.1.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The next section briefly discusses the political developments in Côte d'Ivoire since the introduction of the multiparty elections in 1990. Section three presents a brief background to Côte d'Ivoire's economic structure and performance in the post-colonial period. The sections four to six, which constitute the most important and extensive part of this policy paper, consider the structures and policy levers within, consecutively, the formal political environment, the informal environment and the international environment. The last section draws some conclusions regarding the general policy environment in the Côte d'Ivoire. It further presents a synopsis of the potentially more participatory or active participants in the CRISE-project as well as those policy levers and influencers that should be treated more passively, mainly being informed on the research outcomes and policy recommendations.

## 2. From Democratisation to Violent Conflict (1990-2003)

### Introduction of Multiparty Elections (1990)

Côte d'Ivoire became independent in August 1960. A one party-system was subsequently installed and the *Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire* (PDCI) took control of the state institutions. The PDCI was founded by the Baoulé tribal chief Houphouët-Boigny in 1946 and de facto controlled the Ivorian political system between 1960 and 1999.

Felix Houphouët-Boigny was elected the first president of the *République de Côte d'Ivoire* and he was successively re-elected until his death in December 1993. During the first twenty years of his presidency especially, Côte d'Ivoire not only achieved remarkable economic progress, but also benefited from a stable political environment. In the light of these economic and political achievements, international observers referred to Côte d'Ivoire as "*Le Miracle Africain*" or "*Le Modèle Ivoirien*".

In a region where most countries –for example Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea- were experiencing serious political tensions or even open violent conflicts, Côte d'Ivoire was an oasis of political stability. This long-lasting political stability becomes even more intriguing when one considers that Côte d'Ivoire is ethnically and religiously extremely heterogeneous (see Table 1). From the early stages of the colonial period, Côte d'Ivoire's multiethnic society was considerably affected by extensive domestic and international migration movements towards the southern parts of the country.

Côte d'Ivoire has about 60 different ethnic groups, grouped into the four larger socio-cultural and linguistic groups or ethnic families: *Akan* (Baoulé, Agni, Attiés, Abbey, Ebrié, Adioukrou, Abouré, Aladjan, etc.), *Gur* (Sénoufo, Lobi, Tagbana, Djimini, Koulnagos, etc.), *Krou* (Bété, Dida, Godié, Wê, Bakwé, etc.) and *Mandé* (Malinké, Yacouba, Dan, Gouro, Gagou, etc.)[4].

It is widely acknowledged that Houphouët-Boigny's political and economic management skills were one of the main factors explaining Côte d'Ivoire's (political) success during the period 1960-1985[5]. However, in addition to his skilled usage of political persuasion, socio-economic favouritism, ethnic redistribution and appeasement, and even violent suppression of (potential) opposition, Côte d'Ivoire's

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[4] Atlas de Côte d'Ivoire, *Groupes Culturels et ethniques*, 1977.
[5] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, (2001).

stability stemmed from a very favourable international economic environment during the first twenty years of its independence.

**Table 1: The ethnic and religious composition of Côte d'Ivoire**

| Religious Groups | Proportion | Ethnic groups | Proportion | Geographical concentration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslims | 38.6% | Akan | 42.1% | Eastern and central regions |
| Catholics | 19.4% | Gur | 17.6% | Northern regions |
| Tribal religions | 15.9% | Krou | 11% | Southern and western regions |
| No religious affiliation | 16.7% | Northern Mandé | 16.5% | Northern regions |
| Protestants | 6.6% | Southern Mandé | 10% | Western regions |

**Source:** Leclerc (2002) and International Religious Freedom Report (2002).

During the 1980s, however, the Ivorian model slowly started to disintegrate. As a result of the dramatic fall in the commodity prices of coffee, cacao and cotton, Côte d'Ivoire began to face serious economic and social problems[6]. There was a sharp decline in state revenues and, therefore, the government had to take stringent austerity measures at the beginning of 1990.

These austerity measures aggravated social discontent and unrest which was already widespread. In April 1990, the social crisis resulted in major student protests and demonstrations by the still officially illegal political opposition[7]. In an attempt to restore social and political stability by appeasing the political opposition, the old and physically weak Houphouët-Boigny, influenced by President Mitterand's declaration[8], decided to democratise the political system[9]. In May 1990, one party rule was abandoned and opposition parties were legalised.

**Succession to Houphouët-Boigny and the Concept of "*l'ivoirité*"**

When Houphouët-Boigny died on 7 December 1993, there were two prominent candidates to replace him: Henri Konan Bédié, president of the National Assembly and Alassane Ouattara. Both candidates had different ethnic backgrounds. Like Houphouët-Boigny, Bédié belonged to the ethnic group Baoulé. In contrast, Alassane Ouattara was considered to be a Malinké, one of the ethnic groups of the Gur family, predominantly found in the northern regions.

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[6] See for example: Akindes, (2003); Dembele, (2003); Contamin *et al.*, (1997).
[7] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, (2001).
[8] President Mitterand's declaration was to the African leaders at the *Conférence de Baule* in May 1990. This declaration introduced the policy that political conditions would be attached to the allocation of aid, especially in Africa.
[9] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, (2001).

The constitution as well as the French President Mitterand supported Henri Konan Bédié's claim to the presidency[10]. Ouattara opposed Bédié's appointment as president and proposed that the Supreme Court should take temporary charge until new elections were held[11]. When the Supreme Court acknowledged the legality of Bédié's appointment, Ouattara resigned as prime minister and returned to the IMF in Washington[12].

The combination of three years of structural reforms (1990-1993), under the directorship of Ouattara, and the 1994 CFA franc devaluation led to a considerable improvement in the economic situation. On the political side, however, Côte d'Ivoire continued to experience serious political confrontations and social tensions. In order to reinforce his political position, President Bédié initiated a policy that came to be known as "*l'ivorité*"[13].

Although he claimed that the concept was solely aimed at creating a sense of cultural unity among all the people living in the territory of the Côte d'Ivoire, it is widely recognised that the concept was introduced for specific political reasons: preventing Alassane Ouattara from participating in the subsequent (presidential) elections[14]. L'ivorité changed the electoral code, requiring both parents of a presidential candidate to be Ivorian. It further stipulated that the candidate himself must have lived in the country for the past five years. This new electoral code effectively excluded Ouattara from participating[15].

As a result, Ouattara's *Rassemblement des Republicains* (RDR) decided to boycott the elections of October 1995. The RDR was one of the two main opposition parties. It was set up in 1994 by a group of disgruntled PDCI politicians under the leadership of Djény Kobina. And, it mainly draws support from people with a northern and/or Muslim background, predominantly found in the ethnic families Gur and Mandé.

The leader of the *Front Populaire Ivoirien* (FPI), Laurent Gbagbo, also decided to boycott the presidential elections, claiming that the electoral process was manipulated[16]. The FPI was the most important and oldest opposition party. It was founded in 1982 by Laurent Gbagbo, who was a Bété from Gagnoa, a town in the south western part of Côte d'Ivoire. During the one party rule of Houphouët-Boigny's PDCI, the FPI operated clandestinely. FPI is mainly supported by people with a Krou background.

Thus, due to the exclusion and boycott of his main rivals, Alassane Ouattara and Laurent Gbagbo, respectively, President Bédié won the October 1995 elections with a landslide, receiving 95% of the votes[17].

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[10] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.iss.co.za/.

[11] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.

[12] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.

[13] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.

[14] Although "*l'ivorité*" was initially introduced as a cultural concept by Nianguran Porquet, Professor of literature at University of Abidjan and theatre director, President Bédié was responsible for introducing it into the political arena and replacing its cultural content with a political one.

[15] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.

[16] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, Côte d'Ivoire, (2001).

[17] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.

**Coup d'état (December 1999)**

As a result of a quick economic recovery in the period 1995-1998, Côte d'Ivoire went through a period of relative calm. However, in 1999, due to a dramatic fall in the prices of cacao and coffee, Côte d'Ivoire once more entered into an economic crisis which was accompanied by widespread social and political unrest. In addition to the faltering economy, social and political discontent was aggravated by major corruption and financial scandals. Consequently, not unsurprisingly, the IMF decided to withhold its structural funds in July 1999, citing "fiscal slippage and opaque financial practice in public administration"[18].

The political instability and socio-economic insecurity eventually led to a military mutiny that started in Abidjan on 23 December 1999. Led by the retired general Robert Gueï, the mutineers announced the following day that president Bédié had been ousted[19]. Bédié had no choice but to leave the country. The opposition parties were subsequently asked to join a new government of national unity. After negotiations between the various political parties and the military junta, a transitional government was installed on 4 January 2000[20].

The presidential elections of October 2000 were marked by chaos[21]. First, again as a reaction to the exclusion of their candidate, Alassane Ouattara, the RDR boycotted the presidential elections. Second, when it became clear that Laurent Gbagbo was going to win the elections, General Gueï dissolved the independent election commission and proclaimed himself as winner. Following massive street demonstrations by FPI supporters as well as members from the military and security forces, Gueï was forced to leave the country. The official results of the elections stipulated that Laurent Gbagbo and General Gueï obtained, respectively, 59.36% and 32.72% of the votes[22]. The Supreme Court subsequently declared Laurent Gbagbo the official winner of the presidential elections.

The RDR, however, refused to recognise the legality of the election results because their candidate had been unlawfully excluded from the presidential elections. Encouraged by the successful street protests by the FPI supporters, which brought Laurent Gbagbo to power, the RDR supporters started to organise large scale street protests themselves[23]. These protests were brutally suppressed by the security forces, resulting in the 'massacre of Yopougon'. Over hundred RDR-supporters, with a strictly Muslim or northern background, were killed by the security forces[24]. This event marked an important shift in the political confrontations and conflict. Moreover, it gave the political conflict in the Côte d'Ivoire a clear ethnic and religious dimension, often presented as north-south confrontation.

**Civil War (September 2002)**

Following these violent elections, President Gbagbo initiated a policy of national reconciliation, which would eventually lead to the organisation of the 'Forum for National Reconciliation' in November 2001. The forum intended to discuss the main issues dividing the various political parties. Among other things, the following issues

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[18] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, Côte d'Ivoire, (2001).
[19] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Profile, Côte d'Ivoire, (2001).
[20] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.
[21] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.
[22] Le Pape *et al.*, (2002:48).
[23] Institute for Security Studies, country profile: Côte d'Ivoire.
[24] Leymarie, (2001:3).

were discussed: "Ivorian nationality, eligibility of presidential candidates, land ownership rules, and legitimacy of the government and security forces"[25]. In a summit meeting, on 23 January 2002, the leaders of the main political parties agreed to establish an electoral as well as a land ownership review commission, to oppose undemocratic power transfers and to professionalize the security forces[26]. Political tensions were further reduced when Gbagbo, Bédié and Ouattara agreed to form a government of national unity in July 2002.

However, on 19 September 2002, Côte d'Ivoire became entangled in a violent crisis. This crisis started with simultaneous attacks against the military installations of Abidjan, Bouaké and Korhogo by a group of disgruntled soldiers[27]. It is widely believed that the main reason these soldiers started a mutiny was their planned demobilisation. Most of the mutinying soldiers had been recruited during the brief reign of General Robert Gueï and were supposed to be demobilised in early 2003[28]. The mutiny turned quickly into a more organised rebellion, when more and more soldiers joined the ranks of the rebels. Several subsequent attempts by government forces to retake the rebel-controlled towns in the northern part of Côte d'Ivoire failed.

By the end of September, the rebels firmly controlled the northern part of the country. And, by then, they were referring to themselves as a political movement, called the *Mouvement Patriotique pour la Côte d'Ivoire* (MPCI). The MPCI had the following key demands: "the resignation of President Gbagbo, the holding of inclusive national elections, a review of the Constitution and an end to the domination by the Southerners"[29]. Although the majority of its forces have a northern/Muslim background, the MPCI claims to have no specific regional or ethnic affiliation. With an estimated force of 10,000 soldiers, it controls more than 40% of the Ivorian territory, in the northern and central part of the Côte d'Ivoire[30]. The two most prominent figures of the political wing are, respectively, Secretary-General Guillaume Soro Kigbafori and the head of foreign relations Louis Dacoury-Tabley.

The conflict was further complicated by the emergence of two additional rebel movements in the western region of the Côte d'Ivoire: *Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix* (MJP) and *Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest* (MPIGO). The MPIGO came into existence with the capture of the town Danané in the western part of Côte d'Ivoire, close to the Liberian border, on 28 November 2002[31]. It has a strong affiliation with the Yacouba, an ethnic group found in western regions of Côte d'Ivoire and also in Liberia. The military leader of the movement, Félix Doh, who was killed in an ambush in April 2003, claimed that his movement was set up to revenge the death of General Gueï who, in turn, was killed during the fighting on 19 September 2002 in Abidjan[32]. The MPIGO has about 6000 troops and controls two cities (Man and Danané) in the western part of the Côte d'Ivoire. The *Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix* (MJP) is the smallest of the rebel movements and it only counts about 250 men, including 50 traditional hunters, Dozos[33]. The MJP is an offspring of the MPCI, with which it still has very close relations.

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[25] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minuci/index.html.
[26] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.
[27] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.
[28] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.
[29] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.
[30] La Documentation Française: Côte d'Ivoire (Available at: http://www.ladocumentationfran caise.fr/dossier_actualite /crise_cote_divoire/forces_presence.shtml).
[31] La Documentation Française: Côte d'Ivoire.
[32] La Documentation Française: Côte d'Ivoire.
[33] La Documentation Française: Cote d'Ivoire.

Ivorian public opinion widely assumed that neighbouring countries, in particular Burkina Faso, had played an important role in the creation and financing of these rebel groups. However, key questions regarding the funding of the MPIGO and MPCI rebel groups and the extent of the links between the rebel groups and neighbouring governments (including Burkina Faso, Liberia, and even Libya or the United Arab Emirates) have still not been answered objectively[34].

## Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and its Implementation Obstacles

In order to limit the violence and resolve the political differences in the Côte d'Ivoire, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) started to mediate between the government and the rebel forces. On 17 October 2002, this led to a ceasefire agreement between the government and the MPCI-forces.

Under strong encouragement of France and ECOWAS, the conflicting parties were subsequently brought together in Linas-Marcoussis for a roundtable-meeting. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement on 23 January 2003 in Paris. The principal provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement were the creation of a government of national unity, the request for a joint France-ECOWAS peace keeping force and the establishment of an international follow-up commission. It was further agreed that the President had to delegate significant executive powers to the transitional government, which would be headed by a powerful prime minister, appointed by consensus. The transition government would be comprised of ministers designated by all parties that attended the conference[35].

The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement further tasked the new government of national unity "with legislative reform of the laws on nationality, electoral procedure, and land inheritance, the immediate creation of a national human rights commission, the establishment of an international inquiry into serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, and demanded an end to the impunity of those responsible for summary executions, in particular the death squads"[36].

Although the security situation has improved, the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement has hardly been implemented[37]. Both sides refused to implement the political promises and obligations they had agreed to. For example, the demobilisation and disarmament of security forces and militias has not even started; the appointment of the ministers of defence and internal security has resulted in a political deadlock of more than six months; and the territorial reintegration is by now a sheer illusion.

Further, the peace process has suffered several major setbacks. In late-August 2003, for instance, French security forces claimed to have stopped an attempted assassination plot against President Gbagbo[38]. Another major setback was the withdrawal of the rebel ministers from the government of national unity in mid-September. Based on the described events and obstacles, many observers acknowledge the possibility of a complete breakdown of the peace process.

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[34] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:52).
[35] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.
[36] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:51).
[37] See for example: First Report of the UN Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire, 3 August 2003. Available at: http://www.un.dk/doc/S.2003.0801.pdf.
[38] Economist Intelligence Units, Country Report, Côte d'Ivoire.

### 3. Structure and Performance of the Ivorian Economy

Côte d'Ivoire has a market-based economy, which is heavily dependent on the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector accounts for around thirty percent of the GDP and produces over sixty percent of the export revenues[39]. Further, between sixty and seventy percent of the Ivorian people are linked to some sort of agricultural activity[40]. The main export products are cocoa, coffee, bananas, cotton, pineapples, rubber, tropical wood and tuna. Côte d'Ivoire is the world's largest cocoa exporter and produces about 40 percent of the world's cocoa crop[41]. The cocoa and coffee plantations are mainly located in the southern parts of Côte d'Ivoire.

From the early 1940s, the colonial French administrator organised the transfer of forced labour from the *Upper Volta*, today's Burkina Faso, to the cocoa and coffee plantations in the southern parts of Côte d'Ivoire. Although forced labour was abolished by the French Assembly in 1946, Côte d'Ivoire continued to attract large numbers of migrants from neighbouring countries. There are two important reasons for the continued international and internal migration towards the south of Côte d'Ivoire.

First, during the period 1960-1980, Côte d'Ivoire's agricultural, export-oriented economy achieved an average *real* GDP growth rate of more than seven percent[42]. This economic growth led to an increased demand for labourers to work on the cocoa and coffee plantations in the south. Second, Houphouët-Boigny's economic policies were specifically aimed at attracting foreign labourers, in particular from Burkina Faso. For example, during 1960s, Houphouët-Boigny's government introduced several extremely liberal landownership laws, under the slogan "*the land belongs to those that develop it*"[43].

From an economic point of view, Côte d'Ivoire is an important country in West Africa. Not only does the Ivorian economy constitute forty percent of the GDP of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU)[44], but neighbouring countries also "depend heavily on its transport facilities for imports and exports and the remittances of migrant nationals"[45]. As a result of both the colonial and post-colonial international migration movements, there is now a large *non-Ivorian* or foreign population present in Côte d'Ivoire. More specifically, Côte d'Ivoire has a population of about 15,366,672, including 4,000,047 or *twenty-six* percent foreign migrants[46]. Table 2 shows the composition of the non-Ivorian population in Côte d'Ivoire. Due to the French colonial and Houphouët-Boigny's economic policies during the 1960s, much the most numerous group of foreign migrants stems from Burkina Faso.

As mentioned earlier, mainly due to its remarkable economic growth in the period 1960-1980, international observers started referring to Côte d'Ivoire in superlative

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[39] Worldinformation.com, Côte d'Ivoire, Country Profile, March 2003 (Available at: http://worldinformation.com).

[40] U.S. Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs, Côte d'Ivoire, October 2003 (Available at: www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgnn/2846pf.htm).

[41] U.S. Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs, Côte d'Ivoire, October 2003.

[42] Diomande, (1997: 109).

[43] Gonnin, (1998 :174). The original French slogan was: « La terre à celui qui la met en valeur » (see for example: Chaléard, 2000).

[44] The West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) is constituted of the following eight countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

[45] The World Bank Group Countries: Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ci2.htm.

[46] Akindes, (2003:4).

terms such as *the African miracle* or *the Ivorian model*. However, in retrospect, this reputation appeared to be ill-founded because it disregarded fundamental flaws in the Ivorian development model.

**Table 2: The composition of the non-Ivorian population in Côte d'Ivoire**

| Country of origins | 1988 | | 1998 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Proportion | Number | Proportion |
| Benin | 86 375 | 2.8 | 107 499 | 2.7 |
| Burkina Faso | 1 564 650 | 51.5 | 2 238 548 | 56.0 |
| Ghana | 167 783 | 5.5 | 133 221 | 3.3 |
| Guinea | 225 845 | 7.4 | 230 387 | 5.8 |
| Liberia | 4 711 | 0.2 | 78 177 | 2.0 |
| Mali | 712 500 | 23.4 | 792 258 | 19.8 |
| Mauritania | 16 650 | 0.5 | 18 152 | 0.5 |
| Niger | 84 826 | 2.8 | 102 220 | 2.6 |
| Nigeria | 52 875 | 1.7 | 71 355 | 1.8 |
| Senegal | 39 727 | 1.3 | 43 213 | 1.1 |
| Togo | 42 664 | 1.4 | 72 892 | 1.8 |
| Others | 54 702 | 1.8 | 104 001 | 2.6 |
| **TOTAL** | **3 039 037** | **100%** | **4 000 047** | **100.0%** |

**Source:** Institut National de la Statistique (INS), *Annuaire des Statistiques Démographiques et Sociales*, 1992-1998, June 2001.

First, the impressive economic growth record did not result in an equally impressive improvement in the socio-economic situation. Table 3 illustrates this by comparing some socio-economic indicators of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Neighbouring Ghana is comparable in population size and its economy also depends heavily on the agricultural sector, earning thirty-six percent of the GDP and employing sixty percent of the work force[47]. Although Ghana had an average *real* GDP growth rate of less than two percent a year for the period 1960-1980, it outperformed Côte d'Ivoire on most of the socio-economic indicators in the 1980s (see Table 3).

Second, Côte d'Ivoire's dependence on "a narrow export base is a significant structural problem which can only be overcome with public and private investment in further economic diversification"[48]. Moreover, the heavy reliance on export revenues of agricultural products exposed the Ivorian economy to the price variability on the international commodity markets. When the prices of Côte d'Ivoire's main export commodities, cocoa and coffee, sharply declined in the 1980s, this price vulnerability was clearly exposed and led to serious economic problems.

As a result of the poor economic performance in 1980s and early 1990s, living standards declined steadily[49]. In 1988, in particular, there was a dramatic socio-economic deterioration: real GDP per capita declined by five percent, private consumption dropped by seventeen percent and employment in the formal sector was reduced by fourteen percent[50]. Further, between 1988 and 1990, the informal sector employment doubled in size and unemployment tripled. Over the period 1989-1995, the national income per capita dropped by more than twelve percent.

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[47] CIA World Factbook, Ghana. (Available at: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/).
[48] Worldinformation.com, Côte d'Ivoire, Country Profile, March 2003.
[49] U.S. Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs, Côte d'Ivoire, October 2003.
[50] The figures in this paragraph stem from Sindzingre (2000:32).

**Table 3: Some socio-economic indicators for Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana**

|  | Côte d'Ivoire | Ghana |
|---|---|---|
| Average real GDP growth rate (%) (1960-80) | 7 | 1.8 |
| Life expectancy at birth in yrs. (1985) | 50 | 55 |
| Low-birth weight babies (% of births) (1987) | 15 | 6 |
| Hospital beds per 1000 people (1990) | 0.8 | 1.46 |
| Adult illiteracy, % of people ages 15 and above (1985) | 71.6 | 48.9 |
| School enrolment, primary (% gross) (1985) | 71 | 75 |
| School enrolment, secondary (% gross) (1985) | 19.7 | 39.6 |
| Health expenditure, total (% of GDP) (1990) | 3.1 | 4.0 |
| Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current int. $) (1990) | 48 | 57 |

**Source:** World Development Indicators (WDI), 2001.

The economic problems resulted not only in civilian protests against government policies, but also led to confrontations and social tensions between different ethnic groups and foreign migrants and autochthones. Moreover, from the early 1980s, as a response to the economic and financial problems, the Ivorian government started to implement the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Employment in state and parastatal institutions, subsequently, declined significantly, resulting in an increased supply of people seeking employment opportunities in the private and informal sector. However, the increased supply of labour was not met by increased demand, and unemployment increased dramatically. Due to the fact that the ethnic groups from the north, together with foreign migrants, dominated the labour-intensive agricultural sector as well as the informal sector, the increased competition for resources and employment in these sectors led to xenophobic reactions and ethnic tensions.

The 1994 devaluation of the CFA franc, together with the structural adjustment measures from the period 1990-1993, led to renewed economic growth from 1994 until early 1999. As part of the structural adjustment measures of the early 1990s, the Ivorian government started to privatise state-owned enterprises. By the end of 1999, the government had privatised all but six of the state's parastatals[51]. In recent years, under encouragement of the International Financials Institutions (IFIs) and some donors, "the Ivorian government has largely removed itself from economic activity"[52]. Important measures in this respect were the dissolving of the cocoa and coffee marketing board, the Caistab, and the further liberalisation of the cocoa and coffee markets in mid-2000[53].

In spite of such privatisation and market liberalisation, Côte d'Ivoire still has a relatively weak private sector. To a considerable extent, the economy is dependent on the 800,000 small private cocoa and coffee producers[54]. Further, industrial production is dominated by a small group of large enterprises, overwhelmingly owned by foreign companies and holdings. Following the privatisation process, the general 'rule' became: "the larger the capital of an enterprise, the smaller the proportion owned by Ivorians"[55].

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[51] U.S. Department of State, Commercial Service, Country Commercial Guide, Côte d'Ivoire, 2001 (Available at: http://www.usatrade.gov).
[52] U.S. Dept of State, Commercial Service, Country Commercial Guide, Côte d'Ivoire, 2001.
[53] U.S. Dept of State, Commercial Service, Country Commercial Guide, Côte d'Ivoire, 2001.
[54] U.S. Dept of State, Commercial Service, Country Commercial Guide, Côte d'Ivoire, 2001.
[55] U.S. Library of Congress, Country Profile, Côte d'Ivoire (Available at: http://countrystudies.us/ivory-coast/42.htm).

## 4. Formal Political Structures and Policy Levers

The political structure of the République de Côte d'Ivoire is characterised by the following features. It is a unitary state with a multiparty presidential regime, which was established in 1960. The current head of state is President Laurent Gbagbo (FPI)[56]. The legislative branch is constituted by a unicameral National Assembly, which has 225 members elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term.

Since the introduction of the multiparty system in 1990, over hundred political parties have been created. The most important political forces are represented in the current government of national unity. The three most important political parties are: Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI), Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), and Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).

The last legislative elections took place in an atmosphere of chaos and violence in December 2000. The current composition of the National assembly is as follows: Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) 96, Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) 94, Parti Ivoirien des Travailleurs (PIT) 4, Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) 5, Mouvement des Forces d'Avenir (MFA) 1, Union Démocratique Citoyenne (UDCY) 1, 22 independents and 2 vacant seats (see Table 4)[57]. Because the RDR has largely boycotted these elections, they are currently seriously underrepresented in the National Assembly.

It was stipulated in the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement of 23 January 2003 that the national government would be headed by a consensus prime minister. The new prime minister, Seydou Diarra (no party affiliation), was able to form a government of national unity on 10 March 2003[58]. As further agreed at the peace talks in Paris, the president had to transfer a significant amount of his executive powers and responsibilities to the new prime minister. The aim was to create a transitional power-sharing regime under the guidance of a consensual, but powerful, prime minister. However, in practice, President Gbagbo has successfully thwarted the transfer of most of the agreed executive powers to the prime minister. He therefore remains in charge of the executive branch.

The current cabinet contains forty-one ministers in total, including twelve ministers of state. Ministers of State have more wide-reaching responsibilities and financial capabilities to initiate and implement policies in their area of responsibility. All the signatories of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement are represented in the new transitional government. Table 4 gives an overview of the distribution of the ministerial positions, including the ministers of state, according to the different political parties and movements.

As already mentioned, the appointment of the crucial ministers of defence and internal security resulted in a political deadlock of more than six months. Finally, on 13 September 2003, President Gbagbo appointed Martin Bléou and René Amani as, respectively, Minister of Internal Security and Defence. Although the government presented them as consensus figures, leaders of the joint rebel movement objected fiercely to these appointments. First, they claimed that Martin Bléou and René Amani were too close to Gbagbo's sphere of influence. Second, they argued that the ministers of defence and internal security could only be appointed after the power-sharing government had reached a compromise on the potential candidates. In their

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[56] The next presidential elections are due in October 2005.
[57] Elections around the World: Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.electionworld.org/
[58] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background.

view, President Gbagbo did not have the authority to appoint these ministers by himself. Albert Tévoédjré, chairman of the international Follow-Up Committee, supported the appointments, hoping that a major stumbling block to the peace process would be eliminated.

**Table 4: The composition of the government and National Assembly**

| Political party/rebel movement | ministerial positions | Minister(s) of State | Seats in National Assembly [a] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prime Minister (Seydou Diarra) (no party affiliation) | 1 | | |
| Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) | 10 | Economy and Finance (Paul Bouabré) Mines and Energy (Leon-Emmanuel Monnet) | 96 |
| Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) | 7 | Foreign Affairs (Mamadou Bamba) Infrastructure (Patrick Achi) | 94 |
| Union pour la Démocratie et la Paix en Côte d'Ivoire (UDPCI) | 2 | Health and Population (Mabri Toiqueuse) | - |
| Parti Ivoirien des Travailleurs (PIT) | 3 | Environment (Angèle Gnonsoa) | 4 |
| Mouvement des Forces d'Avenir (MFA) | 1 | Transport (Anaki Kobenan) | - |
| Union Démocratique Citoyenne (UDCY) | 1 | African Integration (Théodore Mel Eg) | 1 |
| Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) | 7 | Agriculture (Amadou Gon Coulibaly) Justice (Henriette Dagri-Diabaté) | 5 (Boycott) |
| Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI) [b] | 7 | Communications (Guillaume Soro) Territorial Administration (Issa Diakite) | - |
| Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest (MPIGO) | 1 | - | - |
| Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix (MJP) | 1 | - | - |

[a] After the legislative elections of December 2000, the complete composition of the National Assembly looks as follows: FPI 96, PDCI 94, RDR 5, PIT 4, MFA 1, UDCY 1, independents 22 and 2 vacant seats (source: Elections around the World).
[b] Following the rebel ministers' withdrawal from the government of reconciliation on 23 September 2003, these ministerial positions are virtually vacant.

## Ministries

The administration of the country is still in a poor shape. Above all, in the rebel-controlled territories, the level and quality of the administrative and governmental services (e.g. education, health, etc.) has suffered dramatically as a result of the violent conflict. So far, progress in restoring these services has been limited. Since its inception on 10 March 2003, the functioning of the national government has also been highly ineffective.

The rebel ministers in particular have been unable to initiate or realise any significant policy initiatives in their field of responsibility. Most of them have had a difficult and tense relationship with their respective ministries or departments. The lack of effective control of their departments by the rebel ministers has led in some cases to extreme situations, such as ministers not getting access to their offices. The lack of authority and political legitimacy has been actively promoted by prominent figures such as the president of the National Assembly and FPI political party hardliner, Mamadou Koulibaly (FPI). The most serious incident, however, occurred on 27 June, when the Minister for Communications and the secretary-general of the rebel

Patriotic Movement of Cote d'Ivoire (MPCI), Guillaume Soro, was attacked by a mob of youths at the headquarters of state television in Abidjan[59].

The main reason that the ministries headed by members of the rebel groups, in particular, do not function properly, has to do with the structure of the ministries. The minister heads the ministry, assisted by a ministerial cabinet. This cabinet is composed of a director, a secretary of staff and several technical advisors. It controls and directs the central services and departments of a ministry (e.g. finance, human resources, research and development, etc.). The ministerial cabinet forms the heart of a ministry and the cabinet's director is de facto the most influential individual within the administrative organisation.

However, due to the disagreement between the rebel ministers and President Gbagbo over the appointment of cabinet members, the composition of the ministerial cabinets has remained unchanged. Most cabinets are therefore predominantly composed of FPI members or supporters. Thus, the only ministries that are functioning relatively normally are the ministries where there is congruence between the political and ethnic background of the minister and the members of the ministerial cabinet. The most important ministries that seem to function more or less effectively are the ministries of Economy and Finance, Foreign Affairs, Mines and Energy and Infrastructure.

Following the withdrawal of the rebel ministers from the government of national unity on 23 September 2003, the peace process entered a new political deadlock. According to the joint rebel movement, the main reason for suspending their participation in the government was "the refusal of President Gbagbo to delegate meaningful authority to individual ministers"[60]. These ministerial positions have now been virtually vacant for over a month. The Ghanaian President John Kufuor, currently chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), has taken the initiative to arrange a summit in Accra between President Gbagbo and the rebel leaders to restart the peace process. The meeting is planned for the end of November 2003. The specific aim is to persuade the rebels to resume their participation in the government of national unity.

The following four ministries are responsible for the development and implementation of policies related to the CRISE project: Economy and Finance (FPI), Communication (MPCI), Education (FPI) and Agriculture (RDR). However, due to the rebel ministers' withdrawal from government in mid-September as well as the ineffective functioning of most ministries, the exact timing and modalities of their inclusion into the CRISE project need to be further looked at.

**Local Government and Decentralisation[61]**

Decentralisation and democratisation at the *local* level are part of the same process in Côte d'Ivoire. In 1980, Houphouët-Boigny initiated a communalisation policy, which led to "the creation of a large number of new, elected local government authorities"[62]. These new *communes* were mainly created to address "the problem of public apathy

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[59] UN OCHA Integrated Regional Information Network, *Côte d'Ivoire: UN says security improves, but obstacles to lasting peace remain*, 17 August 2003 (Available at: http://www.reliefweb.int/).
[60] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: French journalist shot dead by policeman*, 23 October 2003 (Available at: http://www.dehai.org/archives/AW_news_archive/3902.html).
[61] This section is largely based on: Crook *et al.*, (1998:136-201).
[62] Crook *et al.*, (1998:138).

and lack of trust or communication between government, party and the people"[63]. Another reason for the government to introduce a communalisation policy stems from declining government revenues. It was hoped that improved mobilisation of fiscal resources at the local level would enable the central government to divest itself of some of its developmental responsibilities.

After several waves of decentralisation (e.g. 1980, 1985, 1993 and 1996), the current administrative structure of the Côte d'Ivoire looks as follows: eighteen regions, fifty-eight prefectures or departments, 231 sub-prefectures or sub-departments, and 197 communes. The regions, prefectures and sub-prefectures are all headed by a prefect, appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. The communes are headed by an elected mayor, who together with his assistants forms the *Executive*[64]. The members of the Executive, including the mayor, are elected to office by the commune council at its first meeting. The Executive is formally accountable to the Council. The Council itself is elected as a single list in a first-past-the-post ballot. Moreover, due to the fact that the winning list forms the Council and the losers are totally excluded, there is no opposition on the commune councils[65].

In accordance with the 1985 law on decentralisation, the Communes are permitted to perform a wide range of specified functions, among other things: "the provision of educational buildings and equipment; cultural and social facilities, public health and sanitary services; maintenance of roads, markets, bus stations, etc.; and administrative services such as the census, and the certification of births, deaths and marriage"[66]. In order to perform these functions, the Communes are funded by three different mechanisms: 1) local taxes, levies and fees; 2) transfers of centrally collected taxes for communes' purposes; and 3) subsidies from the central government[67].

Regarding the financial authority of the communes, it needs to be stressed that each commune has limited *financial* independence. Thus, although communes have the right to create and manage their own budgets and their own property or resources[68], most financial and tax-related activities are still controlled by the state government. For instance: "communes do not have their own treasury or bank account, all commune taxes and other revenues are paid into the state Tax Office at prefectoral level, tax collectors are usually employees of the state Treasury, and communes have very little control over either the rates of taxation or the rates of collection"[69].

Although communes seem to be fairly autonomous in initiating policies in their area of responsibility, central government still has considerable control over the policy-making process[70]. First, the creation of a large number of *very small* communes, with limited financial capacities, de facto gave the central government a decisive voice in determining which policies or projects communes are able to execute. Second, the communes are subject to the *tutelle* of the Ministry of the Interior. The central government's supervision and monitoring is locally exercised by the prefectoral service. The tutelary authority approves communes' "executive actions where

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[63] Crook *et al.*, (1998:139).
[64] Crook *et al.*, (1998:144).
[65] Crook *et al.*, (1998:143).
[66] Crook *et al.*, (1998:143).
[67] Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire (CEAN), Côte d'Ivoire: Situation institutionelle (available at: www.etat.sciencespobordeaux.fr/institutionnel/ cotivoir.html).
[68] Crook *et al.*, (1998:142).
[69] Crook *et al.*, (1998:144-146).
[70] Crook *et al.*, (1998:144-146).

required and provides advice and support"[71]. Furthermore, the 1985 law on decentralisation stipulates eighteen subjects (e.g. communes' budgets, local development plans, etc.), covering matters of any significance, where the commune councils cannot execute any actions or decisions until the central government has approved them[72].

In summary, as Crook and Manor state: "The democratic potential of community-based devolved local authorities has been counterbalanced by an administrative and financial framework which retains tight central control over communal actions and programmes. Although formally devolved, the structure of decentralisation in fact reflects a determination to maintain central power"[73].

### Some Other State Institutions

There are several other state institutions that have a more indirect influence on domestic policies. Four major institutions are: i) *Conseil Économique et Social*, ii) *Conseil Constitutionnel*, iii) *Commission Électorale Indépendante* and iv) *Cour Suprême*.

### i. Conseil Économique et Social

The Economic and Social Council has a hundred and five members in total, including one president and six vice-presidents. The members are appointed by presidential decree for period of five years. At the request of the President and/or the National Assembly, the Council conducts studies and gives advice on matters of a social and economic character. The Council can further inform the President on its own initiative of reforms and measures that could support the country's socio-economic development.

### ii. Conseil Constitutionnel

The Constitutional Council is composed of a president, two vice-presidents, all the former presidents of the republic and six counsellors. The president of Council is appointed by the national President and has a mandate of six years. The Council holds extensive responsibilities and powers regarding the eligibility of presidential and legislative candidates and the validity of the elections. In this capacity, the Council has played an extremely important role in political developments over the last ten years.

### iii. Commission Electoral Indépendante

The Independent Electoral Commission is a relatively new institution, created on 9 October 2001. As part of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, the government agreed to restructure the Commission in order to make it more independent and representative. The Commission is responsible for the organisation and supervision of referenda and elections. The Commission has twenty-five members in total who are appointed by presidential decree. The Commission has a multiparty composition; all the political parties that either have deputies in the National Assembly or control one of the 197 communes have a seat on the Commission.

### iv. Cour Suprême

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial institution in the Côte d'Ivoire. It is composed of three different entities: the administrative chamber, the judicial chamber and the financial chamber. The administrative chamber acts as court of appeal

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[71] Crook *et al.*, (1998:144).
[72] Crook *et al.*, (1998:145).
[73] Crook *et al.*, (1998:147).

against all decisions and rulings taken in administrative procedures. The judicial chamber acts as a court of appeal for judicial decisions taken by lower courts. The financial chamber is responsible for the supervision of the management of the public finances.

### Role of the Military and Paramilitary Forces

The *Forces Armées Nationales de Côte d'Ivoire* (FANCI) are under the direct control of President Gbagbo. They are predominantly composed of three ethnic groups, referred to as *BAD* (Bété, Attiés and Dida), that are closely linked to the ethnic group of President Gbagbo. Although these forces are loyal to their Commander in Chief, they have also shown some independent initiative. For instance, on 4 July 2003, they declared in a joint Forces Nouvelles-FANCI statement that the civil war had officially ended. They further announced the creation of a joint commission (CEMCAD) that was to supervise the implementation of various agreements. In practice, however, this commission was ineffective and soon ceased to exist.

As stipulated in the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, all recruits enlisted after 19 September 2002 had to be immediately demobilized. Further, the rebel forces agreed to disarm themselves. In turn, the government of national reconciliation agreed to set up Disarmament - Demobilization - Repatriation - Resettlement - Reintegration (DDRRR) programmes that would ensure the social reintegration of military personnel[74]. As a consequence of the continued political tensions and disputes, however, most of these provisions were not implemented. Quite the contrary, both the rebel and government forces have been steadily expanding and rearming their military forces and equipment.

The figures shown in Table 5 below should be regarded as broad estimates rather than precise figures.

**Table 5: Number and composition of FANCI and Forces Nouvelles**

|  | FANCI | Forces Nouvelles (MPCI/MJP/MPIGO) |
|---|---|---|
| **Regular Army**<br>Army<br>Navy<br>Air Force | 8,800<br>900<br>700 | 18,000 |
| **Paramilitary**<br>Presidential Guard<br>Gendarmerie<br>Reserves<br>Militia | 1,100<br>8,000<br>12,000<br>1,500-20,000 |  |

**Source:** IISS, (2002); and La Documentation Française: Côte d'Ivoire (Available at: www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/dossier_actualite/crise_cote_divoire/forces_presence.html).

In addition to the regular forces, there are an increasing number of paramilitary forces or militia. Most of these militia are controlled by several hard-line youth

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[74] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minuci/index.html.

groups, known as "*Jeune Patriots*"[75]. As a result of their violent protests, these militia-style youth groups have become increasingly dominant in disrupting and influencing the political environment in Côte d'Ivoire[76]. Anti-rebel and anti-French sentiments form the basis for their inflammatory rhetoric. Not only do they think that the French government is secretly supporting the rebel forces, but they also regard the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement as a French-imposed and unjust peace. They therefore strongly object its implementation.

These youth groups control a considerable number of people in towns throughout the south of Côte d'Ivoire[77]. Although accurate figures are lacking, it is widely believed that their networks have at least several thousands members and supporters. On 17 October 2003, as a response to an extremely violent demonstration a week earlier, President Gbagbo decided to disband one of these youth groups, called the *Groupement des patriotes pour la paix* (GPP)[78]. However, no measures have been taken against the most powerful youth organisation, closely linked to President Gbagbo himself, the *Congrès panafricain des jeunes patriots* (COJEP).


## 5. Informal Political Structures and Policy Influencers

This section briefly reviews the informal political environment and some of its main policy influencers. The following specific policy influencers will be considered: ethnic and religious leaders; popular organisations and local NGOs; media; and academic institutions, think tanks and individuals, focusing on actors that could be valuable for the CRISE-research in Côte d'Ivoire.

**Ethnic and Religious Leaders**

Côte d'Ivoire is an ethnically and religiously diverse country, where ethnic and religious leaders are still highly respected and influential within their respective communities. More than 67% of the Ivorian population are considered to be either Christian or Muslim[79]. Although Muslims predominantly live in the northern half of the country, due to immigration, they are becoming increasingly numerous in the southern cities. In 1998 Muslims constituted 45.5 percent of the total urban population and 33.5 percent of the total rural population[80]. Catholics mainly live in the southern, central, and eastern parts of the country. Practitioners of traditional indigenous religions are found in rural areas throughout country. Protestants are concentrated in the central, eastern, and southwest regions[81].

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[75] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: Government bans demonstrations for three months, disbands youth group*, 17 October 2003 (Available at: http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID= 37295 &SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE).

[76] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: Government bans demonstrations for three months, disbands youth group*, 17 October 2003.

[77] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: Government bans demonstrations for three months, disbands youth group*, 17 October 2003.

[78] The *Groupement des patriotes pour la paix* (GPP) consists of two large factions, controlled respectively by the FPI militants Touré Moussa Zéguen and Charles Groguhé.

[79] This brief overview is largely based on: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *International Religious Freedom Report 2002*, Côte d'Ivoire (Available at: http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2001/5603.htm).

[80] International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.

[81] International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.

The Constitution of the Côte d'Ivoire provides for freedom of religion[82]. Religious instruction is allowed in public schools "and usually offered after normal class hours"[83]. Such instruction is provided by Islamic, Catholic and Protestant groups. Although there is no state religion, for historical and ethnic reasons the government informally favours the Roman Catholic Church[84]. This informal favouritism of the Catholic Church began during Houphouët-Boigny's reign, who was himself Catholic.

Although there is a wide range of institutions and organisations representing different communities or regions, both major religions have some institutions that are considered to represent the community as a whole. For the Muslim community, there are two important institutions: *Conseil Supérieur des Imams* (COSIM), headed by Imam Fofana Aboubacar, and *Conseil National Islamique* (CNI), headed by Imam El Hadj Idriss Koudouss. For the Catholic community, the most important institution is the Diocese of Abidjan, headed by Monsignor Agre, Archbishop of Abidjan. Within the Protestant community, there is a wide variety of institutions that represent relatively small religious groups.

Under the initiative of the Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratie et le Développement social en Afrique (GERDDES-CI), an important multi-religious organisation, *Forum des Confessions Religieuses*, was created in September 1997. Among the Forum's members are the leaders of many of the country's religious faiths, including Catholics, Muslims, various Protestants groups, several syncretist groups, the Association of Traditional Priests, and the *Bossonists*, an association of indigenous Akan religious priests[85]. The Forum aims to improve and promote inter-religious dialogue, co-operation and understanding[86].

## Popular Organisations and Local NGOs

Civil society in Côte d'Ivoire has a rather politicised character, meaning that although these organisations and associations are officially 'independent', they are very closely linked to certain political parties or interest groups. Prominent examples of popular organisations or NGOs that are closely related to and in some cases completely controlled by President Gbagbo's FPI are: *Jeunesse du FPI* (JFPI), *Congrès panafricain des jeunes patriots* (COJEP), *Fédération des étudiants et scolaires de Côte d'Ivoire* (FESCI), and *Collectif des Mouvements des Femmes Patriotes de Côte d'Ivoire*. These NGOs are often instigators of political and social instability, tensions and/or intolerance[87].

Other NGOs that are widely regarded as being more politically independent and positively contributing to the political environment are, for instance: *Mouvement ivoirien des droits de l'homme* (MIDH), *Ligue ivoirienne des droits de l'homme* (LIDHO), and *Association des femmes Ivoriennes*. The first two organisations aim to improve the human rights situation in Côte d'Ivoire, by promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms. The latter organisation is working on gender-related issues and projects. Moreover, these NGOs focus on issues and

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82 International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.
83 International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.
84 International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.
85 International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.
86 International Religious Freedom Report 2002, Côte d'Ivoire.
87 Human Rights Watch describes various incidents where these so-called civil society organisations have instigated intolerance and violence against mainly people or organisations with a northern, Muslim or RDR-background (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

projects related to the *perceptual* side of horizontal inequalities, it would therefore be useful to involve them in the CRISE project.

Another organisation that could be valuable for the CRISE project in Côte d'Ivoire is the *Collectif de la Société Civile pour la Paix*. This NGO was set up in November 2002 with the aim of preventing inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence from spreading in Côte d'Ivoire. By including members with different ethnic and religious backgrounds and affiliations, the composition of the NGO reflects its objectives of inter-ethnic and inter-religious co-operation and peace. Members include the local branches of two international organisations, the *Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratie et le Développement social en Afrique* (GERDDES-CI) and the *Association internationale pour la démocratie* (AID-CI). The two human rights organisations, *Mouvement ivoirien des droits de l'homme* (MIDH) and *Ligue ivoirienne des droits de l'homme* (LIDHO), also participate in this organisation[88].

Moreover, this NGO has initiated an awareness-raising and sensitisation project, which was funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), aimed at preventing the spread of ethnic and religious violence and tensions in Côte d'Ivoire. As part of the project, it sends delegations, with a multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition, to different regions of the country. These delegations hold meetings with the local government officials and the leaders of the different ethnic and religious communities[89]. This network of local leaders and contacts could potentially be extremely useful for the dissemination and implementation of the CRISE policy recommendations.

**The Media**

During most of Houphouët-Boigny's reign, Côte d'Ivoire had only two newspapers, *Fraternité Matin* and *Ivoir'Soir*, and two magazines, *Fraternité Hebdo*, the ruling party's official newspaper, and *Ivoire Dimanche*, covering arts and cultural events[90]. Since the introduction of the multiparty system and the subsequent liberalisation of the media in 1990, a plethora of newspapers have emerged. In 2001, about twenty daily newspapers and thirty periodicals were being published in Côte d'Ivoire[91]. The most prominent newspapers in this respect are: *Fraternité Matin*, *24 Heures*, *Le Nouveau Réveil*, *Le jour*, *Le Patriote, Le Front* and *Notre Voie*.

The public broadcasting and television service consists of two television channels, controlled by Radiodiffusion Télévision Ivoirienne (RTI 1 or 'La Première' and RTI 2 or TV2) and two radio broadcast stations (Radio Côte d'Ivoire and Fréquence 2). In addition, several international radio stations such as RFI, BBC and Africa No.1, are accessible in Côte d'Ivoire. Furthermore, the controlled liberalisation of the state monopoly in public broadcasting has led to the creation of an estimated fifty local radio stations[92]. These radio stations are either in private ownership or publicly owned, for example, by communities.

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[88] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: « les pacifists s'unissent pour éviter une guerre civile »,* 1 November 2002 (Available at: http://www.africaonline.com/site/Articles/2,3,50610.jsp).
[89] IRINNEWS, *Côte d'Ivoire: « les pacifists s'unissent pour éviter une guerre civile »,* 1 November 2002.
[90] This brief media overview is largely based on: Moussa *et al.*, (December 2001).
[91] Moussa *et al.*, (December 2001:6).
[92] Moussa *et al.*, (December 2001:6).

Although Côte d'Ivoire has a wide variety of media, the Ivorian people still have inadequate access to objective news coverage[93]. There are two main reasons for this lack of objective information. First, the print media especially lacks independence and is usually closely linked to one of the main political parties. For instance: *Fraternité Matin* is the state-run newspaper; *Notre Voie* is closely linked to the ruling FPI; *Le Patriote* is allied with the RDR; *Le Front* is considered as the rebel newspaper and *Le Nouveau Réveil* is associated with the PDCI. These political parties frequently use these newspapers as their channels of propaganda. In this respect, it is widely acknowledged that the Ivorian media has played and continues to play a crucial role in inflaming political and social tensions, inciting fear and hatred, and galvanizing the conflict[94].

Second, resulting from the fact that the Côte d'Ivoire has a low literacy rate, particularly in the rural areas, local radio remains the principal source of information[95]. However, these local radio stations are not allowed to discuss and broadcast political issues. Further, when the mutiny started in September 2002, the government moved quickly to cut the frequencies of the BBC and RFI, thereby effectively eliminating free access to independent news coverage[96].

**Academic Institutions, Think Tanks and Individuals**

Due to the civil war, the academic system in Côte d'Ivoire has been severely strained. Following the closures of the Universities of Bouaké and Korhogo, most university lecturers, researchers and students have been transferred or moved voluntarily to the University of Abidjan, stretching its resources and facilities to the limit. For example, the university campus in Abidjan, designed for an estimated 10,000 students, now holds more than 30,000 students. Yet, considering the circumstances, the academic system continues to function reasonably well. University employees have continued to receive their wages and salaries.

The following three institutions have expertise and/or are working on issues and research projects that are related to the CRISE research:

- *Groupement Interdisciplinaire en Sciences Sociales - Côte d'Ivoire (GIDIS-CI)*: GIDIS-CI is a scientific association which conducts inter-disciplinary research and gives expert advice on socio-economic issues. GIDIS-CI brings together a number of researchers based at different institutions, whose primary objective is to build national research and analytical capacities. GIDIS-CI activities focus on four research themes: population dynamics and agricultural development, urban research, health and structural adjustment, and social and political change. Professor Francis Akindes of the University of Bouaké is currently the Scientific Secretary of GIDIS-CI.

- *Reseau des intellectuals Ivoiriens pour la paix, la democratie et la gouvernance* (R2IPDG): R2IPDG is a think tank that was created by twenty-seven Ivorian intellectuals in November 2002. Among its members, there are lawyers, economists, medical doctors, anthropologists, priests, journalists, sociologists, writers, etc. It is currently headed by Professor Achi Atsain. R2IPDG publishes

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[93] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:12).
[94] See for example: Reporters without Borders, (2003) and Human Rights Watch, (August 2003).
[95] Moussa *et al.*, (December 2001:7).
[96] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:13).

reports and policy recommendations regarding non-violent conflict resolution and management and democratisation in Côte d'Ivoire.

- *Centre Ivoirien de Recherches économiques et Sociales* (CIRES): Originally created in 1971 as part of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Abidjan, CIRES became an independent research centre in 1980. CIRES focuses on applied socio-economic research. Among its research staff, it has both economists, political scientists, anthropologists ad sociologists. CIRES is currently directed by Professor Mamadou Ouattara.

In addition, the participation of certain local individuals and international recognised scholars on Côte d'Ivoire in workshops and/or seminars, for instance, would surely be an added-value to the CRISE research. In this respect, the following individuals would potentially be valuable participants: Yacouba Konaté: (philosopher, University of Abidjan), Samba Diarra (writer, political analyst, author of "Les faux complots de Houphouët-Boigny"), Ousmane Dembélé (Institute of Tropical geography, University of Abidjan), Jean-Pierre Dozon (Director of *Centre d'Etudes Africai*nes, Paris), Richard Banegas (Université de Paris 1) and Benoît Scheuer (Sociologist, *Prévention Génocides*).

## 6.  International Influences on Domestic Policy

Côte d'Ivoire is a member of most of the major international organisations. From an economic point of view in particular, Côte d'Ivoire is an extremely important member of the main regional organisations such as *Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine* (UEMOA), *Economic Community Of West African States* (ECOWAS) and *Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (BECEAO).

Following the violent conflict, Côte d'Ivoire has damaged relations with many West African countries[97]. While the violent conflict in Côte d'Ivoire has clear internal origins, there are important regional dynamics, linkages and consequences, including the spread of refugees, the presence of foreign soldiers or rebels, and possible military and financial support by neighbouring countries. Perhaps the most difficult relationship is that with Burkina Faso, which was widely blamed in Ivorian public opinion for supporting the rebels[98]. The immigrant population from Burkina Faso was therefore subject to xenophobic attacks and harassment. Other immigrant populations within Côte d'Ivoire, in particular from Mali, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, have also been victimised[99].

The violence and lack of security have led many international actors and organisations to reduce their operations in Côte d'Ivoire. For instance, stating the precarious security situation, the African Development Bank (AFDB) has recently decided to relocate its headquarters temporarily from Abidjan to Tunis (Tunisia). Another example is the decision of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to reduce its non-resident staff and personnel almost completely. However, regional and international organisations are still highly influential in the Côte d'Ivoire. The rest of this section will therefore briefly review the most important regional and international policy influencers.

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[97] Human Rights Watch, (November 2002:14).
[98] Human Rights Watch, (November 2002:14).
[99] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:53).

**Regional Organisation: ECOWAS**

The most active regional organisation in the context of the violent conflict in Côte d'Ivoire is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The ECOWAS countries quickly recognised the potentially severe economic consequences and political spillovers of the Ivorian conflict on the region as a whole[100]. ECOWAS members have therefore consistently tried to mediate between the warring parties. The numerous meetings and forums in Dakar, Lomé, and Accra resulted in a ceasefire agreement between the largest rebel movement MPCI and the government. This agreement was formally signed on 17 October 2002.

ECOWAS further committed itself to sending peacekeeping forces to monitor this ceasefire agreement and to ensure the free movement of humanitarian agencies. The Ghanaian, Togolese, and Senegalese heads of state especially have played an important part in effectively mobilising these troops[101]. Although these forces were pledged on 29 October 2002, due to funding and logistic impediments the first ECOWAS troops did not arrive until two months later[102].

The ceasefire agreement of 17 October 2002 was an important precondition for the organisation of more substantial peace negotiations in January 2003 in Linas-Marcoussis. One of the provisions of the subsequent Linas-Marcoussis Agreement was the request for an international peacekeeping force with a robust UN Security Council mandate. It was agreed that the already present ECOWAS forces, the so-called ECOFORCE, together with a contingent of French forces would constitute this peacekeeping force. Under resolution 1464 of the Security Council, these forces were mandated to assist the Ivorian government of national reconciliation, to supervise the regrouping of forces and to help in the disarming and demobilisation of the forces[103]. As of late-September, 2003, approximately 1,300 ECOWAS and 3,000 French forces were in place in Côte d'Ivoire to monitor the ceasefire and prevent the resumption of the hostilities[104].

**France**

France, the former colonial power, still has significant economic, political, cultural, and social interests in Côte d'Ivoire. Since Côte d'Ivoire obtained independence in August 1960, France has kept very strong links with the successive governments[105]. In particular during Houphouët-Boigny's reign, France and Côte d'Ivoire maintained a very cordial relationship, resulting in extensive consultations and cooperation on political, economic and military affairs. In addition to the presence of a large French community, France has also retained a considerable military presence in Côte d'Ivoire, for the most part situated in and around Abidjan[106].

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[100] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:53).

[101] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:53).

[102] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:53).

[103] On 4 August 2003, following the adoption of Resolution 1498 of the UN Security Council, the mandate of the joint West African, French peacekeeping forces in Côte d'Ivoire was extended by 6 months.

[104] United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), Conflict Background. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minuci/index.html.

[105] Human Rights Watch, (November 2002:16).

[106] France and Côte d'Ivoire have signed a mutual defence agreement in 1961. This agreement provides for the stationing of French forces in Côte d'Ivoire. More specifically, the

As a result of this military presence, the French forces were able quickly to evacuate all Western nationals from the Ivorian territory, when the violence broke out on 19 September 2002. After significant diplomatic lobbying by the French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin, the French government was able to convince the warring parties to participate in the Paris peace talks, which resulted in the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement[107]. Further, the French government agreed to commit a large contingent of French peacekeeping forces, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Stemming from the shared historical background and close economic and political ties, France is undoubtedly the most influential and active international player in Côte d'Ivoire. However, France is therefore also the country that is most frequently singled out for popular criticism from both sides[108]. On the one hand, the rebels criticised France for obstructing their advances on the southern towns of San Pedro and Abidjan. On the other hand, the government has criticised France for not denouncing the insurgency and for not providing military assistance to help fight the attacks. Especially, after the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, Franco-Ivorian relations deteriorated markedly as a result of France's critical position regarding President Gbagbo's reluctance to fully implement the agreement[109].

**International Organisations**

The major international organisations such as United Nations, WHO, UNOCHA, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, UNAIDS, World Bank, IMF, European Union, African Development Bank, to a varying degree, are all present and active in Côte d'Ivoire. Although the United Nations has frequently deferred to France on political and military matters, it nevertheless played an important role in shaping international reaction to the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire.

First, on 4 February 2003, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1464, condemning the human rights abuses and violence in Côte d'Ivoire, and more importantly, authorising the deployment of an international peacekeeping force. Second, the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement provided for the establishment of an international *Comité de Suivi* to follow up on the implementation of the Agreement. It was further agreed that this Follow-Up Committee was to be chaired by the UN Special Envoy for Côte d'Ivoire, Albert Tévoédjré[110]. Third, on 13 May 2003, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1479 which established the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI). Though a relatively small operation, MINUCI was mandated to facilitate the implementation by the Ivorian parties of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, and complement the military operations of the French and ECOWAS forces[111].

The most important donors and development agencies in Côte d'Ivoire are France (Agence Française de Développement), the African Development Bank (AFDB), the

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43rd. Marine Infantry Battalion, an estimated 500 soldiers, is based in Port Bouët adjacent to the Abidjan Airport.
[107] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:53).
[108] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:51).
[109] Human Rights Watch, (August 2003:52).
[110] The Committee is composed of representatives of the United Nations, the African Union, ECOWAS, the European Commission, the International Organization of la Francophonie, the Bretton Woods institutions, the Group of Eight countries, the European Union, a military representative of the troop-contributing countries and France. It is based in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.
[111] Further information on the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) is available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minuci/index.html.

European Union (EU), the World Bank and the United States (USAID). In 1996, Côte d'Ivoire received approximately $ 1 billion of Official Development Aid (ODA)[112]. However, as a result of the violent conflict, most development programmes have been stopped or significantly downsized. The resumption of full development cooperation is usually made conditional upon the progress of the peace process, in particular, the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. Among Côte d'Ivoire's development partners, there is particularly strong partnership between the AFDB, the EU, and the World Bank[113]. The framework for all donor interventions and government programs in support of poverty reduction in Côte d'Ivoire is the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which is currently being finalised[114].

**Global NGOs**

A wide variety of international NGOs such as Reporters without Borders, Human Rights Watch, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), American Refugee Committee, Save The Children, Amnesty International, International Rescue Committee, have been active in Côte d'Ivoire. Due to the conflict, there has been a shift from international NGOs that focus on development issues to organisations that are more concerned with humanitarian and human rights issues.

## 7. Conclusions

It is evident that the current policy environment in Côte d'Ivoire is extremely challenging. Due to a general lack of trust and the wide-ranging politicisation of society, all programs and policy initiatives are being scrutinised for their balance towards ethnic groups, political parties or movements. Therefore, the selection of local participants and policy levers in the context of the CRISE-project must also consider the balance between different political, ethnic and religious forces and movements.

In selecting the policy levers and influencers for the CRISE-project, the following three criteria have been used: 1) potential influence on domestic policy changes; 2) maintenance of balance/equality between different forces, movements and ethnic groups; and 3) behaviour and positions during the conflict process. Following these criteria, the (local) participants and policy levers have been divided into a group of *active CRISE research participants* and *passive CRISE research recipients*. The group of active CRISE research participants is composed of policy designers and implementers, policy funding organisations, research institutions, and some independent researchers. These organisations and individuals should be closely involved in CRISE workshops and seminars.

The group of passive CRISE research recipients is very broad and diverse, including all parties and organisations that would like to be kept informed on the ongoing research and subsequent policy recommendations. The most effective way to inform these parties on regular basis needs to be further explored. However, especially from a financial point of view, an electronic newsletter would obviously have major

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[112] International Monetary Fund, Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.imf.org/external/country/CIV/.
[113] The World Bank Group Countries: Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ci2.htm.
[114] The World Bank Group Countries: Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ci2.htm.

advantages. Another possibility worth considering is the organisation of a conference, where both the CRISE research results and its policy recommendations could be presented and discussed.

The following table gives a tentative overview of the active and passive CRISE research participants/recipients in Côte d'Ivoire.

| Active CRISE research participants | Passive CRISE research recipients |
|---|---|
| (policy designers and implementers, research and workshop participants) | (receivers of policy recommendations and research results, conference participants) |
| **State institutions:**<br>• Office of the Prime Minister<br>• Ministries of Economy and Finance, Education, Communication and Agriculture<br>• Conseil Économique et Social<br><br>**Signatories of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement:**<br>• FPI, PDCI, UDPCI, PIT, MFA, UDCY, RDR, MPCI, MPIGO and MJP.<br><br>**Local NGOs:**<br>• Mouvement ivoirien des droits de l'homme (MIDH)<br>• Ligue ivoirienne des droits de l'homme (LIDHO)<br>• Association des femmes Ivoiriennes<br>• Collectif de la Société Civile pour la Paix<br><br>**Ethnic/religious organisations:**<br>• Forum des Confessions religieuses<br><br>**Academic institutions/think tanks:**<br>• Groupement Interdisciplinaire en Sciences Sociales - Côte d'Ivoire (GIDIS-CI)<br>• Reseau des intellectuals Ivoiriens pour la paix, la democratie et la gouvernance (R2IPDG)<br>• Centre Ivoirien d'Etudes économiques et Sociales (CIRES)<br><br>**France:**<br>• French Ambassador to Côte d'Ivoire<br><br>**International organisations:**<br>• European Union/Commission<br>• International Follow-Up Committee<br>• United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)<br>• African Development Bank<br>• World Bank<br><br>**Global NGOs:**<br>• Agence Française de Développement<br>• USAID<br>• GTZ | **State institutions:**<br>• Presidency<br>• Various other ministries<br>• National Assembly<br>• Other state institutions<br><br>**Local media (among others):**<br>• Fraternité Matin, 24 Heures, Le Nouveau Réveil, Le jour, Le Patriote, Notre Voie, etc.<br><br>**Local NGOs (among others):**<br>• Jeunesse du FPI (JFPI)<br>• Congrès panafricain des jeunes patriots (COJEP)<br>• Fédération des étudiants et scolaires de Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI)<br>• Collectif des Mouvements des Femmes Patriotes de Côte d'Ivoire<br>• …<br><br>**Ethnic/religious organisations:**<br>• Conseil Supérieur des Imams (COSIM)<br>• Conseil National Islamique (CNI)<br>• Diocese of Abidjan<br>• Adventist Church<br>• Southern Baptist Church<br>• Protestant Methodist Church of Cote d'Ivoire<br>• …<br><br>**International organisations (among others):**<br>• United Nations<br>• WHO<br>• UNOCHA<br>• UNESCO<br>• UNICEF<br>• UNAIDS<br>• IMF<br>• …<br><br>**Global NGOs (among others):**<br>• Reporters without Borders<br>• Human Rights Watch<br>• American Refugee Committee<br>• Save The Children<br>• Amnesty International<br>• … |

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