

## CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
0a	IVO	-9	30	8	7	1960	5	30	1990	3	1	1
0b	IVO	-7	4	5	31	1990	12	8	1993	3	2	2
0c	IVO	-6	5	12	9	1993	12	24	1999	3	3	2
1X	IVO	-1	1	12	25	1999	10	25	2000	5	3	6
1Xa	IVO	4	2	10	26	2000	9	19	2002	7	5	6
1Xb	IVO	-77	5	9	20	2002	4	6	2007	-77	-77	-77
1Xc	IVO	-88	4	4	7	2007	12	3	2010	-88	-88	-88
1Xd	IVO	-77	0	12	4	2010	5	20	2011	-77	-77	-77
1Xe	IVO	4	8	5	21	2011	99	99	9999	7	5	6

PITF Problem Events:

1) 09/02-05/11 (ETH 09/02-04/05; ARC 09/02-05/11; REV 03/11-04/11)

**0a)** August 7, 1960 (independence) – The Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI), led by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, was formed in 1946 when constitutional reforms in France first allowed the formation of African political parties. Through close cooperation with the French, the territory and the PDCI grew prosperous. In the late 1950s, when French policy shifted toward greater self-government in the African territories, the PDCI positioned itself to assume control of the country and, in March 1959, it promulgated a republic constitution and won every seat in the newly formed legislature. Ivory Coast declared independence on August 7, 1960, but maintained its close cooperation with France. A formal constitution favoring a multi-party presidential system was adopted on October 31, 1960; however, the PDCI established election procedures that made it nearly impossible for any other party to win election and, instead, concentrated authority in the presidency of Houphouët-Boigny.

**0b)** May 31, 1990 (event) – In response to increasing popular dissatisfaction with President Houphouët-Boigny's one-party regime, the ban on political parties was removed on May 31, 1990. On that day, nine new political parties were authorized, including the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) led by Laurent Gbagbo; twenty-six parties were registered by late 1990. Gbagbo ran against Houphouët-Boigny in October 1990 presidential elections in which the ruling executive claimed to have won 82% of the vote. The PDCI won 163 of 175 seats in November 1990 legislative elections.

**0c)** December 9, 1993 (event) – President Houphouët-Boigny died on December 7, 1993, without naming a successor. Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara made a move to assume the vacant presidency but that move was countered immediately by his longstanding rival, Henri Konan Bédié, President of the National Assembly, citing Article 11 of the Constitution which stated that his office was responsible for assuming the remainder of the presidential term. On December 9, 1993, the Supreme Court confirmed Konan Bédié in office. The rivalry resulted in Ouattara's resignation from the PDCI in May 1994 and the formation of a split-off party, the Rally of Republicans (PDR), in October 1994. On December 8, 1994, the PDCI-controlled National Assembly adopted an electoral code which required all presidential candidates to be Ivoirian by birth and be born of Ivoirian parents. Candidates would also be required to have lived continuously in Côte d'Ivoire for the five years immediately preceding the elections and never to have renounced Ivoirian citizenship. This law was seen generally as a mechanism to ban Ouattara from running in the October 1995 presidential election; although born in northern Ivory

Coast, Ouattara's parents were immigrants from Burkina Faso and he had also served abroad with the IMF just prior to the election. President Konan Bédié won re-election when both the PDR and the FPI refused to register candidates.

**1X) Date of Change to Factional-Autocratic:** December 25, 1999 (military coup; transitional government)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:**

In the run-up to the scheduled October 2000 presidential election President Konan Bédié again sought to exclude his main opponent, Allasane Ouattara, from candidacy. The "non-Ivorite" issue triggered mass protests and led to a military coup that replaced Konan Bédié with retired-Gen. Robert Guëi on December 24, 1999. Guëi announced the formation of a National Committee for Public Salvation to guide the preparation for multi-party elections. On July 23-24, 2000, a national referendum approved a new constitution designed to pave the way for democratic governance; however, the constitution included a provision that both parents of a presidential candidate must be Ivorian. Political contention was heightened further when Guëi reversed his promise and decided to run in the presidential election. On October 7, the Supreme Court rejected 14 of 19 potential presidential candidates, including Ouattara and all the candidates proposed by the former-ruling PDCI.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *Non-Muslim Southern Region* — The ethnic-Baoule and other Christian groups populating the south and central regions of the country had maintained control of the government of Ivory Coast since independence. Over the years, the immigrant population had grown to comprise about 40% of the country's population, leading to the advocacy of an "Ivorite" policy by political elites intended to limit the growing influence of the largely-Muslim immigrant community. The southern region was initially divided among supporters of Guëi, the PDCI, and the FPI.
- *Muslim Northern Region* — Muslims in the north and west of the country became increasingly disaffected with the repeated moves by government leaders to restrict the political influence of "non-Ivorite" immigrants. These restrictions gained prominence when the popular leader of the opposition *Rally of Republicans* (RDR) party, Allasane Ouattara, was barred from the 2000 presidential elections and, subsequently, from legislative elections. Tensions over the conduct of the elections resulted in mass demonstrations and violent clashes.

**Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:**

**1Xa)** October 26, 2000 (presidential inauguration) – In the presidential election held on October 22 that was boycotted by Ouattara's supporters, Guëi was defeated by a relatively minor candidate, Laurent Gbagbo of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI). Guëi dissolved the independent electoral commission and declared himself the winner; however, in the midst of massive street demonstrations, Guëi fled the country and Gbagbo was sworn into office on October 26, 2000. The election was followed by widespread violence between Ouattara's predominantly-Muslim

supporters and pro-Gbagbo forces. Gbagbo refused requests by opposition leaders to hold new elections incorporating the candidates barred from the 2000 election and, instead, supported the barring of Ouattara from the December 2000 legislative election, also. Elections were not held in the north due to a boycott by Ouattara's Rally of the Republicans (PDR) party; however, the PDR did participate in March 2001 municipal elections, winning in every major city except Abidjan.

**1Xb) September 20, 2002 (collapse of central authority) –**

**Ethnic War: September 2002 – April 2005**

Tensions had remained strong since a December 1999 military coup and a subsequent attempt by Gen. Guei to thwart new elections in October 2000. An army mutiny against President Gbagbo's government began on September 19, 2002, in response to a government attempt to dismiss soldiers whose loyalty was suspected; the fighting quickly spread and split the country along ethnic lines. The main rebel faction, the Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI), took control of the largely Muslim north and two smaller rebel factions emerged in the west. Fighting subsided in early 2005 as France helped to enforce a stalemate.

**Adverse Regime Change: September 2002 – May 2011**

Following coups and highly contentious elections that result in a default victory for a minor candidate, tensions escalated to open rebellion in north and west regions in September 2002 and central authority was effectively limited to the south. French intervention enforced a stalemate while peace talks continued. The Ouagadougou peace accords were signed on March 4, 2007, and a power-sharing government was set up in April 2007. The refusal by President Gbagbo to transfer executive office to President-elect Ouattara triggered the withdrawal of support by forces in the north and west and contraction of central authority to the southern portion of the country. Central authority over the whole of the country was restored with the capture of Gbagbo by opposition forces on April 11, 2011, and the installation of President Ouattara on May 21, 2011.

**1Xc) April 7, 2007 (transitional government) –** The Ouagadougou peace accords (the fourteenth peace agreement between the north and south) were signed on 4 March 4, 2007; the agreement called for a power-sharing government to rule until new elections could be held. The rebel leader, Guillaume Kigbafori Soro, was appointed as Prime Minister on March 29 and a new transitional government was appointed by President Gbagbo on April 7, 2007.

**1Xd) December 4, 2010 (presidential coup; collapse of central authority) –** Long delayed presidential elections, which were part of the 2007 Ouagadougou peace agreement to end the civil war and consolidate the provisional power-sharing government, were finally held on October 31, 2010, with a runoff ballot between incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo and main opposition leader Allasane Ouattara following on November 28, 2010. Ouattara's victory was announced on December 3, 2010, but was immediately rejected by the Gbagbo government, splitting the country once again and triggering armed conflict.

**Revolutionary War: March 2011 – April 2011**

The results of long-delayed presidential elections held in December 2010 were negated by officials loyal to President Gbagbo. Having failed to negotiate a transfer of authority. armed

forces supporting the winning candidate, Allasane Ouattara, launched an offensive against the Gbagbo regime. With assistance from French forces, loyalist forces were defeated and Gbagbo was captured on April 11, 2011.

**1Xe)** May 21, 2011 (new government) – President Ouattara was inaugurated on May 21, 2011, following the arrest of former-President Gbagbo and the defeat of his armed forces in April 2011. Members of Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) withdrew from legislative elections held on December 16, 2011, resulting in a sweeping victory for Ouattara's Rally of Republicans (RDR; 127 of 255 seats) and the allied Democratic Rally of Cote d'Ivoire -African Democratic Rally (PDCI-RDA; 77 seats).