

Problems of Political Development in Cote d'Ivoire: (1993-2015)

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

In Partial fulfilment of the requirements

for award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SANJAY SUMAN



Centre for African Studies

School of International Studies

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

New Delhi 110067

2018



Date: 19th July 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Problems of Political Development in Cote d’Ivoire, 1993-2015**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other Universities.

(Sanjay Suman)

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this Dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Ajay Dubey

(Chairperson, CAS/JNU)

Prof. S.N. Malakar

(Supervisor)



Chairperson
Centre for African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Centre for African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

DEDICATION

This Dissertation is committed to my lovely and ideal university i.e JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY. The university gave me the chance to glorify my knowledge and due to the best learning environment I felt my proud to JNU..

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I cannot express enough thanks to my Supervisor and Mentor Prof. Subodh Narayan Malakar for his continued support and encouragement. He not only encouraged me in my chosen topic but also supported and guided me throughout the entire journey of writing this dissertation. I would also like to thank Prof. Ajay Dubey Chairperson, Centre for African Studies, School of International Studies, JNU for his help regarding basic and initial understanding of the writing procedure of this dissertation. I would like to thank Dr. J.M. Moosa who encourage me in every time and suggested me in completion of my Dissertation.

I also offer my sincere appreciation for the learning opportunities provided by the Centre for African studies, School of International Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University and for their continue support throughout the journey of writing this dissertation. My completion of this dissertation could have been accomplished with the support of Kumari Komal, friends and seniors, Pravasini Barik and B.Padra. Finally, to my caring, loving and supportive Parents my deepest gratitude. Your encouragement when the times got rough was much appreciated and duly noted. It was a great comfort and relief to know that you were willing to support me at every step while I completed my work.

I would like to thank all official staffs who always helped me and their supportive nature helped me to execute my work.

My heartfelt thanks to all of you.....

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF MAPS, TABLES AND FIGURES	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vi

CHAPTER I	1-22
-----------------	------

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER II	23-44
------------------	-------

CONSTITUTION AND FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEM IN COTE D'IVOIRE

2.1 Constitution

A. Constitution and its features

i. Preamble and features of old constitution

2.2 Political system: As a model adopted by Cote d'Ivoire

i. Characteristics of Political system

ii. Political system a debate and discussion

2.3. Specific features of Political system in Cote d'Ivoire

2.4. Constitution and Political system: A complementary features of Political stability

CHAPTER III	45-65
-------------------	-------

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE

(BOIGNY PERIOD: 1960-1993)

3.1 Political development in Boigny period: An over view

3.2 Emerging problems and political development

- 3.3 Problems and instability to Boigny government
- 3.4 Challenges of peoples opinion and end of F.Boigny period

CHAPTER IV.....66-84

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D’IVOIRE (1993-2000)

- 4.1 Boigny’s death and demand for a new constitution
- 4.2 Old constitution changed into new constitution: Political Context
- 4.3 Constitutional Reform in 2000
- 4.4 Constitutional Reform Provision in 2016
- 4.5 Emergency issue and Problems of political development

CHAPTER V.....85-91

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D’IVOIRE (2000-2015)

- 5.1 Political Transformation
- 5.2 Political Participation
- 5.3 Role of Law
- 5.4 Stability of Democratic Institutions
- 5.5 Transformation of Economy
- 5.6 Socioeconomic development
- 5.7 International cooperation
- 5.8 President election

CHAPTER VI.....92-94

CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MAPS, TABLES AND FIGURES

Maps

1. Geographical map of Cote d'Ivoire	3
2. Map of Cote d'Ivoire	4
3. Ethnic groups of Cote d'Ivoire	5
4. Economic Map of Cote d'Ivoire	8
5. Administrative/ Political Map of Cote d'Ivoire	16

Tables

1. Ethnic groups and their population distribution	6
2. Ivorian Religious landscape 1957-1998	7
3. Ethnical origins of Africans in selected cities	50
4. Political participation of different Ethnic groups	59
5. Some major political parties & their founder	63
6. World Bank Unemployment rate of Cote d'Ivoire	70
7. Voting Percentage of the parties in 1995 election	77
8. GDP per capita of Cote d'Ivoire	78
9. Cote d'Ivoire's GDP and other information	90

Figures

1. Flag of Cote d'Ivoire	14
2. Figure of Felix Houphouet Boigny	46
3. Pie Chart	52
4. Figure of Demonstration in Cote d'Ivoire	58
5. GDP in percentage	79
6. Mutinous salaries Demonstration in Cote d'Ivoire	82

ABBREVIATIONS

ACP:	The African, Caribbean and Pacific (group of States)
AfDB:	African development Bank
AU:	African Union
CFA:	Financial Community of Africa, (CFA franc)
CNRD:	National Congress For the Resistance and democracy.
COJEP:	Pan African Congress for Justice and Peoples equality
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EITI:	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDI:	Foreign Direct Investment
FESCI:	Federation Congress for the Resistance and Democracy
FPI:	Ivorian Popular front
IDA:	International Development Association
IDB:	Islamic Development Bank
IEC:	Independent Electoral Commission
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
Interpol:	International Police
LIDER:	Liberty and Democracy for the Republic
MFA:	Movement of the Future Forces
NAM:	Non Aligned Movement
OPCW:	Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical weapons

PDCI:	Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire
PDCI-ADR:	Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire - African Democratic Rally
PDCI-RCA:	Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire – African Democratic Rally
RDR:	Rally of the Republicans
RMCs:	Regional Member Countries
SAA:	Syndicate Agricole Africains
UDPCI:	Union for Democracy and Peace in Cote d'Ivoire
UHRD:	Universal Human Right Declaration
UNHCR:	UN High Commissioner for Refugee
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO:	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNOCI:	The United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire
UPCI:	Union Populaire Cote d'Ivoire (in French)
UNWTO:	United Nations World Trade Organization
WCO:	World Customs Organization
WDI:	World Development Indicators
WHO:	World Health Organisation
WTO:	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER I

Introduction:

Africa is a continent of continuous political upheavals. It had passed through long process of political freedom and is still facing the problems of political stability. It constitutes 54 countries with specific regional characteristics. Its political character is still influenced by the ex-colonial powers who tried to patronize their colonies through various conspiracy and tactics. The Colonial powers like Portuguese, French, Britain, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Arabs are often intervene in the political developments in the countries of Africa. This has hindered the process of democratic political transition and sometimes it creates the stiff political conflict. More so the state formation in Africa has been very slow and weak. Its state organism, political bureaucratic structure and military strengths are so weak which forced Africa the nation of African continent to be remained with ex- petro colonial powers. The ruling class of the nations of Africa has generally proved the sub serve of their ex-colonial patrons for the continuation of their regime. The democratic delivery of the part of regimes is so critical the conflict forces are bound to emerge which reflects in various political formations. This leads the problem of political development and ultimately culminates into new political transition and constitutional changes. In this context Cote d'Ivoire is also an important example of this kind.

Cote d'Ivoire is a country of sub-Saharan Africa situated in the West part of African continent touching with almost sea. It appears in 80°N and 50°W in the Sub-Saharan Africa. The surrounding nations are Gulf of Guinea (North Atlantic Ocean) in Southern West Africa, North by Mali and Burkina Faso, in West by Liberia and Guinea and in the East by Ghana. Cote d'Ivoire is also called a Mano river country. It was the colony of France. It got its Independent on 7th August 1960.

1. Cote d'Ivoire: An overview

Formerly the country was identified by Ivory Coast. Likewise its name the country has full of wealth and natural resources. The name of the country was changed by Cote d'Ivoire in 1985. Though the dissertation is based on Cote d'Ivoire so some informations

are given about the country. All the informations are in the form of Geographical, Social, Economic, Historical and political system of the country.

A. Cote d'Ivoire: Geographical set up

Cote d'Ivoire is an African country which is situated West Africa. The country is called the "jewel of West Africa" also. Although the country has good prosperity but it has unstable political development till 2000. The climate of Cote d'Ivoire is equally divided. In the months between May to October the temperature is 20°C to 29°C. The rainfall occurs in between the months of May and June. October and November months keep the humidity very high about 90% in near coast. The temperature in the months of November to April remains 20°C to 33°C and humidity at least 85% near the coast.

MAP1: Geographical map of Cote d'Ivoire¹



source: From world Atlas

Four major rivers are flowed in Cote d'Ivoire. The longest river is Bandama which has a length of 800 km. flows in the central part of the country. The cavalla river flows in western area and touches two-third boundary of Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire. The Sassandra River generates in Guinea highlands touches the western part of Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory coast). The Komoe River has its origin in Burkina Faso and touches the boundary of Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire.

The official language of Cote d'Ivoire is French and others languages are African languages. The official capital of Cote d'Ivoire is Yamoussoukro. There are the three

centers in the country which has the largest population named as Abidjan, Daloa, and Man. Abidjan has the population of 2.6 million, Daloa has 1 million and Man has 957,706.

MAP2: Map of Cote d'Ivoire²



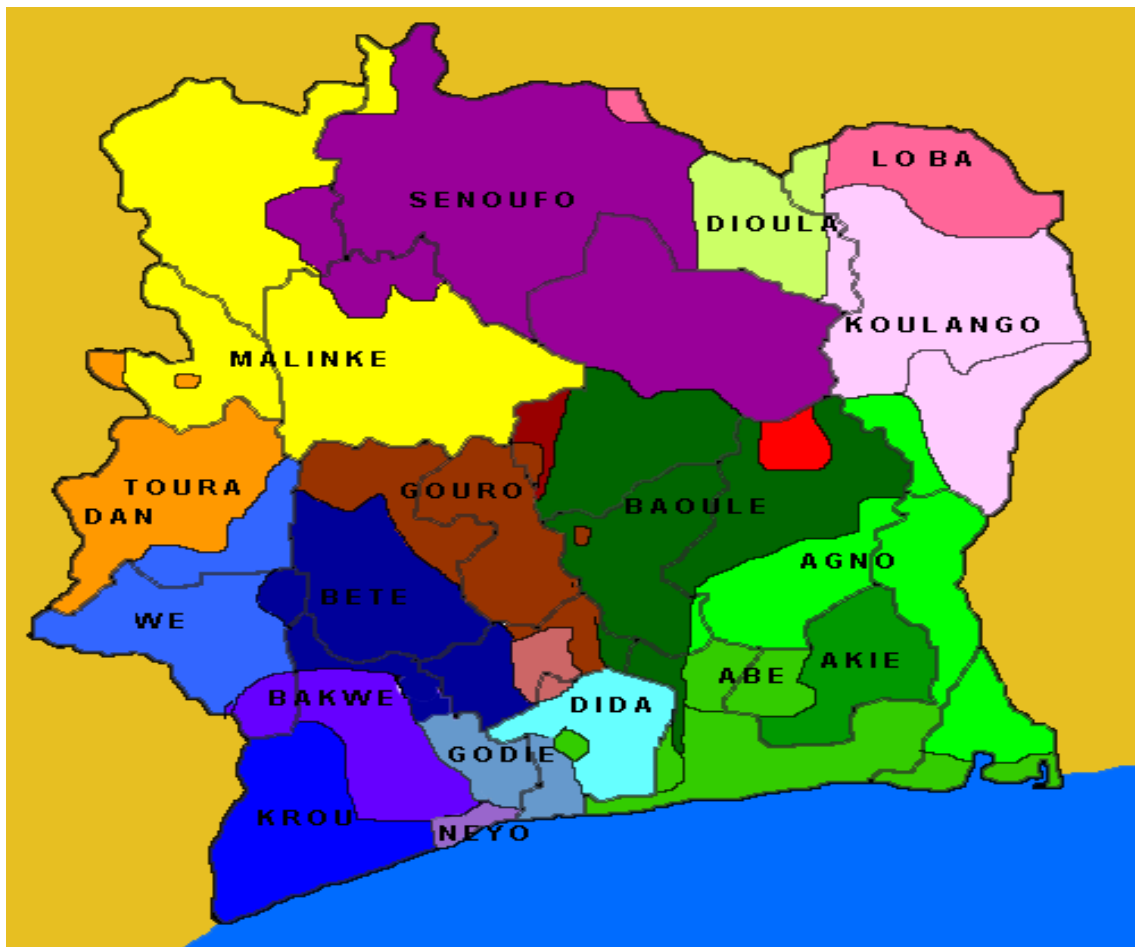
Source: from world Atlas

Cote d'Ivoire has population about 16 Million. It has a total area of 322,463 sq. Kilometers. Cote d'Ivoire has divided into three basic geographic regions likely Southeast region which is known by Coastal lagoons, the Southern area formed by dense forest and the third region is Northern which is called by savannah Zone. The Water area of Cote d'Ivoire is 4,460 and land area is 318,003 sq. kilometers.

B. Cote d'Ivoire: Social set up

Social set up includes the structure of the society where different kind of social groups, ethnic groups, castes, religions and the individuals which are directly or indirectly related to the society.

MAP3: Ethnic Group's map of Cote d'Ivoire



Source: from world Atlas

More than sixty variety of speaking tongues are found in this country. Therefore a great differentiation in tribal peoples is exercised in Cote d'Ivoire. The Prime Minister Denise told during the debates on the constitution of 1959: "We are not a territory fortunate enough to have but a limited number of ethnic groups..... We have more than sixty

two tribes.”³ All these ethnic groups are divided in to four social backgrounds or civilizations, in the name of social structure, spoken language and economic frameworks.

The following data shows the divergence of ethnic groups in the country accordingly shown in different colors in the ethnic map of Cote d’Ivoire.

Table1: Ethnic groups and their population distribution

Rank	Ethnic Group	Share of population of Cote d’Ivoire
1	Akan	37.1%
2	Voltaiques(or Gur)	16.8%
3	Northern Mandes	14.5%
4	Krous	10.4%
5	Southern Manses	9.5%
	French, Lebanese, Liberians, Guineans, and Other Peoples	11.7%

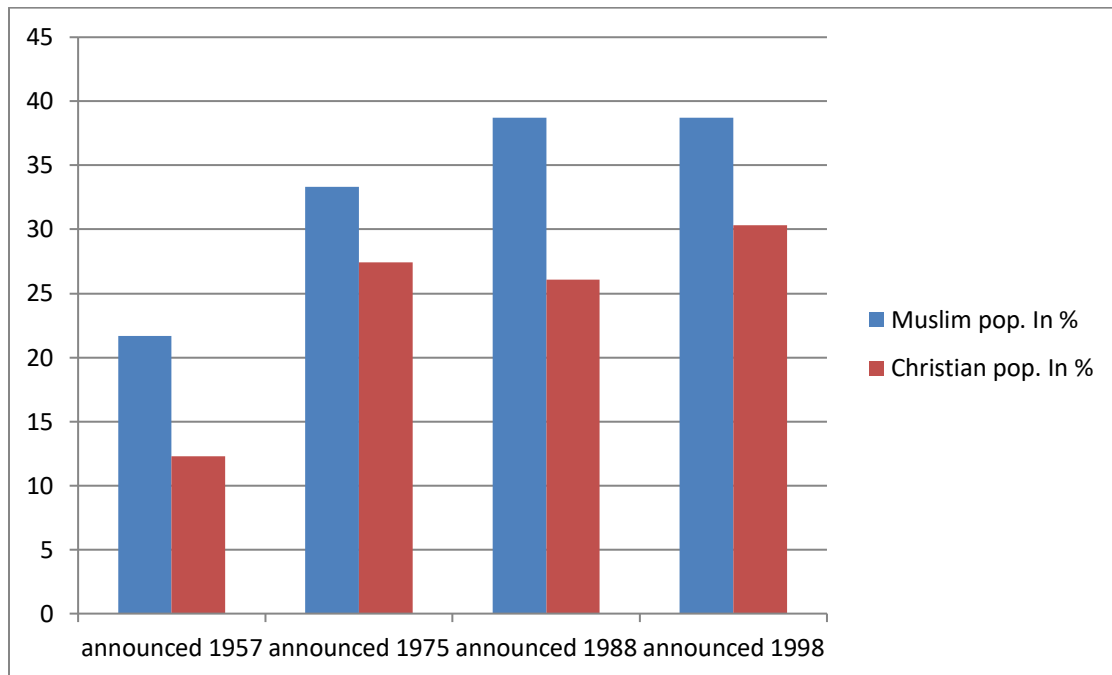
Where Lagoon cluster has Abidji, Attie, Adjukru etc. Kru and Peripheral Mande are found in Atlantic West circle which have ethnic groups of Bete, Kru, Dida, Godie and Dan, Yacouba, Gouro,Gagou respectively. Mande group is found in Upper Niger which has the ethnic groups of Malinke, Bambara, Dioula and Mahou. Senoufo has the ethnic groups of senoufo and Minianka is found in Volta circle. Lobi is also found in Volta circlewhere Djimini, Tagouana, Lobi and Kulango ethnic groups are found.

Cote d’Ivoire is a multi religious country. The country has shaped the highest population of Muslim religion. Muslims are in the northern part of the country and about 40% of the total population. Second largest religion is Christian i.e. Roman Catholic has about 19.4% of the total population. Third one is Evangelical which is about 19.3%. Animist or No religion is about 12.8% in Cote d’Ivoire. Some of the population is Methodist and other Christian.

³Ivory Coast, “Avant-project Constitutionnel. Proces-Verbaux des Debats” (Abidjan,1959).

The religious population distribution during the period from 1957 to 1998 is described through the bar diagram which reflects the religion of Islam and Christianity. The populations are shown in percent.

Table 2: Ivorian religious landscape 1957-1998



The red bar and the blue bar represent the Christian and the Muslim respectively.

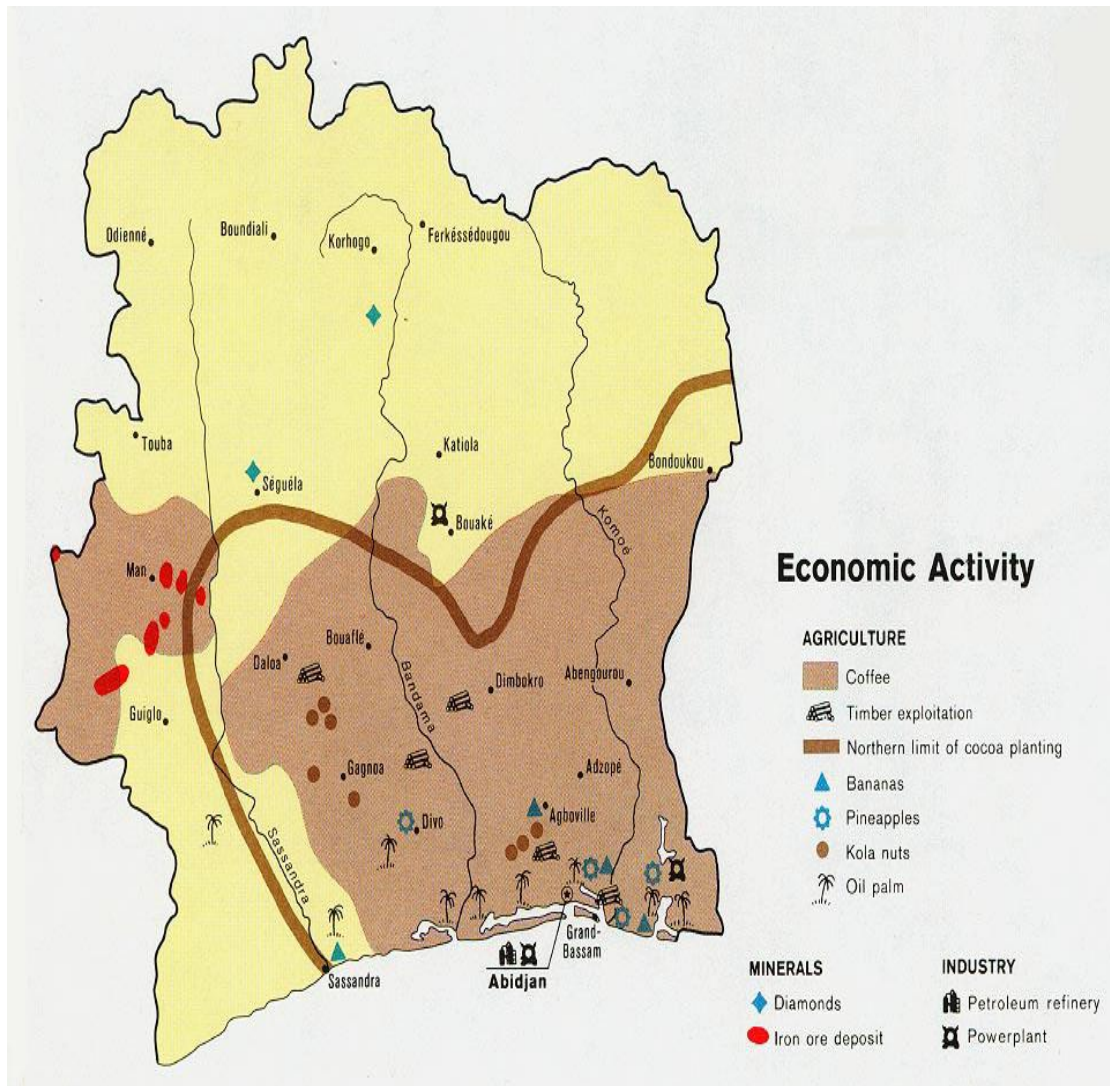
C. Cote d'Ivoire: Economic features

Cote d'Ivoire had the powerful economy from the past. The economic power is the backbone of every country for the development of the society as well as the entire country itself also. Cote d'Ivoire had a balanced economy but the trend changed after 1980s. The major factors of economy in the Cote d'Ivoire are agriculture and industries. Service sector also defines the Economic condition of the country.

Cote d'Ivoire has about 64.78% agricultural land of the total area of land. So the agriculture is the main source of economy generation and therefore the whole economic condition is dependent on agriculture. Cote d'Ivoire has mostly production of cash crops.

Cocoa beans, coffee and Palm oil are the primary crops which are produced in the agricultural land. Cote d'Ivoire is the highest exporter of cocoa beans, coffee and palm oil in the largest seller of the world. The GDP growth rate of Cote d'Ivoire during the late 1990s was 8.9% and the current growth rate is about 7.6%.

MAP 4: Economic Map of Cote d'Ivoire



Source: world atlas.

The above map describes the major components of Ivoirian economy in the different fields like agriculture and industrial production.

Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) is a country which has long History of cocoa and coffee producing. The former colonial powers made it colonized due to the production of cash crops so that they used these products to earn money in the foreign markets. The southern part of the Cote d'Ivoire is richer than the North part of the country. Although Cote d'Ivoire earns revenue by the agricultural good but the country has the industrial powers also. Most of the industries are set up by the colonial powers. Minerals, Gold and Diamonds are the resource of industrial manufacturing. Massive exploitations were occurred during 1990s. Natural gas and petroleum are the sources of revenue generation for the country. Abidjan has the petroleum refinery which full fills the local needs and some prepared goods are exported to the neighboring countries like Mali, Liberia, Burkina Faso and others. Most of the industries were set up by the colonial powers in the country so they developed the markets according to their needs. Ivorian industries are generally based on agricultural goods and produced of timber, cotton, cocoa, coffee, palm oil and other goods.

The third main resource for generating the revenue of country is the service sectors. The economy of Cote d'Ivoire is base on agriculture. So most of the services are agricultural employs and in commercial productions. Cote d'Ivoire has no high rate of literacy due to lack of educational institutions. Most of the universities and colleges are located in the capital city like Yamoussoukro and Abidjan. There are several universities such as University of Abobo, University of Cocody situated in Abidjan and University of Bouake. Cote d'Ivoire has the third largest economy in African countries in comparison of Ghana and Nigeria. Cote d'Ivoire has the growth rate of 8.7 percent during the year of 2016. Public and Private Service sectors both play an important role to earn the revenue for the country. Cote d'Ivoire set up infrastructure to generate revenue in the fields of transportation. So that the connectivity of the country from one part to other parts. It developed the Rail, Aero dram, Road and Ports for good transportation. Therefore the trend of economy development of Cote d'Ivoire is very helpful. In the recent periods the development of service sectors like banking and telecommunications are hindered in Cote d'Ivoire.

D. Cote d'Ivoire: Historical Background of State Formation

Ivory Coast the ancient name of Cote d'Ivoire was experimented by different states in the very beginning of the past. So many kingdoms were flourished in the History of Ivory Coast. Bouna kingdom came in seventeenth century. There was started wars amongst the Asante empire in the seventeenth century where the migrated of Akan peoples reached to the forest of Cote d'Ivoire. The Asante got victory over the most powerful states the Abron kingdom of Gyaaman established by Tan Date. Therefore Asante captured Abron in 1730. The Asante kingdom could not remain peaceful without revolts till 1875. In this period more kingdoms were founded like the Anyi kingdoms of Ndenye and Sanwi. Later after the death of the king of Asant in 1750 Queen Abla Poku and her supporters reached in the north-central region of Cote d'Ivoire and established the Baule kingdom for integrating of Akan and local traditions

In the Sub Saharan region in West Africa towns were developed near communities of Dyula Traders. Here Kong spent many centuries before the arrival of Sekou Ouattara and his son made a new dynasty in the beginning of eighteenth century. The kingship of Kong was vanished by the man who was trying to establish a Muslim empire including northern Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). His name was Samory Toure. In this way Kong was ended during 1897. Toure was very powerful man who established his dynasty in west of Ivory Coast (old name).

Europeans came Cote d'Ivoire during the time of late 18th and 19th century. The first visitors were the Portuguese who came here and tried to examine the Ivory Coast in Africa. Later in others Europeans and the sea powers came to develop the trade for gold, ivory, peppers and slaves.

The French came during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries to settle along the coast of Cote d'Ivoire. There was a treaty made by Louis-Edouard Bouet-Willaumez and the Coastal chiefs in 1830s. This treaty allowed the French for building of forts and trading posts in that region. After a long time of periods this treaty was withdrawn by France in 1870. Though the treaty was ended yet the private merchants of France remained there. The first coffee plants were imported by the explorers sent by Arthur Verdier. After the

time passed by France needed more sources of Cote d'Ivoire and so Captain Louis-Gustave Binger in 1887-89 made more treaties for military mission. Thus France was succeeded to make "protectorate" relationships with many groups. During the Berlin Conference held in 1885 with the European powers Africa was divided amongst the Western powers. After scramble of Africa France claimed for Cote d'Ivoire and declared it as a colony of France in 1893. In this time France captured Samory Toure and determined the borders in 1898. The military occupation was began in the leadership of Governor Gabriel Angoulvant in 1908. Now implementation of high & head taxes and forced labor created to violent resistance among the Baule, Anyi and Abe ethnic groups. This led the new revolts when France forcefully called up thousands of Ivoirians to serve with the other western African soldiers in the first World. Though France got win due to superior weaponry action yet Cote d'Ivoire was not dominion under control till 1918. After the World War 1st France started the developments for improving their economy. So railways developed from Bobo Dioulasso, along with Upper Volta now called Burkina Faso to Cote d'Ivoire in 1933. France started to give schooling and western style health serviceto the people. This time massive exploitation of the forests was done. Africans were motivated to plant cash crops in the land so that export of those crops could be done. In that period and late 1939 African farmers increased the production of cocoa ninety percent (90%) and eighty percent (80%) of coffee in the dominance.

In the Second World War held in 1939 France sent forty thousand Ivoirians for fighting with the French army. During 1940 to 1942 the colony along with the rest of French West Africa the Vichy government was very corrupted and in this period massive exploitations and discriminations against African planters occurred. Increasing forced labour, racist legislation, economic discrimination and depression caused by Britain's naval blockade were the cause of revolts and opposing. Therefore educated and progressive Africans thought about the alternatives and favored the following Free French regime. Therefore the African Farmers union founded in 1944 by the help of Felix Houphouet-Boigny and Auguste Denise. So he was the founder of Syndicate Agricole Africain (SAA). It was an organization to improve the condition for African farmers. In this process supporting of colony's governor, Andre Latrille granted equal behavior for African planters. During the year of 1945 all African scrubbed the local election and finally Houphouet -Boigny got

elected to the French Assembly. After became the assembly member he reduced the forced labour by new law in the whole empire. In 1947 the present borders of the country were made.

In the first constituent assembly conference of the 4th republic held in 1946 France granted its citizenship to all Africans. So Africans participated politically and cooperated to make policy for the Africans. Overseas Reform Act held in 1956 and this made so that various powers shifted from Paris to the new territory government in West French Africa and abolished the inequality of voting rights. During the 1956 the governor was not appointed in the colony of Cote d'Ivoire. The administration worked directly from Paris. This time centralized administration gave some smoothness in political forms and policy making process. The direct ruled policy thought that some educated people have to give some status so that they could not resist the administration. This idea of assimilation worked for some times in Africans but could not remain long. Africans educated and progressive thought demanded complete freedom from French rule. They thought until we got our complete independence French administration exploited the economic advantages.

A referendum was brought in December 1958 by the community status to all members of old federation in the West French Africa except Guinea. All members voted in support of association. France agreed to give freedom and announced on 11th July 1960 that Cote d'Ivoire became fully independent. Finally Cote d'Ivoire got independent on 7th August 1960.

E. Cote d'Ivoire since 1960 to 1993

After getting the independence Felix Houphouet-Boigny became the prime minister of Cote d'Ivoire in 1960. He formed a party called Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (Parti democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire-PDCI). The first Assembly election was held on 27th of November 1960. In this National Assembly election PDCI got victory of the total 70 seats. Felix Houphouet-Boigny was elected as the first President of Cote d'Ivoire and there were no opposition in the government. Therefore no check and objection were presented for the government. Felix Houphouet-Boigny was an ingenious man who ruled

over Cote d'Ivoire from the period of 1960 to 1993. In this period there were seven times of National Assembly Election held on. Not an opposition was made by him so that he worked and governed Cote d'Ivoire as a single man. During his rule many political pressures arrived and peoples started opposing. In 1980 students were resisted him for the lack of employment. In 1974 inflation rolled out over the country and problems of Unemployment increased rapidly. Though he made several reforms like Political and Administrative reforms but he was unable to handle the people's problems. Therefore massive demonstrations were held against the government. He put so many students and laborers in to the jail who demonstrated against the government. Felix announced a pardon for the prisoners on 6th December 1985. This was the time Cote d'Ivoire replaced its old name Ivory Coast.

The country suffered with many drastic problems during Felix period. Inflation, Unemployment, wage labour, economy set up, political reforms and equality to the farmers were the serious issues in his ruling time. After a long time an opposition was made and Felix party PDCI got 82% of votes and won 163 seats out of 175 in the National Assembly election held on 25th November 1990. A large numbers of demonstrators and governments army clashed in Abidjan on 17-18 May 1991. After all Felix Houphouet-Boigny died on 7th December 1993 and one single party system ended. Henri Konan who was the president of National Assembly served as the president of Cote d'Ivoire. The Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara reigned with his post. Thus Cote d'Ivoire faced so many problems in the past.

F. Cote d'Ivoire: Historicity of political system

Political system of any countries or states defines their status of power and sovereignty. Therefore political system is a tool which forms the government and demonstrates the legal system, economic system and national interests of the country as well as the states. So how government forms and works in the country it depends on the nature of political system of the country or the states. Executive, legislative and judicature are the main features of the political system. Apart from this many nongovernmental organizations and other pressure groups perform an important role to demonstrate the political system in the country. Every country has own flag by which identified globally. The flag of any

countries symbolized in different ways so that the different colors and the notion talks about the dignity and the prosperity of the countries.

In the world politics every country has its own flag and it identically different from each other of the others country's flags. Therefore the country's flag indicates the different mode of the creation of nations and the states.

The flag of Cote d'Ivoire has three colors equally divided. The flag is shown on the next following page.

Figure1: Flag of Cote d'Ivoire



Source: wikipedia

The orange color represents the land (savanna) of the North and fertility of the soil. The middle white color is the symbol of Peace and Unity. The third green color represents the forests of the South and the hope for the future.

The official name of Cote d'Ivoire is 'Republic of Cote d'Ivoire. Its local conventional long form is Republique de Cote d'Ivoire and short name is called Cote d'Ivoire. The former name was Ivory Coast and later it changed by Cote d'Ivoire. Although the country has its own constitution but time to time it changed by the completion of draft passed by the National Assembly. After 1960 and 2000 the latest draft was completed on 24th September 2016 by the approval of the National Assembly on 11th October 2016. It is passed by referendum on 30th October 2016 and circulated on 8th November 2016.

The people is offered the country citizenship only if their at least one parent must be a citizen of Cote d'Ivoire. The voting age of 18 years is decided by the constitution.

The constitution of the country talks about the three major parts of the political system. So the form of the government of Cote d'Ivoire is divided into three parts. Cote d'Ivoire has the presidential form of the government followed by the Prime Minister. It is also facilitated by the Vice President in the country. So the country has two capitals. One of the two is Yamoussoukro is the capital of legislative and other is Abidjan called the Administrative capital of Cote d'Ivoire. The government has three branches and these are Executive Branch, Legislative Branch and Judicial Branch.

The President of the country, Prime Minister and the council of Ministers are the executive members. The president is the head of the executive and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The executive head has the powers to negotiate for the country and different makes treaties for the national interest. The Prime Minister assists the president and suggests in executor tasks of the government. The president is elected by the absolute majority of votes by two-round system for 5years. The President appoints the prime minister which has a 5 years term also.

The Administrative division is made by making 12 districts and 2 autonomous districts also. Abidjan and Yamoussoukro are given autonomies. The districts are Bas-sassandra, Comoe, Denguele, Goh - Djiboua, Lacs, Legunes, Montagnes, Sassandra-Marahoue, Savanes, Vallee du Bandama, Woroba and Zanzan. Abidjan is the administrative capital of Cote d'Ivoire and the following map tells about the administrative area. The map talks about the total districts of the Cote d'Ivoire.

The administrative or the political map describes about the administration of the country. All the political and the official works held from the Abidjan which is the most developed districts of Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the administrative maps talks about the importance of the venue where the political activities taken place.

MAP5: Administrative map/ Political Map of Cote d'Ivoire



In the map the districts are shown with the ethnic groups also. The two autonomous districts Abidjan and Yamoussoukro are demonstrated symbolically by star in the black circle. The legislative branch was described unicameral parliament consisted of the National Assembly. It was the old constitution where the Assembly had 255 members elected directly in single or multi- seat constituencies through gaining of majority of votes. Every member was elected for 5 years term. Now according to the new constitution formed in

November 2016 the parliament changed into bicameral legislature with addition of the senate. Now one-third members appointed by the president and two-thirds of members indirectly appointed by the municipal and regional councils.

The judicial laws and review system are adopted from French legal system. The judicial branch has Supreme Court and subordinate courts. The Supreme Court is demonstrated by a President, 3 vice-president and 9 magistrates. The court organized into judicial, audit, constitutional and administrative chambers. The judges are selected by the superior council of the magistrate and a 7 member body which consist a chairman. Apart from this 3”bench” judges and public prosecutors are appointed for life. The subordinate court deals the criminal, civil and social case and it is court of appeal.

Now Cote d’Ivoire is a country of multi party system. There are many political parties which participated into National Assembly elections held after 2000. Some of the parties are PDCI (Democratic Party of Cote d’Ivoire), FPI (Ivoirian Popular Front), LIDER (Liberty and Democracy for the Republic), MFA (Movement of the Future Forces), RDR (Rally of the Republicans), UPCI (Union for Cote d’Ivoire), UDPCI (Union for Democracy and Peace in Cote d’Ivoire), and more than 144 smaller parties are registered.

There are so many pressure groups work in Cote d’Ivoire which play an important role make pressure in policies making and raise the voice for the group interests in the country. These pressure groups are FESCI (Federation of University and High School Students of Cote d’Ivoire), CNRD (National Congress for the Resistance and Democracy) and COJEP (Pan African Congress for Justice and Peoples Equality).

The country participates in many international organizations. Cote d’Ivoire has the membership of the many international organizations and those are ACP, AfDB, ECOWAS, EITI, IDA, IDB, IMF, AU, OPCW, WCO, FAO, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNCTAD, WHO, NAM, G-24, G-77, Interpol, WTO, UNWTO etc.

2. Conceptual frame work

Problems of development arise from how democratic deliverances occur in any nations. If the democratic patterns have been accepted by the nation doesn't deliver properly to the people of that country then the problems of political development grow there. It has been seen in Cote d'Ivoire which got its independence on 7th August 1960. A single party ruled over the country from its freedom to 1990s. After getting freedom the dominance of the colonial power that was France worked indirectly in many forms. No any opposition was presented till 1993. So the government couldn't deliver the policies to the people due to lack of awareness. Many corruptions and constitutional failure creates the inconsistency in Cote d'Ivoire. Many demonstrations were organized by the liberals and students during 1985 against the government. Inflation came in 1974 and also unemployment powered the movements against the governments. Thousands of demonstrators put in prison and latterly government declared some political assimilation in Cote d'Ivoire after 1985. Cote d'Ivoire is a rich country in the production of cocoa, coffee beans and palm oil. Felix Boigny government couldn't give proper facilities to the farmers who worked in the plantation of cocoa and coffee. Migrants from another part of the country created the clash between the ethnic groups.

In any nation if a single form of the government is functioning then problems occurred rapidly due to unaware formation of the governments. Many of the African countries have the History which ruled by a single ruling party and the countries suffered from various form of political problems like instability, unemployment, economic crisis and civil wars etc.

3. Outlining of the Dissertation

The study follows the Realist theory as well as Conflict study theory. The objective of dissertation is to focus the important factors which reflect the problems of political developments. The study will also focus the post independence dynamics of political transition of Ivory Coast. The study will also focus the role of external forces and the pressure groups which create the influence of political development. Finally the study will concentrate on the response of the people to the problem of development. The objectives of the study focus about the factors which are responsible for democratic

instability and the challenging problems of political development of Cote d'Ivoire. The country has its own major natural resources yet it couldn't develop politically.

A. Scope of Study

The liberty of Cote d'Ivoire is one of the biggest achievements in African continent. Whole Africa was brutally exploited by the colonial powers and the impacts of those are remained today. Cote d'Ivoire was a colony for 66 years made by France. After that 1960 it got independence and Boigny as a president served the country for 33 years. Cote d'Ivoire enjoyed a single party system and so why no fruitful democracy was presented. The political system was changed from 1990 and Boigny passed away in 1993. The time period for the dissertation is chosen from 1993 to 2015 because most of the constitutional reforms were performed during this period and the study will help full by linking the dictatorial regime of Felix Houphouet-Boigny and the current period that is 2015. It was a year of the National Assembly election and constitutional reforms held after election with the approval of new elected President Alassane Ouattara. The country faced the military coup in 1999 and also faced two civil wars and the political development was affected. The dissertation will help to find out the solution of the research questions and will try to achieve the goal of the topic. It is not only limited to Cote d'Ivoire but it helps to understand almost all the Francophone nations of Africa also. Though it is a case study however it also reflects the nature of ongoing democratic transition of African nation. The research topic is made the duration of time from 1993 to 2015 because most of the movements and civil wars and democratic changed occurred in this time.

B. Research Questions

1. How does prevailed political structure of Cote d'Ivoire and the factors led to the democracy and its existence?
2. What are the challenges that affect to deliver the democracy in Cote d'Ivoire?
3. What are the roles of external affairs which transform the democracy in Cote d'Ivoire?
4. How does internal factors and informal institutions play role in demanding the democracy in Cote d'Ivoire?

C. Hypothesis:

- Although the constitution has reformed yet it is not implemented what led the conflict in Cote d'Ivoire.
- The government had faced many public movements and civil wars after 1993 and social and pressure groups played an important role in political development.
- Land possession, producing the new jobs and many critical problems affect the political development.

D. Research Methodology

The research work performed through qualitative approach. Primary sources as well as secondary sources used to handle the entire research question and so that it helped to get the objective of the study and entire knowledge in the field. Primary resources are analyzed by semantic and semiotic methods. The research conducted on primary sources like Cote d'Ivoire official documents, government declarations, constitutional reforms and statements, related links and country report from 1993 to 2015. Other sources are used to perform the research work like information of the government bodies, government agencies, political speeches, foreign policy statements, statements of treaties and agreements etc. Articles, journals and books are used as secondary sources in the research.

Apart from the above sources African journals and print media reports are also used in the research work. Though the number of books are written on this issue is limited so most of the sources are use through the internet. Thus these sources are used to conduct the research work.

E. Chapterisation

The study is divided in to five chapters. All the chapters explain the systematic and constructed way of study so that the dissertation will help the reader to understand the facts of the country i.e. Cote d'Ivoire.

Chapter I

The first chapter is introduction and described the idea of the study. The introductory chapter contained the History background and geographical set up of Cote d'Ivoire. A brief introduction of Cote d'Ivoire and its social and political system demonstrated the first chapter. The first chapter also included the ethnic groups and economic status of the country. This chapter also explained some geographical and political maps of Cote d'Ivoire.

Chapter II

Further the second chapter of the study explained about the detailed constitution and its features of political system of Cote d'Ivoire. In this chapter a diffused relationship and other political pressure groups as well as other social groups are discussed which played an important role to cultivate the healthy democracy in Cote d'Ivoire. This chapter also explained about the emergence of other political parties and demonstrations by them for creating democratization in Cote d'Ivoire.

Chapter III

The third chapter of the study discussed about the political development during Felix Houphouet-Boigny period in Cote d'Ivoire. It included the strategic features of Cote d'Ivoire which was developed in the era of President Boigny in the country. This chapter exercised about the massive exploitation in economic field and corruption in the period of Boigny. There was no opposition in the government during the tenure of the president Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire. More over ethnic conflicts and clashes of government troops and students are explained in this chapter. Many problems like unemployment and inflation during Boigny period described in this chapter. In this chapter various forms of discriminations and problems of political development are discussed. This chapter deals with the regime of Boigny started from the independence to 1993. During this period of times many changes occurred and it explained in this chapter.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter explained about political development in Cote d'Ivoire since 1993 to 2015. This chapter discussed the foreign and international participation of the country through which the country administers its external affairs with the other nations. In this chapter the study focused on the policies and practices of government in Cote d'Ivoire since 1993 to 2015. All sorts of political reforms and referendums are explained in this chapter. The political transformation and the constitutional amendments are also discussed in this chapter. It also deals about the military coup and the civil wars held during the end of the 1999.

Chapter V

The fifth chapter discussed about the transformation of the constitution of the country. It also described about the political problems and the emerging trends for the political development in Cote d'Ivoire. The long lasting single party system in the country demanded popular changes and the government formation who can serve the democracy and it deliverance in the country. The chapter describes about the military rule and the civil wars held after the year of 2000. So that it includes the periods started from 2000 to 2015 that is last syllable of this chapter. It also includes the political developments of the country during the period. The chapter described the democratic representation of the government and the political features of the new constitutional frame works.

Chapter VI

The VIth is the last chapter which is concluding discussed and point out some recommendations for improvement from our findings. This chapter has the central idea of all the chapters and the discussed themes about the country. This chapter includes all the facts that are found in the total chapters.

Chapter II
CONSTITUTION AND FEATURES OF POLITICAL
SYSTEM IN COTE D’IVOIRE

Constitution is generally understood as the paramount law of the state. In the political system and its nature are generally defined as the direction to run a state. It also deals with the opportunity, jurisdiction and limitations of political institutions. The political institutions in the form of political parties response to the constitution has to maintain the discipline of its activities. Sometimes the contradiction appears the state and political parties that leads the mounting conflict where constitution becomes guiding force. Therefore constitution of any countries is must to be studied to locate the jurisdiction of political institutions and the state.

2.1. Constitution

Cote d’Ivoire was decolonized in 1960 and the country got the freedom from French rule on 7th August 1960. The country adopted the Presidential governmental form from the French government. So the country needed some basic rules and regulations so that the government could operate and govern over the nation. Therefore some leaders constituted the rules in the form of constitution. Though the country got its freedom in 1960 and framed the constitution but it was still did not worked properly since 1999-2000. Single party system dominated over the country.

A constitution has contained all the provisions about the government and the people of that country. It contains all the powers and the provisions so that when it needed some amendments and changes could be done. The people are facilitated by the constitution in the country. Each and every country has its own constitution and the government runs by the constitution. Thus the first constitution of Cote d’Ivoire was came into existed on 4th November 1960.

The first president of Cote d’Ivoire was Felix Houphouet-Boigny who played a serious role to establish a single party system in the country. Cote d’Ivoire made colonial by

French and ruled about 67 years. Though Cote d'Ivoire became independent but the president of Cote d'Ivoire followed the system of France. He adopted the direct rule principle from French policy so that the country ruled maximum by Felix Houphouet-Boigny. A country needs some special rules and regulations so that the people of the country can live as a citizen of the country. Therefore a constitution must be prepared by the intellectuals and the leaders of the country. There are no laws and rules there are no democratic value in any countries. When the constitution comes in danger then the democracy has no meaning in the nation. Felix was the president of Cote d'Ivoire but the people did not live happily. The democratic value was not same for every people in the country. The government dictated over the country when a single party system ruled in any countries. In African continent most of the countries had the single party system for long times. Therefore African continent was exploited for long times by the colonial powers. Scramble of Africa played a dangerous role and by it the colonial masters exploited African wealth for their own need and demands. They developed their markets and industries for their economic purposes and got benefited by the colonial property. Cote d'Ivoire is one of the African countries where the natural resources like minerals and agricultural land where French master came and Cote d'Ivoire announced as a French colony. When the country got independent the first task was to make the constitution for the people of the country. Boigny became the president of Cote d'Ivoire and ruled over the country for long times till his death in 1993.

No political party formed during the regime of Boigny. He made his party named PDCI (Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire). Though the constitution was formed during 1960 but Boigny governed the country in his own way. In Africa many countries had military coup due to exploitation of the public property and the rights by the government. Peoples were demonstrated against the government during the period of Boigny but they have no political rights were offered by the government in Cote d'Ivoire. Various numbers of student and learned people grouped together to fight against the system of the government. So when the public had no political and constitutional rights they could not survive for long times. Therefore they demonstrated and mobilized for movement and the government became ready to assimilate some peoples for making the policy in the last 1980s.

Felix Houphouët-Boigny was served as minister in National Assembly in France and also he was a member of Fourth Republic of France in 1946. He terminated Gaullist model of rule which was in France and Felix centralized the powers and became the prime minister of Ivory Coast (Old name of Cote d'Ivoire). The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire in 1960s was very much copied by 1958 document of France. In this constitution a preamble was cultivated which stated the principles of the political rights. The people who were interested in politics they had to join the PDCI first.

“Houphouët-Boigny remained wary of allowing any individual to emerge as his heir Apparent, making constitutional succession a highly contentious issue”⁴

Boigny started to liberalize the economy and opened the door for the people of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and they migrated to the North of Cote d'Ivoire. The fight between the migrated from Mali and Upper Volta and the Ivoirians was on the peak. The migrated had given the right to vote. This way the country was in stable during the regime of Boigny. He also called the French nationals in the civil services and gave opportunity to the Lebanese to open the industries and business in Cote d'Ivoire. These were the cause for instability in Cote d'Ivoire and the political happenings. A fruitful constitution is that in which liberty, equality and fraternity discussed for the people of the country. These all things were disappeared from the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire when the president Boigny elected in Cote d'Ivoire.

In Africa most of the countries did not have their own constitutional History. Therefore the countries had strongly affected by the colonial master and they adopted their forms of the government. All African countries have their own written constitution. In the constitution the authoritarian ruler made provisions to re elect as ruler of the country. Therefore most of African countries ruled for a long time by a single man. The constitution has changed several times in many countries of Africa by the several leaders so that they can enjoy the powers.

⁴ Source: Africa research Institute

A. Constitution and its features

After a long time struggle Cote d'Ivoire decolonized from French rule. Cote d'Ivoire struggled long times for a stable political status and a stable government. The people's pressure and thoughts of the intellectuals determined the liberty of the country and referendum was passed in 1959-60. The first constitution came in to exist in the month of November 1960. A great philosopher Aristotle expressed his own words about the arbitrary powers of an individual over the law is who

“Responsible to no-one and who governs all alike with a view to his own advantage and not of his subjects, and therefore against their will. No free man can endure such a government.”⁵

A constitution is the set of legal and authorized laws, principles and conceptual frame works by which a nation or state is ruled and governed. So the constitution relates to the governing systems in which either presidential or parliamentary form of government is exercised in the way of executive, legislative and judiciary. The constitution deals with the political system where citizenship, electoral process, separation of powers between the central government and local or provincial form of administration exercised. It also stated about the relation between the executive, legislature and judicial body of the government in the country.

(I). Preamble and features of old Constitution

Preamble is the centralized and visualized theme of any constitution. Therefore preamble shows the dedicated features of the constitution. The Preamble of the constitution of 1960 shown that the people of Ivory Coast now Cote d'Ivoire dedicated to create a democratic state. So they constructed the constitution an independent based on 1789 declaration of rights of man and the people of the country as well as the citizens. It included further the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. These provisions were adopted from the approval of the National Assembly in France in 1789.

⁵ Source: Encyclopedia Britannica

According to the Preamble of the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire it stated the Principle of liberal democracy and the absolute human rights what was declared by UDHR. Article 3 and 7 described about the fundamental rights, universal suffrage, desired sovereignty and equality before the law. Apart from this the constitution made a provision of legislature and judiciary subordinate to an individual. The president was the individual of the country. The constitution did not provide establishment and protection for the independence of judiciary in Cote d'Ivoire. The constitution did not offer the provision of making the opposition in the country. Although the constitution facilitated the Supreme Court but it did not have the absolute structure of judiciary. Therefore the tasks were handled by the National Assembly what left by the court. So the weakness of the constitution made the National Assembly by the approval by the president what he sent there. Therefore the legislature worked as a rubber stamp in Cote d'Ivoire. The president was all in all due to his absolute power and so why he dictated over the country through his unchecked powers. No provisions were for the opposition in the constitution and lack of democratic features helped to run a single party system in Cote d'Ivoire during the period from 1960 to 1993. Thus the president Felix Houphouet-Boigny was a powerful personality who ruled maximum in Cote d'Ivoire.

So the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire was weak and the provisions made the president very strong. Felix Boigny discriminated more in the country and he focused on the economy power generation and so he earned lots of wealth and enormous property. The president was interested only in the economic development and the military power could not be developed in Cote d'Ivoire. Felix Boigny faced two military coup attempts during his regime respectively in 1963 and 1973 but he managed all the situations so that the political unrest in the country could not be done. He captured all the powers so that when the presidential election held in 1990 and Laurent Gbagbo contested in that election. Felix tried his candidature invalid and went to the Supreme Court and powerfully elected the president of Cote d'Ivoire. Gbagbo was the candidate from Ivoirian Popular Front (FPI) party. First time the multiparty election was held in Cote d'Ivoire but due to the destructive power and strong management of Boigny, Laurent could not elected as a president in the country. Thus the constitutional weakness and not a protected judicature offered a dictatorship in Cote d'Ivoire. So for a good political systems and a healthy

democracy the constitution must prefer the strong laws and rules so that the country could govern democratically. A strong constitution makes the country more democratic and powerful political system. An ideal constitution delivers the liberty, equality and fraternity in the country so that people enjoy the democracy and independent livelihood.

The value of the state is correlated by the social dimensions. The preamble of the constitution determines the ideas and number of ideals for the people of Cote d'Ivoire. The constitution could not provide the facility for those crimes and corruptions carried out by the leaders in the country. No review system was offered by the constitution in Cote d'Ivoire for the judiciary so that no one can challenge the political order and against brutality of the government.

During the regime of the president Boigny no more strong provisions were added in the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire so that a delightful democracy could be cultivated in the country. Some provisions like death penalty and other laws were implemented and it was made for those who demonstrated against the government in the country. Though people(s) fought for their rights accordingly the constitutional rights yet they were put in to the jail by Felix time to time. So no declaration of human rights enjoyed in the country during the regime of president Boigny. The constitution did not have provision for the people to enjoy their lives according to own willingness. Although the equality before law was described in the constitution in Cote d'Ivoire but it was not implemented for all.

Article 7 of 1960 constitution formally allowed the multiparty system in Cote d'Ivoire but it could not be exercised during Boigny regime. The ninth chapter of the constitution stated about the economic and social council. The main motto of this expression was to assist and to advise the president of the country about the economic development and social change. The last two chapters provisioned the facility of amendment and adopting the constitution in Cote d'Ivoire. Though the constitution offered mostly freedom and rights yet the freedom of the press and the assembly was not safeguarded. The constitution talked about the separation of powers in the form of executive, legislature and judiciary but it did not work properly in the country during the regime of President Felix Boigny. He enjoyed his post with full powers and until his death no separation of powers occurred in the country. Cote d'Ivoire had always the centralized power function

so that the president of the country dictated for long times. Therefore Cote d'Ivoire had a written constitution but government ran always like verbal constitutional peripherals in the country. All the offering provisions could not implement in the country during the dictatorial period of President Boigny. There were no clause and provisions were made in the constitution for women and their equality. No more clauses for gender justice included in it so that they could fight for their responsibility and employment also. Therefore the old constitution was very poor and lacuna of idealness. All provisions were made according to the presidential superiority of powers.

Though the constitutional reforms were done in the year of 1971 and 1985 yet the provisions did not implement in the country. In 1999 military captured the political powers and all kinds of constitutional principles disappeared in Cote d'Ivoire.

This reform of constitution in Cote d'Ivoire specified about the education which is free and compulsory for all aged between 7 to 13 years old.

2.2 Political system: As a model adopted by Cote d'Ivoire

A great philosopher of political science named Almond said about the political system in his book "The policies of developing Areas" that:

"Political system is that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by means of the employment or threat of employment or more or less legitimate physical compulsion"⁶

In Cote d'Ivoire the political system was adopted from the French government. So the presidential form of government has centralized powers. First the constitution was unicameral and after that the constitutional reform it converted into bicameral. Though the constitution offered the three branch of government and these are executive, legislature and judiciary.

Therefore a political system does not include only the executive, legislature and judiciary but it also determines the whole structure of political aspects. So the political system

⁶ Source: book, A policies of Developing Areas.

includes the formal and informal institutions and their interactions among them. When the new constitution was formed in 2016 Cote d'Ivoire adopted a model of presidential form of government. Though the country exercised the same form of government from its independent but the constitution did not exercise in a legal form and the ruler of the country exploited his powers in many ways. The country led by the single man and all the powers were centralized so there was lack of democracy. No doubt the economic growth during the regime of Felix Houphouet-Boigny was high but the dictatorial form was unpleasantly for the people of the country.

(I). Characteristics of Political System

There are following characteristics of political system. These are:

Use or threat of use of legal force: The first character of political system is that it gives the power to use the force by legal authorities. So that the government can impose high taxes on the people and no one can oppose the order of the government. If it happens in the country then the governmental force acts over the people.

Interaction: The second characteristics of political system are Interaction among the several groups and other structural forms of the government. Therefore all formal or informal institutions like pressure group and social groups interact each other so that they can associate and perform the demonstrations against the government for their interests. Likely the Indian constitution performed some amendment to overcome form Zamindari. So interactions among the people as well as the structural groups are necessary in a healthy democracy.

Interdependence of Parts : The third characteristics of political system is interdependence of parts which declares that if one component is changed in a system then the whole structure of the system is affected. Therefore in a political system a party has mass voters and also good combination of electronic media then it changes the performance of the government as well as the working system of the governing bodies. Rising of pressure groups, different associations, trade unions, labor unions and other social groups affect the working political system in the country not only the government also the legislature and judiciary are affected. In the modern time where the government

does not work properly in the favors of public concern there the several groups and people(s) of the country started demonstrations against the government.

For example, during famine or inflation the labourers demand the high wages from the working bodies and if demands are not accepted by the government bodies then they started strike. All the works are stopped and pressure creates over the owner of the industries and factories. All media and other sources highlighted the facts of the labors and the government also affected by this. In this way government tries to settle the matters and passed the bill by which the minimum wages for labors are increased. Thus one component affects the whole structure of the political system.

Comprehensiveness: It is the fourth character of political system. This includes all the interactions among the several structural and functional groups in the society. All formal and informal institutions are inclusively attached. Religious, regionalism, part- politics and all functional units brought the modernization in the country.

Change of Boundary: Another characteristic of political system is change of boundary. The political system keeps the interaction among the legislature, executive, judiciary and national roles, votes etc. All the components are interconnected each other. In the same time the individuals play the role in social system and economic system deliver the role in political changes. All the business men and the industrialists try to support those political parties who will bring the policy beneficial for them. Thus the economic system changes the political system. In other way while the issues of national interests and boarder conflict then all the interactions of the structure come together to assists the political system. Therefore change of the boundary is a common phenomenon in political system. Thus all the above characteristics are dealt in the political system.

(ii). Political system a debate and discussion

A political system is a way which includes all the structures either in formal or informal institutions. In every country political system clarifies the healthy democracy and the stability of the country. Before independence Cote d'Ivoire was a colonial of France and ruled by it about 66 years. The History of Cote d'Ivoire was more complex where many ethnic groups ruled over it. So in the pre colonial period Cote d'Ivoire had no political

system and most of the times it ruled by the kingship of several groups. When the country got its independence in 1960 the main problem was the stable government formation. Although the country government by the first Prime Minister Felix Houphouet-Boigny who later became the first President of Cote d'Ivoire. He formed his party named PDCI (Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire). Boigny won all the seats in the National Assembly election held in 1960. A referendum passed by the National Assembly and the first constitution of Cote d'Ivoire was introduced in November 1960. The constitution was highly adopted the French governing system and so Felix exercised the centralized power of the government. When the government is centralized then the democracy cannot be fruitfully implemented in any countries. Therefore no stable and strong political system was developed during the regime of Felix Houphouet-Boigny. No debate and discussion held before making the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. All the features were adopted from the French chartered which was introduced in 1789 in France. Later the human rights were taken from the universal declaration of human right (UDHR) in 1948. Although the constitution offered the human rights but it was not implemented in the country fruitfully. So exploitations were occurred in the country due to lack of constitutional provisions. The whole presidential regime of Boigny was full of unsatisfactory actions created by him in Cote d'Ivoire.

So the political system in Cote d'Ivoire determined by the influence of French regime and the presidential form of government was introduced. The official language of Cote d'Ivoire is the French language and other languages are spoken in the country.

2.3. Specific Features of political system in Cote d'Ivoire

The constitution was formed in Cote d'Ivoire with adopting the French governing system. Therefore the political system in Cote d'Ivoire is highly affected by French masters. Cote d'Ivoire acquired the three form of the government. These are executive, legislature and judiciary. All these branch of the government are called the formal system of political system.

The formal forms of the government are the main components of the political system in any countries. These are the basic factors which play an important role to exercise the

government in the country. Executive branch is the governing body of the government which exercises the laws made by the legislature in the government. All the members of the National Assembly are the executive members. The head of the executive branch is the President of the country. The president of the country is elected by the direct voting pattern followed by the National Assembly election in Cote d'Ivoire.

The first form of the government is the executive. It includes the President, Vice-President and the Prime Minister in the country. The president is the head of the executive as well as the country.

The second branch of the government is the legislature. The total numbers of the legislature in Cote d'Ivoire is 225 and all the members are elected by the voting system through the National Assembly election. All members have elected for 5 years term. The legislature is responsible for creating laws and rules so that the government runs in the country in a gentle way. It is the body for laws formulation and codification in Cote d'Ivoire. Currently a bicameral parliament changed the old parliament which was the unicameral parliament in Cote d'Ivoire. Now the National Assembly is called the lower house and the Upper house is the Senate in Cote d'Ivoire. All these are facilitated by the new constitutional reforms in Cote d'Ivoire. Now the upper house i.e. the Senate has 120 members. The president will appoint one third of the members (40 members of the Senate) of the Senate and rest of the members will elect by the municipal and the council members.

The third branch of the government is the Judiciary. It acquires a supreme court is the highest court in Cote d'Ivoire. The judiciary is exercised by subordinate court also.

All the features mentioned above will be implemented in the year of 2020. Therefore the political system during the Boigny period was not good to deliver the healthy government for the people of Cote d'Ivoire.

After the Independence of Cote d'Ivoire the other form of the political system was informal organizations. There were many organizations worked in Cote d'Ivoire like Pressure groups, ethnic groups, social groups and other local bodies. All these organizations had no right to take part in the political activities and so these were worked

as voluntary organizations. Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) was single party in Cote d'Ivoire which led the political system and the government in the country. No other party could be emerged during Boigny regime. So that single party dominated in Cote d'Ivoire since 1993. After the death of Felix Houphouet-Boigny in 1993 the emerging trend of political system was changed in the country.

In a healthy democracy and ideal political system informal organizations play important role to construct the society and the systems. Though the nature of political system is not static and constant but in Cote d'Ivoire the political system was corrupted due the domination of single party rule. All the African countries affected by this trend of political system and after getting the freedom from the colonial masters the countries adopted their governing system. People of those countries thought about their freedom and with less belief they adopted the single rule system. In this way the single party system dominated over the country and one of the countries is Cote d'Ivoire which was affected by this kind of ruling system. Though Boigny developed the economic power but he could not deliver the democracy what people expected from him. Thus the dream of the people of Cote d'Ivoire remained as usual what they saw before the freedom. So there were lack of good features of the political systems and the dictatorial features of the political system occupied over the politics in the country.

2.4 Constitution and Political System: A complementary features of Political Stability

In every country constitution plays a role of guide. It means a constitution guides the activity and political process and governmental activities by which the people of the countries are affected. A constitution limits the powers and functions of the government and secures the rights of the people in the concern country. Whereas the political systems directed by the nature of the government where political parties and the other organizations work together. Therefore political system depends on the constitutional provisions acting in the country.

The political system covers the party system and other formal and informal institutions in a country. A stable political system requires a healthy and fruitful democracy where all

the formal and informal institutions are worked together. The components of the democracy like media and press, political parties, social organizations, pressure groups and other institutions are attached to each other where they have different interests but keep interest in the political system.

In Cote d'Ivoire Boigny was the powerful president who ruled over the country and always led his party called Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire. There was no other party in the country so that in every Assembly election his party won the full mandate and sometimes all the seats in the National Assembly. So there was no opposition in the country and he ruled without any opposition and checks. This trend was not only in Cote d'Ivoire.

All African countries were affected by the single party system and so why the countries were served by a single ruler for a long time. For example Kenya, Ghana, Mali, Tanzania, Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria, and almost every part of African countries were colonized except Ethiopia and Liberia. Where Liberia was settled in a good way and so not said colonized. The different colonial masters had the different characteristics to rule in their colony. British colonial masters had ruled in a way of decentralized powers and they did not force to accept their culture to the colonies. They always played divide and rule policy so that no one could organize against the masters. While the French masters had the quality to force to accept the culture and language. They came to Africa in a different way and started their colonies differently.

Where there was single party rule the country was massively exploited in several ways. People were no more lived happily and many corruptions, discriminations were faced by them. One party governing system killed the democracy and no public political rights were developed in the country. Felix always succeeded in Cote d'Ivoire due to single party system and so he was ruled over the country as a dictator. No any democratic institutions were developed in Cote d'Ivoire during Boigny period. In single party system no political structures are found and so why a single man party acted in the country where this form of government is found. Cote d'Ivoire is a country where the main source of economy is agriculture and during the period from its independence to 1990 it faced famine and inflation in the year of 1970s. The government had dictatorial attitude and the

president was all in all at that time in Cote d'Ivoire. No legislature and Judiciary were protected by the constitutional provisions though it was discussed in it. The president enjoyed the powers in his own way so that what he wanted he did without hesitation. In this system of the government only some selected numbers of people got benefited those who followed the ruler and they had blind faith in the government. Many ethnic groups and social groups tried to create a movement against the government but the movements were killed by the dictator Boigny. Therefore in single party system no democratic activities could enjoy in Cote d'Ivoire.

No public debate and discussion were held in Cote d'Ivoire during the period of Boigny so that no political system could be flourished in a better way. Majority of people were unrest and they did not satisfy with the dictatorial form of government. The executive powers and the legislative powers dealt by the president only and so undemocratic activities took place in spite of the fruitful democracy in Cote d'Ivoire. All forms of rules and regulations applied in Cote d'Ivoire adopted from France. Peoples had enjoyed their voting rights only for vote casting not as an ideal citizen who can discuss and debate about the characters of the government. No other options were applicable for the people in Cote d'Ivoire so the they unwillingly casted their votes to PDCI. It was the party of Felix Houphouet-Boigny who won maximum times in the election of National Assembly in Cote d'Ivoire.

Cote d'Ivoire was patronized by France and centralized power of government presented. No other political powers were offered to the people so that they could bring a change in the country. The single party system of government had no any objections due to there was no more party in Cote d'Ivoire. The other forms of democracy were also absent there. For example media and the press were also absent and so why the voice of the people could not raise against the government. Many times ethnic conflicts and other forms of demonstrations held in Cote d'Ivoire that expressed the unrest of the people and the political status. No political stability can develop where the ill segments of political system are found like corruptions, unemployment, illiteracy and discriminatory bodies. All sorts of these components were found in Cote d'Ivoire during the President of Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Each and every component of democracy reflects the political

system in every country. In a single party system corruption was flourished highly in most of African countries. It happened because there were no other oppositions to check the work out of the government so the government was proudly ruled for long time with doing massive corruptions and other offensive actions.

Getting the liberty from the colonialism was not the solution of peace and welfare of any countries in Africa until and unless the government could not be democratic in every field. Therefore the political system affected the development of the country and it also determined the quality of the government by which the policies were made for the people. Here Cote d'Ivoire was a country which was colonized for a long times by French and they dominated in all sorts of the governing principles in the country. All the policies and the planes were made in supports of the foreign benefits because most of the time Cote d'Ivoire was ruled by the President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and he was served in French ministry for many years. Therefore he had the idea of the French rule and he avoided the multiparty system in Cote d'Ivoire. So the political system in Cote d'Ivoire was not so strong during the regime of the President Felix Boigny.

In a political system no static trends of rule and government can survive for long and long times in future. It happens because political system is not constant so that it is affected by the internal factors as well as external factors acting in the country. Though all African countries were ill treated and government formation was a single party system yet many of countries got independence after 1970s. Single party system did not faced oppositions so the government started exploitations of the natural resources in the country.

After getting the freedom from the French rule Cote d'Ivoire could not achieve the peace and prosperity for the people and in the post colonial period in faced many conflicts within the several ethnic groups. Ethnic groups like Akan, Baoule, Bete, Krou, Dida, Abe, Akie, Agno etc. were fought each other for their participations and for the land distributions in the country. No participation in the political activity and so why they suffered in Cote d'Ivoire in many times. The issues of migrants and the land ownership for plantation of cocoa and coffee in the North were major factors affecting the Cote d'Ivoire's economy.

In the post colonial period Cote d'Ivoire faced so many serious problems but the powerful president Boigny was not affected by it. So the political parties couldn't enjoy the constitutional rights in Cote d'Ivoire. There was no implementation of Constitution for the good will of the people in the country. Therefore lots of pressure increased by the people and started demonstration against the government during the 19970-1980s. Thousands of University students and the scholars started movements for their employment and the responsibilities in the fields of jobs and other activities. The movement began in the country by the several organizations and the pressure groups in Cote d'Ivoire. In the same time inflation affected the country severely and people's angriness against the government was in a peak position. The post colonial era in Cote d'Ivoire was the time where the President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and the government was surrounded by the corruptions, conflicts, dissatisfaction among the people and the social & economic instability. The written constitution didn't implement in the country and so why people faced many problems. So Cote d'Ivoire was also faced the military rule. There were no options for the people except demonstrations against the government in Cote d'Ivoire. Peoples were fighting for their rights which offered by the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire.

So this was the time where the nationalism was on the top and the citizens of Cote d'Ivoire fought for the political change and the democratic rights. Peoples were motivated by learning the others state nationalism movements which was flourished in the West Africa. The democratization was about to form in other several countries of Africa in the post colonial period and so why Cote d'Ivoire was also affected by the dictatorship of Felix Houphouet-Boigny. So peoples started the movement for their democratic rights in Cote d'Ivoire. Though he was the first President of Cote d'Ivoire but before it he was a man who made the property and wealth with his friend Gaulle in French ministry. It was the quality of all the colonial powers that they left their colonies but they put the soft spoken personality. So Cote d'Ivoire got freedom on papers but did not free from the dominance of its colonial power. Therefore the systematic rule was present there in Cote d'Ivoire which was handled by the French power. Almost all the Francophone colonies had the same trends of government who followed their colonial powers. The rulers were dedicated for their majesty that made them so far.

The features of the political system are the media strongest, organizations, institutional developments and other components. In Cote d'Ivoire there was massive economic exploitations captured the growth of the country and socio-economic discrimination strengthen the mass political leaders to come forward in the country during the last 20th century. Almost the whole country was burning in the form of social conflicts and culture of violence. To check these sorts of vital problem government must have to implement the sustainable peace and security in Cote d'Ivoire but the Boigny government could not take response and the people got mobilized against the government. For this judiciary and the executive should play their role positively but unfortunately judicature was not protected by the power of laws. Therefore the popularity of the government was lost and also the government lost the faith of the people in the country. So the political system was in a dangerous condition. The country was facing the problem of democracy and human right violations. This strengthens the media and the social groups and civil society to come together for fighting the dictatorship of Boigny. In this way people motivated and fought for the liberal democratic rights and strong nationalism in Cote d'Ivoire. Lack of interest in public welfare by the government the people started demonstrations here and there in the country.

Cote d'Ivoire is surrounded by the several countries like Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Liberia and one side by the Atlantic Ocean. In the post independence period Felix Houphouet-Boigny constructed an open trade policy for all the neighboring countries and offered for plantation of cocoa and coffee in Cote d'Ivoire. In this way so many migrations developed and they came to Cote d'Ivoire for cultivation. They started to get the agricultural land on lease for some times from the farmers who occupied their lands from the past. This fashion started domination over the farming people who possessed the lands and now the land was captured by the migrant's people. This was the way that sharing population of the foreigners was grown 5% to 26% in 1998 in the country. Free trade and movements laid the conflict between the people of Cote d'Ivoire and the foreigners. Farmers were forced to cultivate only cash crops so that the products of cocoa beans, coffee and Pam oil could be exported in the foreign markets. So conflicts started over the land in Cote d'Ivoire. Thus Cote d'Ivoire faced the conflict for land and the natural resources in which the country was rich in Gold, diamond and minerals.

The other issues of conflicts were the communal conflict between the Muslims, Christians and the animists in Cote d'Ivoire. In the West and the North of Cote d'Ivoire lack of security and indemnity caused the tensions among the people and it reflected the political stability. All these kinds of conflicts occurred in Cote d'Ivoire but there were no any management was established to prevent of such kind of issues. To stop it government should strengthen the governing body and the system by which it could be checked. Unfortunately Felix Houphouet-Boigny failed for preventing the communal and social conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire. Especially in the North of Cote d'Ivoire the governing body of the government was not capable and lack of legitimacy the conflict spread out. The centralized power played a role for it because no separation of powers worked out in Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the local administration could not check the conflict.

Political stability was affected more when the governing system was centralized and weak local government has no power to take action against ill mannered activity which created violence in the society and the specific environment. Peoples started demanding the political democracy and the rights for them who suffered for long times in Cote d'Ivoire. People's mobilization and the demonstrations created pressure over the government and so why Felix Boigny started mixed-up those soft spoken leaders who followed the government. Thus the political trend started change in politics and some place for politics was given to others in the country by late 1985s.

Thus the components of political system like media, social groups and other institutions played the role to establish the strong political system in Cote d'Ivoire. This period of Cote d'Ivoire was a golden period when multi party system was growing and the democratic stability was in beginning for all.

History of dependency and the autonomy in Cote d'Ivoire told about the political instability. From its independence to 1970s Cote d'Ivoire's structure of state and the development of economy was fruitfully intervened by the former colonial master i.e. the French. Houphouet-Boigny created all the facilities by which the neighboring countries like Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso and Liberia got benefitted in the field of trade and employments. The debates were started in Cote d'Ivoire and in the international peripherals that there was a contradiction between the local and international building up

the national capitals. The soft authoritarian Houphouet-Boigny knew everything but he did not try to resolve the conflict in the country. So that the neighboring countries of Cote d'Ivoire strategically started growing the plantation and they needed local labors to cultivate the land in Cote d'Ivoire. Here Houphouet-Boigny softly developed the relationship with the French government so that the French could develop their economy and he was able to rule over the country with the help of France. Thus after leaving the colonials in Africa the colonial masters like France intervened indirectly in all the francophone countries. French companies were allowed in the country to develop their business in the name of French- Africa cooperation and most of the economic profits got by the foreigners. No political interventions were held because there were no other political party in Cote d'Ivoire who checked the National interests and the country's economy. In this way French dominated in directly in Cote d'Ivoire and the business investment code facilitated the foreigners' mostly French people.

Many writers and experts explained the political characters of Houphouet-Boigny in different ways. One is Amin who explained the neo colonial character of economic growth of Cote d'Ivoire challenged that miracle could change in to fantasy. Some of writers criticized Amin's writing that either the economic growth was good or bad was not fruit full. Chauveau and Dozon criticized him and they found the cooperation between the French business men and Africa was the result of lack of strong autonomy of the government of Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the political instability started through liberal trade policy conducted by the president Felix Houphouet-Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire. Many of the articles were written and talked about the political instability in Cote d'Ivoire during the post colonial period. No further constitutional provisions were implemented in the country until the president Felix Houphouet-Boigny not died. Some changes were done during 1990s and rising the other political parties.

Constitutional features are those facts which determined the deliverance of the healthy democracy in a country. Africa is a continent where all the countries were colonized by the Europeans for many decades. Only two countries Ethiopia and Liberia were not colonized by any colonial powers in the past. Liberia was settled in a good manner so that it could not colonize by others and also does not call as colonized country. Though the

countries of Africa slowly got their independence from 1960 yet the colonial powers tried to patronize their government where they developed their colonies in Africa. France was one of the colonial powers in West Africa who massively imposed the cultural, lingual and structural features in their colonies after leaving them. Cote d'Ivoire was one of the French colonies who adopted the structural and functional quality of government from the colony master. Therefore all the political features were taken from the French government. The constitutional facility and the titles were taken from the French charter and declarations. So that single party system was installed in Cote d'Ivoire.

The problems of political system were emerged in Cote d'Ivoire from the beginnings when the country achieved the freedom. It was only for saying that Cote d'Ivoire got the liberty but it was totally patronized by the French colonial powers. All the constitutional frame works done in the presence of soft spoken leaders who had good relationship with the French officials and the government. No any provisions were put in the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire so that it emphasized the government to implement the democracy for which the people of the country were hungry for the decades. The dreams of the people of Cote d'Ivoire were incomplete because they felt and realized the domination of powers of autocratic president Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Therefore Cote d'Ivoire was unrest and times to time the political degradations grew in many ways. The president Felix Houphouet-Boigny was a power full dictator who implemented the laws what he wished and ruled over the country with major exploitations and no human rights and other political rights for others were served in favors of the people in Cote d'Ivoire.

In the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire was no more suitable for the public and so the qualitative imaginations of the people and the learners of the country were left. Thus it had no more supportive criteria by which people could enjoy their freedom in Cote d'Ivoire. Though the country established its economy but the dictatorial government did not want to make the people very strong. During the post colonial era of Cote d'Ivoire Felix Boigny entertained all his powers for his good will and he forgot about the welfare of the country. The country had no powerful military. So when the people's movements and demonstrations against the government were taking place the government called the military from the country who patronized the government. In this way the people felt

unsatisfactory actions by the government and the anger increased high. No attempts were taken place for the peace and socio-economic and political representation in Cote d'Ivoire by the president during the violence and conflicts. The president of the country did not have interest about the social profits of the cocoa and coffee plantation and he opened the market for all the neighboring countries. No policies were made for the farmers of Cote d'Ivoire and the foreign policies made only beneficial for the business men. Thus the economic imbalance created the economic discrimination in the country and the pressure created by the people of Cote d'Ivoire.

There were lots of problems created after the independence of Cote d'Ivoire and political system was hanged by Felix Boigny. No freedom of speech and expressions were offered by the constitution in the country. A healthy democratic constitution offers all the rights and laws by which people can enjoy their lives and the government can run frequently. Though Felix ruled over the country for long times yet the people started demonstrations times to time against the government and so why he changed some provisions in the constitutions of Cote d'Ivoire. So after 1970s constitutional amendments were occurred in matters of death penalty and other implementations of laws. It was the result of heavy pressure of the social groups and other pressure groups that in 1985 some spaces were offered to political groups. Therefore the emerging of political parties started in the country and in the election of 1990s some other parties participated. So the political system started about to change and the end of single party system vanished after 1990s in Cote d'Ivoire. Now the country enjoys participation of many political parties who play the role of opposition and this is the beauty of an ideal democracy. Now a day's Cote d'Ivoire's political participation delivers the relations in between the regional as well as international level also. So features of political system changed in the 21st century.

Thus the political change could not be done positively during the period from the independence to 1985. The constitutional declarations did not implement in the country and so why dissatisfaction in the people emerged very high. So they demonstrated in the country against the ruling party. All pressure put on the government and some additional changes were done. Therefore after 1985 Cote d'Ivoire's political system was about to change and multiparty system started. The political system changed the form of the

governments but people continuously demonstrated for their democratic rights in the country. It is also going on after the death of Boigny in 1993.

Chapter III

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE

(Boigny Period: 1960-1993)

Political development is a process of political system in which so many characters play the role for its change. The developmental phase of politics is not completed in fixed period of times. The political development takes long times to develop the trends for which the peoples are awaiting. The development covers the area of political, social, economic and other forms which are required for delivering the democratic rights in any country. Political development depends on the forms of government in which the powers of the government are divided. So what kind of politics is held in a country it is decided by the executive, legislative and form of judicature? Political development can either in the form of positive or negative. The positive form of development has the quality of healthy democracy where the negative form of development gives the autocratic government.

Cote d'Ivoire got its independence on 7th August 1960. The country faced many changes and upheavals in political systems and in the development of politics. This chapter includes the events and happenings which happened during the period from 1960 to 1993.

3.1 Political development in Boigny Period: An Overview

Cote d'Ivoire was the colony of France and it was ruled over 60 years. The country was full of natural resources and so why it was made as a colony. The West Africa was colonized by French.

Felix Houphouet-Boigny was probably born on 18 October 1908. His family was hereditary of Baoule group in Yamoussoukro of Ivory Coast. His carrier was started as a doctor in the hospital of Abidjan and he came into the politics in 1932 and latterly he founded his party named Democratic Party in Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) in 1946. Though he served many post in French government in colonial period yet African people cooperated him with a great regard. He made minister several times by the French authority. He

fought for the freedom of West African countries and lastly passed a referendum by the French government in 1959.

Figure2: Felix Houphouet-Boigny (1905-1993)



He became the chief of Ivory Coast (Old name of Cote d'Ivoire) and finally Ivory Coast got independent on 7 August 1960. Felix Houphouet-Boigny became the first president of the country. He was a local leader and he did not refuse the French existence in Ivory Coast (old name). He only focused the development the economy. "That presence contributed to the effectiveness of the functioning of the economy, with the support of an authoritative regime and power and political monopoly." (see Rehak 2003).⁷ The colonial master i.e. France wanted to continue its existence in the form of political, military and economic impact in the country. For this massive numbers of highly educated experts and the community remained in Cote d'Ivoire (Changed name of Ivory Coast). Therefore this existence of the French patronized the government in the country. The president Boigny

⁷ Article: Ivory Coast - From Stability to Collapse. Failed States in Time of Globalisation by Robert Istok and Tomas Koziak

tried to modernize the Ivoirian agriculture which was based on Cocoa, coffee and palm oil. So the other industrialization was left for next except the food materials. All the trades were effectively ran according to the foreign trades and structure. Thus the influence of the Foreigners presented there after the liberty of Cote d'Ivoire.

In the name of political development in Cote d'Ivoire the country was governed by single head for more than 30 years. The country was exercised by a strong leader called Felix Houphouet-Boigny. His party PDCI was the one and only party in Cote d'Ivoire and he established politically for some decades after the independence. The political system was developed and strengthened the economy of Cote d'Ivoire. The economic development was held die to the political stability and by the liberal trade facility offered by the government. A large numbers of immigration taken place from the neighboring country Upper Volta now called Burkina Faso. This created large population of immigrants in the country and latterly it created the conflicts between the local and the immigrants. In this way after some decades the political stability in Cote d'Ivoire was in danger.

The social and cultural diversity was also a problem of political stability. The economic discrimination between the Southern part and Northern part for the people in the country was pre condition of political instability. This leded the ethnic conflict in Cote d'Ivoire. However many problems were created in the period of 1970 to 1980s. The regime of Boigny period was full of political upset. Though he ruled as single man in the country yet the democracy could not be delivered. He only focused in the development of economy at any coast but he never thought about the welfare and the hope of the people in Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore after facing and facing the challenges and problems public movement started in the country.

In this way Boigny faced the challenges and demands created by the public demonstrations in the country. No provisions were exercised according to constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. Large numbers of exploitations created the political instability in the country. He ruled over the country as an authoritarian because of weak political system and constitution in Cote d'Ivoire. He enjoyed the country and earned the property and wealth. All the governing system was corrupted and no public policy implemented positively. He won all the National Assemble elections held between the starting of 1960

and 1990. There was no any oppositions till 1985 and the party PDCI got probably all the seats of the National Assembly. Latterly this trend was ended when the election in 1990 began and multi party system emerged and also contested in the election.

Thus the ending of single party system and emergence of multi party system was played an important role in the political development as well as development of political system also in Cote d'Ivoire.

Boigny was very powerful person and he did much economic creativity in Cote d'Ivoire after the independence. He started free trade policy first in the West African countries so that poorer countries got benefitted. He became the hero of Sub Saharan Africa who developed the country's economy rapidly in the presence of colonial master. For some decades Cote d'Ivoire economic growth rate was miracle very high and the country's food productivity was enough and it did not dependent on others sources. Although the rapid growth was praised by the others countries but his policy of immigration and free trade for the neighbors created dissatisfaction amongst the people of Cote d'Ivoire. So that the population of Immigrant people was increased after it and the local people felt less regards and spaces for their development.

It was his success that the United Nation announced the Peace prize in the regard of his name called by Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize. He called the grand old man of Africa. He was remembered first for establishment of economic development in Ivory Coast and peace for some decades. Latterly he became an authoritarian president due to single party dominance in the country. After getting its freedom people thought that they became free from their colonial masters and they supported Boigny strongly. It could not remain in the future and Boigny established his kingdom ship in Cote d'Ivoire and centralized command over the executive, legislative and judiciary. The constitutional rights could not exercise in the country and slowly and slowly people got anger and they started demonstrations against him.

He faced several upsets in the country but he dedicated for country's peace. He quoted many times. Some quotes are:

⁸"Our combat is not over, it will never be over. The real combat, the combat for peace, is still going on."

⁹"We have always preferred negotiation in all circumstances, because we are convinced that a compromise acceptable to everybody can emerge from a confrontation of the ideas and interests in question."

¹⁰"It is a mistake to think that there is no alternative but war to get rid of apartheid: if peace is to be brought to Africa we can and must engage in dialogue. In any event, dialogue will be essential one day, whether it comes before war or after war. It is infinitely preferable to engage in dialogue as early as possible in order to avoid war, which, and I cannot repeat this often enough, can never settle anything in our day and age."

"Nothing will change as long as statesmen do not make the quest for peace something more than the mere window-dressing of their policy. Everything will change when this quest for peace has become the main and real goal of their concerns and second nature to them. The interests they defended up to that time will then seem to them to have been very mean and perverse. Peace is not an empty word but a form of behaviour."

Therefore the hero became dictator in the country by using centralized power and dominance of single party system.

3.2 Emerging Problems and Political Development

Political development and the problems are correlated to each other. In Cote d'Ivoire after getting its liberty the first preference was to set up peace and political stability. The first constitution framed in the country in November 1960. The constitution reflects the laws and the governing system and people's rights in a country.

The first constitution of Cote d'Ivoire had eleven chapters including the preamble. The preamble committed to secure the human rights, liberal democracy for all, sovereignty and equality before the laws. Though the constitution advocated all the provisions but the president did not take interest in implementing all these. Felix Houphouet-Boigny adopted all the systems from the French authority and the government was highly patronized. The

⁸ Source: www.betterworldkidsclubs.org/heroes/unesco-fhb

⁹ Source: www.betterworldkidsclubs.org/heroes/unesco-fhb

¹⁰ Source: www.betterworldkidsclubs.org/heroes/unesco-fhb

French wanted to influence their powers as they exercised. Therefore the economic activities for cocoa and coffee plantations and the business were flourished by them in Cote d'Ivoire. The government made the policies accordingly reliable for them. Felix in the first decade of his rule opened the door for all his neighbouring countries like Mali, Ghana, Burkina Faso and Liberia. Therefore immigration started in the country. Huge numbers of labors and the business men came to the country and settled in the Southern part of Cote d'Ivoire. Its implication affected the population of Cote d'Ivoire and the population of Cote d'Ivoire increased high. The arrival of forced labors in the country settled in the forest area. The data is collectively shown by the table in the next page.

Table3: Ethnical Origins of Africans in selected Cities¹¹

(In percent of total population)

Town	Born in the Ivory Coast (Old name)			Born in Foreign -----		Total Pop.
	Countries	Far	Near	Native		
Abidjan	46	36	11	7		117,892
Agboville	30	33	27	10		12,292
Dimbokro	17	34	19	29		9,336
Abengourou	32	24	16	27		15,757
Man	8	18	32	42		18,208
Daloa	13	50	2	35		10,618

All these records are taken from the book which are very old and during the period of early freedom of Ivory Coast. So it cannot comparison with the present facts.

The tabular form of the data shows the increasing population and the percentage of the foreigners in the country. It created disaffection amongst the people of Cote d'Ivoire. The

¹¹ Source: Data collected from the book "One party Government in the Ivory Coast" by Aristide R. Zolberg, page-42

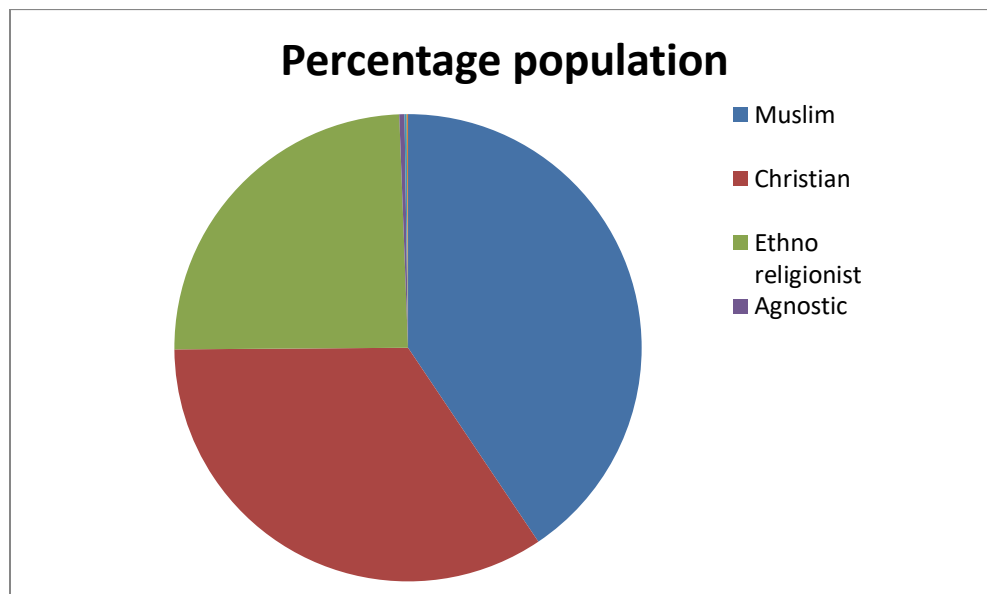
local and native people became hopeless and in the other hand the migrants laborers and the citizens of others country occupied lands for farming. Thus this hopeless turned into the ethical conflict in the country. So the social problems created during the first term of the government in the country. The country has more than 60 tribal groups. Baoule and Akan ethnic groups have the largest population in the country. The president of Cote d'Ivoire belonged to Baoule ethnic group and so he tried to make them strong. In this way social discrimination started in the country. Open door policy and the free trade created the forced labour and so the migrant people exploited the local very high in the farming of cocoa and coffee plantations. Though the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire advocated the human rights but here exploitation of human rights exercised very high. This was also the problem of political system which did not check over. Though Cote d'Ivoire wanted to be modernized but for it the country must have healthy political atmosphere and good practices of democracy. As shills advocated "modernity entails democracy because a regime of civilian rule, through representative institutions founded on public liberties is that, the predominant, visible model, the model which commands assent by its actual achievement and by the prestige of the power and ascendancy of its earthly embodiments."¹² Therefore it is the democracy which can facilitate the legitimacy for a regime. The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire tolerate about the liberty and equality before the laws and sovereignty and integrity of the country. Though the constitution dedicated to strong avocation of human rights which were declared universally yet the country could not implement all these qualities due to a single party system. Strong and powerful presidential system governed the country usually the colonial master ruled over it. Though many of industries were set up in main cities in the country like Abidjan and the capital of Cote d'Ivoire Yamoussoukro but all these were influenced by the foreign staffs and employees. Thus the local people had no options for employment in those industries. Lack of education and discrimination parted them from the jobs and their livelihoods were disrupted in the country. Hence the economic discriminations called the political imbalance between the migrants and the native in Cote d'Ivoire.

¹² Source: statements taken from the book "One party Government in the Ivory Coast" by Aristide R. Zolberg
Page 252

Religious and social factors were also the major problems by which Felix Boigny suffered during his regime. There are three major religious groups in Cote d'Ivoire and they are the Muslim, the Christian and Ethno religionist. Apart from that some small religious groups are presented like Agnostic, Bahai and others. The Muslims influence increased after the independence and increasing population of this religion created the problems for the other religions which have less population in the country. Therefore the religious dissatisfaction also creating the political up sets in the country. It was because the open door policy created by the president Boigny helped to enlarge the population of the Muslims in Cote d'Ivoire.

The pie chart which is shown in the next page gives the increasing data from the past to the present in Cote d'Ivoire. The Muslims populations during 1957 were about 22% and in the year 1975 was about 34%. Now the current percentage of the population of the Muslims is more than 40%. In the other side the second largest religious is the Christian who had the population in 1957 was 12% and in 1975 was 26%. The latest percentage of the Christian is about 34.31%. So the growing difference of these religions tells the whole thing in the country.

Figure3: Pie chart distribution of percentage population of different religions.



In the above figure blue color symbolized for the Muslim religion in Cote d'Ivoire, light red visible for the Christian, light green for Ethno religion and the smallest part of the Pie figure is for Agnostic, Bahai and others.

Social conflicts are the cause which affects the political development. Socio-economic and ethnic problems created in Cote d'Ivoire during the decade of 1970. Though the country's economic record was better earlier but some situations brought it on back foot due to inflation and famine. The society was divided in many religious and ethnic groups in the country. Therefore the activity and the working policy of the government in Cote d'Ivoire affected the development politically. Political development talks about the fruit full activity of the government for the people of the country in which they felt good for sustainable life. Therefore in Cote d'Ivoire socio-economic and cultural balance needed for the political stability. The presidential power was highly emphasized on the government what they adopted from the colonial powers. The government was highly patronized by the French colonial master. So the social, economic and religious problems spread out in the country. All these problems created instability to Boigny in the country.

3.3 Problems and instability to Boigny government

Instability is the situation in any system which is created by the ill manner activity by the institutions and the organizations. Political instability occurs in a country or state when the government policies are failed to full fill the common interest and the desires of majority of the people in the country. Cote d'Ivoire is the country of African continent who has prosperous history in the economic growth. The country's economic development was depended up on the agricultural activity. Cocoa, coffee, palm oil and the richness of the natural minerals were the root factors for the development of the country. Agricultural products were imported by the foreign markets and the country gained the money in return. In this way the government launched the open door policy for the neighbours so that plantations of cocoa and coffee grew high. The open door policy created discontent in the people of the country. In this chapter different problems are expressed which were responsible for instability to Boigny government during his regime in Cote d'Ivoire.

The social, economic, political and cultural factors of development which were led the conflict and instability in the regime of Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire. After the freedom of the country social diversity was success fully handled by Boigny but latterly the domination of the government and discriminatory action created displeasure amongst the social groups in the country. In Cote d'Ivoire there are several ethno-lingual groups which play the role in agricultural development.

The Akans is the largest ethno lingua group which has about 42 percent of total population¹³ of the country. This group is found in South, central part, east part of the country. Ghana has also populated by this group. Akans has many sub groups. Cote d'Ivoire has the largest sub group called Baoule which was strong presence from the past. This sub group was dominated in the political as well as agriculture in Cote d'Ivoire. The president Houphouet-Boigny was also the head of the Agriculture land in the West Africa for the plantation of cocoa and coffee. He belonged to the Baoule group in Cote d'Ivoire. This group has more than 28 percent population of the total and economically domination in the country from the past and the current. The other sub groups in this ethnic group are Agnis, Abrons and Nzimas situated in the East area while the sub groups of Abbes, Abries, Atties and Adjoukrous are found in the Southern Eastern coastal area of the country. These groups are more urbanized more than 40 percent of the population in Cote d'Ivoire.

The Mandes is the second largest ethnic and linguistic group in the country which has more than 26 percent of the total population of Cote d'Ivoire. It is divided further into Northern and Southern Mandes in the country. The Northern Mandes has the population around of 16 percent of the Mandes are Malinkes found in the North West Cote d'Ivoire. It is also found in the neighbouring countries mali and Guinee. Malinke ia the local language spoken by the Muslim merchant in the West Africa sub region called Dioulas which means the "merchant" in the Malinke. All these people were commercially strong and so they were mostly lived in the city. About 50 percent of the total group population lived in urban area in the country. The Southern Mandes were the people who have the population of 10 percent and lived in the Western part of the country. About 70 percent of the Southern Mandes were lived in the rural areas because they were farmer. Ritually these were in small groups like Dans and the

Yacoubas were the farmers. They were bounded the relation with the Western countries Liberia and Gios.

The Dioulas were the highly commercial traders and socio-economic professionals which played a vital role in Cote d'Ivoire and the Western Sub area. Though they were the merchants but some of their social groups worked in agricultural activities and they played a role of sellers and buyers of cash crops like coffee and cocoa in Cote d'Ivoire. Dioulas were national and ethnical back ground and they were from Mlai, Burkina Faso, Guinee and North Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the Dioula played an important role in Cote d'Ivoire's local economy. And it succeeded due to the trans- boarder community and the open door for all in the country. Thus the foreign community came and established their dominance over the local economy and the people. So the socio-economic imbalance affected the political development in Cote d'Ivoire.

The Krou are the fourth largest ethnic groups in Cote d'Ivoire which have more than 12 percent of the total population in the country. They are found in the South-Western part of Cote d'Ivoire. In this group the sub groups are Betes, Wes (Gueres), Didas and Kroumens. All these groups are tied with Liberia's Krahn. These groups inhabited in the forest area of Cote d'Ivoire. They were professionally hunter and expert in fishing. Now some of Krou are engaged in plantation of cocoa and coffee in the country so that they became strong professionals. Now the time passed and they changed their profession and due to lack interest in economy all are taking interest in education. So they enrolled in high number in education than the other ethnic groups in Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the Krou were highly qualified and urbanized in the country.

The Gurs are the third largest ethno linguistic groups in Cote d'Ivoire which have more than 17 percent population of the total population in the country. This ethnic group is found in the North and the North-Eastern part of Cote d'Ivoire. Gurs has also the sub group named Senoufous presented in Burkina Faso. All these people are less urbanized and rurally they were farmers. Less of 25% of this group is located in the cities in Cote d'Ivoire.

Immigration was one of the challenges in Cote d'Ivoire during the regime of the President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. During the colonial period forced labors from the Upper Volta

region now called Burkina Faso transferred in a large numbers. They came first in the Eastern part of the country. After the independence of Cote d'Ivoire the President Boigny assisted the labors continuous so that plantation of cocoa and coffee can develop. All these labors shifted the South-Western part of the country and large numbers of forest cleaned up. The population of these external labors grew up rapidly and the population of these people became twice between the years of 1975 to 1988. Now the immigrants and the Baoule migrants became the major in population in Cote d'Ivoire.

Thus the population of immigrants from the different neighboring countries like Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea was grown up rapidly in the country. The population of the country in 1920 was about 1.5 million and it increased after the independence 7 million. It continuously grew up and became 10 million till 1988 and today the population of the country is about 23 million. The increasing rate of immigrant people in Cote d'Ivoire is 1.5 million to 4 million today. The most urbanized population is people migrated from the country of Mali and Guinea. They are settled in the economic capital of Cote d'Ivoire called Abidjan. So the population of Abidjan grew by the migrant people and almost half of a million people is equal to 15% of the population of Abidjan city.

The Muslim religious population is the highest one in the country. As described earlier the Muslim is more than 40 percent of the total population in the country. The Animists are approx 12 percent and 17% announced that they have no particular religion in the country. Thus the social and religious imbalance created the political problem because they wanted participation for their individual religion and the social group and linguistic balance. The domination of a particular ethnic groups and the religion over the local and small groups created unwillingness in the government and they started demonstrations for their survivals and raised those issues that could solve the problems.

Felix Boigny did not want nobody could gather against him. So the legitimacy of the Akans ethnic group in which his sub group Baoule found maintained by him. The political system dominated by this group because he was belonged with Baoule family. And the policy made in the agriculture sector according to the French investors. During the year from 1960 to 1980 the growth rate of Cote d'Ivoire was near about 7% but the problem was that he created a liberal trade policy and the migrated people occupied the fertile land for cocoa and

coffee plantation in the country. He announced that those who can cultivate the land it will belong to them. This statement was highly affected the local people and more beneficial for the foreigners. No doubt the economic growth rate was high during the 1980s but he could not implement the democratic features which are constructed in the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire.

When the country was restructuring its infrastructure massive worked done positively for the country. The problem was the participation of the French arrivals after the freedom and he patronized the economy and the infrastructural development. He hope fully patronized by the French and to remove the challengers of the country he offered the French military power to safe guard him and so Boigny did not made a powerful military so that they could never face the military coup. Felix Boigny made less expenditure for the development of the military in the country and always helped by the colonial master so called France. In this regard Boigny opened his all trade and barriers for French and made so power full administration with the help of France. Thus patronized government could not focus about the expansion of his military. In this way the power full single party system killed the political development in the country.

In 1970s crisis of the Guebie a sub group of Bete held in the country and about 4 to 6 thousand people died because of brutal use of military by him. In 1975 a huge demonstrations taken place in Cote d'Ivoire against the dictatorial government. A large number of people including universities student, oppressed community, farmers and the politically involved people came on the road and started demanding for their democratic rights, check exploitations, discrimination and other constitutional rights. The government did not take initiatives for the demonstrators and in spite of this Felix Boigny ordered his military to charge on the people. After it more than hundreds of activist put in to the jail. Here a figure captures the sight of the demonstration in Cote d'Ivoire occurred during 1975.

Figure4: Demonstration during 1975 in Cote d'Ivoire¹⁴



Therefore the United Nations Security Council passed the resolution for the peace and deliverance of the democratic rights in Cote d'Ivoire. This was called the United Nations Security Council resolution but it passed after 1990s in Cote d'Ivoire. This resolution gave the preamble for the country for the peace and democratic enrichment and it commenced the role of the African Union and the ECOWAS to resolve the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire.

Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council of the United Nations suggested that all parties to give the honors of the will and hope of the people in the country. The United Nations made an operation in that time and it was so called The United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI). This operation was to protect the people from the militant threats in the country. In this way during that time the government felt unrest by the heavy demonstrations in the country. That time highly political pressure created and the president demanded more military help from the French government.

Further again the crisis of Yopougon in 1990s held. This attracted the country towards his killing face and dictatorship in the country. Thus the decade of 1980s was curious for the people of Cote d'Ivoire and the country faced the upset of political development where no judiciary and constitutional rights were implemented.

¹⁴ Source: www.worldlifeexpectancy.com

The most convenient problem of the president Boigny regime was that highly control over the executive and large numbers of Akans were politically appointed in the political formats like ministers, economic and social councilors and deputy in the country. Thus the dominations of his ethnic groups and sub group created political up set in Cote d'Ivoire. The following table demonstrates the political participation of Ethnic groups in the governing body in Cote d'Ivoire.

Table4: Political participation of different ethnic groups (in Percentage) in Cote d'Ivoire¹⁵

Ethnic Groups	Total political elite	Minister	Deputy	Economic Social councilors	PDCI Politburo	Total population in 1975
Akan	50.9	53.4	50.0	56.1	55.1	41.4
Krou	19.6	20.5	20.5	14.6	12.8	16.7
Malinke	10.3	9.5	9.0	11.2	10.3	14.8
S.Mande	5.3	2.7	6.5	4.4	5.1	10.2
Voltaic	9.1	8.2	4.5	7.4	8.9	15.7
Others	4.1	5.4	3.0	7.8	6.4	1.2
Unknown	0.3	---	0.5	---	---	---

Therefore the table represents the data about the different ethnic group involving in the political activities. The large ethnic group was Akans and dye to Boigny was belonged to Baoule group so he was always strong supporters of the same group. In this way the strong political participation by a particular ethnic group created oppression in other groups. More than 40% of Akans were serving in other offices in different kind of jobs. The political elites, Ministers, deputy and the PDCI politburo were mostly Akans. In the local level Economic and social councilors were also Akans dominated in the country. Thus the imbalance faced the political developmental problems in Cote d'Ivoire.

Apart from that most of the jobs were served by the foreign officials because the literacy of the country was not good during the period of Boigny. No initiatives were taken by the

¹⁵ Source:DRAFTLocal governance and national crisis in Côte d'IvoireOpportunities and challenges for community-baseddevelopment and peace-building, page.23 in April 2008

governments except the economic development in the country. The entire economic development miracle was handed over when the country was suffering from inflation during the 1970s. The cost of cocoa and coffee decreased in the foreign markets and the system was collapsed for revenue generation in the country. So the revenue dependency on cocoa and coffee plantation reached the country in a critical position when famine came in the country. The debt rate grew faster than the past and reached on a peak point of 59% to 205% of GDP in the country. In this way the former colonial power put pressure for the use of internal natural resources in spite of the debt. Though the country was the member of different international institutions but the power full and the attitudinal government did not take formal initiatives for the good will of the people in the country. Large numbers of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) ran throughout the country to sustain the political developments and the patronage politics in Cote d'Ivoire. Rapidly growing of urbanization in Abidjan created the massive unemployment and large numbers of demonstrations held during the year 1969. In these demonstrations about 1600 people were arrested in the country who led movement against the government as well as the foreign labors who occupied their spaces in farming.

The poverty and the unemployment rate were increased in the country during 1980s and later. The poverty rate rose from 11% in the year of 1985 and it highly increased 36% in later 1990s. The unemployed rate was increased 5.5% in the country whether it reached 15% in the economic capital Abidjan. (World Bank 1997)

The oppressed sections of the country gathered together and created the movement against the government for employment, farmer's cooperation, removal of poverty and political participation in the country. So students made organization called by Peoples and Students Trade Union of Cote d'Ivoire (USEECI). This union was founded in 1971. The founders and the leaders were put in the jail by the military so that they could not mobilize the public movements against the feudal and dictatorial government in Cote d'Ivoire.

In this way Felix Boigny governed the country according to his own wish and a single party system abolished the democracy in the country. The era of liberalization became cursh for the people of the country because it led the corruptions, dictatorships and violations of human rights and democracy. The power full presidential system killed the political

democracy which was offered by the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the political development suffered by the creation of unemployment, illiteracy, social discrimination and economic imbalance in the country and the patronize government by the ex-colonial powers.

3.4 Challenges of Peoples Opinion formation and end of F.Boigny Period

After long struggle and fight against the colonial powers Cote d'Ivoire got its independence in 1960. It was the time when all the peoples wanted to become free from the colonial rules at any cost. So they favored any kind of government except the colonial powers and they faithfully supported the rule of Felix Houphouet-Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire. He was the man who knew about the Western Africa because he was a land owner and the head of the plantation of cocoa and coffee in West Africa. Though the constitutional provisions drafted in Cote d'Ivoire but he never tried to implement it in the country. Felix always tried to handle the country with a verbal constitution. He was patronized by the French and all the rules and regulations were implemented according to the French powers. Therefore a single party PDCI ruled more than 30years in Cote d'Ivoire with a strong power. So lack of democratic rights and violation of human rights created many problems which challenged the government.

Peoples of Cote d'Ivoire thought about their sustainable development and the political opportunities. The learned people made different organizations and made unions for their group interests. Therefore the emergence of the unions and unity of the people started to challenge Boigny government. After 1980s the political trend changed and due to heavy political and international pressure Felix Boigny changed his politics in nature.

It is said that the economic development after the liberty of Cote d'Ivoire was high and GDP growth rate was also high but the government did not take interest to full fill the demand of the people of the Country. The dictatorial government was suffering by so many problems. The first problem of the government was that the ex-colonial master misguided the government and patronized highly. So the government policies made under the supervision of the French and they got more benefits in the economic development in Cote d'Ivoire. After 1970 the world moved towards the liberalism and the third world countries could not survive accordingly by the colonial powers. The colonial powers made such policies in

which the developing countries were dramatically harassed in the name of structural and economic development. They created the situation such a way that the developing countries demanded more and more financial assistance from the colonial powers. And latterly the country's economies fell down under the high debts. In this way the whole African countries were patronized by their colonial powers and the current times they are facing the affects of globalization.

Therefore a single party rule in Cote d'Ivoire Felix Boigny used his powers to collect the wealth and made him strongly obedient full to the French powers. The country suffered many problems and due to that the opinion of the people challenged the government which never advocated the formation of other party in the country.

Single party system in Cote d'Ivoire made it so undemocratic in the form of violation of human rights and the rights of those clauses which were written in the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. In a single party form of government Boigny was the head of his party PDCI and no other party could form till 1985 but the demonstrations were held in the form of groups which had political interest in the country. Till 1985 National Assembly election the PDCI party was the single party and no oppositions were there so that Boigny ruled more than 30 years in Cote d'Ivoire. He was the ruler in African continent who perhaps ruled the highest period of times in a country. The situation turned against Boigny during the period of 1990s when the interested people participated in the National Assembly election. It happened because the constitutional reforms had done by Felix Boigny but he powerfully tried to exist his party in superiority in Cote d'Ivoire. The demonstrations and the public movement changed the opinions of the people in Cote d'Ivoire. So that Laurent Gbagbo challenged Boigny as the Presidential candidate from the oppositions in the National Assembly election held in 1990. Though Boigny won the election but the voting pole declared that the interests of the people was no more in Boigny government and Gbagbo was defeated by a little margin of polls in Cote d'Ivoire.

The Single party of Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire faced the critical situation in the form of inflation, famine, poverty, violation of human rights, social discrimination and unemployment. The government faced the crisis of 1971 and the 1991 and who turned the people's opinions and they demanded for jobs and the employment for their livelihood. The

government appointed the intellectuals who were from outsiders and the dissatisfaction in the local people against the government increased very high. Though the economic development in Cote d'Ivoire was miracle very effective after the freedom but it was in danger when the foreign debt became very high due to the cost of the cocoa and coffee fell down in the foreign markets. That time Boigny did not try to take initiatives and the country suffered by poverty and unemployment. The people came together and started movement against the government and they did not want to live under the fascist government. About 26% of the population is below the poverty line in Cote d'Ivoire and the literacy is not impressive. Therefore the political change grew up after 1990s and some party was created by the nationalists who joined the movements against the government. The formations of unions and the parties played an important role in the political development in Cote d'Ivoire. Now people have options to choose the government who will perform to full fill their dreams and democratize the country and implement the constitutional frame works. The people thought about the liberty, fraternity and equality. The emerging trends in politics on the national levels as well as local levels created a threat in Felix Boigny so that he tried to shift the local politics. For this he announced that the local people can take part in the local level election and the hope of the people got lived in the country. Some political parties are given following which are founded after 1985 and the period of globalization.

Table5: Some major political parties and their founding fathers of Cote d'Ivoire¹⁶

Party's name (in French)	Party's name (in English)	Abbreviations	Founded	Leader
Parti démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire	Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire	PDCI	1946	Felix Houphouet-Boigny
<i>Front populaire ivoirien</i>	Ivoirian Popular Front	FPI	1982	Pascal Affi N'Guessan
<i>Parti ivoirien des travailleurs</i>	Ivoirian Workers Party	PIT	1990	Francis Wodie
<i>Rassemblement des républicains</i>	Rally of the Republicans	RdR	1994	Alassane Ouattara
<i>La Renaissance</i>	The Renaissance	<i>La Renaissance</i>	1997	Robert Guei Bombet

¹⁶ Source: The data collected from Wikipedia

Therefore the formation of the political parties started during the 1980s except the party of PDCI. The political change and the thoughts of the people created the democratic change in Cote d'Ivoire. Apart from these major parties so many little parties grew up in the country and the single party system now faced the problem of politics and that's why Boigny advocated the multi participation in local level elections. With the emergence of multi party system many patriotic and nationalist leader emerged through the movements in the country. The massive protests and the movements emphasized the government as well as the president Boigny to advocate the democratic politics and the opposition parties. So Felix and his successor Henry Konan Bedie tried to establish the political stability and prosperous economic development for the nation. This was the result of the public movements so that Boigny understood the facts and latterly he advocated the multi party system in political development in Cote d'Ivoire.

The presidential election was held on 28 October 1990. The country where the multi party system emerged little before the election faced the first time election. The president Felix Houphouet-Boigny faced the opponent in this election. The opponent Laurent Gbagbo was the candidate for the president against Boigny. First time the two parties participated in the National Assembly election in Cote d'Ivoire. The first party was PDCI led by Boigny and the other one was Ivoirian Popular Front led by Laurent Gbagbo. The PDCI won the election and got 81.6 percent votes of the total casting vote whether the Ivoirian Popular Front got 18.3 percent votes. Felix Boigny won the election and he elected as a president for seventh term in Cote d'Ivoire. Now the pattern of politics changed in Cote d'Ivoire after 1990s and the health of Boigny did not well. So he wanted to patronize the government by his successor. He became unhealthy during the year of 1993 and went to Moscow for his better treatment and lastly he died in 1993. This was the year of dictatorial end and the next president of Cote d'Ivoire was his spoke person named Henry Konan Bedie. He was the successor of Boigny. Thus the Boigny regim was ended in Cote d'Ivoire. Henry became the president of Cote d'Ivoire in a critical situation when the country was facing the economic challenges and the new emerging trend of trade and investments.

The country was suffered with the same problems what was the colonial time. Only different was that now it was called free from the colonial powers. The centralized government captured all the powers and total command over the executive, legislative and the judiciary. For two decades the country's economic development grew faster and the foreign traders flourished very well. All the policies and developments made for the ex-colonial masters and the neighboring countries for farming of cocoa and coffee. No doubt the economic growth was very high during the first decades in the country because the demand of cocoa and coffee in the international market was high. After the fell down the cost of these agricultural products in external market the economy of the country became so poor that the poverty level reached very high. The education problem created unemployment and massive demonstrations held against the Boigny government. So the chapter tried to cover the problems of political development during the Boigny period. The constitutional rights and human rights were violated very high and people's opinions made the country to establish the democratic political system and build the nation. The whole Boigny period was full of political unrest and patronized government did not do for the well establishment of democracy in the country. Lastly Felix was died in 1993 and the country lost the founding father of it.

Chapter- IV

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE

(1993-2000)

Cote d'Ivoire is one of the countries in African who was famous for its natural resources as the entire continent. The colonial powers brutally used all the resources for their own profits. It is the country which was ruled by the different kingships and the ethnic rulers. The French came in Cote d'Ivoire in late 1890s and during the travelling they visited the place and they established their business in the field of mines and the plantations. Finally Cote d'Ivoire made colony by the French and it declared as a colony of France in 1905. The French were directly ruled over the country and they massively used the resource of the country. France sent thousands of people of Cote d'Ivoire in the First World War 1914. Lastly the country decolonized by the French in 1960 when Cote d'Ivoire declared as a free nation. The French patronized the government and Felix Houphouet-Boigny elected the first president of Cote d'Ivoire. The constitutional frame works done and the government structured in three parts. The first was the executive, the second was legislative and the last one was the judiciary. This was only in the written form but in reality the president was so strong that no one can raise the step against the government. The dictatorial government exercised for three decades and it was ruled by a single party named PDCI and the chief was Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Boigny made several change so that the people created movements against him and many demonstrations were held in the country. Boigny was politically very strong and power full. So he never thought about the political participation of the people and he always advocated the soft spoken people in his office. The time came when Boigny thought that now the country could not govern as a single party system in the political form so he changed some pattern of the politics in Cote d'Ivoire. In the year of 1985 some political party emerged but they could not participate in the National Assembly election. Large numbers of demonstrations put pressure on him and he advocated the other party to participate in the National Assembly election held in 1990. This was the first time when the opposition contested against Felix

Boigny and the candidate was Laurent Gbagbo and the party was Ivoirian Popular Front (FPI) formed in 1982. Though Boigny won the election but the people's opinion was changed in the country. Lastly Boigny died on 1993 and his successor Henri Konan Bedie became the president of Cote d'Ivoire.

4.1. Boigny's Death and Demand for a New Constitution:

Peoples of Cote d'Ivoire were very upset during the regime of the president Boigny. So when he died in 1993 peoples started demanding the constitutional change and democratic rights for their well being. They demanded for their political rights and participation in the political activities. Though the condition of the country was not good when Boigny died yet the new nominated president Henri Konan Bedie tried to follow his ancestor rules. So the people of the country were mobilized very soon and they started movements against the government. The country was suffering from the poverty, lack of education, unemployment and political upheavals.

The constitution of the country was old and it was fully adopted the rules and regulations related from the French declarations. Therefore the constitutional provisions talk only by the rule but massively violated by the governing system. The governing system was centralized like France and so there all the powers operated by the president of Cote d'Ivoire. The peoples of the country wanted the equality, liberty and democracy in the country. They tried to establish the strong democratic provision for all in Cote d'Ivoire and so their expectations from the government became very high. So many demands were raised by the people of Cote d'Ivoire after the death of the president Felix Houphouet-Boigny. They thought that it was the end of dictatorial government but the new nominated president was also the follower of the past government. So they started demanding their political, social and democratic rights in the country.

Demand of Political rights

Cote d'Ivoire is an African country where the single party system of government ruled for three decades. In a single party system there were no alternatives for choosing the other party government so that peoples have no political rights to intervene the government. The government was abolished the all kinds of rights of the people in the

country. Therefore the people have no choice and democratic rights to participate in the political activities. All the African countries were patronized by their colonial masters except Liberia. Cote d'Ivoire was declared free from the French rule but the government formed by the accommodation of the French system so the government could run according to the colonial master and that was France. France has the centralized form of government so Cote d'Ivoire also accepted the same form of government and hence the centralized government had killed all the political rights of the people in Cote d'Ivoire.

Cote d'Ivoire had a written constitution but it was highly influenced by the French domination. Although the constitution favored the equality before laws and human rights but the centralized form of government could not implement it in a democratic way. Therefore the violation of human rights and laws were found in Cote d'Ivoire mostly during the regime of president Boigny. During the three decades of his rule the country suffered by many critical situations like famine and economic crisis in the 1970th decades. Further the cost of cocoa and coffee was fallen in the international market so that the revenue of the country was lost and the poverty rate became very high. When the president Boigny died the country was suffering from the poverty and the economic crisis and the political unrest. The new president Henri Konan Bedie had faced many challenges in Cote d'Ivoire. Demand of political rights was the major challenge for Henri Konan. The country woke up for the political development and the people demonstrated everywhere in the country. The country was facing the challenges of political change and demands of a multi party system what it started in the late 1985.

So the multi party system evolved in the political system and it started participation in the National Assembly election from 1990s. Bedie was also the leader of the same party PDCI in Cote d'Ivoire. Political development was the major problem of Cote d'Ivoire from its beginning and after the death of Boigny Henri faced it headily. The pressure emphasized Henri to make all the formal institutions like Judiciary, Executive and legislative more democratic and accountable for all the people in Cote d'Ivoire. Participation of the parties in the electoral politics was challenged the government. Though the parties like FPI, RdR etc. were found from 1985 but today more than 35

parties are found in the country. So the political demand for the public interest and the national interest became popular in Cote d'Ivoire.

Deliverance of Democracy

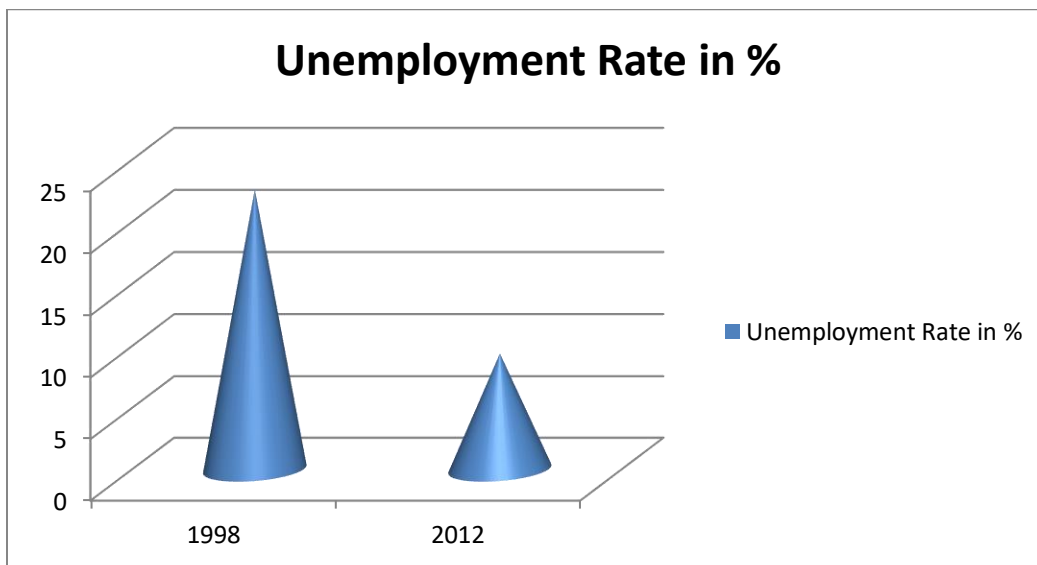
After the death of Boigny the country faced the political instability as well as the democratic challenges. Demand for democracy became popular in the country and the political parties and the informal institutions like social groups and others worked together for it. No one country can remain peaceful without democratize the politics and the government forms. So the dictatorial form of government had challenged by the people for deliverance of the democracy in Cote d'Ivoire. Political democracy creates the opportunities for all the social and cultural groups for their democratic rights. Democratic rights can defend from the violation of human rights and other kinds of violations. Peoples were got discriminated in the last government on the basis of ethnic groups and culture. They were forcefully terminated in the political fields and so that their political rights were vanished during that government. So the demands of the democracy and the equality for all were raised up in the new form of government. Henri Kona was also followed the same path and so he did not take interest to solve the problems of the people and the country ran with the same critical position. He was also patronized by the French and became very corrupt and collected more and more wealth for him.

Unemployment

Employ rate was decreased in the regime of Henri Konan. The patronized government recruited the migrant's people and the foreign staffs in the offices so that the local bodies could not get jobs in the country. The unemployment rate was remaining unchanged from the former government period to the Henri's regime. When the election of the National Assembly was held in 1995 Henri Konan re elected as the president of Cote d'Ivoire. All the oppositions were opposed him but he became the president of the country forcefully. Therefore once again the dictatorial form of the government found and the political uncertainty created in the country. Henri was very corrupted and all the governments' staffs were deeply involved in the corruption and collecting wealth for them. The government did not think about the young generations and their lives so that they could

get their jobs in according to their literacy and education. The youths were suffered from the unemployment in the country and the government enjoyed the wealth of the country. So dissatisfaction created the movement against the government. No jobs were created in the country. Therefore the unemployment rate was raised. The World Bank report says that during the regime of the president Henri Konan Bedie the unemployment rate of Cote d'Ivoire was on the peak. It was more than the period of Boigny. So the period of Henri Konan was more dangerous for youths of the country. Large numbers of the young scholar could not get their jobs. The unemployment rate was high from the year 1995 to 1998. No more academic institutions were opened in the rural areas in the country. The universities were opened only in the urban area and mostly in the advanced districts in Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the rural backwardness created unemployment in the country. Further no more infrastructures were made by the president Henri Konan in the country. So unemployment became very high and the country. The data are shown in below talk about the unemployment rate of Cote d'Ivoire.

Table 6:¹⁷ World Bank Unemployment rate in % of Cote d'Ivoire



¹ Source: World Development Indicators(WDI)

Thus the young population is the backbone of any country. The contents of the table show the rate of unemployment in Cote d'Ivoire. Henri Konan could not do anything for the young population and they were demonstrated in everywhere in the country.

Demand of Powerful Military

Most of the African countries had less number of military and so they always depended on their colonial masters. When the neighboring countries threaten the other country then colonial powers helped and full filled the demand for their security. So the colonial powers put pressure on them in spite of providing military. The colonial powers used the resources and made the treaty according to their benefits. Therefore after getting the freedom from the colonial powers not a single country could become free from patronize of their colonial masters. A strong military can defend the country from the external intervention which can dismiss the national security. Therefore public of Cote d'Ivoire demanded the strong military power and the constitutional amendment for the security purpose of Cote d'Ivoire. So the strong and powerful military can help to exercise the rules and regulations in the country.

Constitutional Demands

The demands of constitutional rights rose up from the independence of Cote d'Ivoire. Peoples suffered lots in the country because of a poor implement of the constitution in the country. Therefore they demanded strong constitutional rights which can protect them from the abolition of human rights and advocated the democratic rights. A constitution of the country is the key of the government which talks about the nature of the political and democratic system. Therefore a strong constitution of a country can defend the people from the violations of their rights and also directed the government. So the people of Cote d'Ivoire demanded the new constitution in the country. Strong judiciary, legislature, equality before laws and the fruitful democratic rights were the major demands after the death of Boigny.

4.2. Old Constitution changed in New Constitution: Political Context

Although Cote d'Ivoire had written constitution and it expressed the form of government but the political system was not democratizing in the constitution. It advocated the executive, legislature and the judiciary but the centralized form of government abolished the constitutional provisions in according to their wish. Old constitution had had declaration of human rights but in could not implement in the country because of the dictatorial regime of the president Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Therefore public of the country became hopeless and started revolts against the government. The demand of new constitution was the need of the people for their democratic rights and the good will of their lives. The demonstrations and the movements showed the willpower of the peoples for new constitution. Peoples of Cote d'Ivoire felt regardless in the regime of the President Boigny because they had no political rights and no democratic rights to express their thoughts in the country. All provisions which were demonstrated in the old constitution could not implement in the country. It was due to the patronize form of government which was followed by the French power. So when Boigny died the demand of new constitution was created in the country. All political parties and the liberal thinkers emphasized the government to make the constitutional body and form the new constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. The old constitution replaced by the 1990s and the 2000 constitutional amendments. The last constitution was changed in 2016. Though the changes were held during the globalization period but all were implemented after the 20th century. The new constitution was implemented after the end of Henri Konan Bedie period which was 1999.

The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire composes a preamble and 76 articles which are listed in to XIII titles. Preamble of Constitution talks about the principles of democracy and human rights. The people of Cote d'Ivoire are committed for the constitution and all human rights are declared by the Universal Human Right Declaration (UHRD) of 1948. The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire guaranteed all the provisions to the people of the country. The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire was redesigned during 1971 and 1985 but it did not implement in the country.

The first Title of the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire states about State and Sovereignty. The Title I has 7 articles. Article 1 to 7 talks about the sovereignty and secularity of the country. Every people is equal before laws. All the amendments can occur within the laws which are exercised by the supreme court of Cote d'Ivoire. All the political parties and several groups can express their activities according the constitutional provisions, laws of the republic and the principles of the national sovereignty. Peoples having both the sex can exercise their political and civil rights in the country. Voting right is given to all the citizens of Cote d'Ivoire which have the minimum age of 18 years.

The Title II describes about Article 8 to 26 in the constitution of Cote d'Ivoire. The Title II is the President of the republic and the government which delivers the features of the government and the powers of the president of the country. Articles from 8 to 26 express about the different forms of the government in Cote d'Ivoire. The dignity and tenure of the president of republic of Cote d'Ivoire is cultivated by article 8 and 9. The president is the head and the guarantor of the national security and independence of Cote d'Ivoire. The head of the country respects the constitution and he is elected for 5 years term of period. It is provisioned that the president may re-elect. All treaties and international agreements are flourished by the president for the welfare of the country.

The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire demonstrated about the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary form in the government. All these facts are included in the first chapter of the constitution. Apart from that the next three chapters declare the powers of each of the form i.e. executive, legislative and Judiciary. Though the powers are separated but the president is all in all and the supreme power of the president made the constitution less accountable for the people in the country. Therefore the people of Cote d'Ivoire demanded the new constitution for their democratic rights and the decentralization of powers.

4.3. Constitutional reform in 2000

Therefore the new constitution was reformed in the year 2000. The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire introduced a strong power to the president of the country. The president has the power to appoint the prime ministers of the state and both have 5 years term. The prime

minister assists the president of the country in the decision making process. The president has the right to elect the member of the provinces for 5 years.

The judicial system in Cote d'Ivoire is strong and plays an important role to reform the constitution. It has the power to review the presidential candidature and other cases in the country. The Supreme Court is the highest court in the country and other subordinate courts are there. The judiciary plays a role to conduct election and important referendum for the government. In Cote d'Ivoire the administration is divided in five levels. All these provisions are not mentioned in the constitution. There are 14 first level district and 31 second level of regions. Apart from that 108 are third level of departments and there are 510 fourth levels of sub prefectures in the country. All the districts are governed by the governors which are appointed by the central government. The fifth level of the administrative division is the communes which are headed by the elected Mayor and the number of communes are 197 in Cote d'Ivoire.

4.4. Constitution reform in 2016

After facing two civil wars the country was affected by instability. So that in 2015 presidential election Alassane Ouattara proposed a new constitutional reform. He formed a panel of experts to frame the new constitution so that the country could not face the wars and civil wars in the future. The panel of experts formed in June 2016. The new draft for the constitution was approved by the National Assembly on October 11, 2016 with a vigorous majority of votes. The framed constitution was approved on October 30, 2016 with securing 93% of votes. Finally the new constitution was proclaimed by November 1st 2016.

The new constitution explains about the citizenship of the country that people whose parent must be Ivoirian by birth have the right to get the citizenship of the country.

The new constitution of Cote d'Ivoire claims about the candidature of the president that the candidates who are for the post of the president must have their father or mother is Ivoirian by birth. The age criteria for contesting the president are minimum age of 35 years and no upper age is limited. The president and the vice-president both will run on a joint ticket when the new constitution ratified. The president can replace the former vice

president in the case of resignation or death. According to the new constitution reforms the parliament has two legislative chambers that are the National Assembly and a new senate. The two third members of the senate are elected in the same general election while the one third senate members are elected by the President of Cote d'Ivoire. Senate members are responsible for the territorial collective interests.

The new reform of the constitution in Cote d'Ivoire provides the facility of Bill of Rights. It nourishes the unsafe groups of women, children and peoples with disability. The bill of rights strongly nourishes the education for boys and girls. The child labor is prohibited and it runs in to the compulsory education. The bill of rights also talks about the responsibility of the women and gives the opportunity to the women. The gender equality in public affairs, employment and other responsibility are also maintained in the draft. In the bill of rights a healthy environment is also introduced. The preamble talks to stop and condemns about the activities which are not constitutional and unsafe to the government of Cote d'Ivoire. The following criteria and the powers of the president in Cote d'Ivoire are:

- ❖ The president is the executive head of the country and elected for 5 years term.
- ❖ The candidature for contesting the presidential election in Cote d'Ivoire must be an Ivoirian whose father or mother will by birth Ivoirian.
- ❖ The president appoints the prime minister whose terms is for 5 years.
- ❖ The president is responsible for the treaties and international agreements among the nations.
- ❖ The president has the autonomy to appoint the one third members of the senate according to the new constitution in Cote d'Ivoire.
- ❖ The commander in chief of the army in Cote d'Ivoire is the president of the country.
- ❖ Executive head of the country appoints the council of ministers in Cote d'Ivoire.
- ❖ Executive head has the power to propose bills.
- ❖ The president is elected with the full mandate of votes by two round systems.

The prime minister is the advisory body of the president who assists him/her in decision making process. Apart from that political system in Cote d'Ivoire introduces the post of the Vice-President. The Vice-President is also elected for 5 years term. The president

appoints the Vice-President. The new constitution provides the facility of local governing body and the people's participation in all the fields. Now democracy for all likes that media and press, social group's participation, formation of organizations and other political groups creation held together in the country.

4.5. Emerging Issues and Problems of Political Development

Cote d'Ivoire was full of natural resources and one of the most fruitful countries in Africa during the decade of 1960 to 1970s. Today it is known as the country of poverty, inequality and unemployment. After the death of Boigny the country was facing many challenges and the emerging issues made the country unrest by politically and economically also. Henri Konan became the president of Cote d'Ivoire after the death of Felix Houphouet-Boigny in December 1993. He was also the follower of the French and patronized government could not do anything for well being of the country. That time country was suffering from the political instability and the poverty. Economic crisis ruined the country's infra structure. During the regime of Henri Konan the country faced the civil war because of failure of government and the corrupted officials enjoyed the property of the country.

The National Assembly election held in October 1990. The same pattern of the election created as the country faced formerly. The party PDCI won the 150 seats in the National Assembly election and the others got 25 seats. The opposition was not satisfied and so they boycotted the electoral system and the committee was formed. All the parties of Cote d'Ivoire came together except PDCI and made alliance. The two main parties like Ivoirian Popular Front and Rally of the Republicans opposed the new rule in the electoral system. Henri Konan Bedie was the interim president after the death of Boigny. He did not want the strong opposition. So he imposed the new rule for the candidature of the president in the National Assembly election. The rule was that the candidate who contested in the election must have their parents by born be an Ivoirian citizen. Also the candidate must be a resident for last 5 years in the country regularly. The oppositions started the protest in the country because of the RDR candidate Alassane Ouattara. He served in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in United States since 1990 and rumors spread out that his father was born in Burkina Faso. So his candidature was ignored and

Bedie could not face strong challenge in that election. And Henri Konan faced a single opponent candidate named Francis Wodie whose party was Ivorian Workers Party. Lastly the election was interrupted and after sometimes again Bedie won the election and re elected as the president of Cote d'Ivoire with 96.44% of votes. The data is given following.

Table7: Party wise voting percentage in 1995 Assembly election held in Cote d'Ivoire

Candidate	Party	% of Votes
Henri Konan Bedie	PDCI- ADR	96
Francis Wodie	Ivorian Workers Party	4

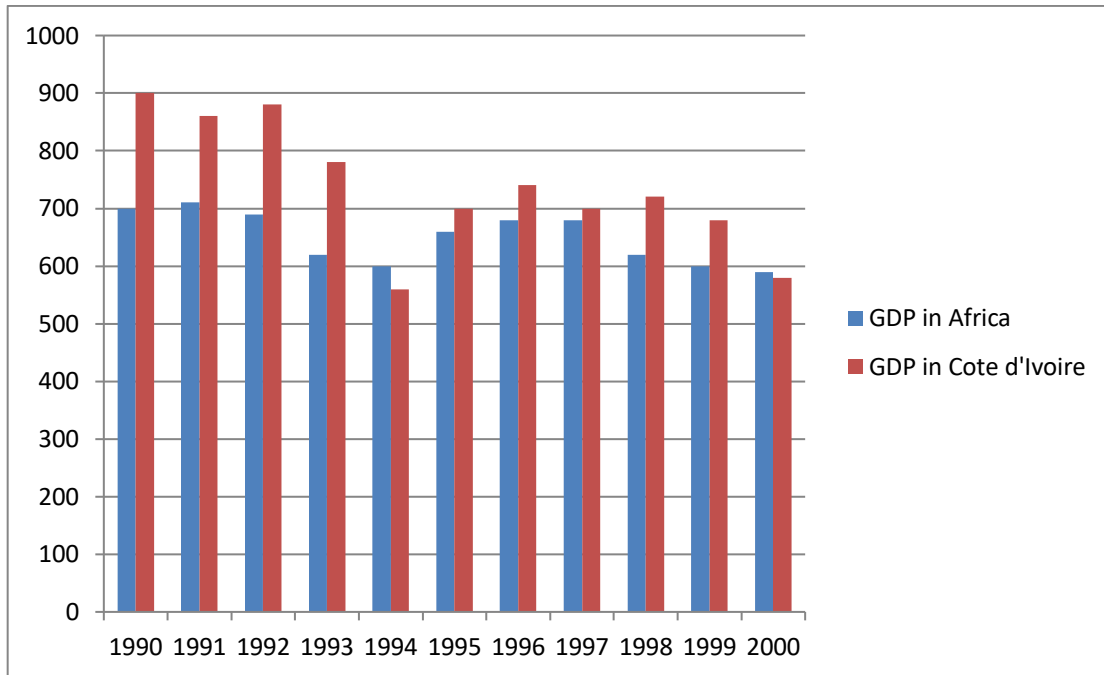
Therefore the political trend was damaged the democracy and the people's dissatisfaction created the unity amongst the oppositions. They demanded the transparency in the electoral politics and the protection of rules in the presidential election in the country. Finally Bedie got the presidential post but he left the memory of the former president Boigny who also tried to win all the elections without oppositions.

The GDP in Cote d'Ivoire

Cote d'Ivoire was the second richest African country in the West Africa till 1950. Cocoa and coffee plantation made it richest after Nigeria. After the independent of Cote d'Ivoire the patronized government made the policies according to the French and the open door policy created inequality between the local and the migrants in the country. Though the country's economic position was impressive but after 1974 the devaluation of CFA franc ruined the economics of the country. Hence the poverty became the major challenge and the infrastructure status of the country became poorer than the past. After the long struggle of the people's movement the constitutional amendment held but it could not be implemented in the country. Henri Konan misguided the country and social and political unrest took place the military coup in 1999. Though the president Henri Konan tried to establish the economy and strong set up of the infrastructure in the country but the GDP fallen down during his regime. The GDP in Cote d'Ivoire is shown in the figure given

below. The data is made by IMF and comparatively learnt with Africa and Cote d'Ivoire GDP.

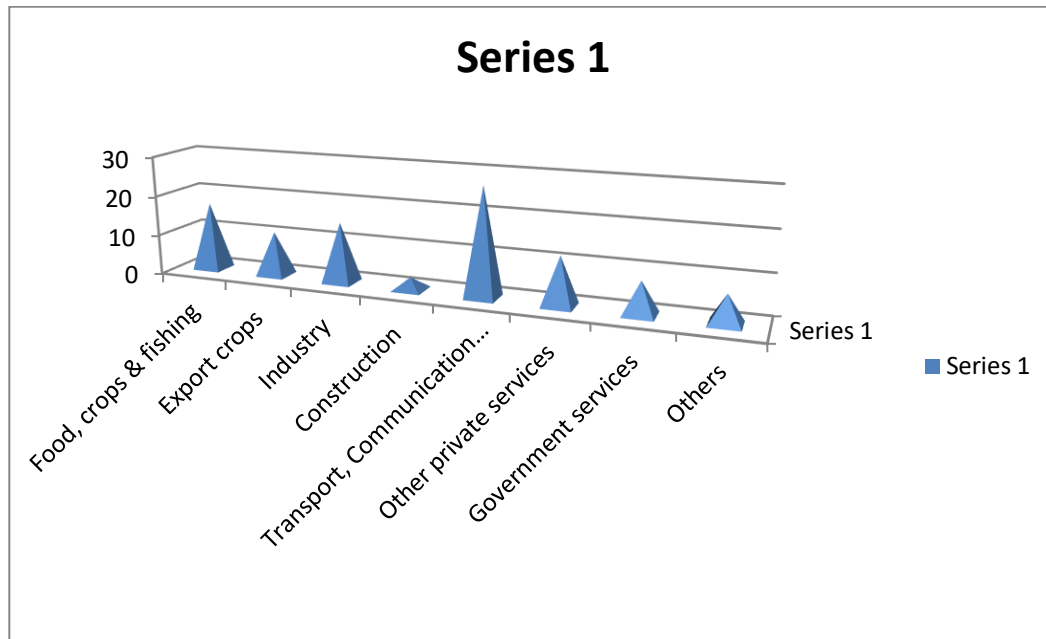
Table 8: GDP per capita in Cote d'Ivoire and Africa



So it can be seen that the fluctuated GDP after the year of 1995. The GDP was so strong after the independence of Cote d'Ivoire. The economic growth was based on the agricultural products that were cocoa and coffee. Today the country's GDP is based on the agricultural production and the other sectors of the country. Most of the profits generated in the country today by the crops production and the fishing. There are several sectors which play an important role to create the GDP level high in Cote d'Ivoire. The service sectors, private sectors, export crops productions, construction and industrial growth are the major resources of Cote d'Ivoire which enhance the GDP. Apart from that the transportation, communication and commerce help to develop the GDP in the country. The high external debt made the country's GDP slower during the year 1995 to 2000. Though the country's financial growth affected due to the civil war and the political instability but the crop production grew fast and the GDP became 7.8 after the year of 2000. Thus the agricultural land is the most important assets of Cote d'Ivoire where cocoa and coffee plantation developed. The demand of the cocoa and coffee in the

external market is very high. So the main source of GDP of Cote d'Ivoire is the crops production which shares the seventeen percent of the total GDP in Cote d'Ivoire. The Figure 4 described the formation of the GDP in Cote d'Ivoire and contribution of all sectors of the country.

Figure5: GDP in percent of the Sectors in 2000



⁴ Source: Ministry of economics & finance of Cote d'Ivoire.

The above diagram shows that the transportation, communication and the commerce marketing lead the GDP in Cote d'Ivoire. The governmental job and the services were no more in the country and the second largest sector for the GDP development was the crops and the fishery growth. The communication and the transportation had 27 percentage of the total GDP in the country. Though the industrial development was occurred but it was totally in the urban areas and the high districts like Abidjan and the Yamoussoukro in Cote d'Ivoire. Only 15% of the total DGP is made by the industrial sectors in the country during the year of 2000. Seventeen percent of crops and fishing production leads the economy and so that 11% exports of crops held in the year 2000. The private sectors are more powerful to create the jobs and so twelve percent of the total GDP is greater than the Government job sector which had only 8% in the year 2000. Thus the economic development was focused on the crop production and cocoa and coffee production was

the major source to recover the fallen economy. Still today Cote d'Ivoire has the main source of economy is cocoa and coffee which have the highest demand in the external market. The West African countries are the producer of the same but Cote d'Ivoire is one of the major producers of cocoa and coffee.

The new liberal policy and the globalization made the international trade more strong because the global trade facility provided opportunities to the developed industries and the companies. The developing world could not take benefits because they had not proper infra structure and the raw materials. In the other side the global trade facilities put the barriers on those countries who took debt from the IMF and the World Bank. The development of Cote d'Ivoire was also affected by the political instability and the country faced the two civilian wars that held in 2002 and 2011.

The most emerged problem was held in 1999 when the country was suffered by political instability. Henri Konan was leaded the corruption and political repression so that people were upset in the country. Political parties and the military were also worried about the government because the government could not full fill the demand of them. Cote d'Ivoire took over under the military coup on 24 of December 1999. A group of soldiers rebelled the government led by Tuo Fozie in 1999. It was the result of Henri's action because he promoted the neighboring citizens as the Ivorian citizens and tried to give the political surface. The people of Cote d'Ivoire thought that if the foreigners treated as the Ivorian then the nationalism came into danger and their political rights were lost. The military on the other hand captured Abidjan town and started to establish the check point. Bedie was overthrown by the next day and the former commander in chief Robert Guei announced the dismissal of the parliament and the government. The soldiers opened the prisoners from the jail and looted Abidjan city. Peoples also enjoyed looting in some parts of Abidjan. Most of the political activists were released by the coup. Abidjan airport was taken under the coup and hijacked the cars for checking.

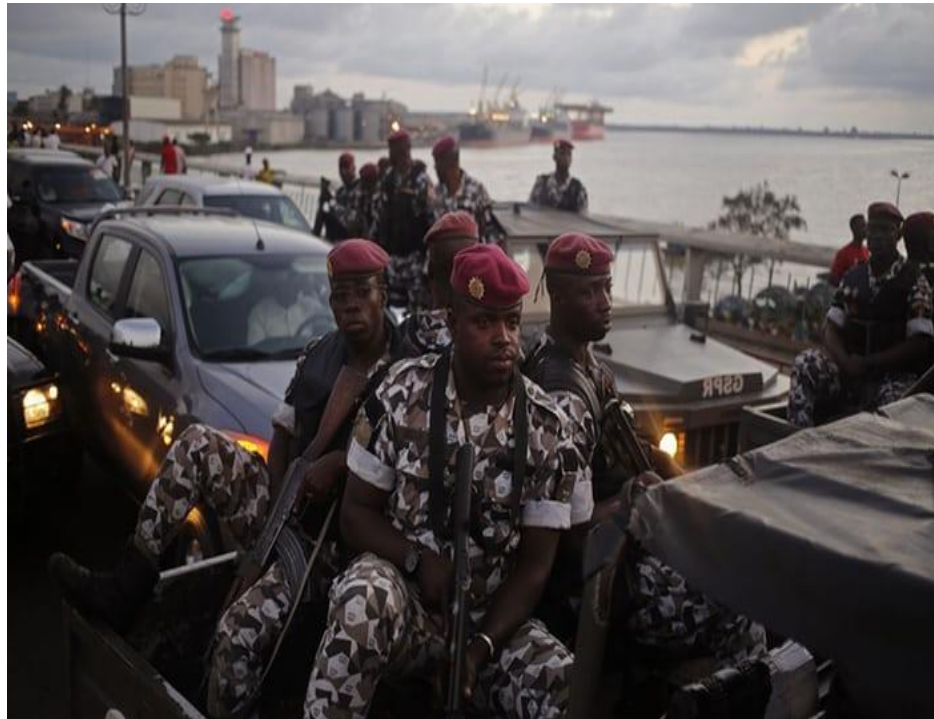
Robert Guei addressed on television that he seized the powers of the government. He also announced for the people and the foreign diplomat's personnel and gave assurance the he would respect the democracy. He gave assurance for the foreign treaties and the external aids and the security of the country. Many of the problems were announced by him and

some of the issue of farmer's problem also announced. Cote d'Ivoire did not face such kind of problem before it. The country was led by the single man Boigny for more than three decades but he controlled the situation in many times. So this time the people had the first chance to face the military coup. After announcement of Robert Guei people welcomed the military coup in Cote d'Ivoire. They thought that the coup would deliver the democracy and protection of human rights. Though the people were well coming but the foreign nationals were condemned the military coup in Cote d'Ivoire. France, United States and several African countries called for return the military coup in Cote d'Ivoire. Cote d'Ivoire never enjoyed the military rule after the independence and dissatisfied people thought that the coup would improve the poor economy and the political systems so they welcomed them. After this incident Canada suspended all the aids given to Cote d'Ivoire. The military coups were the soldiers and they had had no idea to run the government and the lack of political ideas they were enjoyed the public wealth for the same manner. They forcefully looted the sources and highly committed to abuse the people. People realized their unpredictable behavior very soon in the country. The soldiers were demanded high pay and bonus. The mutinous soldiers demanded for approx €10,000 and a house. The troops were targeted the major towns of Cote d'Ivoire and those were Bouake, Katiola and Korhogo. They targeted Abidjan and Yamoussoukro in the country. The Ivorian human rights league issued a letter of condemnation and charged the soldiers and other communal activists who were participated in mutiny without any investigation and harassing the commercial properties. After some days of tension and the confusion an agreement was done between the soldiers and the authorities to finalize the pay of one million CFA francs (\$1400). Therefore the rebellion put pressure in the country to facilitate them and earning more and more money. The military coup was due to the violation of the political system and the corrupting leadership in Cote d'Ivoire. Bedie was the leader who always worked for the Christian community and recruited the foreign officials in the government. Therefore unpleasantly people were against him and the other community like the Muslims was got angered for him and tried to throw out the government in the country.

The mutiny of the soldiers demonstrated their protest and targeted the important cities of Cote d'Ivoire. In this way the pressure created the rebellion forces to full fill their

demands in Cote d'Ivoire. The image of given below the mutinous soldiers who were captured the main cities in Cote d'Ivoire during 2000.

Figure 6: Mutinous soldiers demonstrating in Cote d'Ivoire in the year 2000.



⁵ Source: photograph by Sachalk van Zuydam/AP

The political parties members were also arrested in the coup. The former prime minister during the regime of Boigny named Alassane Dramane Ouattara was also captured. Ouattara is the head of the party called RDR. Soon after the arrested officials like Ouattara, Konan and the others Gon Coulibaly the deputy secretary of the party RDR released. Despite of all tensions and the frictions between the North and the South people a new constitution was approved on 23rd July 2000 by passing the referendum. The same criteria were included about the candidature like the born of the parents of the candidate must be Ivorian. So imposing the rule Ouattara was disqualified in the nomination of the president election held in 2000. In this election Laurent Koudou Gbagbo defeated the other contestant Robert Guei. Guei was dissatisfied with the result and refused it and also Ouattara was disqualified in the election so he demanded for a new election in the country. Many protests were held in that time and Gbagbo came in power where Guei

fled out to Gouessesso near Liberian boarder. In this way Laurent Gbagbo took the charge of the president on 26th October 2000. This was not the end of the tensions and the frictions in the country. The elected president Gbagbo and Guei fought each other for the post of president and so the clashes between them created a violation and the political damage in Cote d'Ivoire. Robert Guei was killed in the clash between the government troops and the rebelled soldiers led by Guei on September 19, 2002.

The tension grew large when the rebellion and the oppressed people started opposing the government in the year 2002. This was the second time when the large numbers of people came on the roads and the mutiny created the civil war in the country. All the Christian community mostly in Southern part of Cote d'Ivoire clashed with the Northern people which are mostly Muslims. The problem was the discrimination in politics because Bedie, Guei and Laurent Gbagbo were the Christian community and every time this community led the politics after 1990s. So that Muslim community wanted participation in politics in Cote d'Ivoire. The first clash amongst the government and the Muslims was controlled by the Christian and the Muslims were cleared. This was ended with an agreement between Gbagbo and Ouattara when the government assured the participation of four Muslim political members in the government. This agreement created dissatisfaction amongst some Christian people and so after a year the country faced the civil war in the year of 2002. The Muslims started demonstrations against the government and pointed out the government violated the Muslim fundamental rights and helped by the neighboring country Burkina Faso. This was led in the Northern part of the country where most of the Muslims and the migrants were lived together. The civil war created the political instability in the country and Cote d'Ivoire faced lots of challenges inside and in international level also.

The unnatural alliance got together when Beide and Ouattara met together after the first civil war in 2002. The PDCI and RDR were the two parties who exercised the successive government since 2003. Though both the parties were opponent and gave strong performance in the election held in 2001 and 2002. There were three main political parties participated in the local elections in 2001. The PDCI, RDR got slightly larger percentage of vote than the FPI.

Thus the period started after 1993 to 2000 was very crucial for the development of Cote d'Ivoire. The challenging role was accepted by the president Laurent Gbagbo in Cote d'Ivoire. In the time of military coup the political system and the administrative powers shifted towards the military in Cote d'Ivoire. Though General Robert Guei ruled out the former president Bedie but the people of the country were so depressed that the changing nation accepted the new president in 2000 named Laurent Gbagbo.

Therefore the chapter described the happenings occurred in Cote d'Ivoire after the death of the most powerful president Felix Houphouet-Boigny. His ruling style and the working capacity made the country strong mainly in the field of production of cocoa and coffee. The only reason of his long ruling power in the country is that Cote d'Ivoire strongly and politically adopted the single party system. Slowly and after 1980 the trend changed and by the people's movement and strong opposition got success for delivering two and multi party system in the country. Therefore the new political parties emerged in Cote d'Ivoire and participated in all coming elections in the country.

Chapter- V

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE (2000-2015)

The process of political development and its changing nature came into existence from the past. In every colonial countries faced the problems in getting the independence and several wars were held together to remove the colonial masters. Many organizations and the groups, movements like Pan africanism, national movements and students struggle occurred for their freedom from the colonial powers. Developments can be defined in many ways like economic, social, political and the development of the national interests. Social and political development covers the major parts of the development. Cote d'Ivoire has been ruled most of the time period by a single party government and so dictating government did not want to deliver the political power in the public. Democracy could not be emerged during their period. So the public movement held against the dictating government but the situation changed when the president Boigny died in 1993.

The previous chapter discussed the problem from 1993 to 2000 and so many national elections faced by Cote d'Ivoire. During this period the country faced major challenges in political stability and military rule in 1999.

Globalization and the liberal trade investment affected the third world countries. It created indirect colonial system in the poor countries. Poor refers to the developing countries where there are no more resource to development and it depends up on the subsidies offered by the world banks and the developed countries. Cote d'Ivoire has its own high GDP from its beginning but the main problems of the country is the political stability and its development. Therefore the transformation started after 2000 when the military attempted in the north area in 2002. This was the second chance while the country faced the civil war but it was failed because the external forces tackle the situation in the country. The French and the UN established the peace in the country. The

Presidential election was held in 2005 and Laurent Gbagbo became the president of Cote d'Ivoire. He tried to serve the public opinions and also did the good jobs for the political development in the country. Therefore the different kinds of political transforms occurred in the country.

5.1. Political Transformations

The country had no more served as the healthier political system since 1990 and lack of rules and laws made the country less democratic in political system. So that it faced the civil wars and the military coup. When the whole world was adopting the globalization the country was facing the political in equality and problems of political participation and its development. Therefore Cote d'Ivoire faced the major challenges in cultivating the democracy in the public and transformation in the country.

The period of 1990 to 1999 was very crucial for the country because in this phase the country served by three president. Among all these president like Bedie, Guie and Gbagbo handled the country in different ways. Bedie gave the idea of the nationalist concept of Ivoirites and originally should be developed first. Where the other president Gbagbo declared the human right concept for the Ivorians and he said the rights of the people should be protected first from the immigrants people in the country. The problem of the political participation among the ethnic groups where the Muslims lived in the Northern part of the country and the other lived in the Southern part of the country. Muslims were immigrants who came here to grow the cocoa and coffee plantation in the country. Soon after they became the land owner and the local peoples were still living in the bad conditions.

5.2 Political participation

Political participation was inherited in the National Assembly election held in 2000. Many of political parties participated in that election and finally Laurent Gbagbo elected as the president of Cote d'Ivoire. The character of this election decided free and fair electoral process. Although the term of the president was ended in 2005 but Gbagbo opposed to renew the presidential position because of his argument of the rules and laws of that institution committed to me. But the external forces like UN and other foreign

forces obstructed him and the next Assembly election was declared in 2005 but the election was postponed due to several civil wars in the country. So that government and the other forces signed on a peace agreement in 2007 and it declared next election date in 2009. Therefore the next election was held in late 2009 and finally in 2010 Gbagbo with strong supporters from the south declared the winner. Suddenly the Independent Electoral Commission declared that Ouattara won the second phase of the election. But the constitutional council announced that this result was not properly and so it was invalid. The mystery was started in the next morning when the constitutional council declared that Gbagbo was the winner according to the article 94 by the constitution of the country. Therefore the friction began between Ouattara and Gbagbo and both of them took an oath in the office. This incident led the political problems in the country and the year 2010 and 2011 got in crisis. Many of external affairs tried to handle the political instability occurred in this year. International community, European Union, African Union, UN council, Economic Community of West African States, United States and the former colonial power France tackled the situation. Gbagbo ordered the UN peacekeepers to leave the country. He did not want to leave the presidential post and due to this reason the World Bank banned loan amount on this country and forbidden to travel agencies in the country. On the other hand all the external forces supported Ouattara because the message was sent world wide of the election result held in 2010. After the second civil war in Cote d'Ivoire Gbagbo emphasized to leave the country. Thus the political problems solved by the external affairs and Alassane Ouattara offered the president in Cote d'Ivoire.

5.3 Rule of Law

Formerly in Cote d'Ivoire no politically rules and the laws were equally delivered. Though the constitutional d facto offered the peoples of the country that every people have the rights and equal before the laws. It was only in the constitutional frame but after the adopting the new constitution the rules and the laws were acted equally in the country. As the new constitutional provisions discussed in the previous chapters were fully adopted from the year 2015. Civil rights and Independent Judiciary made the political system more strong then the past. These steps made the civilians stronger then

the past government. Peoples waited for this moments from a long times. The decentralization of powers established the democratic reforms in the country.

5.4 Stability of Democratic Institutions

Stability in democracy is the backbone of the political system development. No one country can survive without the stable democracy where the multiparty system occurs. A good democratic institution provided all the facilities for the people of the country and the public requirements. During the last decades of 20th century the legitimacy of the democratic institution was lost in the different are in Cote d'Ivoire. Therefore the country faced several demonstrations against the government and also the country faced two civil wars in the last decades. No any government was highly committed to the democracy for the country. We saw from the beginning of the history of Cote d'Ivoire. The regime of Boigny was fully undemocratic but the financial condition of the country was strong. Apart from that the public requirements were not delicered in the country. Next Bedie rule was also corrupted and no democratic institution was formed in the country. Further Guie and Gbagbo worked for the particular area and the ethnic groups in the country. These governing rulers were lost the legitimacy of the institution in the country. The trend was changed when external affairs involved in the country after the year of 2005 when Gbagbo forcefully tried to become the president of the country. Alassane Ouattara became the president of the country in 2011 but he never tried to establish the strong democratic institution in Cote d'Ivoire. A healthy democracy can stand by the integration of social and political. The development in the country was offered mostly in the capital Yamoussoukro and Abidjan. Thus the lack of the development in the other area in the country introduced the lack of faith in the government.

5.5. Transformation of Economy

Though Cote d'Ivoire was ruled by single party for more than 30 years and the country faced many political challenges in the past yet the economic condition was remained powerful. Sometimes it fell slow but in the worst condition the economic position of the country remained unchanged. High production of cocoa and coffee made the economic

condition stronger in the country. Therefore the economic transformation in the country is suitable for the informal economic structure for both of the parts.

5.6. Socioeconomic Development

Cote d'Ivoire is one of the largest producers of cocoa and coffee in the world. But the social development was not good and social marginalization existed in this country. The human development indexing position was ranked one hundred sixty four out of the one hundred seventy seven in the year of 2006. This was the index of least development countries surveyed in the world. Cote d'Ivoire had the rank 82 out of the 102 countries in the field of Human poverty in 2004. Most of the development was occurred in Abidjan city like administrative structure, industrial development, power stations, mobile networks and others.

The country is back warded in the field of social development and the integration of political distribution of the powers. Therefore Cote d'Ivoire faces lots of social problems like in the field of academic development and health problems. Poverty and lack of academic institution made it poor in the world.

5.7. International Cooperation

Cote d'Ivoire always faced the internal challenges and its development was affected. The last decade the development was highly affected because the country covered by two civil wars and the military coup. The most critical condition was emerged when Gbagbo denied the international agencies and announced to leave the country for the UN peacekeepers. This step harmed the country and the international agencies like World Bank refused to grant the loan and due to this reason the policy of the country was dismissed. Yet after the years many international agencies got ready to help the country in many fields. So less international cooperation affected the development of the country during the last decades.

5.8. President Election in 2015

After the election of 2010 the presidential election was held in 2015. Four political parties were participated in the election and six candidates were contesting

independently. Alassane Ouattara got 83.66 percentage of the total vote. The party RDR got alliance with the Party of Houphouetists for Democratic and Peace (RHDP) and Ouattara won the election in 2015. The other opposition party was FPI which alliance with the Alliance of Democratic Forces (AFD) party. Pascal Affi N’Guessan was the runner up in this election who was the candidate of AFD party. He became the president of the country and the new constitution was implemented after the year of 2015. All the provisions of the new constitution was discussed in the previous chapters.

The president of the country tried to solve the political issues and he made the policies such that the international cooperation could be emerged and the relations with external forces could be made easily. He tried to resolve the economic structure of the country and made the policy according to the sources of the country. Here some information shared in related to the gross domestic products and other external subjects. The comparison between the past government and during the era of Alassane Ouattara government showed the development of the country. He not only worked for the economy also for the delivering the democracy in the country.

Table 9: Cote d’Ivoire’s GDP and other information

Real GDP growth rate (%)	-4.2 in the year 2011	8.5 in the year 2015
GDP share of world total (%)	0.08 in year 2000	0.06 in year 2010
Inflation (%)	2.6 in year 2013	1.2 in year 2015
Public debt (%)	43.4 in year 2013	48.9 in year 2015
Market values of publically Traded shares (in US dollars billion)	11.8 in year 2013	12.5 in year 2015

Thus the development in some fields was held in the regime of Ouattara but some kind of development was required in the country. All these data are collected from the different sources like IMF and World Bank etc.

Therefore the political development in Cote d’Ivoire in the time period of 2000-2015 was much better than the past decades. Though the country was suffering from the different ill factors yet it continued focus on the political development. Apart from that the role of

external affairs cannot forget to cultivate the transformation of the democracy in the country.

Cote d'Ivoire till 2015 the process of political stability is going on and the external forces worked throughout the country. Ouattara established the politics and legitimated the democratic institutions in the country. Now the country faced the problems of social development like poverty and the hunger. Health and foods requirements are the need for daily life. The governments worked during the time period 2015.

Political stability and the democratic deliverance change the good will of the country as well as the people in the entire country.

Chapter VI

Conclusion:

The conclusion chapter is the whole idea of the dissertation which included the four chapters. The dissertation tried to focus on the study of the problems and also tried to find out the result of the research questions.

The first chapter is the introduction part which emphasized the background study of the country. It included the geographical and Historical study of Cote d'Ivoire. It also deals with the demographical figures and the statistical data of the different ethnic groups. The introductory chapter contained the History background and geographical set up of Cote d'Ivoire. A brief introduction of Cote d'Ivoire and its social and political system demonstrated the first chapter. The first chapter also included the ethnic groups and economic status of the country. This chapter also explained some geographical and political maps of Cote d'Ivoire.

It has been seen in Cote d'Ivoire which got its independence on 7th August 1960. A single party ruled over the country from its freedom to 1990s. After getting freedom the dominance of the colonial power that was France worked indirectly in many forms. No any opposition was presented till 1993. So the government couldn't deliver the policies to the people due to lack of awareness. Many corruptions and constitutional failure creates the inconsistency in Cote d'Ivoire. Many demonstrations were organized by the liberals and students during 1985 against the government. Inflation came in 1974 and also unemployment powered the movements against the governments. Thousands of demonstrators put in prison and latterly government declared some political assimilation in Cote d'Ivoire after 1985. Cote d'Ivoire is a rich country in the production of cocoa, coffee beans and palm oil. Felix Boigny government couldn't give proper facilities to the

farmers who worked in the plantation of cocoa and coffee. Migrants from another part of the country created the clash between the ethnic groups.

Further the second chapter of the study explained about the detailed constitution and its features of political system of Cote d'Ivoire. In this chapter a diffused relationship and other political pressure groups as well as other social groups are discussed which played an important role to cultivate the healthy democracy in Cote d'Ivoire. This chapter also explained about the emergence of other political parties and demonstrations by them for creating democratization in Cote d'Ivoire.

The third chapter of the study discussed about the political development during Felix Houphouet-Boigny period in Cote d'Ivoire. It included the strategic features of Cote d'Ivoire which was developed in the era of President Boigny in the country. This chapter exercised about the massive exploitation in economic field and corruption in the period of Boigny. There was no opposition in the government during the tenure of the president Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire. More over ethnic conflicts and clashes of government troops and students are explained in this chapter. Many problems like unemployment and inflation during Boigny period described in this chapter. In this chapter various forms of discriminations and problems of political development are discussed. This chapter deals with the regime of Boigny started from the independence to 1993. During this period of times many changes occurred and it explained in this chapter.

The fourth chapter explained about political development in Cote d'Ivoire since 1993 to 2010. This chapter discussed the foreign and international participation of the country through which the country administers its external affairs with the other nations. In this chapter the study focused on the policies and practices of government in Cote d'Ivoire since 1993 to 2010. All sorts of political reforms and referendums are explained in this chapter. The political transformation and the constitutional amendments are also discussed in this chapter. It also deals about the military coup and the civil wars held during the end of the 1999.

Political development faces lots of challenges in any country. The first decade of the 21st century was very crucial for Cote d'Ivoire. The country faced the military coup and again

the civil wars collapsed the political stability. The single party system handled the country from the instability of the country but the multi party system when emerged then lots of political pressure existed. Therefore the country suffered by the instability of political system and so that the military occupied the government. The Fifth chapter discussed the entire problems of political developments and the role of the external affairs in the transforming of the democracy in Cote d'Ivoire.

So the dissertation tried to reach the hypothetical solution which was discussed in the introductory part of the dissertation. The last chapter is the conclusion of the dissertation and hopes that it deserves the topic which I chosen for my dissertation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(* indicates a primary source)

- (1974). In, *Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- (1984). In Christopher Delgado(eds.), *The political Economy of Ivory Coast* (p. New York). New York Praeger.
- (1984). In C. Delgado(eds.), *Elite Transformation and Succession* (pp. 21-56). New York: Praeger.
- (1974). In a. M. J.F.Ade Ajayi, *History of West Africa* (p. 2). Colombia: Colombia University Press.
- (1969). In V. T. Adloff, *French West Africa*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- (1892). In C. L. Binger, *Du Niger au golfe de Guinee Par Le Pays de Kong et Le Mossi*. librairie Hachette.
- (1982). In L. Gbagbo, *Cote d'Ivoire: Economic et Societe a la Veille de L' independence(1940-1960)*. Paris: L.Harmattann.
- (1974). In R. W. July, *A History of the African People*. New York: Scribner's Sons.
- (1983). In J. N. Loucou, "*Historie*",*Atlas la Cote D'Ivoire*. Paris: Jeune Afrique.
- (1964). In R. S. Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French Speaking West Africa*. London: Clarendon Press.
- (1987). In R. j. Mundt, *Historical Dictionary of Ivory Coast.(African Historical Dictionaries)*. Metchen New Jersey: scarecrow Press.
- (1970). In C. P. Potholm, *Four African Political System*. Englewood Cliffs New Jersey: Prienstic Hall.

(1982). In R. H. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.

(...). In T. Shaw, *The Prehistory of West Africa* (pp. 33-71). J.F London.

(1986). In J. M. Toungara, *Political Reform and Economic Change in Ivory Coast* (pp. 94-101).

(1988). In T. Weiskle, *Mission Civilisatrice The william Quarterly* (Vol. 4, pp. 97-113). Autumn.

Boas, M. a. (2006). '*Child Labour and Cocoa Production in West Africa: The case of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire*',. Fafo Report.

Boas, M. a. (2007). *Cote d'Ivoire-negotiating identity and citizenship*. London.

Bossard, L. (2003). 'Peuplement et migration en Afrique de l'Ouest: une crise regionale en Cote d'Ivoire,'. *Afrique contemporaine* , vol. 2, no. 206, 151-65.

carta, j. (September 3, 1959). "Cote d'Ivoire:la bourgeoisie noire s'installe,". *France-Observateur*

Delafosse, M. (1904). *Vocabulaire comparatif de soixante langues ou dialectes parles en Cote d'Ivoire*. Paris: Leroux.

Le problem des chefferies traditionnelles en Cote d'Ivoire. (1957). Abidjan: Private Printed.

Lecuyer, R. (1955). *La legislation fiscale de Cote d'Ivoire*. Abidjan: Editions de la Cote d'Ivoire.

MacLean, L. M. (2004). Mediating Ethnic Conflict at the Grassroots: The Role of Local Associational Life in Shaping Political Values in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* , 42, No. 4, pp. 589-617.

Merle, M. (1959). "Les relations exterieures de la Cote d'ivoire,". *Revue francaise de science politique* , LX, No. 3, 686-706.

Moss, T. (1970). *African Development*. London: Lynne Rinner Publishers.

Orla, R. (2011). *Chocolate Nations*. Newyork: Z Book.

(1959). *parti Democratique de Cote d'Ivoire.Proceedings of the Territorial Congress held in Abidjan,*.

presentation de la Cote d'Ivoire. (1953). Abidjan: I.F.A.N.

Richard, B. a. (2003). *Cote d'Ivoire, Un conflict regional?* Fratani.

Sidibé, D. D. (2013). *Peace processes in Côte d'Ivoire: Democracy and challenges of consolidating peace after the post-electoral crisis.* South Africa: ACCORD publications.

Stremlau, J. J. (2015). Ivory Coast's Journey To Democracy: An under-reported good news story. *The Conversation* .

Toungara, J. M. (1990). The Apotheosis of Cote d'Ivoire's Nana Houphouet-Boigny. *Journal of Modern African Studies* , 28 no.1, 23-54.

watch, H. R. (5, August, 2003). *Trapped Between Two Wars:Violence against Civilians in Western Cote d'Ivoire.*

Woods, D. Predatory Elites, Rents and Cocoa: A Comparative Analysis of Ghana and Ivory Coast. *Commonwealth & Comparative politics* , 42, no. 2, 224-41.

woods, D. (2003). 'The Tragedy of the Cocoa Pod: Rent-seeking, Land and Ethnic Conflict in Ivory Coast',. *Journal of Modern African Studies* , vol. 41, no. 4, 641-55.

Zartman, I. W. (1984). *The Political Economy Of Ivory Coast.* New York: Praeger.

Zolberg, A. (1964). *One Party Government In The Ivory Coast.* Princeton,new Jersey: Princeton University press.

Zolberg, A. (1969). *One party Government in the Ivory Coast.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ajayi, J.F. Ade, and Michael Crowder (eds.). *History of West Africa*, 2. New York: Colombia University Press, 1974.

Bakary, Tessilimi. "Elite Transformation and Political Succession."Pages 21-56 in I. William Zartman and Christopher Delgado (eds.), *The Political Economy of Ivory Coast.* New York: Praeger, 1984.

Binger, Capitaine Louis Gustave. *Du Niger au golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*. (2 vols.) Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892.

Campbell, Bonnie. "The Ivory Coast." Pages 66-116 in John Dunn (ed.), *West African States: Failure and Promise*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

**Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire on the Establishment of Joint Commission; on 23 January 2014*
www.eoiabidjan.org/page/india-c-te-d-ivoire-bilateral-documents/

**Memorandum of Understanding between the Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs, Republic of India and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Cote d'Ivoire; in January 2014*

www.eoiabidjan.org/page/india-c-te-d-ivoire-bilateral-documents/

Mundt, Robert J. *Historical Dictionary of the Ivory Coast*. (African Historical Dictionaries, No. 41.) Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1987.

Potholm, Christian P. *Four African Political Systems*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Shaw, Thurstan. "The Prehistory of West Africa." Pages 33-71 in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*. (2d ed.) London: Longman, 1976.

Staniland, Martin. "Single-Party Regimes and Political Change: The P.D.C.I. and Ivory Coast Politics." Pages 135-75 in Colin Leys (ed.), *Politics and Change in Developing Countries*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Thompson, Virginia, and Richard Adloff. *French West Africa*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Toungara, Jeanne Maddox. "Political Reform and Economic Change in Ivory Coast: An Update," *Journal of African Studies* [London], 13, No. 3, Fall 1986, 94-101.

Economist Intelligence Unit. *Quarterly Economic Review of Ivory Coast, Jogo, Benin, Niger, Upper Volta: Annual Report*. London: The Economist, 1983.

*UNOCI 2017, *Peacekeeping Operation to Leave Côte d'Ivoire after 14 Years, Mission Chief Tells Security Council, Citing Peaceful Polls, Referendum Success*, United Nations Meeting.

*Canada, G. o. (2006). *Government of Canada statement on Côte d'Ivoire*. Foreign Affairs Canada, Canada. available at <http://www.international.gc.ca>

Gbagbo, Laurent. *Côte d'Ivoire: Economie et société à la Veille de l'indépendance (1940-1960)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1982.

Handloff, Robert Earl. *The Dyula of Gyaman: A Study of Politics and Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. (Ph.D. dissertation.) Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1982.

Harrison-Church, R.J., Richard Synge, and Edith Hodgkinson. "Côte d'Ivoire." Pages 397-415 in *Africa South of the Sahara*. (17th ed.) London: Europa, 1987.

Hecht, Robert M. "The Ivory Coast Economic 'Miracle': What Benefits for Peasant Farmers?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* [Cambridge], 12, No. 1, March 1983, 25-53.

Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1982.

July, Robert W. *A History of the African People*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1974.

Legum, Colin (ed). *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual survey and Documents*. (Annuals 1980 through 1986). New York: Africana, 1981-1986.

(1983). In R. M. Hecht, *The Ivory Coast Economic Miracle: What Benefits for Peasant farmers?* Cambridge.

(1981-1986). In C. Legum, *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents*. New York: African.

Internet Sources

Image of President F. Houphouet Boigny

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Felix-Houphouet-Boigny> [8th April 2018].

Trade in Cote d'Ivoire

<https://guce.gouv.ci/> [8 April 2018].

GDP and other Data from W.B

<https://data.worldbank.org> [10th April 2018].

Population and agricultural data

<https://cotedivoire.opendataforafrica.org/> [16th May 2018].

<https://www.imf.org/en/Data> [18May 2018].

political Map

<https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/continents.htm> [12th June 2018].

Geographical Map of Cote d'Ivoire

<https://www.worldatlas.com> [8th April 2018].

History of the elections

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ivory_Coast [13th June 2018].

<https://liberalironist.wordpress.com> [24th June 2018].

www.worldlifeexpectancy.com/cote-d-ivoire- [10th July 2018].

www.jstor.org/stable/resrep07732 [11th July 2018].