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### Acronyms and Abbreviations

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<td>ACLED</td>
<td>Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project</td>
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<td>AfDB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
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<td>AQIM</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<td>CPIA</td>
<td>World Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessment</td>
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<td>CRA</td>
<td>Conflict Risk Assessment</td>
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<td>CRVA</td>
<td>Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment</td>
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<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
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<td>DPA</td>
<td>ECOWAS Directorate of Political Affairs</td>
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<td>DPKRS</td>
<td>ECOWAS Directorate of Peacekeeping and Regional Security</td>
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<td>ECOWARN</td>
<td>ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>ECPF</td>
<td>ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework</td>
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<td>EWD</td>
<td>ECOWAS Directorate of Early Warning</td>
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<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
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<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GSDRC</td>
<td>Governance and Social Development Resource Centre</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IncReps</td>
<td>ECOWARN’s Incident Reports</td>
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<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interview</td>
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<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Development Plan</td>
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<td>NZAID</td>
<td>New Zealand Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>RASALAO</td>
<td>Réseau d’Action sur les Armes Légères</td>
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<td>REWARD</td>
<td>Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa</td>
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<td>SitReps</td>
<td>ECOWARN Situation Reports</td>
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<td>SNA</td>
<td>Stakeholder Network Analysis</td>
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<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
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<td>UMEOA</td>
<td>West Africa Economy and Monetary Union</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>WANEP</td>
<td>West African Network for Peacebuilding</td>
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Message from the President of the ECOWAS Commission

The 15 Member-States of the ECOWAS Community represent a thriving region of the world, with a population of approximately 366 million and a rich human and topographical diversity. From the coastline to the mountain peaks of Fouta Djallon, across the Sahara and the mangroves of the Niger Delta, ECOWAS is home to diverse families, communities, and nations.

Over the last decade, the region has witnessed significant progress in lifting the standard of living for millions. However, along with the richness of natural resources, human capital and great opportunity, there are also challenges to contend with such as natural disasters, pandemics, ethno-sectarian tensions, and security threats caused by extremism and terrorism.

Global developments and changes such as advances in technology, human migration and climate change, have added new levels of complexity, presenting new challenges for strategic planning and preparedness as we look ahead to the future.

This is where Early Warning plays a critical role in helping ECOWAS to understand the changing dynamics so as to strengthen decision making and early response at the regional and national levels. The Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessments (CRVAs) serve as an important resource in this regard. These reports are useful for strengthening the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework action plans as well as to serve as reference materials for an in-depth understanding of the human security dynamics in our Member States, and for our partners across the region.

I therefore invite national stakeholders, all ECOWAS institutions and our partners to make use of these reports for the entrenchment of peace and progress for the benefit of the Citizens of ECOWAS.

Jean-Claude Brou
President of the ECOWAS Commission
Statement from the Vice President of the ECOWAS Commission

ECOWAS takes pride in finalizing this CRVA report which aims to identify structural vulnerabilities, event driven risks and existing resilience factors in each Member State of the Community. Indeed, this is a remarkable feat towards boosting the African Peace and Security Architecture of the African Union, with ECOWAS setting the pace for the development of an African-owned data set that can be tapped into to enhance human security analysis and accurate forecasting to assist policymakers to make informed decisions on pressing issues in the region. This information can be used as a baseline for ECOWAS and its partners to inform early warning and response efforts, particularly in this time when Early Warning and Response Mechanism is being deployed at the National level.

The CRVA research leverages ECOWARN data—gathered by Field Monitors—to establish a country baseline for monitoring patterns and trends across human security pillars. By comparing ECOWARN data to other data sets, and complementing quantitative data with qualitative findings, the assessments also help the Early Warning Directorate of ECOWAS to gather more robust data that is rich, reliable and empirical. The resulting findings are more representative in terms of geography, time, and theme for each country and needs to be updated periodically.

ECOWAS will consolidate this achievement by applying the knowledge and skills embodied in the CRVA Manual. My conviction for this emanates from the fact that the training of all EWD staff in the development of the CRVA Index, which marks the climax of transfer of knowledge and skills from the USAID REWARD technical staff to ECOWAS, will allow ECOWAS to independently conduct future CRVAs. Already, the EWD has initiated a process to put to practice the defined methodological framework to conduct Regional Risk and Resilience Assessment in the Lake Chad Basin, thereby serving as the first pillar in implementing the decision of the joint ECOWAS and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to engage communities in peacebuilding processes.

We hope the Member States of our Community take ownership of this report and anchor development and peace initiatives upon it, in addressing the risks and vulnerabilities in their communities. As we decentralize Early Warning and Response to the ECOWAS countries, the Commission stands ready to accompany each Member States in the implementation of the actionable recommendations embodied in the CRVA report.

Finda Koroma
Vice President, ECOWAS Commission
Preface

The ECOWAS Early Warning Directorate has made giant strides in the practice of data driven early warning, through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of incidents and situations from multiple sources, with the added benefit of original data generated through the ECOWARN system. Indeed, the Center’s state-of-the-art technological tools places it at a vantage position to monitor and analyze risks and vulnerabilities in the ECOWAS region, cutting across the key areas of human security.

ECOWAS has played, and continues to play, a critical role in the monitoring of threats to human security across the region including the Sahelo-Saharan, Mano River, Gulf of Guinea, Lake Chad and Senegambia conflict systems to improve response for the prevention and management of conflict escalation.

Beyond a narrow focus on violent conflict alone, and consistent with its mandate to promote the socioeconomic and political integration of the sub-region, ECOWAS applies a human security lens with a view towards enhancing the well-being of the population in accordance with the ECOWAS Vision 2020. Thus, this report highlights risks, structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors across five dimensions (demographic, economic, security, governance and rule of law) at the national and sub-national levels.

Each CRVA report represents a myriad of perspectives and experiences from affected stakeholders including community leaders, civil society, administrative officials, security agents, traditional and religious leaders, just to mention a few. In this way, the CRVA report serves as a strategic document to provide an overview of the human security challenges in each ECOWAS member state as well as the social and institutional resilience factors that can help manage those challenges.

We hope that this report will be useful for strategic planning in addressing issues of human security as well as to provide insights to a multitude of stakeholders including policy and decision makers in the public and private sectors for conflict-sensitive engagement within the region.

Dr. Abdou Lat Gueye
Director, ECOWAS Early Warning
Executive Summary

From 2016 to 2019, ECOWAS collected quantitative and qualitative data in Côte d’Ivoire to better understand the structural vulnerabilities that may exist, and how those vulnerabilities affect the everyday lives of individuals and communities. This research was done in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)’s Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa (REWARD) project, as part of a broader assessment of the entire West African region. As part of this process, a series of focus group discussions and interviews were conducted in August 2016 in Côte d’Ivoire to contextualize the findings and to learn more about resilience factors that mitigate risk and promote human security. The purpose of this report is to summarize these insights and perspectives, so that national stakeholders can build on their successes, and also to serve as a baseline for ECOWAS’s monitoring of patterns and trends. The report provides an overview of national and subnational vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors, as well as conclusions and recommendations.

The CRVA was conducted by ECOWAS to update and expand upon the Conflict Risk Assessment (CRA) 2013-2014 country reports. To better understand the sub-national patterns and trends, the research design began with a desktop study involving a social network analysis based on a survey of peace and security actors in the country and a scoping of experts to be consulted during the fieldwork. This was followed by a Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis of patterns and trends in escalation dynamics and a quantitative analysis of relative structural vulnerabilities by country and human security pillar.

In Côte d’Ivoire, high levels of vulnerability were found in Politics/Governance, while moderate levels of vulnerability were found in Economics/Resources, Population/Demographics, and Security, and lower levels of vulnerability were found in Rule of Law.

Though much progress has been made in restoring security and economic growth since the post-electoral crisis of 2010-2011, challenges included historical political and social divisions between the North and the South of the country, transitional justice, and security sector reform. Côte d’Ivoire also faced internal and external security pressures, including regional terrorist threats, cross-border issues, and criminality. Economic and demographic pressures were also highlighted, including youth marginalization, poverty and development.

Despite these challenges, there were strong social and institutional resilience factors for effective dispute resolution and peacebuilding in Côte d’Ivoire, including the important roles played by civil society groups (particularly youth and women’s groups), traditional leaders, religious leaders, political and administrative authorities, and international organizations at both the regional and national levels.

The following report aims to provide an overview so that regional and national stakeholders can have a clear picture of the challenges faced by the country, as well as the capacities that can be leveraged and built upon for the promotion of sustainable human security in Côte d’Ivoire.

Though risk/incident data naturally fluctuates and may therefore have changed since the publication of this report, the structural vulnerabilities are reflective of medium- and long-term trends. These reports focus on the identification of structural vulnerabilities and resiliences, and how they may impact upon events and developments as they occur.
Introduction

Research Process

The CRVA assesses structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors according to five human security pillars as identified by ECOWAS in a 2016 scoping paper.¹ The pillars are: 1) Economics and Resources, 2) Politics and Governance, 3) Population and Demographics, 4) Rule of Law, and 5) Security. Findings in this report describe how risks flow from vulnerabilities in the context of Côte d’Ivoire both within and across the five pillars. In recognition of the fact that violent conflict has underlying social, economic, political, and security drivers but expresses itself differently depending on the context, a holistic human security framework was used in this assessment, and will be used for the CRVAs in all ECOWAS member states. Furthermore, the analysis also breaks out gender considerations and external factors as cross-cutting issues that need to be understood for effective early warning, planning and response.²

The research was conducted in three main phases: Desktop Study, Field Research, and Analysis and Validation.

Phase 1: Desktop Study
The Desktop Study included a preliminary assessment of structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors.

For the assessment of structural vulnerabilities, the research used data from dozens of sources, including ECOWARN Situation Reports (SitReps). Drawing on these pre-existing data sets,³ a CRVA Index was created to measure the relative levels of vulnerability across five human security dimensions in Côte d’Ivoire.

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¹ The EWD Scoping Paper was developed by ECOWAS to help inform the CRVA process, with the human security pillars identified based on best practice approaches such as ECOWARN guidelines and the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) framework.

² EWD Scoping Paper on “Risk Assessment of Five ECOWAS Pilot Countries: Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Burkina Faso”

³ Data sources used in the development of the CRVA Index include Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, the Center for Security Studies ETH Zurich, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace.
For the assessment of event-driven risks, event data, including from ECOWARN’s Incident Reports (IncReps), was triangulated against data from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) to estimate the locations and type of conflict issues at the sub-national level over time. Using multiple sources allowed for cross-validation, the filling of gaps, and the ability to identify trends in indicators and sub-indicators using queries and key word searches.

For the assessment of social and institutional resilience factors, a survey was deployed to all of ECOWAS’s in-country contacts to learn more about the peace and security actors working to manage and reduce risks and vulnerabilities in the country. Respondents (including representatives of religious institutions, public sector actors, civil society, youth groups, and development actors, among others) were also asked to name organizations that they have partnered with in the last two years on issues of peace and security. Data was then uploaded to a Stakeholder Network Map for quantitative analysis and to identify leverage points, spheres of influence, and social capital. Based on this analysis, key technical experts were identified and were contacted for the next phase of the research.

Phase 2: Field Research
The Field Research began with a scoping workshop in Abidjan. Using the Stakeholder Network Map, highly-networked technical experts were convened in a workshop to validate the initial desktop findings and suggest a way forward for the qualitative analysis in the field. The Scoping Workshop was also used to tailor and sensitize the broader research questions and the Key Informant Interview (KII) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) instruments and questionnaires based on local context. Additionally, the Scoping Workshop also served to attain references and contacts for key actors and stakeholders in the field who would be consulted over the course of the next two weeks during the KIIs and FGDs. Thus, the desktop study phase informed the research questions that needed further context and validation in the field, as well as the sample of respondents to be engaged (what was asked, where, and to whom).

A team of experts and researchers then conducted an in-country assessment between August 29th and September 10th, 2016 with participants from the districts of Abidjan, Bas-Sassandra, Montagnes, Vallée du Bandama, and Zanzan. The team traveled to the various hotspots identified in the desktop study and validated in the workshop to interview key stakeholders affected by violence and with knowledge of local context and capacities relating to the vulnerability and resilience factors underlying that violence. This team included representatives from the ECOWAS Directorates of Early Warning (EWD), Political Affairs (DPA), Peacekeeping & Regional Security (DPKRS), Gender, and Humanitarian & Social Affairs, as well as participants from USAID and affiliated experts. The KIIs and FGDs conducted during this in-country assessment collected qualitative data and information regarding various perspectives on structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risk factors, and social and institutional resilience factors relating to the different conflict issues across the country. These transcripts have been collated, streamlined to reduce repetition and vagueness, and categorized under headings for analysis and prioritization during Phase 3.

Phase 3: Analysis and Validation
After the quantitative, GIS, and survey data was validated and contextualized in the field, and the qualitative data was collected, organized and summarized, this report was drafted and was then validated by ECOWAS and USAID. This report will serve as a baseline and resource for more targeted early warning products and analysis/planning towards strategic and operational prevention of human insecurity within the country of Côte d’Ivoire as well as associated conflict systems (e.g. Mano River) more broadly.
**Terminology and Conceptual Definitions**

In this CRVA report:

**“Vulnerability”** is defined as any structural factor that has the potential to be a conflict driver. These can include such things as youth unemployment, poverty, inequality, climate, patronage, demographic factors, etc.

**“Risk”** is defined as any event-driven factor that has the potential to be a conflict trigger. Risk factors can include specific controversies or events such as disasters or elections that may occur.

**“Resilience”** is defined as any social or institutional factor that has the potential to help mitigate or manage risks and vulnerabilities. These include political, cultural, and community leadership with significant social capital to influence conflict dynamics in a constructive way, including public sector, private sector, religious institutions, civil society, opinion leaders, development workers, etc. Resilience factors can include institutions that play a stabilizing role in the short, medium, or longer term.

The CRVA analysis was conducted according to the framework depicted in the figure below, whereby event-driven risk factors flow out of the structural vulnerabilities (per the red downward arrow) while social and institutional resilience factors mitigate and prevent those risks and vulnerabilities (per the green upward arrow).

For ECOWAS, this framework is useful in that it is aligned with the existing ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), which is a strategic tool to strengthen the human security architecture in West Africa. Key to the ECPF are the categories of **“Operational Prevention,”** or measures applicable in the face of crisis, and **“Structural Prevention,”** or measures that ensure that crises do not arise or re-occur. The CRVA framework is aligned with the ECPF such that identified Vulnerability Factors are to be mitigated by Structural Prevention measures, and Risk Factors are to be mitigated by Operational Prevention measures. This alignment is important for the utility and actionability of this report by users in West Africa.
Literature Review

A Human-Centric Approach to Early Warning

In academic literature, the human security lens to conflict early warning is a change from the more state-centric approaches that were in vogue throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Historically, early warning was focused on prevention and mitigation of conflict between states. In the post-Cold War period with a surge in intra-state conflict, early warning was focused on identifying the drivers and impacts of civil conflict on states. At that time, analysis focused on terminology of state “collapse” and “failure,” emphasizing impacts to neighboring countries or regions, and perpetuating a comparative paradigm of poverty and limited economic growth and conflict in contrast to more developed countries.4

However, as a more interconnected human and global security approach emerged in the 2000s, conceptions of state fragility and conflict analysis evolved in both development aid and policy approaches. As the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC) describes, “At a very broad level, fragility is the result of a dynamic interplay between internal factors (including violent conflict, poverty, economic and structural conditions, weak formal institutions), and external factors (including international political economy, regional and global insecurity).”5 While not discounting the role of the state as a key vehicle for managing and preventing conflict, the human-centric approach looks first and foremost at the impact of demographic, economic, political, and security conflict drivers on individuals and communities as well as the role that a wide variety of social and institutional factors play in preventing conflict. Thus, the human security framework provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats that affect individuals’ lives, whether this is through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political or economic factors.

The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security outlines a human-centric approach to security in five principles: 1) People-centered, with a focus on protecting basic human freedoms; 2) Multi-sectoral, encompassing a broad understanding of threats and causes of insecurity; 3) Comprehensive, taking into account different types of individuals’ security from economic to social; 4) Context-specific, emphasizing the need to analyze specific conflict contexts and root causes of insecurity; and 5) Prevention-oriented, highlighting locally tailored risk prevention and mitigation measures through early warning mechanisms.6 This focus on cross-cutting issues and situation-specific analysis and response are central to the CRVA process and broader objectives of integrated conflict early warning and response by ECOWAS and its partners. For the CRVAs, this involves identifying conflict risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies across the human security pillars of Population and Demographics, Politics and Governance, Security, Economics and Resources, and Rule of Law.

Many indices and development frameworks have emerged for measuring resilience and fragility, from the Fund For Peace’s Fragile States Index7 to the African Development Bank (AfDB) and World Bank’s Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)8 and Mo Ibrahim Foundation’s Index of African Governance.9 Today, leading international development actors and multilateral

5 “Topic Guide on Fragile States”, McLoughlin, C., Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC), August 2009
7 Fragile States Index, The Fund for Peace
8 Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), World Bank and African Development Bank (AfDB)
9 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
agencies such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the AfDB have also produced strategies, practice areas, and tools, which seek to address the drivers of fragility. The AfDB, for example, has a 2014-2019 Strategy for Addressing Fragility and Building Resilience in Africa, with a focus on building member state capacities and focusing on “fragile situations rather than fragile states alone.”

As the AfDB Strategy notes, however, “there is no single solution and no predefined ‘toolbox’ for addressing fragility.” Older academic and policy conceptions of “state failure” used analysis centered on “traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression,” as outlined in a 2009 paper by the United Nations Human Security Unit. Newer models of analysis have taken on a broader human security lens, which was in “response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone.”

Thus, a human-centric approach, as opposed to a state-centric approach, is important for analyzing risks and vulnerabilities to society for robust early warning and response mechanisms. Human security provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats which affect individuals’ lives, whether through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political, or economic factors. As such, the CRVAs seek to draw upon the more dynamic and interrelated aspects of risk and vulnerability, which look at capacities and pressures within a society with a view to identifying structural vulnerabilities, resiliencies and risks across key human security pillars. As defined by the United Nations General Assembly, “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people.” This approach is also in line with the ECOWAS Vision 2020 which seeks to promote peace, prosperity, and cohesion across the region, and includes a focus on strengthening many human security aspects within member states.

Research Questions

Based on the initial desktop findings, the team developed a set of framing questions broken out by the five human security pillars. These framing questions were not asked verbatim in the field, but rather informed the design of KII and FGD instruments. These instruments included simple, open-ended questions intended to prompt a discussion where respondents could express their opinions, experiences, and perceptions about the ways in which they had been impacted by vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors in Côte d’Ivoire.

Politics and Governance: Considering that Côte d’Ivoire has had challenging transitions of power since Henri Bedié succeeded longtime president Félix Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, what are the risks and vulnerabilities as regards representative governance in the next 5-10 years, especially around the 2020 and 2025 elections? To what extent do issues of statelessness, refugees, or other factors contribute to disenfranchisement and political grievance? How is constitutional reform being handled; is it a divisive issue or is it bringing

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11 Ibid.

13 General Assembly resolution 66/290, October 2012
14 ECOWAS Vision 2020: Towards a Democratic and Prosperous Community, ECOWAS, June 2010
people together? How is the peace and reconciliation process improving these matters?

**Population and Demographics:** In the context of demographic change and migration which has at times contributed to tension, especially during times of economic downturn, as well as rising trends of violent extremism in neighboring countries, to what extent are ethnicity and religion polarizing among the Ivorian population? Do youth make up a large percentage of the population? What are the implications of age distribution on widespread economic dislocation and restiveness?

**Economics and Resources:** To what extent is inequality or poverty a conflict driver in Côte d'Ivoire? To what extent has volatility in commodity prices been a driver of conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, especially relating to oil, cocoa, gold, and rubber? Has natural resource management led to disputes over land and concessions?

**Security:** In the aftermath of civil war and political unrest, and considering the planned drawdown of the UN mission in 2017, what are the pressures on security that may emerge? What role does the military and police play in managing pastoral/communal conflicts or activity by non-state armed groups (including Dozo, community-based defense groups, private security companies etc.) and external actors? Is maritime security a challenge, especially as regards the traffic of small arms along the coast? Is terrorism a destabilizing factor, especially after the recent attack on Grand Bassam?

**Rule of Law:** Considering issues of transitional justice, what challenges are faced by the judiciary as regards legitimacy, impunity, and access to justice?

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**Description of the Sample**

Data collected and analyzed for this research included hundreds of ECOWARN SitReps, ECOWARN IncReps, ACLED event data, and a scoping survey, as well as transcripts and notes from FGDs and KIIs in the field. Other sources, integrated to form a vulnerability index (the CRVA Index), included Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace. A complete breakdown is included in Appendix A.

**Data Analysis**

ECOWARN data shows a rise in political, economic, and social vulnerability in late 2010 during the election crisis (as measured by taking a monthly average of the SitReps) prior to a spike in conflict fatalities in March 2011, when over 400 people were reportedly killed. Although the intensity of the violence quickly reduced, the reported levels of vulnerability remained elevated until mid-2013. At this point the situation finally started to improve, although challenges remain, including a spike in communal violence and a terrorist attack in 2016, as well as violence related to mutinies in the security sector in 2017.
The heatmap above shows hotspots of human security fatalities in Côte d’Ivoire from 2015-2018.

The graph above shows the trends in risk layered against vulnerability. The y axis on the left (0-80) shows the level of vulnerability, with a score of over 60 reflecting higher levels of vulnerability. The y axis on the right (0-500) shows the number of conflict fatalities by month.

The map above shows where fieldwork was conducted in August – September 2016.
The CRVA Index, shown below, indicates that in Côte d’Ivoire the human security pillar that exhibits the most severe levels of vulnerability is Politics and Governance. Data suggests that Economics and Resources, and Rule of Law, are less vulnerable. See Appendix B for a brief description of how the indicators and sources were selected, as well as how the data was normalized, scaled, and integrated. In the CRVA index graph below, the lower the score on the y axis (0-10), the more vulnerable the human security pillar.

Event data shows hotspots, patterns, and trends at the sub-national level. These include communal tensions in the Northeast and the West, often over land, as well as criminal and governance challenges around the city of Abidjan. Regional conflict emanating from Mali has had a spillover effect, most notably with the terrorist attack in 2016. Field research was undertaken to validate and contextualize these findings through KIIs and FGDs with people directly impacted by identified vulnerabilities and risks.

Quantitative data show elevated levels of vulnerability in Côte d’Ivoire, and areas of greatest weakness in the Politics and Governance and Security pillars. Corroborating these findings on structural vulnerabilities, the GIS and event data centered around protests and election controversies, in addition to the risk of communal and criminal violence in some areas. Field research was then conducted to validate and contextualize these preliminary findings. As illustrated in the pages below, FGDs and KII did validate these findings, and helped to provide context and proportionality. For example, interviewing affected stakeholders provided a much deeper understanding of the drivers behind the communal clashes in the Zanzan District. It also highlighted the level of agitation among ex-combatants with regards to Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) and issues around Security Sector Reform (SSR) that were not emphasized in the desktop phase of the research.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This report seeks to layer, triangulate, and juxtapose quantitative, GIS, and qualitative data in a way that is accurate, meaningful, and representative. However, limitations to this analysis include the two-year date range for the event and GIS data and the seven-year date range for the ECOWARN SitReps. If there are conflict cycles that fall outside those parameters, there will be constraints on the ability to analyze those patterns in this report. Furthermore, this research sought to ensure representativeness of the sample of stakeholders engaged through KIIs (21 prominent individuals) and FGDs (14 focus group discussions). To the extent that these stakeholders were representative, they added vital contextualization and validation of the desktop research.

Scope and limitations also apply to the use and purpose of the study. The CRVA reports support the objectives of ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). In particular, the CRVA reports identify vulnerabilities across the human security pillars in order to inform structural prevention. Structural prevention, as defined in the ECPF, comprises “political, institutional (governance) and developmental reforms, capacity enhancement and advocacy on the culture of peace.” While this report can also be used to inform operational
prevention, which includes “early warning, mediation, conciliation, preventive disarmament and preventive deployment using interactive means such as good offices and the ECOWAS Standby Force,” it seeks primarily to identify the key areas of structural vulnerability at the national and sub-national levels for strategic planning by ECOWAS and other partners in the peace and security space. However, inasmuch that operational prevention can be informed by patterns and trends in the event-driven risk factors highlighted in this report, the CRVA should serve as a baseline analysis of dynamics that are closely monitored over time. Thereby, in addition to informing strategic planning on structural vulnerability issues, the CRVA will also inform early warning products such as weekly, monthly, and quarterly situation reports that inform analysts and potential responders as to heightened conflict risk across one or more indicators, and propose recommendations on response. The CRVA reports can also be used as a foundation to inform more detailed case studies around identified risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies for a country of interest or concern.

While many reports that seek to identify structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors focus almost exclusively at the national level, ECOWAS seeks to support a more decentralized early warning and response infrastructure across the region. As such, the CRVA reports also take into consideration dynamics at the sub-national level. These sub-national factors are critical to consider as they help analysts and potential responders understand the context in which specific events (risks) are occurring, which may be markedly different from the national context. A mapping of sub-national level risks, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies can also help inform strategies for engaging at the local level for structural prevention. In particular, as defined by the ECPF, taking “measures to ensure the crises do not arise in the first place or, if they do, that they do no re-occur.”

Finally, as also noted in the ECPF, conflict in West Africa tends to be highly interconnected, which often leads to cycles of violence that cross borders and can keep countries emmeshed for decades. The CRVA reports, covering all fifteen member states of ECOWAS, are also useful in helping to inform and understand the dynamics of specific regional conflict systems, such as those that occur across the Mano River and Sahel. These regional conflict systems are influenced and interconnected not only historically and culturally, but also share many of the same structural vulnerabilities that give rise to risks and the eventual outbreak of violence, decade after decade. Thus, the CRVA reports present an opportunity to view not only the specific national and sub-national factors that lead to structural vulnerability and heightened risk, they also help highlight the nature of regional conflict systems, and the need for a holistic and systemic lens in both analysis and response.
Country Background

A former French colony, Côte d’Ivoire declared independence on 7th August 1960. The country’s first president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, ruled the country for over three decades until his death in office in 1993. Political power struggles and gridlock followed Houphouët-Boigny’s rule, culminating in a coup d’état in 1999. Soon after, Laurent Gbagbo came to power following disputed elections and a popular uprising in 2000. Côte d’Ivoire had its first civil war from 2002-2010, which divided the country between the rebel-held north and the government-held south. The country descended into a second civil war in 2010, following disputed elections which saw Alassane Dramane Ouattara becoming the internationally recognized president over Gbagbo. In the wake of the November 2010 elections, the two camps claimed victory, leading to a violent stand-off between pro-Gbagbo and pro-Ouattara forces. After months of wide-spread fighting between the two factions that left scores dead and many displaced, Gbagbo was eventually forced from office by pro-Ouattara forces with assistance from the United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) and French forces.

President Ouattara was re-elected for a second term in 2015, in elections deemed free and fair by the international community. He promised constitutional reforms that would minimize the risk of future electoral violence – an effort which is currently underway, and one that seems to show equal levels of hope and concern among those surveyed during the course of this study. In the time since its periods of instability, Côte d’Ivoire has emerged as one of the strongest economies in the region. Today, it constitutes nearly 40 percent of the West Africa Economic and Monetary Union’s (UMEOA) total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and has the highest growth rate in the region. Côte d’Ivoire is also the fourth largest exporter of goods in sub-Saharan Africa (behind South Africa, Nigeria and Angola), and is the world’s largest exporter of cocoa bean products. While cocoa bean products constitute over 35 percent of Côte d’Ivoire’s exports, the country also exports significant amounts of rubber, petroleum and gold. Côte d’Ivoire’s exports have increased at an annual rate of 5.8 percent over the past five years. However, the Ivorian economy is not particularly diversified, continuing to rely heavily on commodity exports, which are themselves dependent on volatile global market prices. The government of Côte d’Ivoire adopted a National Development Plan (NDP) 2016-2020 worth approximately US$15 billion, which includes structural reforms and an increased focus on private sector growth and market inclusion. This comes on the heels of lessons learned from the successful implementation of the 2012-2015 NDP. While the government has indicated that it will be prioritizing youth employment and wealth redistribution, political instability and social grievances may continue to hinder the Ivorian economy in the coming years.

Despite its flourishing economy and positive political outlook, Côte d’Ivoire still faces both internal and external security pressures. One factor is the presence of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) militants in the region. AQIM carried out an attack at Grand-Bassam that killed 19 people in March 2016, and it has staged several attacks in neighboring Mali and in Burkina Faso. The UN Security Council has made clear the need for regional and international efforts to combat terrorism, and President Ouattara has been engaging regional leaders to strengthen co-operation on issues of stability, cross-border security, and resettlement of refugees. Côte d’Ivoire also faces ongoing internal security challenges, with former Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-Moon specifically noting that Côte d’Ivoire still needs to address the disarmament and reintegration of former combatants, security sector reform, border controls, and a politicized criminal justice system.
National-Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resiliencies

Based on desktop research using the ECOWARN and ACLED data sets, surveys of peace and security actors in key regions in Côte d’Ivoire, field research that included key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGDs), and participatory analysis by the CRVA field research team, the following national-level risks, vulnerabilities, and resilience factors were identified:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Vulnerabilities</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Perceptions of mistrust in political institutions</td>
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<td>Ethnicization of the public sector</td>
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<td>Security</td>
<td>Politicization of the army</td>
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<td>Porous borders</td>
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<td>Limited capacity of public security forces</td>
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<td>Population and Demographics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economics and Resources</td>
<td>Competition for land/access to natural resources</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment: Côte d'Ivoire

- Lack of public understanding around issues of land tenure and ownership
- Illegal mining and logging
- Commodity-dependent economy
- Poverty and unemployment, especially in rural communities
- Road infrastructure under construction
- Environmental pressures, including flooding, landslides, coastal erosion and the effects of climate change
- Corruption and governance issues

#### Rule of Law
- Perceptions of corruption and bias in the judicial system
- Lack of judicial independence
- Poor access to justice for vulnerable groups
- Limited prosecution of gender-based violence (GBV)/rape cases
- Perceived ineffectiveness of Commission on Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation to address post-conflict grievances
- Limited capacity of judicial institutions, especially in rural areas
- Culture of impunity

#### Event-Driven Risks

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<td>Electoral processes</td>
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<td>Political rallies</td>
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<td>Constitutional Referendum and the lack of sensitization and understanding of its goals and vision</td>
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<td>Political marginalization</td>
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<td>Inter-communal conflicts, including clashes between herder/farmer communities</td>
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<td>Mutiny among divided security forces</td>
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<td>Smuggling and illicit activities</td>
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<td>Gang violence (microbes, “gnambro”)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender-based violence (GBV)</td>
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<td>Electoral processes</td>
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<td>Poor implementation of the DDR process</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inadequate reintegration of ex-combatants</td>
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<td>Violent extremism and terrorism</td>
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<tr>
<th>Population and Demographics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clashes between farmer and herder communities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
• Tensions stemming from uncontrolled and irregular cross-border migration
• Disease outbreak
• Pressures on urban infrastructure and services
• Forceful eviction

**Economics and Resources**
• Disruptions to agricultural production due to climate (e.g. flooding, drought, change in rainfall patterns)
• Clashes between farmer and herder communities
• Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources
• Deforestation
• Environmental pollution, including water, air and soil
• Land-grabbing for agro-businesses
• Labor protests
• Disruptions of agricultural supply chains due to poor roads
• Commodity price fluctuations

**Rule of Law**
• Incidents of corruption
• Mob justice/vigilantism
• Failure of traditional justice systems

**Social and Institutional Resilience Factors**

**Politics and Governance**
• National government institutions, such as the *Commission Nationale des Droits de l’Homme* and *le Programme national pour la cohesion sociale* (PNCS)
• Vibrant Civil Society Organizations
• Traditional and religious institutions
• Youth and women’s groups
• International organizations

**Security**
• Government/local and administrative authorities
• Role of security forces and border agents
• Security sector reform (SSR)
• Conflict early warning mechanisms

**Population and Demographics**
• Vibrant civil society organizations (CSOs)
• Youth and Women’s groups
• Programs for family planning and reproductive health
Key themes that emerged in the CRVA research included the need to build national consensus on governance in the context of political transition after President Laurent Gbagbo and the constitutional reform. Related issues such as transitional justice and security sector reform (SSR) were also of critical concern. Although economically Côte d’Ivoire is doing relatively well, natural resource management including minerals and land tenure are priority areas for the promotion of peace and sustainable human security for the population.
Vulnerabilities and Risks

While Côte d’Ivoire has made significant improvements in recent years, the country’s area of greatest vulnerability is Politics and Governance. In the aftermath of the electoral crisis which led to the ousting of President Gbagbo in 2011, tensions and polarization have remained between political groups. This situation has been exacerbated by issues relating to the poor implementation of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) process; elections; and the perception of impunity for some accused of committing crimes during the crisis.

Polarization of political groups and ongoing tensions between supporters of former president Gbagbo and those of current president Ouattara have damaged public trust in government institutions. Perceptions of corruption, lack of accountability, and partisanship within governance and rule of law institutions are widespread, and this disillusionment has the potential to trigger disunity and violence. The DDR process has also posed security challenges, with some parties feeling excluded or aggrieved, cementing mistrust in government and the political system.

Community leaders from Abobo, Abidjan observed that many people did not turn out to vote in the most recent elections because they were afraid of being caught in the crossfire of political violence. In the fallout from the 2010 elections, clashes between pro-Ouattara and pro-Gbagbo groups have continued to threaten peaceful elections. Low political participation was also attributed to the disillusionment of people about the government’s ability to deliver on its promises of national reconciliation. During field interviews, respondents noted that there was a need to build a national consensus on how the policies and initiatives devised in the capital affect other parts of the country, and on how citizens relate to state institutions for a stronger social compact. A village chief from Bangolo expressed the view that citizens do not have equal access to a fair political process, and that reforms to the Constitution may not guarantee true representation of the country’s diverse political and ethnic groups. Though the government has made significant progress in reforming the judicial system and better protecting human rights, as noted during interviews with government ministry officials, there remain community perceptions of corruption and the suggestion that there may be room for improvement with regards to transparency and accountability.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Key social and institutional entities with influence on the mitigation of the vulnerabilities and risks
described above include community leaders, women leaders, and civil society organizations who can advocate for political rights and good governance, transparency, and accountability with regards to government institutions and other leadership structures.

For example, the Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme de Côte d'Ivoire uses a network of field agents in the thirty-one administrative regions of the country to monitor and report on human rights incidents, and to educate the local population on human rights issues. The West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) is also active in reporting violent incidents and in mobilizing support at the national and local level to address the underlying challenges of specific risks and vulnerabilities. The Réseau d’Action sur les Armes Légères (RASALAO), a regional network leading the fight against the proliferation of small arms in West Africa, particularly in Côte d’Ivoire’s western region, is another entity helping to build resilience in communities devastated by prolonged periods of instability caused by the armed conflicts.
Security (Second Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities

- Politicization of the army
- Porous borders
- Limited capacity of public security forces
- Criminality
- Maritime insecurity

Risks

- Inter-communal conflict, including clashes between herder/farmer communities
- Mutiny among divided security forces
- Smuggling and illicit activities
- Gang violence (*microbes*, "gnambo")
- Gender-based violence (GBV)
- Electoral processes
- Poor implementation of the DDR process
- Inadequate reintegration of ex-combatants
- Violent extremism and terrorism

Vulnerabilities and Risks

Security issues since 2016 have included farmer-herder clashes, land disputes, cross border security issues, a lethal terrorist attack in Grand Bassam, youth criminality in the cities by gangs known as *microbes*, and gender-based and sexual violence. Maritime security related to illicit goods trafficking along the coast is also a concern. Political violence has dropped significantly in recent years; however, pockets of violence highlight the need for political parties to work together to decrease the chances of post-election violence. Based on regional data, Côte d'Ivoire is performing slightly better than its regional counterparts on security, but incidents of theft and armed robbery persist, most commonly in areas of socio-economic depression. Many of those attacks are abetted by the failure of the disarmament process, as ex-combatants still possess weapons and have become more inclined towards criminality. Respondents also mentioned cases of sexual assault perpetrated against women, as well as cases of child abduction. On the question of whether the UN should remain in the country to reinforce peace and security efforts, citizens appear divided: some respondents expressed concerns over the capacity gap potentially created by the UN withdrawal, while others view the move away from reliance on external support as a positive step.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Key entities with influence on the mitigation of vulnerabilities and risks described above include government security institutions, with support from external partners. Security Sector Reform (SSR) and DDR efforts, led by the Ivorian government with support from international and bilateral donors such as ONUCI, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), and the governments of France and the United States, have substantially contributed to the demobilization of armed groups and the reintegration of combatants into the ranks of the armed forces and into society. These efforts were supported at the local level by non-governmental organizations and grassroots community mobilization. Regional and community organizations such as the ECOWAS monitoring...
systems and conflict prevention organizations such as WANEP, RASALAO and Search for Common Ground are monitoring early warning signs of conflict and raising awareness to prevent relapse into conflict. At the local level, community leadership, including female and youth leadership, is also instrumental for building resilience in the area of security.
### Population and Demographics (Third Most Vulnerable Pillar)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulnerabilities</th>
<th>Risks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrolled and irregular cross-border migration</td>
<td>Clashes between farmer and herder communities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Competition for land/access to natural resources</td>
<td>Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of public understanding of laws on land tenure and ownership</td>
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### Vulnerabilities and Risks

Field respondents identified youth marginalization, unemployment, lack of education, and violence against women as key issues within the area of Population and Demographics. Côte d’Ivoire has an average population age of 20.5, and almost 60 percent of the Ivorian population is under the age of 25. Nonetheless, the real and perceived marginalization of youth undermines the effectiveness of Ivorian political and economic organs. A focus group conducted in Bas-Sassandra highlighted concerns that while the youth population is growing, prospects for their development are not. Some field respondents also noted that communal tensions have at times been exacerbated by access to, and management of, scarce natural resources. In the Northeast, dozens have died as a result of inter-communal clashes over land between farmers and herders since January 2016. Migratory movements within the region, particularly from Burkina Faso, have also been controversial in Côte d’Ivoire. Many migrants are attracted by the strong regional economy, especially in areas such as agriculture, services, and small scale artisanal mining.

### Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Multi-stakeholder collaboration between civil society, the private sector, and government has been key in targeting areas of economic marginalization, and such efforts greatly contribute to post-crisis resilience. Community leaders and civil society organizations also assist, including youth and women’s groups. For example, the team interviewed members of grassroots community organizations (Notre Grenier, Le Collectif des OSC de Bondoukou) in the Zanzan district who engage with local farmer and herder communities to promote peaceful coexistence and sharing of natural resources.
## Economics and Resources (Fourth Most Vulnerable Pillar)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulnerabilities</th>
<th>Risks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Competition for land/access to natural resources</td>
<td>• Disruptions to agricultural production due to climate climate (e.g. flooding, drought, change in rainfall patterns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of public understanding of laws of laws on land tenure and ownership</td>
<td>• Clashes between farmer and herder communities</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Illegal mining and logging</td>
<td>• Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Commodity-dependent economy</td>
<td>• Deforestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty and unemployment, especially in rural communities</td>
<td>• Environmental pollution, including water, air and soil</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Road infrastructure under construction</td>
<td>• Land-grabbing for agro-businesses</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Environmental pressures, including flooding, landslides, coastal erosion and the effects of climate change</td>
<td>• Labor protests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Corruption and governance issues</td>
<td>• Disruptions of agricultural supply chains due to poor roads</td>
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### Vulnerabilities and Risks

Field respondents noted that although Côte d'Ivoire has a relatively robust economy with strong foreign investment, poverty, inequality, and unemployment remain problems for many Ivorians. This is further exacerbated by road infrastructure that is under construction and makes it expensive to transport food and raw materials to and from the rural areas, and by limited access to credit. Protests by civil servants over compensation and working conditions are also prevalent. Rural areas and cocoa producers depend largely on volatile markets, and some regions experience food shortages, which could further intensify feelings of insecurity and inequity, and spur violence. While Côte d'Ivoire has notable economic potential, persistent inequality represents a risk factor for the country.

### Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Vulnerabilities and risks such as labor protests and road infrastructure in the rural areas are mitigated through the efforts of government economic institutions and the private sector/business community, as well as through the activities of civil society organizations, including youth and women’s groups.
### Rule of Law (Least Vulnerable Pillar)

#### Vulnerabilities

- Perceptions of corruption and bias in the judicial system
- Lack of judicial independence
- Poor access to justice for vulnerable groups
- Limited prosecution of gender-based violence (GBV)/rape cases
- Perceived ineffectiveness of Commission on Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation to address post-conflict grievances
- Limited capacity of judicial institutions, especially in rural areas
- Culture of impunity

#### Risks

- Incidents of corruption
- Mob justice/vigilantism
- Failure of traditional justice systems

#### Vulnerabilities and Risks

The least vulnerable category in Côte d’Ivoire is Rule of Law; however, challenges remain. As highlighted in Politics and Governance, issues of impunity remain a challenge amidst the polarized political climate. Access to justice and limited capacities of the judicial system are additional areas of vulnerability. Other issues include a lack of prosecutions for cases involving gender-based violence (GBV) and a lack of policing capacities to carry out an effective law and order mandate. Since 2012, multiple judges have been accused of corruption, eroding public confidence in the system. According to field respondents, extrajudicial killings, unlawful arrests, disappearances, and bribes are not unusual. The Commission on Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation, established to investigate human rights abuses and promote reconciliation, lacks public credibility and has not been given the breadth of resources or a mandate by the government to effectively carry out its function. Respondents perceive the legal system as slow and corrupt, noting that the rich benefit most often. Moreover, communities feel that many judges avoid controversial cases to escape political retaliation or persecution. Therefore, the independence and accountability of the judiciary have been challenged, along with the performance of the police. In response, the Ouattara government recently enacted several policies intended to reduce impunity and corruption.

#### Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite these vulnerabilities, Côte d’Ivoire’s open space for civil society and its strong media institutions have been a great boon to its rule of law institutions. Key entities with influence on the mitigation of vulnerabilities and risks described above include the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as well as human rights organizations focused on strengthening law and justice. New legal instruments that strengthen the status and role of the traditional chiefs in Côte d’Ivoire have provided a platform for community leadership to positively influence national dialogue, with the goal of building trust between the state and citizens, and among citizens themselves.
External Factors

The Ivorian economy has greatly benefitted from foreign direct investment (FDI), and encouraging foreign investment has been a key objective of the Ouattara administration. As the economy remains heavily dependent on commodity exports, however, Côte d’Ivoire is also susceptible to volatility in global commodity prices. In addition, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) also exert influence in the Ivorian economy. Most recently, Côte d’Ivoire signed a National Development Plan for 2016-2020 with the IMF, which calls for greater agricultural outputs, promoting the manufacturing sector and improving standards of living.

Côte d’Ivoire has a long history as a destination for immigrants in the region, particularly migrant workers. The country has seen significant migration flows from Burkina Faso, as well as from Mali, Guinea, Ghana and Benin. Political and economic events within these countries may therefore affect immigration and ease or exacerbate pressures within Côte d’Ivoire. In addition, the western region of Côte d’Ivoire has seen significant cross-border activity with Liberia. During Côte d’Ivoire’s political crisis in 2010-2011, refugees and fighters moved back and forth across the border, sometimes making it difficult to distinguish between them. More recently, the health risks that accompany cross-border movement were underscored during the 2014-2015 Ebola epidemic in the region.

Former President Laurent Gbagbo is being tried in the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes against humanity related to the incidents in 2010–2011. His wife Simone has an arrest warrant pending from the ICC, but is currently facing proceedings in Côte d’Ivoire’s Cour d’Assises. The court proceedings have stoked polarization between pro-Gbagbo and pro-Ouattara factions, as well as some public criticism that there is a lack of evidence collected for Mrs. Gbagbo’s trial.

UNOCI peacekeeping forces have been present in Côte d’Ivoire since 2004. UNOCI continues to provide support for a range of functions within the country, including security, political, governance and DDR programming, and the provision of logistics support for national elections. However, the ongoing drawdown of the mission, and the transitional phase, may have an impact on governance, security, and policing capacities.
Gender Considerations

Women in Côte d’Ivoire continue to face discrimination and challenges in the political, economic, and social spheres. A history of political violence, reliance on traditional customs, a pluralistic legal structure, and gaps in the implementation of governmental policies have contributed to the sustained gender gap between men and women in the country.

Politically, the representation of women in government has been shown to advance social issues and gender equality, and to further an equitable distribution of community resources. However, according to some female respondents, inequalities persist in areas like political representation in Côte d’Ivoire. Of the 1,336 titular candidates contesting the December 2016 Assemblée Nationale (National Assembly) Elections, 166 were women. The 1,336 substitute candidates included 162 women. Election results showed that 29 women were elected to the 255-member National Assembly. However, as of February 2017, this number had reduced by two (to 10.5 percent of members). In addition, of the 36 ministers that make up President Alassane Ouattara’s cabinet, only nine are women. Côte d’Ivoire has no legislated gender quotas; however, there are voluntary quotas that have been adopted by some political parties. For instance, the Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) has, since 2001, had a 30 percent gender quota at all levels. However, this voluntary quota has not always been respected.

Some field respondents also noted that the high illiteracy rate among women remains a problem. As illiteracy can function as an impediment to improving female participation and representation in all sectors, they highlighted the need for building the capacity of services and infrastructure relating to women and children. For these respondents, these mechanisms will serve as vehicles to increase social mobility and overall social cohesion. However, the percentage of resources allocated to the education sector is minimal. As of 2014, the government expenditure on education was 4.7 percent of the country’s GDP. There remains a gap in access to education and literacy between women and men, particularly in rural areas. As of 2015, only 16.6 percent of females aged 25 and older had at least some secondary education, compared to 32.7 percent of males aged 25 and older. Women are more than two times as likely to have not attended tertiary education. As a result of this limited access to education, the educational achievement of women in Côte d’Ivoire has been marginal. The literacy rate for adult females aged 15 and older is only 32.7 percent.

While the Ivorian economy has enjoyed strong growth, the distribution of wealth and employment opportunities still has some disparities in terms of gender. 52.4 percent of females aged 15 and older participate in the labor market. Women in Côte d’Ivoire primarily work in agriculture, informal trade, the civil service, and the private sector. They make up only one third of the staff in the civil

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15 Cote d’Ivoire: Assemblée nationale, Inter-Parliamentary Union, PARLINE database
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
20 Gender Quotas Database: Cote d’Ivoire, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
service and mostly hold lower grade positions. In agriculture, unequal access to financing, equipment and commercial networks on the basis of gender result in gender-based disparities in production between Ivorian men and women. Furthermore, customary practices often exclude women, the primary producers and marketers of food, from land ownership. The labor market is also characterized by wage inequalities between men and women. On average, women are paid half of what their male counterparts are paid.

Many women in Côte d’Ivoire were victims of gender-based violence (GBV) during the civil wars, when GBV was used as a tactic to terrorize perceived opponents. GBV remains widespread today, particularly against girls – a UN report found that of 1,129 rapes reported between 2012 and 2015, more than two-thirds of victims were children. Data from the 2011-2012 Demographic and Health Survey indicates that 36 percent of females aged 15-49 reported experiencing acts of physical violence since the age of 15. In the 12 months prior to the survey, 20 percent of women had been subjected to physical violence. Incidents of GBV are also prevalent in areas where former combatants have reintegrated, and in areas affected by displacement. Fieldwork participants highlighted the weak law and order system, which often prevents survivors from having their cases investigated or tried in court. Although rape is prohibited under the Penal Code, which mandates prison terms from 5-20 years, there is no specific law that focuses on domestic violence. In addition, the 2007 amnesty, which was granted to all involved in the conflict, including perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence, has contributed to a climate of impunity.

Data on attitudes about domestic violence give an insight into perceptions about gender relations in the country. Thus, 48 percent of women believe that for one of the cited reasons (burning the food, arguing with her husband, going out without his permission, neglecting the children and refusing to have sex with him) their partner is justified in committing domestic violence. The proportion of women who believe that their partners are justified in using physical aggression is higher in rural areas (53 percent) than in urban areas (43 percent). On the same subject, 48 percent of men aged 15-49 believe that for one of the reasons cited, women should be subjected to domestic violence. As with the females, the proportion of men who maintained this belief was higher in rural areas (44 percent).

Women in Côte d’Ivoire also continue to face challenges within the health sphere. As of 2012, the maternal mortality rate was 614 per 100,000 live births, which is above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa. The country also continues to grapple with HIV/AIDS, and infection rates are higher among females ages 15-49 than among males of the same age (4.6 percent compared to 2.9 percent).

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28 “Cote d’Ivoire Economic Update: Are Women the Key to Unlocking Economic Emergence in Cote d’Ivoire?”, World Bank Group, July 2017
29 Ibid.
30 “Property Rights and Resource Governance Profile: Cote d’Ivoire”, USAID, July 2017
31 “Cote d’Ivoire Economic Update: Are Women the Key to Unlocking Economic Emergence in Cote d’Ivoire?”, World Bank Group, July 2017
34 Ibid.
35 “Côte d’Ivoire: Domestic violence, including legislation, state protection and available support services (2012–December 2015) [CIV105345.FE]”, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, December 2015
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
women stated that they had heard of HIV/AIDS. However, during the same year only 13.9 percent of females aged 15-24 had comprehensive correct knowledge about HIV/AIDS.

In 1998, Côte d’Ivoire passed legislation criminalizing female genital mutilation and cutting (FGM/C). Act 98/757 stipulates that perpetrators of FGM/C be imprisoned for up to five years and/or fined. According to the Demographic and Health Survey, the prevalence of FGM/C decreased during the period of 1998-2012. Nevertheless, the practice still continues. Among females aged 15-49, 38 percent reported that they had undergone FGM/C.

Knowledge of family planning methods and contraceptive use is almost universal among women in Côte d’Ivoire. Among women aged 15-29, 94 percent are aware of at least one contraceptive method. However, the use of contraception remains low. Thus, only 20 percent of women aged 15-49 reported using any kind of contraception, and only 14 percent employ modern methods.

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42 Ibid.
44 “Social Institutions and Gender Index: Cote d’Ivoire”, OECD
45 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
Abidjan is the economic capital of Côte d’Ivoire and has a population of more than five million people. Abidjan is the country’s most industrialized region and is home to manufacturing and processing plants and oil refineries, as well as the country’s largest port. The district of Abidjan was one of the primary sites of violence during the political crisis of 2010-2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Vulnerabilities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• North-South political divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Voter apathy and non-participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political manipulation of religious and ethnic identities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rising cost of living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Deterioration of infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Economic dependence on global commodity prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Urban criminality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insecurity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of training and equipment for security forces</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event-Driven Risks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Political rallies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Constitutional Referendum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Elections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social and Institutional Resilience Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Political and administrative authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Civil society (youth and women’s groups, religious leaders, traditional leaders, opinion leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Community grassroots organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>• International organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Politics and Governance

The 2010 elections pitted then-President Gbagbo, who had a strong support base in the South, against long-time opposition leader and former Prime Minister Ouattara, who had overwhelming support in much of the North. This North-South dynamic, which is also tied to historic disparities in development and ethnic divisions, is still relevant today, according to Abidjan residents. In addition, voter apathy or non-participation, driven by a fear of political violence, was identified as a key political issue. There was also a strong perception among respondents that impunity and corruption have affected the government’s ability to deliver adequate social services.

Security

Abidjan was the scene of many violent clashes between civilians and security forces in the 2010-2011 post-electoral crisis. Communities are still recovering from that conflict, and many residents are afraid that even small incidents could lead them again down the path of insecurity and violence. A key security concern in Abidjan is the proliferation of groups of young people known as microbes and Gnambros who carry out attacks on civilians. The proliferation of the microbes is rooted in high rates of youth unemployment and poverty.

There is a perception among residents that Ivorian security forces have been largely ineffective in combating urban insecurity due to a lack of adequate training and equipment, as well as corruption. However, the voluntary submission of weapons through DDR programs has helped to improve the security environment, and non-governmental organizations have reportedly been training and educating on the need to avoid and prevent criminality, generally to a positive effect.

Population and Demographics

Political, religious, and ethnic identities have often overlapped and mixed throughout Côte d’Ivoire’s recent history, including in the lead-up to the 2010-11 crisis. While Abidjan residents interviewed during the field work generally felt that ethnic and religious affiliations are less divisive than in the past, some respondents noted that the Constitutional Referendum had contributed to increased ethnic sentiment and the formation of culturally-based “cliques” and factions.

Economics and Resources

The primary economic vulnerabilities identified in Abidjan were high unemployment, particularly among youth, the rising cost of living, and commodity price fluctuations. Some residents expressed concern that the rising cost of living, which exacerbates poverty and inequality, could lead to unrest. Some respondents also felt that local populations have not benefitted from the profits of natural resources and do not have equal access to social services.

Additionally, fieldwork participants reported that women have gained more importance in society and that many are the household breadwinners, while the men are unemployed. Although women are becoming more active in the political and social life, they still do not have equal access to financial services and credit to expand their businesses.

Rule of Law

There is a perception that justice in Côte d’Ivoire is inequitable and inaccessible for poor populations. While some residents noted that there has been an improvement in impunity, others felt that the government should do more to ensure justice.
Located in southwestern Côte d’Ivoire, the District of Bas-Sassandra was home to 2.28 million people as of 2014. Major ethnic groups in the Bas-Sassandra region include members of the Kru linguistic group, including the Bété. The city of San Pedro is a key export point for cocoa and other goods, and major economic activities in the region include agriculture (including cocoa and staple crop production), fishing, and agro-industrial processing.

### Politics and Governance

Residents of Bas-Sassandra interviewed during the field work observed that people are generally uninformed about the constitutional reform process and feel disconnected from the government. There is also a reported exclusion of women from political discussions and decision-making.

### Security

Despite the DDR process, there are still reports of ex-combatants in Bas-Sassandra with weapons, and the lack of reintegration has contributed to criminality. There are also reports of conflicts between Ivorian and Ghanaian fisherman in the region, as well as tensions between local communities and multinational plantation companies over land use.

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50 “Recensement Generale de la Population et de l’Habitat”, Institut National de la Statistique, 2014
51 “Some elements of the Ivorian crisis”, Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD
Population and Demographics

Youth unemployment and gender-based violence (GBV) are reported to be key vulnerabilities in the Bas-Sassandra region. However, women’s organizations are active in the region and, according to respondents, local authorities are engaged in the fight against GBV.

Economics and Resources

While Bas-Sassandra is rich in natural resources, the region is affected by poverty, unemployment, and poor infrastructure. Roads are reported to be in poor condition, which has made it difficult to convey products to and from other markets around the country.

Rule of Law

The judicial system in Bas-Sassandra is perceived by residents to be corrupt and inaccessible to the poor, leading to mistrust of the system.
Montagnes District

Located in western Côte d’Ivoire along the shared border with Liberia and Guinea, the district of Montagnes was home to 2.37 million people as of 2014. The Montagnes district is primarily home to ethnic groups belonging to the Mandé family. The regional economy is largely agricultural and the district is one of the primary cocoa-producing areas. During the first civil war in the 2000s, Montagnes saw intense fighting and served as a base for two key rebel groups who became part of the Forces Nouvelles (New Forces - FN).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Vulnerabilities</th>
<th>Event-Driven Risks</th>
<th>Social and Institutional Resilience Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived exclusion from political processes</td>
<td>• Constitutional referendum</td>
<td>• Political and Administrative authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty</td>
<td>• Elections</td>
<td>• Civil Society (youths and women’s groups, religious leaders, traditional leaders, opinion leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Porous borders</td>
<td>• Land sales and other land-related issues</td>
<td>• Community grassroots organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived corruption in the judicial system</td>
<td></td>
<td>• International organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Misunderstandings around land tenure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Economic pressures from urbanization, illegal mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Migration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Non-participation in DDR processes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52 “Recensement Generale de la Population et de l’Habitat”, Institut National de la Statistique, 2014
53 “Some elements of the Ivorian crisis”, Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD
Politics and Governance

There is a reported general sense of exclusion from political processes in the region, notably among women. The constitutional reform effort was highlighted as a source of tension among political elites, and residents felt that they were not well-informed about the reform process. On the topic of elections, residents expressed concerns around electoral violence and corruption issues.

Security

Residents expressed mixed feelings around the ability of the Ivorian security forces to secure the region and respect the rights of residents. Rape and sexual violence were also noted as key concerns in the region. Some residents noted that a high number of ex-combatants in the region have not participated in DDR processes. There are also concerns around land tenure and the potential for resource-related conflicts.

Population and Demographics

While women are widely viewed as playing an important role in Ivorian society, they lack financial and material support and face high rates of GBV, poverty, and early pregnancy. In addition, some residents reported that, although ethnicity and religion are not immediate causes of conflict, they have been manipulated in the past for political gain. Immigration and citizenship are salient demographic issues, tied up with issues of land tenure and resource control.

Economics and Resources

Poverty, inequality, and fluctuations in commodity prices are key vulnerabilities in the region. Residents also reported an unequal distribution of government benefits and resources - including water, which is becoming increasingly expensive for households. Unplanned urbanization, illegal gold mining, and illegal lumber enterprises in the area are also putting pressure on the local economy. Some towns in the region, particularly those close to the Liberian border, were also affected by the slow-down in trade caused by the West Africa Ebola epidemic in 2014-2015.

Rule of Law

Residents in the Montagnes district expressed confidence in the capacity of the Ivorian justice system, but noted that individual magistrates may corrupt the process and give different sentences depending on the victim’s family, tribal, or political affiliations. Additionally, interviewees expressed that the laws around land tenure are not well-understood, contributing to conflicts around land and natural resources. Traditional leaders play an important role in dispute resolution in the region.
The district of Vallée du Bandama had a population of 1.44 million people as of 2014\textsuperscript{54} and is the site of Côte d’Ivoire’s second-largest city, Bouaké. The Vallée du Bandama district is primarily home to ethnic groups belonging to the Kwa linguistic family, including the Akan and Baoulé.\textsuperscript{55} During the first civil war during the 2000s, Bouaké served as a base for the Forces Nouvelles (New Forces - FN). The district has historically been an industrial hub for textiles and the transport and processing of cash crops such as cashews and cotton, although the civil war severely impacted the economy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Vulnerabilities</th>
<th>Event-Driven Risks</th>
<th>Social and Institutional Resilience Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Unemployment</td>
<td>• Constitutional referendum</td>
<td>• Political and Administrative authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty and inequality</td>
<td>• Criminality and gun violence</td>
<td>• Civil Society (youths and women’s groups, religious leaders, traditional leaders, opinion leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived corruption in judicial system</td>
<td>• Flawed DDR process</td>
<td>• Community grassroots organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Land-based conflicts</td>
<td>• UN withdrawal</td>
<td>• International organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\textsuperscript{54} “Recensement Generale de la Population et de l’Habitat”, Institut National de la Statistique, 2014

\textsuperscript{55} “Some elements of the Ivorian crisis”, Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD
Politics and Governance

Residents of the region interviewed during the fieldwork identified a general lack of knowledge about what the constitutional reform process entails.

Security

Respondents stated that there are still many weapons in circulation, despite the DDR process. They report that there have been some efforts to reclaim these weapons, but they have not been very effective, and some groups are reportedly still armed. It was also noted that armed bandits (coupeurs de route) are a threat to security.

Population and Demographics

Youth make up a large percentage of the population and some feel that, with high levels of unemployment, youth are susceptible to being co-opted into crime. Some reported unequal access to government and social services, which is blamed on corruption, nepotism, regionalism, and ethnic tensions. Participants also noted a risk of ethnic conflict between the Koyaka and Senoufo, as well as many land conflicts between natives and immigrants.

Economics and Resources

Unemployment was identified as a key vulnerability in the region, with concerns that inequality and poverty could drive conflict. The region has also seen rising utility prices (water and electricity), which reportedly led to violence in July 2016.

Rule of Law

Residents generally expressed confidence in the justice system, although some noted concerns around corruption.
Located in northeastern Côte d’Ivoire along the shared borders with Burkina Faso and Ghana, the district of Zanzan was home to approximately 934,000 people as of 2014.\textsuperscript{56} Ethnic groups in this region include members of the Voltaic and Mandé linguistic families, including the Lobi and Koulang.\textsuperscript{57} The regional economy is largely agricultural, including the production of cashews and yams and, to a lesser extent, livestock development.

### Structural Vulnerabilities

- Porous borders with Burkina Faso and Ghana
- Unclear land ownership process
- Perceived police discrimination
- Tensions between pastoral and farming communities
- Unemployment
- Poverty and economic pressures
- Poor integration of ethnic groups (especially the Lobi)

### Event-Driven Risks

- Constitutional referendum
- Pastoral clashes
- Criminality
- Flawed DDR processes

### Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

- Political and Administrative authorities
- Civil Society (youths and women’s groups, religious leaders, traditional leaders, opinion leaders)
- Community grassroots organizations

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\textsuperscript{56} “Recensement Generale de la Population et de l’Habitat”, Institut National de la Statistique, 2014
\textsuperscript{57} “Some elements of the Ivorian crisis”, Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD
Politics and Governance

Residents of the region expressed a need for better sensitization on the constitutional reform process. There is a reported need for the government to include the Peuhl (Peuls or Fulani) ethnic group in more of its activities.

Security

Land tenure is a primary cause of conflict in the region. Other vulnerabilities include insufficient training and resources for security forces, and armed banditry along transit routes. In addition, despite disarmament efforts, many people are believed to have kept their weapons hidden in their houses or farms. A lack of reintegration and job opportunities for ex-combatants further contributes to criminality and insecurity.

Population and Demographics

The region is home to several ethnic groups, and there were open conflicts among these groups in the 1990s and 2000s. The region also has a large youth population, and there is a general lack of education due to poverty. Women (and girls, more specifically) have little access to education, and most are illiterate. Participants reported that women are not part of the decision-making process in the community, and lack freedom of speech.

Economics and Resources

Poverty is widespread in the region, especially in rural areas. Infrastructure is poor, and residents reportedly face high rates of inflation, perennial shortages of water and food, and a lack of employment opportunities especially for the youth.

Rule of Law

Interviewees largely perceived the justice system to be corrupt, and reported that people usually go to community leaders to resolve conflicts.
Conclusion and Recommendations

Although Côte d'Ivoire has its share of risks and vulnerabilities, it is less prone to conflict than many other countries in the region, and has made significant improvements in recent years. The Constitutional Referendum in 2016 was a step towards building a national consensus and social compact around representative governance for a sustainable peace. However, there is still work to be done to rebuild trust in state institutions and encourage reconciliation between polarized groups. The following recommendations are proposed:

Politics and Governance
- Support initiatives to prevent election violence and promote transparency and accountability ahead of the 2020 elections
- Promote good governance, accountability and transparency initiatives
- Encourage dialogue among political groups to enhance social cohesion
- Improve representation of women and youth in political decision-making
- Promote consensual reform of the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI)
- Strengthen the PNCS, and similar bodies, for the effective promotion of social cohesion and ethnic diversity

Security
- Support and provide adequate resources to relevant government institutions to effectively carry out security sector reform (SSR) and DDR activities
- Enhance capacity for security institutions and cross-border collaboration among the Mano River countries to improve regional security
- Promote trust and effective communication amongst security forces and between security forces and local populations for enhanced security in the prevention and the fight against violent extremism
- Promote a culture of peace, led by traditional and religious institutions and civil society
- Strengthen human rights bodies, such as the Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme and relevant agencies
- Build capacity of civil society groups for the promotion of tolerance and social cohesion
- Support programs to engage disaffected youth
- Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity

Population and Demographics
- Strengthen ministerial and government support programs to engage disaffected youth, such as investment in youth employment and job creation programs
- Encourage and engage the relevant stakeholders for better governance of natural resources including land-tenure and ownership reforms so as to boost economic development and strengthen social cohesion
- Build capacity of traditional and religious actors and CSOs for community-based conflict resolution and mediation
- Ministry of Construction, Urban Development and Housing to enforce compliance of laws on urban development and planning and promote the enforcement of building codes
- Strengthen health infrastructure and human resources
- Invest in programs to encourage girls' education and economic empowerment
**Economics and Resources**

- Support programs to promote youth employment and vocational training
- Improve governance and management of natural resources
- Encourage public and private sector investment for a better governance of to boost economic development equity in resources distribution
- Strengthen the capacity of national institutions and agencies in charge of land and natural resources management such as l’Agence Foncière Rurale for the implementation of the land-tenure reform projects such as the Projet d’appui à la politique foncière (LPIIP) by investing in modern technology for monitoring and streamlining land registration and processes with a focus on the rural areas
- Make the anti-corruption institutions/agencies and laws functional and inclusive
- Invest in sustainable programs to strengthen farmers’ resilience to climate change and environmental pressures

**Rule of Law**

- Build the capacity of CSOs and traditional and religious institutions for mediation and conflict prevention
- Promote good governance, accountability and transparency initiatives
- Improve access to justice for vulnerable groups, particularly in rural areas, through the provision of free and affordable legal services
- Strengthen the transitional justice system in the country
### Appendix A: Data Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Resilience</td>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>49 Peace/Security Actors</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
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<td>ECOWARN</td>
<td>SitReps</td>
<td>840 reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections is/are protected from political interference</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections make/s timely, publicly available reports before and after a national election.</td>
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<td>Functioning of Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>IDEA</td>
<td>Average Voter Turnout Parliamentary</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
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<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Mo Ibrahim Index</td>
<td>Personal Safety</td>
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<td>UN, ECOWAS, AU</td>
<td>Peace Operations</td>
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<td>Conflict Fatalities per capita</td>
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<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
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<td>UPPSALA</td>
<td>Presence/Conflict with Non-State Armed Groups</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>PTS</td>
<td>Political Terror Scale – Amnesty</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>PTS</td>
<td>Political Terror Scale – State</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>PTS</td>
<td>Political Terror Scale – HRW</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Refugees by country of origin per capita</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Refugees by country of origin (difference 2015-2014) per capita</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>IDPs by Country of Asylum per capita</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>IDPs by country of asylum (difference 2015-2014) per capita</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, the independence of the judiciary is guaranteed.</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, national-level judges give reasons for their decisions/judgments.</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, allegations of corruption against senior level politicians and/or civil servants of any level are investigated by an independent body.</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, the body/bodies that investigate/s allegations of public sector corruption is/are effective.</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Global Integrity</td>
<td>In practice, the mechanism for citizens to report police misconduct or abuse of force is effective.</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>WB Human Rights and Law Report</td>
<td>% of Women on Constitutional Court</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>WB – Women, Business, and Law</td>
<td>Does the law mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value?</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>WB – Women, Business, and Law</td>
<td>Does the law mandate nondiscrimination based on gender in hiring?</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>WB – Women, Business, and Law</td>
<td>Is dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited?</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Gini coefficient</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Gini WYD</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Income Share Held by Highest 10%</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Population with Improved Sanitation (Urban-Rural Difference)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Population with Improved Water Source (Urban-Rural Difference)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UN Stats</td>
<td>Children under 5 moderately or severely underweight, percentage</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Depth of the food deficit (kilocalories per person per day)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Prevalence of Underweight, weight for age (% of children under 5)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>GDP per capita, PPP (current international $)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UN Stats</td>
<td>Literacy, 15-24, Women</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>School enrollment, primary and secondary (gross), gender parity index (GPI)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Employment to population ratio, ages 15-24, female (%) (modeled ILO estimate)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase</td>
<td>Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Indicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UN Stats</td>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Population Growth</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>UN Stats</td>
<td>Prevalence of underweight, weight for age, female (% of children under 5)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Maternal mortality ratio (modeled estimate, per 100,000 live births)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Contraceptive prevalence, any methods (% of women ages 15-49)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>World Bank Data</td>
<td>Life expectancy at birth, female (years)</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>WB – Women, Business, and Law</td>
<td>Percentage of women aged 20-24 years old who were married or in a union before age 18</td>
<td>15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Risk</td>
<td>ECOWARN</td>
<td>IncReps</td>
<td>287 (after reducing for duplicates and relevance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Desktop</td>
<td>Risk</td>
<td>ACLED</td>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2: Field Research</td>
<td>Risk and Vulnerability</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
<td>Broken out by Men, Women, and Youth</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2: Field Research</td>
<td>Risk and Vulnerability</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
<td>Prominent individuals and local experts</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Vulnerability Index

Index Data Sources

Based on the five human security pillars, a series of indicators were identified based on relevance and measurability. Data sources were then identified from recognized institutions such as the World Bank, United Nations, as well as universities, research institutions, and think tanks. A full list of data sources is attached in Appendix A. During selection and testing of the index, the availability of data was assessed to ensure an even distribution of scores.

Process: Calculating the Scores

The index is scored on a scale of 1-10, with 1 representing the highest level of vulnerability, and 10 the lowest level of vulnerability. Each raw data set is normalized and scaled, before being integrated into the indicator and pillar scores.

1. Normalization

An index, by definition, integrates and compares data sets with very different curves and distribution. As a first step, therefore, it is necessary to normalize the data so that it can be properly compared. Without framing the data within the context of the wider group of numbers, its meaning can become skewed. Therefore, the process of finding the mean and calculating the Standard Deviation (SD) of the data set, then using those elements to approximate a normal distribution, can be used to provide this meaning. The Gaussian normalization formula is outlined below.

\[ f(x, \mu, \sigma) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi} \sigma} e^{-\frac{(x-\mu)^2}{2\sigma^2}} \]

Where \( \mu \) is the mean
\( \sigma^2 \) is the variance

SD is the quantity calculated to indicate the extent of deviation for a group of numbers as a whole. Normal distribution is then used to find how the variables are approximately normally distributed. In the context of this tool, it will help to understand where countries sit in relation to each other within the group distribution of a particular data set.

For raw data sets that have gaps (e.g. data is unavailable for some countries but not others), country data points are left blank. This ensures countries are not provided with an artificial score, where data does not exist.

2. Scaling

To create an index where countries are scored within a defined range, the data sets must be scaled so the scores can be integrated. This process of scaling transforms the normalized data into a number between 1 and 10, with 10 representing the lowest level of vulnerability. The below formula was applied to standardize
the distribution values from [min, max] to [MIN, MAX], matching the new scale of values both for the highest and lowest edges of the distribution.

\[ X = MIN + \frac{MAX - MIN}{(max - min)} \times (x - min) \]

3. **Aggregation**
Each indicator may be made up of either one or multiple data sources. In cases where multiple data sets were used to make up the one indicator, the data sets were each scaled to preliminary index scores (1-10), as outlined in the above steps. The average was then taken of these scores to reach a final index score for that indicator. This process was repeated at the pillar level, first averaging, then scaling the indicator scores.
Appendix C: Additional References


## Appendix D: Matrix of Vulnerabilities, Risks, Resilience Factors, and Recommendations by Human Security Pillar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CÔTE D’IVOIRE</th>
<th>VULNERABILITIES</th>
<th>RISKS</th>
<th>RESILIANCES</th>
<th>RECOMMENDATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Politics &amp; Governance</strong></td>
<td>Perceived North/South divide</td>
<td>➢ Electoral processes</td>
<td>➢ National government institutions, such as the Commission Nationale des Droits de l’Homme, and le Programme national pour la cohesion sociale (PNCS)</td>
<td>➢ Support initiatives to prevent electoral violence and promote transparency and accountability ahead of the 2020 elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polarization between political groups</td>
<td>➢ Political rallies</td>
<td>➢ Vibrant Civil Society Organizations</td>
<td>➢ Promote good governance, accountability and transparency initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Succession crisis since death of Houphouet-Boigny</td>
<td>➢ Constitutional Referendum and the lack of consensus around its goals</td>
<td>➢ Traditional and religious institutions</td>
<td>➢ Encourage dialogue among political groups to enhance social cohesion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poor implementation of the DDR process</td>
<td>➢ Political marginalization</td>
<td>➢ Youth and women’s groups</td>
<td>➢ Improve representation of women and youth in political decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perceptions of mistrust in political institutions</td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ International organizations</td>
<td>➢ Promote consensual reform of the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnicization in the public sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Strengthen the PNCS, and similar bodies, for the effective promotion of social cohesion and ethnic diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population &amp; Demographics</strong></td>
<td>Uncontrolled and irregular cross-border migration</td>
<td>➢ Clashes between farmer and herder communities</td>
<td>➢ Vibrant civil society organizations (CSOs)</td>
<td>➢ Strengthen ministerial and government support programs to engage disaffected youth, such as investment in youth employment and job creation programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competition for land/access to natural resources</td>
<td>➢ Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources</td>
<td>➢ Youth and Women’s groups</td>
<td>➢ Encourage and engage the relevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of public understanding of laws on land tenure and ownership</td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Programs for family planning and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High proportion of youth population (youth bulge)</td>
<td>Tensions stemming from uncontrolled and irregular cross-border migration</td>
<td>reproductive health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education sector crisis</td>
<td>Disease outbreak</td>
<td>Presence of international institutions and organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental pressures, including flooding, landslides, coastal erosion and the effects of climate change</td>
<td>Pressures on urban infrastructure and services</td>
<td>Existing laws on land tenure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrolled urbanization</td>
<td>Forceful eviction</td>
<td>Existing ministries and government programs targeting youth and women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Relatively acceptable level of health system and structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-based disparities in school enrollment and retention rates</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and increase in crime rates</td>
<td></td>
<td>stakeholders for better governance of natural resources including land-tenure and ownership reforms so as to boost economic development and strengthen social cohesion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of youth marginalization</td>
<td></td>
<td>Build capacity of traditional and religious actors and CSOs for community-based conflict resolution and mediation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unprofessionalism of some health workers</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Construction, Urban Development and Housing to enforce compliance of laws on urban development and planning and promote the enforcement of building codes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthen health infrastructure and human resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Invest in programs to encourage girl’s education and economic empowerment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Economics & Resources**

| Competition for land/access to natural resources | Disruptions to agricultural production due to climate change (e.g. flooding, drought, change in rainfall patterns) | Economic reforms |
| Lack of public understanding of laws on land tenure and ownership | Clashes between farmer and herder communities | Private sector investments |
| Illegal mining and logging | Inter-communal conflicts over land tenure and access to natural resources | Infrastructure development |
| Commodity-dependent economy | Deforestation | Programs to improve access to financing and credit for vulnerable groups |
| Poverty and unemployment, especially in rural communities | | Afforestation and reserve protection programs |
| Road infrastructure | | Communal and religious leaders |

<p>| Support programs to promote youth employment and vocational training | | |
| Improve governance and management of natural resources | | |
| Encourage public and private sector investment for better governance to boost economic development and equity in resources distribution | | |
| Strengthen the capacity of national institutions and agencies in charge of land and natural resources management | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment: Côte d'Ivoire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Security</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Politicization of the army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Porous borders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Limited capacity of public security forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Criminality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Maritime insecurity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Inter-communal conflicts, including clashes between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herder/farmer communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Mutiny among divided security forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Smuggling and illicit activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Gang violence (microbes, “gnambro”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Gender-based violence (GBV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Electoral processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Poor implementation of the DDR process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Inadequate reintegration of ex-combatants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Government/local and administrative authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Role of security forces and border agents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Security sector reform (SSR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Conflict early warning mechanisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Support and provide adequate resources to relevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government institutions to effectively carry out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security sector reform (SSR) and DDR activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Enhance capacity for security institutions and cross-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>border collaboration among the Mano River countries to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improve regional security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Promote trust and effective communication amongst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security forces and between security forces and local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>populations for enhanced security in the prevention and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fight against violent extremism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Promote a culture of peace, led by traditional and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ➢ Environmental pressures, including water, air and soil |
| ➢ Land-grabbing for agro-businesses                      |
| ➢ Labor protests                                        |
| ➢ Disruptions of agricultural supply chains due to poor|
| roads                                                    |
| ➢ Commodity price fluctuations                          |
| ➢ National institutions such as l’Agence Foncière      |
| Rurale and Projet d’appui à la politique foncière (LPIP) |
| ➢ Existence of anti-corruption institutions and laws    |
| ➢ Informal economy                                      |

| ➢ Environmental pollution,                               |
| including water, air and soil                            |
| ➢ Land-grabbing for agro-businesses                      |
| ➢ Labor protests                                        |
| ➢ Disruptions of agricultural supply chains due to poor|
| roads                                                    |
| ➢ Commodity price fluctuations                          |

| ➢ National institutions such as l’Agence Foncière       |
| Rurale and Projet d’appui à la politique foncière (LPIP)|
| ➢ Existence of anti-corruption institutions and laws    |
| ➢ Informal economy                                      |

| ➢ Make the anti-corruption institutions/agencies and    |
| laws functional and inclusive                            |
| ➢ Invest in sustainable programs to strengthen farmers’|
| resilience to climate change and environmental         |
| pressures                                               |

| ➢ Government/loca and administrative authorities        |
| ➢ Role of security forces and border agents             |
| ➢ Security sector reform (SSR)                          |
| ➢ Conflict early warning mechanisms                     |

| ➢ Support and provide adequate resources to relevant    |
| government institutions to effectively carry out        |
| security sector reform (SSR) and DDR activities         |

| ➢ Enhance capacity for security institutions and cross-|
| border collaboration among the Mano River countries to  |
| improve regional security                               |
| ➢ Promote trust and effective communication amongst    |
| security forces and between security forces and local   |
| populations for enhanced security in the prevention and |
| the fight against violent extremism                      |
| ➢ Promote a culture of peace, led by traditional and    |
| religious                                               |
### Rule of Law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of corruption and bias in the judicial system</td>
<td>Build the capacity of CSOs and traditional and religious institutions for mediation and conflict prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of judicial independence</td>
<td>Promote good governance, accountability and transparency initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor access to justice for vulnerable groups</td>
<td>Improve access to justice for vulnerable groups, particularly in rural areas, through the provision of free and affordable legal services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited prosecution of gender-based violence (GBV)/rape cases</td>
<td>Strengthen the transitional justice system in the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived ineffectiveness of Commission on Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation to address post-conflict grievances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited capacity of judicial institutions, especially in rural areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture of impunity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Incidents of corruption                                               | Justice sector reform                                                                           |
| Mob justice / vigilantism                                              |                                                                                                 |
| Failure of traditional justice systems                                |                                                                                                 |

| Violent extremism and terrorism                                       |                                                                                                 |

| Build capacity of civil society groups for the promotion of tolerance and social cohesion |
| Support programs to engage disaffected youth                          |
| Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity |