

CÔTE D'IVOIRE:

Progress in the peace process allows cautious optimism for IDPs

A profile of the internal displacement situation

7 June, 2007

This Internal Displacement Profile is automatically generated from the online IDP database of the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). It includes an overview of the internal displacement situation in the country prepared by the IDMC, followed by a compilation of excerpts from relevant reports by a variety of different sources. All headlines as well as the bullet point summaries at the beginning of each chapter were added by the IDMC to facilitate navigation through the Profile. Where dates in brackets are added to headlines, they indicate the publication date of the most recent source used in the respective chapter. The views expressed in the reports compiled in this Profile are not necessarily shared by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. The Profile is also available online at **www.internal-displacement.org**.

About the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council, is the leading international body monitoring conflict-induced internal displacement worldwide.

Through its work, the Centre contributes to improving national and international capacities to protect and assist the millions of people around the globe who have been displaced within their own country as a result of conflicts or human rights violations.

At the request of the United Nations, the Geneva-based Centre runs an online database providing comprehensive information and analysis on internal displacement in some 50 countries.

Based on its monitoring and data collection activities, the Centre advocates for durable solutions to the plight of the internally displaced in line with international standards.

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre also carries out training activities to enhance the capacity of local actors to respond to the needs of internally displaced people. In its work, the Centre cooperates with and provides support to local and national civil society initiatives.

For more information, visit the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre website and the database at www.internal-displacement.org.

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

Norwegian Refugee Council
Chemin de Balxert 7-9
1219 Geneva, Switzerland
Tel.: +41 22 799 07 00
idmc@nrc.ch

www.internal-displacement.org

CONTENTS

CONTENTS **3**

OVERVIEW **7**

IDPs FACE DEEPENING PROTECTION CRISIS AS POLITICAL TENSIONS RISE AGAIN 7

CAUSES AND BACKGROUND **14**

BACKGROUND **14**

A CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS (2007) 14

THE MANIPULATION OF ETHNIC FACTORS FOR POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PURPOSES, 1893-2002 17

WARRING PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE POST-SEPTEMBER 2002 CRISIS: AN OVERVIEW 19

MERCENARIES AND REFUGEES FROM LIBERIA RECRUITED BY ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, END 2002-2003 20

“REGIONAL WARRIORS” RE-RECRUITED TO FIGHT IN CÔTE D’IVOIRE, 2004-2005 23

UN SANCTIONS IVORIAN LEADERS IN WAKE OF ORCHESTRATED ANTI-UN VIOLENCE, FEBRUARY 2006 24

PEACE EFFORTS **26**

LINAS-MARCOUSSIS ACCORD SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, JANUARY 2003 26

PEACE SUMMIT BRINGS NEW HOPE, BUT NOT FOR LONG, AUGUST 2004 27

UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION ESTABLISHED IN COTE D’IVOIRE, 2004-2007 30

OCTOBER 2005 ELECTIONS FAIL TO BE HELD AS POLITICAL IMPASSE DEEPENS 31

ELECTIONS ONCE AGAIN IMPOSSIBLE AS PEACE PROCESS DERAILS, SEPTEMBER 2006 33

THE PEACE PROCESS MOVES FORWARD THANKS TO HOME-GROWN AGREEMENT, MARCH–APRIL 2007 34

THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE BUFFER ZONE ADVANCES THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY, APRIL 2007 36

MAIN CAUSES OF DISPLACEMENT **37**

XENOPHOBIA AND ANTI FOREIGNER SENTIMENTS ARE A ROOT CAUSE OF DISPLACEMENT 37

GOVERNMENT AND REBEL FORCES CAUSE MASS DISPLACEMENT IN ABIDJAN AND PROVINCES IN AFTERMATH OF FAILED COUP OF SEPTEMBER 2002 41

ABUSES IN REBEL-HELD AREAS CAUSE RENEWED DISPLACEMENT FOLLOWING NOVEMBER 2004 CRISIS (2004-2005) 43

RESUMPTION OF ARMED CLASHES AND MOB VIOLENCE IN ABIDJAN CAUSES DISPLACEMENT AND MASS EVACUATION OF EXPATRIATES (NOVEMBER 2004) 45

ETHNIC CLASHES IN « WILD WEST » DISPLACE CIVILIANS, 2002-2006 47

POPULATION FIGURES AND PROFILE **52**

GLOBAL FIGURES **52**

TOTAL NUMBER OF IDPS SET AT 709,000 (MARCH 2007)	52
MORE THAN 1 MILLION IVORIANS WERE ESTIMATED TO BE DISPLACED AT THE HEIGHT OF THE CONFLICT (2003)	53
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	53
ABIDJAN HOSTS ALMOST 70 PER CENT OF IDPS IN GOVERNMENT-HELD SOUTH (NOVEMBER 2006)	53
DISAGGREGATED DATA	54
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF IDPS IN GOVERNMENT ZONES (MARCH 2006)	54

PATTERNS OF DISPLACEMENT **56**

GENERAL	56
VAST MAJORITY OF IDPS LIVE WITH HOST FAMILIES OR COMMUNITIES (2007)	56
CONTINUOUS VIOLENCE CAUSES REPEATED SHORT-TERM DISPLACEMENT (2007)	58
COMPLEX PATTERNS OF DISPLACEMENT AND LACK OF ACCESS MAKE IDPS HARD TO LOCATE (2003)	58

PHYSICAL SECURITY & FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT **60**

PHYSICAL SECURITY	60
PROTECTION CONCERNS REMAIN HIGH IN THE ZONE OF CONFIDENCE (2007)	60
DISPLACED WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE MOST VULNERABLE PARTICULARLY TO ACTS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE (2007)	61
IMPUNITY CONTINUES TO BE MAJOR FACTOR IN WORSENING HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION (NOVEMBER 2006)	62
CHILDREN ARE ASSOCIATED WITH ARMED GROUPS (OCTOBER 2006)	66
SHAKY POLITICAL SITUATION RAISES FEARS OF MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST CIVILIANS (JUNE 2005)	67
UN REPORT EXPOSES GRAVE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AHEAD OF PEACE TALKS (APRIL 2005)	69
DETERIORATING HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION THROUGHOUT CÔTE D'IVOIRE REMAINS OF "VERY SERIOUS CONCERN" (DECEMBER 2004)	71
PRO-GOVERNMENT MILITIAS COMMIT ABUSES WITH IMPUNITY, SAYS HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (NOVEMBER 2004)	73
BOTH GOVERNMENT FORCES AND REBELS HAVE COMMITTED WAR CRIMES, REPORTS HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (2003)	75
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT	76
REMOVAL OF BUFFER ZONE TO FACILITATE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT (2007)	76
ROADBLOCKS CONTINUE TO HINDER FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND GOODS (2007)	77
UN 'PEACE CORRIDORS' TO PROMOTE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT (2004)	78

SUBSISTENCE NEEDS **79**

GENERAL	79
DIFFICULT LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE WEST LEAD TO IDPS' FEELING OF ABANDONMENT (NOVEMBER 2006)	79
HUGE PRESENCE OF IDPS PUTS INCREASING STRAIN ON VULNERABLE HOST FAMILIES (JULY 2006)	79

SUMMARY OF LIVING CONDITIONS OF IDPs AND HOST FAMILIES – NEW SURVEY (MARCH 2006)	80
DISPLACEMENT IS MAJOR CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO WIDE-RANGING NEEDS OF CHILDREN (MARCH 2006)	80
HEALTH	81
DETERIORATION OF HEALTH INFRASTRUCTURE HINDERS PROVISION OF HEALTH SERVICES (2007)	81
SUMMARY OF HEALTH DATA ON IDPs (MARCH 2006)	82
CRISIS IN THE HEALTH SECTOR CONTINUES IN ALL AREAS OF THE COUNTRY (2004-2006)	83
FOOD	85
DIFFICULT ACCESS TO LAND LEADS TO REDUCED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION (2007)	85
FOOD SECURITY SITUATION REMAINS FRAGILE IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED AREAS AND MAY DETERIORATE (2005)	87
SHELTER	89
IDPs' HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS (2006)	89
THOUSANDS REMAIN HOMELESS FOLLOWING THE DESTRUCTION OF SHANTY TOWNS IN ABIDJAN (JANUARY 2003)	90
WATER AND SANITATION	90
IDPs AND HOST COMMUNITIES CONTINUE TO HAVE URGENT NEEDS FOR WATER AND SANITATION FACILITIES (2007)	90
<u>ACCESS TO EDUCATION</u>	<u>94</u>
GENERAL	94
SMALL PROGRESS IS MADE WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF TWO ROUNDS OF EXAMS (2007)	94
SUMMARY OF EDUCATION DATA ON IDPs (MARCH 2006)	94
AFTER THREE YEARS OF LIMBO, PROMISE OF EXAMS FOR THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS IN REBEL-HELD NORTH (FEBRUARY 2006)	95
EDUCATION SEVERELY DISRUPTED BY THE CRISIS (2005)	96
<u>ISSUES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>98</u>
SELF-RELIANCE	98
EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES USED BY IDPs (2006)	98
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	98
IDPs RISK DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN RUSHED ELECTIONS (2005)	99
<u>DOCUMENTATION NEEDS AND CITIZENSHIP</u>	<u>100</u>
GENERAL	100
RENEWAL OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CARDS MADE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF RELIGIOUS OR ETHNIC AFFILIATION (2007)	100
LIFE FOR THE UNDOCUMENTED IS DIFFICULT (2007)	100
<u>PROPERTY ISSUES</u>	<u>102</u>
GENERAL	102

LAND OWNERSHIP NEEDS TO BE AT THE HEART OF THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS (2006) 102

PATTERNS OF RETURN AND RESETTLEMENT 105

GENERAL 105

PEACE PROCESS PROMOTES RETURN BUT OBSTACLES REMAIN (2007) 105

SUMMARY OF DATA ON IDPS' WISHES TO RETURN OR RESETTLE (MARCH 2006) 106

TENSIONS HIGH BETWEEN RETURNING IDPS AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN COTE D'IVOIRE (2004) 107

HUMANITARIAN ACCESS 110

GENERAL 110

ROADBLOCKS IMPEDE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS (2007) 110

ASSISTANCE FOR IDPS THREATENED BY ANTI-UN RIOTS (JANUARY 2006) 110

RENEWED FIGHTING FURTHER HAMPERS HUMANITARIAN ACCESS (NOVEMBER 2004) 112

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES 114

NATIONAL RESPONSE 114

OVERVIEW: GOVERNMENT RESPONSE LIMITED DESPITE POSITIVE STEPS (2007) 114

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE 114

OVERVIEW: INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE IS CONSTRAINED (2007) 114

REFERENCES TO THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES ON INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT 116

KNOWN REFERENCES TO THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES 116

LIST OF SOURCES USED 118

OVERVIEW

IDPs face deepening protection crisis as political tensions rise again

[Download pdf version](#) (210 kb)

With the impossibility of holding elections by 31 October as scheduled, and the unwillingness of politicians to unblock the deepening impasse in the peace process, Côte d'Ivoire's 750,000 IDPs are increasingly in need of protection and assistance. Tensions have been rising across the country since the key processes of disarming both rebels and militia, and identifying and registering millions of voters, have failed to make progress amid violent protests and political wrangling. While President Laurent Gbagbo recently boycotted a meeting in New York aimed at putting the peace process back on track, and told UN peacekeepers that they should leave Côte d'Ivoire, it remains unclear what will happen at the end of October when his mandate runs out. At the same time both pro-government militia and rebels have been continuing to commit serious abuses against civilians with impunity, causing ongoing low-level displacement and hampering return, particularly in the volatile west of the country where ethnic tensions and violent inter-community clashes remain rife. The humanitarian situation of IDPs and other vulnerable groups has continued to deteriorate, particularly in the west and north of the country where access to basic social services is extremely limited. In rebel-held areas many public services are virtually non-existent, although in March 2006 school exams did take place in some districts for the first time in over three years. While the Ivorian government has taken encouraging first steps towards realising its responsibilities to IDPs – for example by assigning a focal point role to the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims and the drafting of an IDP Action Plan – few concrete results have been achieved so far. Indeed the plight of IDPs will only begin to be addressed in a meaningful way once both government and rebels demonstrate genuine commitment to advancing the peace process and addressing the root causes of Côte d'Ivoire's conflict, which goes well beyond the mere holding of elections.

“Ivoirité” a root cause of the conflict

For more than three decades after independence from France in 1960, Côte d'Ivoire was a beacon of peace and stability in West Africa. The autocratic but tactical rule of the country's first President, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, ensured religious and ethnic harmony as well as economic prosperity until after his death in 1993. Houphouët-Boigny's successor, Henri Konan Bédié, sowed the seeds of ethnic discord in 1995 when he introduced the concept of “Ivoirité”, or “Ivorian-ness”. This was used to deny Ivorian citizenship to his main political rival, Alassane Ouattara, and thereby exclude him from running in elections held that year. Bédié insisted that Ouattara, a Muslim from the north of the country, was actually from Burkina Faso. Since that time there have been an increasing number of attacks on people of foreign descent (HRW, August 2001). About one quarter of Côte d'Ivoire's population of 16 million are immigrants, or descended from immigrants, many from neighbouring Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana and Niger.

The start of protracted political crisis was assured when the military, under the leadership of General Robert Gueï, overthrew the elected government of Konan Bédié in the country's first ever coup d'état, staged on Christmas Eve 1999. Although the coup was ostensibly prompted by soldiers' unhappiness over pay and conditions, it soon became apparent that, like Bédié, General Gueï was also ready to incite ethnic and religious rivalries in order to remove political opposition. Continuing the theme of “Ivoirité”, Gueï introduced even stricter eligibility requirements for presidential elections held in October 2000.

General Gueï was however forced to flee by a popular uprising after he fraudulently claimed that he had won these elections. This left Laurent Gbagbo as the winning candidate. But the elections were marred by violence against civilians by all sides, and by “state-sponsored human rights violations, with a clear ethnic and religious focus” (HRW, 20 December 2000). Victims of the violence were, initially, supporters of both Gbagbo’s Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) and Ouattara’s Rally of the Republicans (RDR), but once Gueï had fled the country the main victims were suspected members of the RDR, foreigners and Muslims (HRW, August 2001). Gbagbo, just like his predecessors, made the issue of nationality central to his political agenda.

A regional displacement crisis

President Gbagbo failed to resolve the growing ethnic and religious divisions across the country. Then in September 2002, a failed coup by disaffected soldiers – the second attempt in just over a year – marked the beginning of the worst crisis in Côte d’Ivoire’s post-independence history. Hundreds of thousands of Ivoirians were displaced by fighting which left the *Mouvement Patriotique pour la Côte d’Ivoire* (MPCI) rebels in control of much of the predominantly Muslim north of the country, and government forces holding the largely Christian south. At least 200,000 people were estimated to have fled the rebel-held northern town of Bouaké, and several thousand were made homeless in the economic capital Abidjan by a government demolition policy aimed at rooting out dissidents (UN OCHA, 15 October 2002; UNHCR, 8 October 2002). The main targets of the demolition policy were West African immigrants whom the authorities accused of supporting the rebellion, although many Ivoirians as well as refugees from neighbouring countries were also displaced, creating population movements that threatened the stability of the entire region.

At the end of November 2002 two new rebel factions emerged in western Côte d’Ivoire – the *Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix* (MJP) and the *Mouvement Populaire Ivoirienne du Grand Ouest* (MPIGO) – who said they were not linked with the MPCI rebels but were fighting to avenge the death of former junta leader, General Robert Gueï. These troops included both Liberians and Sierra Leoneans, providing a chilling “déjà vu” of the brutal civil wars that wrecked both of those countries (BBC, 30 November 2002). Fierce fighting between the rebel groups and government forces and systematic human rights abuses against civilians displaced more than one million people, including some 150,000 who fled to neighbouring countries (IRIN, 29 January 2003).

The violence, in varying degrees, has so far eluded all military and diplomatic efforts to end it – including the deployment in 2004 of a 6,000-strong UN peacekeeping mission (UNOCI) on top of an existing contingent of 4,000 French peacekeepers, and a total of three peace agreements brokered from 2003-2005. Opposition parties, including rebel leaders (united into the *Forces nouvelles*) have consistently accused President Gbagbo of not fulfilling his obligations under the peace accord.

Political tensions erupted into violence in March 2004, when at least 120 people were killed by government troops and their allied militia during an opposition march in Abidjan. A UN report blamed government security forces for indiscriminately killing innocent civilians, and for specially targeting individuals from the north of the country and immigrants from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger (IRIN, 4 May 2004). Then in November 2004 government warplanes bombed the rebel stronghold of Bouaké in an operation to take the north, killing nine French peacekeepers. The ensuing violence spread to Abidjan, and thousands of foreigners were evacuated (IRIN, 7 November 2004). The UN Security Council subsequently imposed a 13-month arms embargo on Côte d’Ivoire, later renewed until December 2006 (UN SC, 15 December 2005). There have been several further violations of the ceasefire, such as the attack in March 2005 by pro-government militia against rebel positions in the northwestern town of Logouale (IRIN, 2 March 2005). Inter-ethnic clashes, particularly in the cocoa-growing western region, have continued to cause death and displacement, notably around the town of Duekoué which saw a series of massacres in May

and June 2005 (HRW, 3 June 2005), and in the zone of confidence near the town of Bangolo, where the security situation deteriorated sharply in September 2006, according to UN OCHA.

The seemingly intractable political impasse deepened yet further when it became clear that elections scheduled for 30 October 2005 could not go ahead. Disarmament of both rebel forces and pro-government militia failed to get underway; the parties continued to wrangle over key legislative reforms relating to citizenship and land tenure (although President Gbagbo did issue a decree that would permit his main rival, Alassane Outtara, to stand against him in elections); and the opposition and rebel leaders rejected South African mediation on the grounds of bias towards the government (UN SC, 26 September 2005). Disagreement too on the transition period after 30 October further fuelled tension on the ground. The UN Security Council supported African Union proposals to allow Gbagbo to remain in power for up to 12 months beyond the end of his mandate, delegating certain powers to a new and more powerful prime minister – who was finally named as Charles Konan Banny, governor of West Africa's central bank, in December 2005. After weeks of wrangling, Banny formed a transitional government that was faced with the formidable task of organising disarmament, identification and elections within just ten months (ICG, 17 May 2006).

In January 2006, pro-government militia were largely responsible for orchestrating a wave of anti-UN violence which caused several deaths and widespread damage, and resulted in the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from the west of the country and the evacuation of humanitarian agencies (IRIN, 18 January 2006). The UN Security Council subsequently imposed sanctions on three key Ivorian political figures found to constitute a “threat to peace” in the country (IRIN, 8 February 2006). While Prime Minister Banny did well to ease tensions in the wake of the violence, the clear failure of both the disarmament and identification processes ahead of elections scheduled for 31 October 2006 once again caused tensions to rise (ICG, 7 September 2006). In September, the UN confirmed that elections would not take place as scheduled, although it remained unclear what would happen when President Gbagbo's mandate expires (BBC, 21 September 2006). At the same time the government resigned (and later reformed with few changes) over a toxic waste dumping scandal in Abidjan, which led to several deaths and tens of thousands of people seeking medical treatment, exacerbating political tensions yet further (IRIN, 18 September 2006).

IDP survey in government zones

A UNFPA-funded survey, carried out by a governmental statistics institute (ENSEA) in late 2005 and published in March 2006, put the total number of IDPs in five government-held areas at around 700,000. This was later revised to 750,000 in the UN's mid-year review of the Consolidated Appeal (UN, 18 July 2006). Key findings of the survey include the fact that more than 90 per cent of IDPs live with host families, with only some 7,000 living in an established IDP camp in the western town of Guiglo. The commercial capital Abidjan hosts almost 70 per cent of IDPs included in the survey, for the most part West African immigrants or northern Ivorians, many of them living in deplorable conditions in shanty towns. Each host family has on average six IDPs living with them, putting an enormous strain on their resources (ENSEA, March 2006).

Yet the survey still does not give a full picture of internal displacement across the country, especially as it was not extended to rebel-held areas. Furthermore, the ongoing cases of new displacement combined with small-scale spontaneous return have resulted in highly complex patterns of displacement. For example, the displaced Burkinabés and other “allogènes” (settlers) living in the Guiglo IDP camp say their plantations around the western town of Bolequin are now occupied by indigenous (or “autochtone”) ethnic Guéré, who were in turn displaced from their land in the Zone of Confidence by other “allogènes” from the north. This makes the overall situation of displacement fluid and difficult to monitor effectively.

A protection crisis

Both the UN and human rights organisations have reported continuing human rights abuses against civilians, committed by government forces and their allied militia as well as *Forces Nouvelles* rebels, mostly with impunity. Abuses documented by the UN mission, UNOCI, include summary executions, disappearances and death threats, rape and sexual exploitation, human trafficking, torture, as well as interference with freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of association (UN, 18 July 2006; UNOCI, February 2006). According to Human Rights Watch, government security forces routinely subject civilians – mainly nationals of neighbouring states and Ivorians from the north of the country – to extortion, robbery and physical attack, particularly at road blocks. *Forces Nouvelles* rebels are similarly guilty of extortion and harassment. The breakdown of the judicial system in the north of the country has exacerbated the problem of impunity that exists across the country (HRW, 25 May 2006).

Sexual and gender-based violence, particularly against displaced women and girls, is of major concern. Repeated displacement and lack of access to education has resulted in rising levels of prostitution and domestic slavery. Sexual exploitation of displaced girls by the “impartial forces” (covering both UNOCI and French peacekeepers) has also been reported by humanitarian agencies in Côte d'Ivoire. More than one reliable source has given detailed information about the “procurement” of displaced girls for sex by peacekeeping troops, including inside temporary IDP centres (Interviews, Côte d'Ivoire, September 2005).

Due to the ongoing inflammation of ethnic and religious tensions, displaced Ivorians have been particularly vulnerable to abuse at the hands of armed fighters as well as local communities, particularly in the cocoa-rich western region. There, UNOCI's Human Rights Division reports almost constant inter-community clashes and displacements, particularly where IDPs no longer have access to their plantations. More than 4,000 people were displaced in June 2006 by ethnic disputes near the town of Bangolo in the zone of confidence (UN SC, 17 July 2006). Militant youth groups continue to be particularly active between Guiglo and Bolequin, towards the Liberian border, which saw an upsurge of violent attacks in September 2006, according to UN OCHA in Cote d'Ivoire.

Important protection issues have also been raised by the premature return of IDPs to their areas of residence in the western region. Although landowners have in some cases encouraged the return of IDPs to prepare for the start of the agricultural season, local populations have reportedly been alarmed and frightened by the return of “non-native” settlers. Likewise, some IDPs are unwilling to return before disarmament takes place. In some cases where return has been encouraged, for example by the UN's pilot return project in the village of Fengolo, returnees have found their plantations occupied, resulting in dangerous inter-community tensions and urgent calls for local peace and reconciliation work (Interviews, Fengolo, 23 September 2005).

Humanitarian situation deteriorates further

Inter-ethnic violence and crime caused the humanitarian situation in the west of the country, particularly within the zone of confidence, to deteriorate yet further in mid-2006. The UN reports that while internal displacement continues, IDP return has been impeded by poor security conditions and the absence of public social services and utilities in areas of return. Meanwhile the overall level of poverty continues to grow (UN, 18 July 2006).

In the north and west of the country basic social services are particularly inadequate if not non-existent. The main issues for concern include the lack of potable water, food insecurity, lack of access to health services and lack of access to education. Public infrastructure in the rebel-held north has deteriorated to the point that the region is at severe risk of epidemics caused by water-borne diseases, according to the UN (IRIN, 29 September 2006). An estimated 60 per cent of the

general population has no access to basic healthcare facilities, according to UNICEF (IRIN, 5 September 2006). Malnutrition rates remain high, increasing to a high of 15 per cent in the northern region in late 2005 (UN, 18 November 2005). Poor nutrition and disease monitoring, and reduced immunisation coverage has contributed to a serious increase in child and infant mortality rates (UNICEF, 27 March 2006). Curable diseases have been on the increase, while the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate has reached at least 7 per cent – the highest in West Africa – which may increase further in the event of renewed population displacements (UN, 18 November 2005).

In rebel-held areas, many schools have not been functioning since the outbreak of the crisis in 2002, not least because large numbers of teachers (and other civil servants) remain displaced in major towns in the south. The UN estimated in 2005 that more than 700,000 Ivorian children, mostly girls, had been denied access to primary education since 2002 due to a lack of teachers and worsening living conditions (UN SC, 26 September 2005). This situation began to be addressed in February 2006, when the government announced a plan to allow more than 90,000 students in rebel-held territory to sit key exams for the first time in three years (UN, 18 July 2006; IRIN, 16 February 2006).

In and around the economic capital Abidjan, as many as 500,000 IDPs (according to the March 2006 IDP survey) are living an extremely precarious existence, many of them in shanty towns housing West African immigrants as well as Ivorians of predominantly northern ethnic groups. In the “Boribana” shanty town bordering the lagoon in the north of the city, more than 30,000 people (with an unknown number of IDPs among them) are crammed into a maze of squalid shelters separated by streams of open sewage. Families live with an average of ten to a room. According to residents, some of whom have lived in the shanty town all their lives, the situation was bad enough before the crisis in 2002 but became much worse afterwards (Interviews, Boribana, 20 September 2005). Some estimates indicate that the overall population of Abidjan has grown by up to one million since the conflict began in 2002, making a total of nearly four million – completely overwhelming social and health services (IRIN, 5 September 2006).

With the destruction of many shanty towns in Abidjan by government forces and their allied militia in 2002-2003, the arrival of new IDPs added to the burden of making ends meet, while Boribana itself was only narrowly saved from destruction by the advocacy efforts principally of Save the Children (Sweden). Protection concerns remain high, with shanty town dwellers particularly vulnerable to abuse and targeting as political scapegoats during times of crisis. While Save the Children clearly focuses on child protection activities in Boribana and other shanty towns, primarily through developing the capacity of local social workers and supporting child protection committees in various activities, it is the only NGO active in these urban areas. Following some immediate albeit ad hoc emergency assistance by various agencies in the aftermath of shanty town destruction in 2002 and 2003, the longer term humanitarian needs of the urban displaced in areas like Boribana have been completely overlooked.

Constrained response

Since the start of Côte d'Ivoire's civil conflict in September 2002, the state response to the situation of internal displacement in the country has been hampered by the fact that at both the policy and operational levels there is little knowledge or experience in tackling humanitarian crises in general. While several government ministries have worked in varying degrees on issues related to displaced persons – including the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims, the Ministry of National Reconciliation and Institutional Relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Reconstruction and Reintegration – the lack of a focal point at the central level has greatly hampered OCHA-led efforts to put in place a coordinated IDP response structure. By mid-2006, the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims officially took the lead role on IDP issues, and drafted an action plan for IDP return which was discussed with international humanitarian agencies at the

end of August 2006. While this may be a heartening first step, such a plan is still a long way from being implemented.

At the international level, UN response to the humanitarian crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is headed by the Humanitarian Coordinator, who is also the Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, and is supported by UN OCHA based in Abidjan and other strategic locations. A key pillar of coordination is the inter-agency humanitarian coordination committee (IAHCC), consisting of numerous UN agencies, the Red Cross movement, IOM and international NGOs.

In the past year, a certain measure of progress has been made in terms of IDP protection and assistance by the international humanitarian community in Côte d'Ivoire. The UNFPA-funded IDP survey, carried out in five government priority zones, fills an important information gap and may serve as a basis for improved response to IDPs' protection and assistance needs (ENSEA, March 2006). Various protection fora now exist, with varying levels of focus on IDPs. OCHA's Protection Network, developed in July 2005, has been an important advocate for IDP protection and assistance in line with the UN Guiding Principles, and has been coordinating the development of an inter-agency IDP strategy (OCHA-CI, 11 July 2006). The more recently created IDP Protection Cluster – under the leadership of UNHCR – is intended to bring greater accountability and predictability to overall IDP response, in line with global reform giving UNHCR sectoral responsibility for IDP protection, camp management and emergency shelter. So far, one of its main activities has been to develop a monitoring system to collect information on IDPs who wish to return to their areas of origin. Small-scale return of IDPs had already been facilitated to a number of locations in the west of the country on the basis of the UN Guiding Principles, including measures on social cohesion and reconciliation (UN, 18 July 2006). However, there still appears to be some scepticism about the implementation of the “cluster approach” – particularly by international NGOs in Côte d'Ivoire – some of whom see it as further encroachment on their humanitarian space.

Various constraints have hampered the response of international agencies to the needs of IDPs in Côte d'Ivoire. The lack of information about IDPs' numbers, needs and locations has been a fundamental obstacle to response, one which the UNFPA-funded evaluation should help to alleviate although it was only carried out in five areas in the government-held south of the country (ENSEA, March 2006). Humanitarian access has also been limited to varying degrees by the endemic insecurity in some areas of the country. Following orchestrated attacks against UN offices in various parts of Côte d'Ivoire in January 2006, which caused widespread destruction and forced the evacuation of hundreds of peacekeepers from the western town of Guiglo as well as most humanitarian agencies, IDPs and other vulnerable populations were left without assistance for several weeks (UN News, 26 January 2006; UN OCHA, 9 February 2006). Likewise, following the resumption of hostilities in November 2004, many humanitarian agencies were forced to suspend operations and personnel were temporarily evacuated. Agencies have at various times been harassed, blocked in their movements, or deliberately targeted with violence. Furthermore, the poor state of roads, particularly in the rainy season, has made access to remote areas in the north and west of the country practically impossible, according to WFP.

Another major constraint has been the acute lack of funding for humanitarian programmes, largely as a result of the belligerence of the parties to the Ivorian conflict and the lack of tangible progress in the peace process. A UN Consolidated Appeal (CAP) 2006 for Côte d'Ivoire was launched in November 2005, requesting just over \$40.5 million in order to respond to the humanitarian needs of more than 3.5 million vulnerable people, including some 500,000 IDPs (as estimated at the time). According to the UN's financial tracking service at the end of June 2006, only 31 per cent of the requested amount had been received, with the education, health and water/sanitation sectors particularly under-funded (the latter with 0 per cent funding). In July 2006, the UN carried out a mid-year review of the CAP, reiterating the primary goal of providing adequate protection and support to IDPs as well as relief assistance to vulnerable populations

including host communities (UN, 18 July 2006). The chronic funding shortfall resulted in some immediate funds being allocated to IDP and refugee programmes in western Côte d'Ivoire from the new UN central emergency response fund, or CERF, in March 2006 (IRIN, 14 March 2006). The UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, Jan Egeland, who manages the CERF, allocated a further \$3million to Côte d'Ivoire in August 2006 (ERC, 17 August 2006).

Indeed, Jan Egeland's visit to Côte d'Ivoire in February 2006 helped to focus international attention on the humanitarian situation in the country, albeit briefly. Condemning the anti-UN violence in the country, Mr. Egeland said that "the humanitarians are hanging on by their fingernails in many areas due to decreasing humanitarian space" and that "international support is desperately needed if we are going to continue to help the Ivorian people" (UN OCHA, 17 February 2006).

High level advocacy on the situation of IDPs was also undertaken by Walter Kälin, the Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of IDPs, following a visit to the country in April 2006. Describing the situation in Côte d'Ivoire as "a protection crisis in terms of the human rights of the internally displaced", Kälin called on the authorities and humanitarian organisations to draft without further delay a comprehensive strategy to address the challenges of internal displacement in the country as well as a detailed plan of action to improve the current situation of the internally displaced. He also requested the donor community to support a long term strategy, which is the only option for durable solutions to the internal displacement crisis. Kälin further recommended that a law providing for indemnities be adopted as soon as possible (OHCHR, 25 April 2006).

CAUSES AND BACKGROUND

Background

A chronology of key events (2007)

BBC News, 26 April 2007

“1842 - France imposes protectorate over coastal zone.

1893 - Ivory Coast made into a colony.

FELIX HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

Post-independence president, in power until his death in 1993

1945: Elected deputy to French National Assembly

1946: Founds Ivory Coast Democratic Party

1960: Elected as president

1990: Wins first contested presidential election

1904 - Ivory Coast becomes part of the French Federation of West Africa.

1944 - Felix Houphouet-Boigny, later to become Ivory Coast's first president, founds a union of African farmers, which develops into the inter-territorial African Democratic Rally and its Ivorian section, the Ivory Coast Democratic Party.

1958 - Ivory Coast becomes a republic within the French Community.

Independence

1960 - France grants independence under President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. He holds power until he dies in 1993.

1990 - Opposition parties legalised; Houphouet-Boigny wins Ivory Coast's first multiparty presidential election, beating Laurent Gbagbo of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI).

1993 - Henri Konan Bedie becomes president following the death of Houphouet-Boigny.

1995 October - Bedie re-elected in a ballot that is boycotted by opposition parties in protest at restrictions imposed on their candidates.

1999 - July - Alassane Ouattara, a Muslim, leaves job at International Monetary Fund and returns to run for president in 2000; his plan to challenge Bedie splits country along ethnic and religious lines. Opponents say he is national of Burkina Faso, not Ivory Coast.

Coup

1999 - Bedie overthrown in military coup led by Robert Guei. Bedie flees to France.

2000 October - Guei proclaims himself president after announcing he has won presidential elections, but is forced to flee in the wake of a popular uprising against his perceived rigging of the poll.

2000 October - Laurent Gbagbo, believed to be the real winner in the presidential election, is proclaimed president. Opposition leader Alassane Ouattara, excluded from running in the poll, calls for a fresh election.

2000 October - Fighting erupts between Gbagbo's mainly southern Christian supporters and followers of Ouattara, who are mostly Muslims from the north.

2000 December - President Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) emerges as the biggest single party in parliamentary elections.

2001 January - Attempted coup fails.

2001 March - President Gbagbo and opposition leader Ouattara meet for the first time since violence erupted between their supporters in October 2000 and agree to work towards reconciliation.

2001 - Reports of child slave ship off Africa's west coast spark allegations of child slavery in cocoa plantations, straining international relations. Government moves to tackle the issue.

2001 March - Calls for fresh presidential and legislative elections after Alassane Ouattara's party gains majority at local polls.

2001 June - Amnesty International criticises government's human rights record over alleged extra-judicial killings of 57 northerners during presidential election campaign in October 2000. Eight gendarmes accused of the killings are cleared in August.

2001 October - President Gbagbo sets up National Reconciliation Forum. General Guei refuses to attend in protest against the arrest of his close aide Captain Fabien Coulibaly.

2001 November - Opposition leader Alassane Ouattara returns, ending year-long exile in France and Gabon.

2002 August - Ouattara's RDR opposition party given four ministerial posts in new government.

Rebellion

2002 19 September - Mutiny in Abidjan by soldiers unhappy at being demobilised grows into full-scale rebellion, with Ivory Coast Patriotic Movement rebels seizing control of the north.

2002 October-December - Short-lived ceasefire in October gives way to further clashes and battle for key cocoa-industry town of Daloa. Previously unknown rebel groups seize towns in west.

2003 January - President Gbagbo accepts peace deal at talks in Paris. Deal proposes power-sharing government.

Power-sharing

2003 March - Political parties, rebels agree on new government to include nine members from rebel ranks. "Consensus" prime minister, Seydou Diarra, tasked with forming cabinet.

2003 May - Armed forces sign "full" ceasefire with rebel groups to end almost eight months of rebellion.

2003 July - At presidential palace ceremony military chiefs and rebels declare war is over.

2003 August - Group of suspected mercenaries and their backers detained in France; said to have planned to assassinate President Gbagbo.

2003 September - Rebels accuse President Gbagbo of failing to honour peace agreement and pull out of unity government.

2003 December - 19 killed in armed attack on state TV building in Abidjan.

Rebels rejoin government of national unity.

2004 March - Deadly clashes during crackdown on opposition rally against President Gbagbo in Abidjan.

The former ruling party - the Ivory Coast Democratic Party (PDCI) - pulls out of the government, accusing President Gbagbo of "destabilising the peace process".

First contingent of UN peacekeeping force deployed.

2004 May - UN report says March's opposition rally was used as pretext for planned operation by security forces. Report says more than 120 people were killed and alleges summary executions, torture.

2004 November - Outbreak of hostilities: Ivorian air force attacks rebels; French forces enter the fray after nine of their soldiers are killed in an air strike. Violent anti-French protests ensue. UN imposes arms embargo.

2004 December - Parliament passes key reforms envisaged under 2003 peace accord, including abolishing need for president to have Ivorian mother and father.

2005 April - Government, rebels declare an "immediate and final end" to hostilities. The move follows talks in South Africa.

2005 June - Massacres in western town of Duekoue: President Gbagbo says more than 100 people were killed, but contradicts widely-held view that ethnic rifts lay behind violence.

Poll called off

2005 October - Planned elections are shelved as President Gbagbo invokes a law which he says allows him to stay in power. The UN extends his mandate for a further year.

2005 December - Economist Charles Konan Banny is nominated as prime minister by mediators. He is expected to disarm militias and rebels and to organise elections.

2006 January - Supporters of President Gbagbo take to the streets over what they see as UN interference in internal affairs.

2006 February - Main political rivals meet on Ivorian soil for the first time since the 2002 rebellion and agree to hold more meetings to iron out their differences.

2006 June - Militias loyal to President Gbagbo miss disarmament deadlines.

2006 September - Political, rebel leaders say they've failed to make any breakthrough on the main issues standing in the way of elections - principally voter registration and disarmament.

The government resigns over a scandal involving the dumping of toxic waste in Abidjan. Fumes from the waste kill three people and make many more ill.

2006 November - UN Security Council resolution extends the transitional government's mandate for another year.

2007 March - Government and New Forces rebels sign a power-sharing peace deal, mediated by Burkina Faso. Under the deal, New Forces leader Guillaume Soro is named as prime minister.

2007 April - President Gbagbo declares "the war is over" between his government and northern rebels, as the two sides move to dismantle the military buffer zone.

2007 April - President Gbagbo declares "the war is over" between his government and northern rebels, as the two sides move to dismantle the military buffer zone. Within days aid workers report an increase in violence. Within days aid workers report an increase in violence."

The manipulation of ethnic factors for political and ideological purposes, 1893-2002

- For many years, ethnic factors in Ivorian society have been subject to political manipulation
- Since former President Henri Konan Bedie introduced the concept of 'Ivoirité' in 1995, the political and ideological manipulation of issues of nationality and ethno-religious divisions have been exacerbated
- Human Rights Watch report describes atrocities committed during presidential and parliamentary elections in October and December 2000, including more than 200 killings, as well as torture, rape and arbitrary detention
- Flawed election of President Laurent Gbagbo in 2000, based on a blatantly racist agenda, laid the ground for the eventual division of the country into distinct ethnic and religious zones in 2002

UN Commission for Human Rights, 22 December 2004, paras. 41-42

"Ethnic factors in Ivorian society have for many years - and increasingly - been subject to political manipulation. In Côte d'Ivoire as elsewhere in Africa, the colonial Power frequently exploited ethnic differences to divide and rule, or else, using anthropology and ethnology, ethnicized groups and communities whose relationships had been regulated by traditional values and cultural practices for jointly dealing with ethnic tensions. Economic imperatives such as labour-force mobility did not respond to any desire to promote a genuine, interactive coexistence that might have fostered a national consciousness as opposed to the colonial policy of assimilation. Later, President Houphouët-Boigny found the implicit tensions within Ivorian society relatively manageable and was able to maintain a generally quiescent inter-ethnic coexistence. However, his approach to ethnic tensions, a mix of traditionalist pragmatism, political opportunism and the

use of corruption and repression, within a non-democratic, one-party system, did nothing to neutralize the threat of conflict those tensions posed in any deep or lasting way. During his reign, Côte d'Ivoire was the scene of both xenophobic violence targeting foreign groups and political repression directed against particular Ivorian ethnic groups and their leaders.

This tendency finally took political expression in 1990, with the introduction of a multiparty system in which ethnic tension became a decisive political factor. In the forced transition from a paternalistic single-party system to a democratic multiparty one, in the context of multi-ethnic Côte d'Ivoire, it was only too tempting to play the ethnic card in the political manoeuvring, i.e., in the absence of any debate on ideas or substantive platforms, to resort to ethnic considerations to build up a militant political base for the conquest of power. In this context, "ivoirité", or Ivorianness, became the conceptual basis for the construction of an ideology of political manipulation of the ethnic factor.

HRW, August 2001

"The 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections in Côte d'Ivoire in October and December were marred by political violence which left over 200 people dead and hundreds wounded. In the months preceding the October presidential and December parliamentary elections, political leaders exploited ethnic divisions to oust rivals, used the state apparatus to repress opponents, and incited hatred and fear among populations which had for decades lived in relative harmony. Their actions culminated in two unprecedented waves of violence which shocked Ivorians and members of the international community alike, as well as grimly highlighting the danger of manipulating ethnic loyalties and latent prejudice for political gain. The legacy of the heightened suspicion and intolerance generated during the election period will take determined action to overcome; action which has so far been seriously lacking.

The violence shattered Côte d'Ivoire's hopes of rapidly regaining its status as francophone West Africa's economic powerhouse and a regional beacon of stability. This was lost a year earlier when a coup d'état against the corrupt government of incumbent elected president Henri Konan Bédié installed General Robert Guei as a military head of state in December 1999. General Guei had promised to return Côte d'Ivoire to civilian rule, and scheduled elections to do so, but had manipulated the process to such an extent that the legitimacy of the elections was already in doubt before they were held. A new constitution introduced by General Guei and approved by a July 2000 referendum required both parents of any Ivorian wishing to contest the presidential election to have been born in Côte d'Ivoire. This amendment was transparently designed to exclude Alassane Ouattara, the leader of the Rally of Republicans party (*Rassemblement des Républicains*, RDR), the largest opposition party, from the contest. On October 6, 2000, a controversial Supreme Court decision disqualified from running fourteen of the nineteen presidential candidates, including Ouattara, on citizenship grounds, and former president Bédié for not submitting a proper medical certificate. The Supreme Court, headed by General Guei's then legal adviser, was widely believed to have been hand picked by Guei himself.

On October 24, 2000, after early results showed Laurent Gbagbo, leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (*Front Populaire Ivoirien*, FPI), leading in the presidential poll, General Guei dissolved the National Electoral Commission and proclaimed himself the winner. Just two days later, he fled the country, in the midst of violence surrounding protests at his attempts to rig the elections. Laurent Gbagbo was left as the leading presidential candidate.

Despite the very serious concerns surrounding the legitimacy of the elections-both the widespread violence and the exclusion of Alassane Ouattara from the contest-Gbagbo was installed as president. Gbagbo then used the same methods as his predecessor during the December parliamentary elections, in particular to ensure that Ouattara was once again not allowed to run. Since assuming office, he has failed to acknowledge the flawed manner in which he became head of state, to promise new elections, to seek accountability for the violence, or to

take adequate steps to ensure that, under his leadership, Côte d'Ivoire would be characterized by the rule of law, not by ethno-religious tension and military impunity."

Warring parties involved in the post-September 2002 crisis: an overview

AFP, 12 January 2003

"Following are details of the rebel groups [...] operating in the country:

Ivory Coast Patriotic Movement (MPCI):

The best known of the three groups which started the conflict with a well-synchronised rebellion on September 19 by disgruntled soldiers facing demobilisation.

Although the MPCI was defeated in the country's main city Abidjan on the first day, they occupied the northern half of the world's top cocoa producer in a lightning campaign.

This movement is headquartered in Ivory Coast's second city Bouake, the main economic hub after the economic capital Abidjan. Its other stronghold is the northern town of Korhogo.

The group now has tens of thousands of fighters in its ranks, which have swelled due to voluntary enlistment by youths living in occupied territory.

The MPCI insists it is not a political movement and claims that none of the country's main political leaders are backing it.

However, it says it is fighting for the rights of the Muslim-majority northerners who have been discriminated against by the government of President Laurent Gbagbo, a Christian based in the south.

The best-known public faces of the MPCI are two soldiers -- Tuo Fozie and Sherif Usman -- but the leaders of their political wing remain shadowy.

Another of the leaders of the political movement is Louis Dakoury-Tabley, ironically one of Gbagbo's closest friends when the latter was an opposition figure and often forced to go into hiding.

The MPCI says it is determined to remove Gbagbo and usher in a new government after holding fresh elections.

It has strenuously denied claims that it is backed by neighbouring Burkina Faso, fingered by the government as the shadowy mastermind of the rebellion, or that it has any links with exiled opposition leader Alassane Ouattara, Gbagbo's arch-foe.

The MPCI signed a West African brokered ceasefire on October 17 which was "accepted" by Gbagbo as well but the truce was shattered late last month when fighting resumed in the country's west, where two new rebel groups emerged at the same time.

The MPCI and the Ivorian government began peace talks in the Togolese capital Lome on October 30 but the negotiations have been deadlocked for weeks.

Far West Ivory Coast People's Movement (MPIGO):

The group, which has now pulled out of the Paris talks, made a dramatic appearance on November 28 by taking the key western town of Danane near the Liberian border.

Its fighters are often armed with old-fashioned rifles and essentially comprise soldiers and men close to former military ruler General Robert Guei, killed in Abidjan on the first day of the September uprising.

The MPIGO claims to have around 6,000 fighters and controls a vast swathe of the west including Guei's native village of Gouessesso, where Guei withdrew after Gbagbo defeated him in presidential elections in 2000.

The MPIGO accuses the government of killing Guei and says it wants to avenge his murder and to secure a place for Guei's Yakuba ethnic group in Ivory Coast's pluralist society.

The group has repeatedly denied roping in Liberian fighters although witnesses have reported the presence of "English-speaking" combatants who loot and terrorise locals in sharp contrast to the MPCI forces.

Most of their men do not wear uniforms -- another major difference between the MPIGO and the two other rebel groups.

In December, French troops fired on the MPIGO to prevent them from taking the strategic town of Duekoue, on the route to Ivory Coast's cocoa capital Daloa, prompting the insurgents to threaten all-out war against the peacekeepers.

But like the MJP (see below) they have since signed a ceasefire, despite vowing to continue to fight the government forces.

Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP):

Surfaced on the same day as the MPIGO, with which it later concluded an alliance, when it took the key western town of Man on November 28.

Also based in western Ivory Coast, the MJP is thought to group some 250 soldiers of whom about one-fifth are traditional 'dozo' hunters who are reputed to possess magical powers.

Its leaders claim the group is a breakaway faction of the main MPCI rebel movement, whom they oppose for agreeing to enter into peace talks with the Ivorian government under the aegis of Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema.

The MJP however insists it has no links whatsoever with the MPCI despite maintaining "cordial relations" with the MPCI top brass including Tuo Fozie."

In December 2002, Soro's MPCI combined with the two other rebel groups to form the Forces Nouvelles (New Forces). Guillaume Soro became secretary-general of the group.

Mercenaries and refugees from Liberia recruited by all parties to the conflict, end 2002-2003

- MJP and MPIGO and Ivorian government forces accused of using Liberian fighters
- Civilians displaced after attacks by presumed Liberian fighters in the west of war-torn Côte d'Ivoire
- Ivorian and Liberian authorities reported attacks on their common border by groups from each other's territory
- Liberia accuses Côte d'Ivoire government to back armed groups, which launch attacks from Toulepleu on the Ivorian side of the border
- Côte d'Ivoire asks France to activate bilateral defence pact following alleged raids by Liberian soldiers

UN OCHA, 3 March 2003

"Defence authorities in Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia have reported attacks by groups from each others' territory on locations on either side of their border. However, the claims could not be immediately confirmed by third parties.

Defence authorities in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, said that heavy fighting continued on Monday between Liberian government troops and insurgents in Toe Town, close to the Ivorian border. The town was captured on Friday by the Liberians United for Reconciliation (LURD) rebel group, according to the Liberian government.

Liberian Defence spokesman Philibert Browne told IRIN on Monday that Liberian government troops were "engaging the rebels to regain control of the town" which, prior to the attack, was a transit point for Ivorian refugees and Liberians fleeing armed conflict in Cote d'Ivoire.

Liberian Defense Minister Daniel Chea had told a news conference in Monrovia on Saturday that Toe Town had been attacked by two platoons of insurgents "armed and backed by the Ivorian government". He said the attack had been launched from the town of Toulepleu, on the Ivorian side of the border.

"For the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire to encourage Liberian mercenaries fighting alongside their own troops in their civil crisis to cross the border into Liberian territory is tantamount to a declaration of war," Chea said. "[...] those who want to continue this wave of violence against our people must understand that we reserve the right to self-defense."

However, Cote d'Ivoire's armed forces denied Chea's claims. The armed forces "would like to indicate that no foreign mercenary is fighting alongside it and that the statements of the minister of defence of Liberia constitute groundless accusations," Armed Forces spokesman Lt Col Jules Yao Yao said on Sunday.

"On the other hand," he continued, the Ivorian armed forces "recognise that the situation in the west of Cote d'Ivoire remains worrying since the different actors intervening in the conflict are difficult to identify."

Two rebel groups, the Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix (MJP) and the Mouvement patriotique du Grand Ouest (MPIGO), operate on the Ivorian side of the border between Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia. The MJP has its headquarters in the town of Man, while MPIGO's territory is farther south, around the town of Danane. Like the Ivorian government, both groups have been accused of using Liberian fighters."

AFP, 24 January 2003

"They speak English and they kill," said Madeleine Ga Ahou, one of several thousand people displaced after attacks by presumed Liberian fighters in the west of war-torn Ivory Coast.

"Some were in uniform, the others in civvies. We don't know if they were rebels or others," she told AFP in the town of Guiglo, about 120 kilometres (75 miles) east of Toulepleu, the scene of bitter fighting on Wednesday and Thursday.

Ga Ahou arrived in Guiglo on Friday with her two children and was lodged at a camp run by the Red Cross.

She cannot say with certitude, like the Ivorian military, that the attackers were regular soldiers from neighbouring Liberia who went on the rampage alongside two rebel movements based in western Ivory Coast.

"All that we saw is that they had guns and they kill people," she said simply.

The Ivorian military has accused soldiers from the Liberian army of fighting alongside Ivorian rebel groups and of involvement in a deadly raid Wednesday in the town of Toulepleu which it claims killed at least 29 people.

Ivorian Defence Minister Kadet Bertin said on Thursday that Abidjan had officially asked former colonial ruler France to activate a bilateral defence pact following the alleged raids by Liberian soldiers.

Bertin said he had proof "that it is regular Liberian forces who are attacking us," adding that the attacks may not have been ordered by Liberian President Charles Taylor but "those in higher echelons of power with bad intentions."

Taylor on Friday denied the allegation but stressed that Liberian mercenaries were fighting both for the rebels and the Ivorian troops, albeit without Monrovia's blessings or knowledge.

However, several witnesses have reported the presence of Liberian fighters in Ivory Coast since the end of November.

The people of Guiglo are convinced that Liberians were involved in the attacks in the west, near the prized cocoa belt of Ivory Coast, the world's top producer of the bean.

Ga Ahou said she saw the "Liberians," mostly young men in their twenties, for the first time at the start of December in her campment of Iffa, in the heart of cocoa country near the town of Bolekin.

She said they looted and extorted locals but did not kill them. But on "Tuesday, they returned and started shooting, started demanding money and killing people who did not give them cash."

"They looted, they took food. we didn't understand what they were saying. They took my cycle and my little brother," said Joachim Koffi Kouame.

Kouame, a cocoa planter from central Ivory Coast, came to the region in 1986. But now he is returning to his native region.

Nearly 2,500 people from the Baoule ethnic group, natives of central Ivory Coast like Kouame, have fled during the last 15 days to the relative safety of Guiglo, said Koffi Tanoh, an official looking after the displaced.

Clement Gnan, who is among those who escaped, said "Many fled on foot through thick forests and the journey took several days."

However, most do not have severe wounds and generally suffer from fatigue or have grazes.

But they have deep psychological scars. "They spoilt everything. I've lost 10 years of my life, 10 years of my work," a fiftyish-year-old man said his eyes brimming with tears."

Reuters, 2 January 2003

"Villagers who escaped Neka said there were many Liberians among the fighters who struck on Wednesday in an attack claimed by the Ivorian Patriotic Movement of the Far West (MPIGO).

"There were a lot of dead, they killed lots of people," said one woman called Aminata, who had found a truck to San Pedro after escaping into the bush. "We saw the bodies."

Gbagbo's adviser in Europe, Toussaint Alain, accused mercenaries from Liberia's own savage wars of "massacring the inhabitants (of Neka) with machetes and burning their homes".

Fleeing civilians said they saw helicopter gunships and trucks full of Gbagbo's troops heading towards the fighting. Residents of San Pedro said white mercenaries paid by the army had also arrived in town.

"We're advancing on San Pedro," rebel spokesman Felix Doh told Reuters by satellite phone on Thursday.

San Pedro exports about half the cocoa beans from a country producing 40 percent of the world's supply and prices for benchmark March cocoa futures shot up more than five percent in London on Thursday because of the news from Ivory Coast.

A big contingent of troops from former colonial power France is based in San Pedro to protect hundreds of foreigners.

The French have committed helicopters, heavy arms and some 2,500 soldiers to Ivory Coast in their biggest African intervention since the 1980s to try to stabilise the war-torn country, once the region's economic powerhouse.

A first contingent of West African soldiers is also due to arrive this week to help the French in monitoring the ceasefire between the government and main rebel group.

The Ivorian army says Tuesday's helicopter raid on a small village called Menakro near Beoumi followed an attack on its own positions and spokesman Colonel Jules Yao Yao accused the rebels of using civilians as human shields."

"Regional warriors" re-recruited to fight in Côte d'Ivoire, 2004-2005

- Many young fighters, often forcibly recruited as children, have effectively ended up as mercenaries fighting in numerous armed conflicts in the region
- Armed groups have committed gross human rights violations against civilians with impunity
- Testimonies of "regional warriors", documented by Human Rights Watch, confirms that economic deprivation is a key cause of continuing cycle of war crimes throughout the region
- Since November 2004, hundreds of disarmed fighters in Liberia have been recruited to fight in pro-government militias in Cote d'Ivoire

HRW, 13 April 2005

"Since the late 1980's, the armed conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire have reverberated across each country's porous borders. Gliding back and forth across these borders is a migrant population of young fighters – regional warriors – who view war as mainly an economic opportunity. Their military 'careers' most often began when they were abducted and forcibly recruited by rebels in Liberia or Sierra Leone, usually as children. Thrust into a world of brutality, physical hardship, forced labor and drug abuse, they emerged as perpetrators, willing to rape, abduct, mutilate and even kill. Later, as veteran fighters struggling to support themselves within the war-shattered economy at home, they were lured by recruiters back to the frontlines – this time of a neighbor's war. There, they took the opportunity to loot and pillage; an all too familiar means of providing for their families or enriching themselves.

The flow of arms and combatants across the fluid borders of West Africa, paired with the willingness of governments in the region to support the actions of insurgent groups and government militias in neighboring countries has had lethal consequences, particularly for civilians. The armed groups these regional warriors are part of have a well-documented record of committing unspeakable human rights abuses against unarmed civilians and have so far enjoyed impunity for the violations they commit. Efforts by the international community to disarm and reintegrate these fighters into their home communities –including through training – have so far had limited success. At present, the armed conflict in Côte d'Ivoire and the unstable political situation in Guinea appear to be the current theaters into which these regional warriors are being drawn.

The voices of the regional warriors heard in this report clearly illuminate the link between economic deprivation and the continuing cycle of war crimes throughout the region. The regional warriors unanimously identified crippling poverty and hopelessness as the key factors which motivated them to risk dying in subsequent armed conflicts. They described being deeply affected by poverty and obsessed with the struggle of daily survival, a reality not lost on the recruiters. Indeed they were born in and fight in some of the world's poorest countries. Many described their broken dreams and how, given the dire economic conditions within the region, going to war was their best option for economic survival. Each group with whom these combatants went on to fight with has, to varying degrees, committed serious human rights crimes against civilians, often on a widespread and systematic scale. The brutal armed conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire have resulted in tens of thousands of civilians being killed, raped or maimed.

[...]

Aid organizations and United Nations officials working in Liberia say that hundreds of recently demobilized combatants, including children, have since at least November 2004 been re-recruited to fight in Côte d'Ivoire. The majority have, according to their reports, gone to fight alongside militias associated with the Ivorian government.

[...]

Deterioration in the military-political situation in Côte d'Ivoire would likely be accompanied by human rights abuses on a massive scale, given the proliferation of militias and level of ethnic tension."

See also UN Office for West Africa, '[Youth unemployment and regional insecurity in West Africa](#)', 31 December 2005

UN sanctions Ivorian leaders in wake of orchestrated anti-UN violence, February 2006

- In February 2006, the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on three key Ivorian political figures found to constitute a "threat to peace" in the country
- Two of the individuals were leaders of a pro-government youth militia, and the third a rebel leader
- Sanctions came after a wave of orchestrated anti-UN violence in January, which caused several deaths and widespread damage
- The violence resulted in the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from the west and the evacuation of humanitarian agencies

IRIN, 8 February 2006

"The United Nations' Security Council has slapped a 12-month travel ban and assets freeze on three Cote d'Ivoire political figures it accuses of hampering efforts to bring peace to the divided West African nation.

A Security Council sanctions committee on Tuesday called on member states to 'prevent the entry or transit' and 'freeze immediately the funds' of the three who it said constituted 'a threat to the peace and reconciliation process in Cote d'Ivoire.'

Those listed, according to a statement by the committee, are: Charles Ble Goude and Eugene Djue, leaders of the Young Patriots movement loyal to Cote d'Ivoire's President Laurent Gbagbo. Last month, the Young Patriots called supporters onto the streets to demand the departure of UN and French peacekeepers.

The third person is Martin Kouakou Fofie, a commander of the rebel New Forces movement, who was linked by the sanctions committee to human rights violations in the northern city of Korhogo.

Cote d'Ivoire split in two after a failed coup to oust Gbagbo in September 2002. The UN maintains a force of 7,000 blue helmets working alongside 4,000 French peacekeepers.

The UN decided to impose sanctions after hundreds of peacekeepers were forced to retreat as protesters set fire to UN vehicles and offices and ransacked compounds and humanitarian stores. Around 400 civilian staff have been temporarily evacuated and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has warned that Gbagbo and his military chief of staff will be held personally responsible for new disturbances.

The Sanctions Committee said in its statement on Tuesday that it 'will continue to update the (sanctions) list on a regular basis.' "

IRIN, 18 January 2006

"Five people were killed and hundreds of UN peacekeepers forced to abandon base on Wednesday as anti-UN protests swept government-held southern Cote d'Ivoire for a third straight day.

After repeated attacks on UN compounds, vehicles and offices, a UN official said civilian personnel were being concentrated in central locations. 'The security of staff remains our primary concern,' he said.

As angry protesters loyal to President Laurent Gbagbo took over state television and broadcast calls for mass anti-UN demonstrations in the street, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, who also heads the African Union, flew in to help defuse the sudden crisis shortly before nightfall.

The main city Abidjan was paralysed for the third straight day by road blocks thrown up by angry youths loyal to Gbagbo.

Cote d'Ivoire split into two more than three years ago and some 10,000 UN and French troops monitor the buffer zone between the government south and the north, which is under rebel control.

In the volatile western region near the Liberian border, hundreds of blue-helmets based in Guiglo and Duekoue were forced to retreat after young protesters invaded compounds and torched UN buildings bearing the distinctive blue flag.

In Guiglo, some 350 km from the main city Abidjan, Bangladeshi soldiers opened fire to repel youths who besieged their barracks overnight. Hours later, the 200-300 men redeployed taking UN civilian personnel with them.

At the local hospital, a doctor who declined to be named told IRIN by telephone that five people were killed and 10 injured from gunshot wounds.

UN officials in Abidjan said four attackers were killed.

[...]

UN peacekeepers operate under the so-called Chapter VII of the UN Charter enabling soldiers to defend themselves and the local population if they come under direct attack.

[...]

Youths loyal to President Gbagbo who belong to a movement known as the Young Patriots have been targeting UN facilities since international mediators overseeing a UN peace blueprint backed measures effectively reducing Gbagbo's powers.

On Sunday, mediators in the ministerial-level International Working Group (IWG) said that parliament, which is packed with Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) party members, does not have a mandate.

Parliament's mandate expired on 16 December and the IWG recommended the mandate not be renewed, effectively disbanding the assembly.

Gbagbo's ruling FPI on Tuesday announced in protest that it was quitting the peace process and pulling out its seven members in a transitional government headed by Prime Minister Charles Konan Banny.

A spokesman for the New Forces rebel movement, Sidiki Konate, meanwhile warned that the country was on the edge of war and said the UN withdrawal from Guiglo and Duekoue meant local populations had been left with no protection.

[...]

At the UN base in Guiglo, as well as at the offices of the aid group Save The Children, looters made away with everything they could salvage.

Western Cote d'Ivoire saw some of the fiercest fighting in the early days of the September 2002 rebellion that split the world's largest cocoa producing nation in two and brought into being the UN peacekeeping mission in April 2004. The volatile west has also often been the scene of ethnic strife.

Residents told IRIN that at the local radio station in the western town of Daloa, Young Patriots had demanded the station transmit pro-government propaganda. But when workers refused, the station was ransacked and looted.

Some 250 km away in Abidjan, makeshift barricades manned by young men brought activity to a standstill. While the number of Young Patriots roaming the streets was lower than during widely supported 2004 anti-French riots, all businesses were closed and most residents stayed at home.

At a hillside hotel transformed into UN headquarters, UN troops fired tear gas grenades and live bullets to warn off a crowd of protestors that has swollen from several hundred in the morning by over a 1,000 by the afternoon.

Nearly 500 youths meanwhile gathered outside the French military base, according to spokesman Jean-Luc Cotard. 'So far they are not violent, they are chanting and dancing,' he told IRIN.

But Young Patriots also massed outside the French Embassy in the lagoon-side business district of Plateau, Abidjan, blocking exits.

[...]

The group was especially vocal against France in violence in November 2004 when thousands of French nationals had to be evacuated from the country."

Peace efforts

Linus-Marcoussis accord signed by all parties to the conflict, January 2003

- The accord received the full support of the United Nations, the European Union, and the African Union, among others

- The French "Operation Unicorn" forces and the ECOWAS forces, already monitoring the cease-fire, are mandated by the UN Security Council Resolution 1454 to protect civilians
- A National Security Council has been formed to oversee protection and national defence matters in a consensual forum
- The new National reconciliation government with ministers from the rebel forces has been formed

UN OCHA, 31 March 2003

"The Linas-Marcoussis accord, signed by all parties to the Ivorian conflict in France on 24 January, has received the full support of the United Nations, the European Union, the African Union and the United States, among others.

UNSG Special Representative for Cote d'Ivoire Mr. Albert Tevoedjre, as President of the international Monitoring Committee of the Marcoussis accord, and consensus Prime Minister Mr. Seydou Diarra, as well as ECOWAS, have been actively conferring nationally, regionally and internationally with all concerned groups to bring about the successful formation and functioning of the new government.

The French "Operation Unicorn" forces and the ECOWAS forces, newly dubbed "ECOMICI", already monitoring the cease-fire, are mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 1464 to protect civilians and ensure a secure environment for the National Reconciliation Government to take root in.

A National Security Council has also been formed to oversee protection and national defense matters in a consensual forum. UNSC resolution 1467 was recently unanimously adopted, and addresses the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, mercenary activities and the phenomenon of child soldiers in West Africa.

After the signing of the Marcoussis accord, violent protests - often with strong anti-French tones - rocked Abidjan, spurring an exodus of foreign nationals and the closure of some embassies and major companies.

On 5 February the UN authorised Security Phase IV for the whole of Côte d'Ivoire, effectively realigning the efforts of the United Nations Agencies, Funds and Programmes present in the country towards emergency humanitarian interventions. A symptomatic economic development is the temporary evacuation of the African Development Bank to Tunis.

Sporadic fighting between Government troops and rebel elements has erupted along the northern cease-fire line, and fairly regular skirmishes between Government, rebels and other armed elements have been taking place in the extremely troubled western region of the country, where two rebel groups, MPIGO and MJP, Liberian mercenaries and, reportedly, local armed militia are present.

Ministers from the rebel forces attended for the first time a cabinet meeting of the National Reconciliation Government on 3 April. Despite this positive political development, humanitarian conditions on the ground continue to worsen."

Peace summit brings new hope, but not for long, August 2004

- Following talks in the Ghanaian capital Accra in August, all parties to the conflict agreed to enact all political reforms demanded by the August 2003 peace agreement, and to start disarmament on 15 October

- Key reforms include amending nationality laws, reinstating previously sacked ministers from the coalition government, and the delegation of executive presidential powers
- This led to the first cabinet meeting in five months, with President Gbagbo, nine ministers representing the rebel movement, and 17 other ministers representing the four main opposition parties, all sitting at the same table
- Little over one month later, in early October, hundreds of pro-government youth militia members staged violent protests against French peacekeepers in Abidjan, while police carried out a brutal raid against northern Ivorians and West African immigrants suspected of sympathising with the rebels
- This was followed by rebel sympathisers attacking bases of French and UN peacekeepers in the rebel-held north of the country

IRIN, 1 August 2004

"Under heavy pressure from a dozen African leaders and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the leaders of the rival factions in Cote d'Ivoire have agreed to a new timetable to put the country's faltering peace process back on track, with the aim of starting a disarmament programme on 15 October.

An agreement signed on Friday night after two days of talks in the Ghanaian capital Accra committed them to enacting all the political reforms demanded by the French-brokered Linas-Marcoussis peace agreement of January 2003 by the end of August.

The key reforms are: a new nationality law to make it easier for West African immigrants to Cote d'Ivoire and their descendents to gain Ivorian nationality, a new law to make it easier for such immigrants to gain title to the land they work and allow their children to inherit such land and, finally, a reform of the constitution to make it easier for Ivorians of immigrant descent to become president.

The Accra agreement also commits President Laurent Gbagbo to issuing a decree to formally delegate executive powers to Prime Minister Seydou Diarra, the independent head of a power-sharing government which collapsed at the end of March.

In the past, Diarra's decisions were often been over-ruled by Gbagbo, who enjoys near absolute authority under the terms of Cote d'Ivoire's constitution.

The Accra accord aims to prevent this situation from recurring. It demands that Gbagbo enshrine in law the delegation of specific powers to Diarra to implement the Marcoussis peace agreement. These powers were outlined in a letter from the president to the prime minister on 12 December.

With the reform process apparently back on track, the rebel movement occupying the north of Cote d'Ivoire and the four main opposition parties represented in parliament agreed to return to the government of national reconciliation.

They withdrew their 26 ministers at the end of March in protest at the security forces's heavy handed repression of a banned opposition demonstration in Abidjan. UN investigators said at least 120 people died in two days of political violence in the city.

Diplomats said Gbagbo had meanwhile agreed to reinstate three opposition ministers whom he fired in May, including rebel leader Guillaume Soro.

This obligation was not specifically mentioned in the joint statement published by Gbagbo and his opponents at the end of the Accra agreement

Along with the resurrection of the power-sharing government and the enactment of political reforms by parliament, the Ivorian factions committed themselves to starting a long-delayed process of disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation (DDR) 'by October 15 at the latest.' ”

IRIN, 9 August 2004

“The cabinet of Cote d'Ivoire's government of national reconciliation met on Monday for the first time in five months following a peace summit in Accra to put the country's deadlocked peace process back on track.

President Laurent Gbagbo sat at the same table as nine ministers representing the rebel movement, which has occupied the north of Cote d'Ivoire for the past two years, and 17 others ministers representing the four main opposition parties in parliament.

All 26 had walked out of the broad-based cabinet following the security forces' bloody repression of a banned opposition demonstration in Abidjan on 25 March. UN investigators have said at least 120 people died in the political violence which followed.

Rebel leader Guillaume Soro, who holds the portfolio of Communications Minister, was present at Monday's hour-long cabinet meeting, along with two other ministers who Gbagbo had tried to sack on May 19.

Diplomats said the fact that the G7 opposition alliance had returned to government represented an important first step back to political normality.

A statement from the presidency issued after the cabinet meeting said Gbagbo had passed three decrees.

One let the three previously-fired ministers back into the government.

Another delegated certain powers to politically independent Prime Minister Seydou Diarra, as Gbagbo had agreed at Accra.”

IRIN, 5 October 2004

“Wielding machetes, hurling stones, firing marbles with catapults and slinging burning tyres, young supporters of Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo have resumed their protests against the continued presence of French peacekeeping troops in the divided country.

On Tuesday, about 300 members the militia-style youth movement known as the Young Patriots staged a third day of rowdy demonstrations outside the main French military base in Abidjan, ignoring a plea by Gbagbo to stop the violence.

The resumption of Young Patriot protests outside the base near Abidjan airport after a gap of three months, comes as political tensions are rising and Cote d'Ivoire's fragile peace process once more appears to be running into quicksand.

The latest deal between Gbagbo, the parliamentary opposition parties and rebels occupying the north of the country, signed in the Ghanaian capital Accra on July 30, is coming unstuck. The government has failed to legislate promised political reforms and it is now clear that the rebels will not begin to disarm on 15 October as planned.

As in previous times of crisis since a French-brokered peace agreement was signed in January 2003, the 4,000 French troops, stationed alongside 6,000 UN peacekeepers in the world's largest cocoa producer, are coming under attack from Gbagbo supporters.

So too are people from northern Cote d'Ivoire and immigrants from other West African countries suspected of sympathising with the rebels. They were the main target of a particularly brutal raid by police and soldiers on Adjame market in Abidjan on 29 September.

It provoked a protest from the UN Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (ONUCI), which said it was 'seriously worried' that human rights violations appeared to have taken place.

Many traders were beaten up and had their goods confiscated as the security forces raided the market on the grounds of checking for unlicensed traders and diplomatic sources said some women were raped.

Then on Monday the French force said its troops were involved in a clash with machete-wielding youths at the small town of Sikensi, 80 km north of Abidjan, injuring one of them with a rubber bullet fired in self-defence.

For the past two weeks, the government's feared Mi-24 helicopter gunships have been making frequent low-level flights over Abidjan, raising fears of renewed violence among the population as a whole, and military road blocks have been stepped up."

IRIN, 11 October 2004

"UN and French peacekeeping troops fired warning shots in the direction of rowdy rebel demonstrators who attacked them with stones and slingshots in Bouake, the rebel capital of Cote d'Ivoire, on Monday, an IRIN reporter at the scene and a French military spokesman said.

The rebel authorities said later in a statement that three civilians were injured when Moroccan troops serving with the UN peacekeeping force in Cote d'Ivoire fired on the crowd of demonstrators which gathered outside their headquarters in Bouake on Monday morning.

[...]

The French and UN peacekeeping forces in Cote d'Ivoire have frequently come under attack in the government-held south of the country from the militia-style youth groups that support President Laurent Gbagbo, who are known as Young Patriots.

However, over the past week, the 4,000 French troops and 6,000 UN peacekeepers have also become the target of rebel supporters in the north of the country too.

Last Thursday, three Moroccan peacekeepers serving with the UN forces were injured and one UN vehicle was damaged when rebel supporters staged an earlier demonstration outside the ONUCI office in Bouake.

And on Saturday eyewitnesses said a similar protest against French peacekeepers took place in the western rebel stronghold of Man. A French military spokesman told IRIN on Monday that tear gas and warning shots had also been fired on that occasion during which, he said, 10 French peacekeepers were hurt.

Tension has been rising throughout the country in recent weeks as a result of renewed deadlock in efforts to end Cote d'Ivoire's two-year-old civil war."

UN peacekeeping mission established in Cote d'Ivoire, 2004-2007

- UN Security Council establishes 6,240-strong Chapter VII peacekeeping mission (UNOCI), for an initial period of 12 months from 4 April

- UNOCI's mandate includes assistance in disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement, identification of the population, monitoring the arms embargo, support for the organization of open, free, fair and transparent polls and support for humanitarian assistance
- UNOCI's mandate is extended until 30 June 2007

UN SC, 27 February 2004

"The Security Council this morning, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, established the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) for an initial period of 12 months, from 4 April.

Unanimously adopting resolution 1528 (2004), the Council also requested the Secretary-General to transfer authority from the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) forces to UNOCI on that date, and decided, therefore, to renew MINUCI's mandate until 4 April.

The Council also decided to renew until 4 April the authorization given to the French forces and ECOWAS forces through its resolution 1527, as well as authorized the French forces to use all necessary means to support UNOCI in accordance with the agreement to be reached between UNOCI and the French authorities.

Comprising a military strength of a maximum of 6,240 United Nations personnel, UNOCI's mandate, in coordination with the French forces, will include observing and monitoring the implementation of the comprehensive ceasefire agreement of 3 May 2003 and movements of armed groups; assistance in disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement; protection of United Nations personnel, institutions and civilians; support for humanitarian assistance, implementation of the peace process; and assistance in the field of human rights, public information and law and order."

UN SC, 10 January 2007

"The Security Council [...] (d)ecides that the mandates of UNOCI and of the French forces which support it, determined respectively in paragraphs 2 and 8 below, shall be extended until 30 June 2007, and expresses its intention to review by this date their mandates, including their length, and UNOCI's level of troops, in the light of the progress achieved in the implementation of the peace process as referred to in resolution 1721 (2006)"

October 2005 elections fail to be held as political impasse deepens

- South African mediation failed to narrow the divide between the government and opposition forces
- Forces Nouvelles rejected South Africa's mediation role on the basis of bias towards the government, including its assessment that legislative reforms undertaken were sufficient under the terms of previous peace agreements
- Disarmament both of government militia and rebel forces failed to go ahead as scheduled
- Impossibility of 30 October elections raises serious concerns over the transition period thereafter

- UN Secretary General recommends imposition of targeted sanctions against individuals under Resolution 1572, which the South African mediation had advised against to avoid negative impact on the peace process

UN SC, 26 September 2005, paras. 60-63

“Despite the very commendable efforts of the African Union Mediator, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, actively supported by the United Nations, the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire, and in particular the implementation of the Pretoria Agreement, has made little progress. Moreover, the gap between the positions of President Gbagbo and his ruling party, on one side, and those of the forces of the opposition, on the other, remains wide. As members of the Council are aware, the African Union Mediation considers that the remaining obstacles to the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis, Accra III and Pretoria Agreements have been removed. Although many in the international community have questioned the posture adopted by President Gbagbo in the past, the Mediation feels that he is now committed to finding solutions to the problems facing his country. The Forces nouvelles, however, have not implemented the commitments they have undertaken. The Mediation also advised the Security Council not to impose targeted sanctions on individuals at this stage of the peace process, as that may have a negative impact on its efforts, but rather to consider taking actions against those obstructing the implementation of the agreements they have signed. At the same time, in the view of the Mediation, the lack of trust between the Ivorian leadership continues to affect the manner in which they interact. Ivorian leaders, like many others before them, must seek to overcome the continuing legacy of mistrust and engage in a genuine sustained dialogue.

Meanwhile, in a letter to me dated 28 August, Guillaume Soro expressed strong doubts over the impartiality of the Mediation, suggesting that, at this stage in the peace process, a “political transition” would be required, the modalities of which should be discussed within a broader framework than that provided by the Mediation. On 29 August in Abidjan, the political opposition declared that it would be impossible to hold elections on 30 October, while stressing the need for a transitional period during which President Gbagbo would not be in power. Furthermore, in a letter to me dated 8 September, the main leaders of the political opposition, including Mr. Bédié and Mr. Ouattara, expressed surprise over the assessment that President Gbagbo had carried out what was required of him under the Pretoria Agreement.

Once again, therefore, Côte d'Ivoire finds itself at a crossroads, with daunting challenges lying ahead. Under the present circumstances, the elections will not be held on 30 October, as required by the Ivorian Constitution. Consequently, urgent attention must be given to the management of the post-30 October period and the preparation of free, fair and transparent elections, the results of which would be acceptable to all. The parties will need to agree on a realistic time frame for meeting key benchmarks in the electoral process. In particular, now that the nationality and identification laws have been brought into conformity with the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, sufficient time will need to be allotted to the voter registration process in order to ensure that it is conducted in a credible manner. Meanwhile, it is vital that the reconstituted Independent Electoral Commission be established without further delay. Urgent steps must also be taken to dismantle and disarm the militia, while continuing preparations for the pre-cantonment of the Forces Nouvelles combatants.

To that end, the Security Council may wish to consider taking firm action against those who attempt to obstruct the implementation of these and other key provisions of the Pretoria Agreement, notably through the imposition of the targeted sanctions envisaged under Security Council resolution 1572 (2004). The time has come for the Ivorian parties to clearly assume their respective responsibilities. I therefore welcome the decision of the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1572 (2004) to visit Côte d'Ivoire in the coming weeks.”

Elections once again impossible as peace process derails, September 2006

- Key processes of disarmament and voter identification and registration fail to make progress, making October 2006 elections impossible
- President Gbagbo boycotts meeting in New York aimed at reviving peace process, and says UN peacekeepers should leave Cote d'Ivoire
- Tensions rise over uncertainty of what will happen once Gbagbo's mandate expires at the end of October 2006
- Tensions exacerbated by toxic waste scandal in Abidjan, which prompts government to resign

ICG, 7 September 2006

"In May 2006, Crisis Group gave the Banny government a fairly positive evaluation. In its first few months it had installed an independent electoral commission, relaunched direct dialogue on disarmament between the belligerent forces and solved some longstanding problems like the organisation of school exams in the part of the country controlled by the former insurgents, the Forces Nouvelles (FN). But it had not yet addressed the main elements of the roadmap: the nationwide program to identify citizens and produce identity cards for them and papers for foreign residents; the program of demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) of FN fighters and the government's Defense and Security Forces (FDS); disarmament and dismantling of the militias backing President Laurent Gbagbo; and voter registration and the actual organisation of free, fair and transparent presidential elections. Four months later, the government which, although dissolved by Banny on 6 September, is likely to be reconstituted largely intact - has achieved meagre results on all these counts, and a presidential election by the end of October is impossible."

BBC News, 21 September 2006

"Ivory Coast's elections will not happen by the end of October, when President Laurent Gbagbo's extended mandate runs out, the United Nations has confirmed.

A meeting in New York between the country's main rivals and African mediators failed to end a deadlock.

Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo boycotted the meeting - and recently said UN peacekeepers should leave.

Peacekeeping chief Jean-Marie Guehenno said there were serious obstacles, making a vote impossible.

The country has been split in two for four years.

Mr Guehenno said the meeting, chaired by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, established that 'there are serious roadblocks in Ivory Coast which will make it impossible to hold the elections as scheduled'.

Little progress has been made on the identification and registrations of voters and the disarmament of militias and rebels - a pre-condition for polls.

However it is not yet clear what will happen at the end of October, when Mr Gbagbo's mandate runs out.

He has said he will stay on until elections are held - a suggestion rejected by rebels and the opposition.

International mediators have suggested that he remain but cede most of his powers to the neutral prime minister of the government of national unity.

The Ivorian government resigned earlier this month over a toxic waste dumping scandal in the main city, Abidjan - which has led to tens of thousands of Ivorians seeking treatment."

The peace process moves forward thanks to home-grown agreement, March–April 2007

- On March 4, the Government of Côte d'Ivoire and the New Forces (Forces Nouvelles) sign a peace agreement reaffirming the necessity to build peace and stability in the country
- The parties recognize the need for the identification of the population and the registration of voters in view of the presidential elections
- The peace agreement envisages the early formation of a new government, the elimination of the "confidence zone," the eventual departure of foreign troops, and the future reunification of the government and rebel armies

United Nations Security Council, 8 March 2007, para. 17

"On 4 March, President Gbagbo and Mr. Soro signed the new agreement in Ouagadougou, under the facilitation of President Compaoré. The agreement builds upon Security Council resolution 1721 (2006) and previous peace agreements. It addresses key issues that had blocked the implementation of the identification of the population, the disarmament process, the restructuring of the armed forces, the restoration of State authority throughout the country and the preparation of the voters list. The agreement also envisages new institutional arrangements, which are expected to be agreed upon within a month. An annex to the agreement sets out an implementation schedule, which envisages the completion of the key process within a period of ten months. The parties requested the facilitator to submit the agreement to the Security Council, through the African Union, for endorsement. "

Government of Côte d'Ivoire, 4 March 2007

"A l'invitation de Son Excellence Monsieur Blaise COMPAORE, Président du Burkina Faso, en sa qualité de Président en exercice de la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement de la Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO), agissant sur mandat exprès de celle-ci, deux délégations de la République de Côte d'Ivoire, l'une représentant le Président de la République et l'autre les Forces Nouvelles, se sont rencontrées à Ouagadougou du 5 février au 3 mars 2007. Cette rencontre fait suite à l'annonce, le 19 décembre 2006, du plan de sortie de la crise du Président Laurent GBAGBO qui a saisi, le 23 janvier 2007, le Président en exercice de la CEDEAO pour faciliter le dialogue direct entre les ex-belligérants du conflit armé en Côte d'Ivoire.

[...]

Elles ont souligné l'impérieuse nécessité de construire la paix et la stabilité ; de lutter contre l'insécurité grandissante, le chômage et la pauvreté ; de restaurer l'autorité de l'Etat sur l'ensemble du territoire national et de garantir la libre circulation des personnes et des biens sur toute l'étendue du territoire national.

En raison de la responsabilité particulière qu'elles ont dans la conduite du processus de sortie de crise, les deux Parties au conflit armé en Côte d'Ivoire ont reconnu l'impérieuse nécessité de se

mettre ensemble pour consolider la paix, promouvoir une véritable réconciliation nationale et parvenir à une normalisation politique et institutionnelle, à travers un dialogue permanent et une confiance mutuelle. Après avoir identifié les problèmes rencontrés dans la mise en œuvre des Accords de Linas-Marcoussis, d'Accra et de Pretoria, ainsi que des Résolutions de l'ONU sur la Côte d'Ivoire, les Parties en vue d'arrêter des décisions ont réaffirmé :

- leur attachement au respect de la souveraineté, de l'indépendance, de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité de la Côte d'Ivoire ;
- leur attachement à la Constitution ;
- leur attachement aux Accords de Linas-Marcoussis, d'Accra et de Pretoria ;
- leur attachement à toutes les Résolutions des Nations Unies sur la Côte d'Ivoire, en particulier aux Résolutions 1633 (2005) et 1721 (2006) du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU ;
- leur volonté de créer les conditions d'élections libres, ouvertes, transparentes et démocratiques ;
- leur volonté de mettre en commun leurs efforts et leurs énergies en vue d'un fonctionnement normal des Institutions de la Côte d'Ivoire et d'un retour à la normalité politique, administrative et militaire en Côte d'Ivoire. »

I. DE L'IDENTIFICATION GENERALE DES POPULATIONS

Les Parties signataires du présent Accord ont reconnu que l'identification des populations ivoiriennes et étrangères vivant en Côte d'Ivoire, constitue une préoccupation majeure. Le défaut d'une identification claire et cohérente, de même que l'absence de pièces administratives uniques attestant l'identité et la nationalité des individus constituent une source de conflits.

[...]

I. DE L'IDENTIFICATION GENERALE DES POPULATIONS

Soucieuses de parvenir, dans les meilleurs délais, à une paix durable et à une normalisation politique et institutionnelle en Côte d'Ivoire, les Parties au Dialogue Direct réaffirment leur engagement à pré parer, à l'issue de l'opération d'identification, des élections présidentielles ouvertes, démocratiques et transparentes, conformément aux accords de Linas-Marcoussis, d'Accra et de Pretoria.

[...]

III : DES FORCES DE DEFENSE ET DE SECURITE DE COTE D'IVOIRE

Les Parties au présent Accord, consciencieuses que l'Armée nationale doit être le reflet de l'unité et la cohésion nationales et la garantie de la stabilité des institutions républicaines, se sont engagées à procéder à la restructuration et à la refondation des deux armées en vue de la mise en place de nouvelles forces de défense et de sécurité attachées aux valeurs d'intégrité et de moralité républicaine.

Un mécanisme spécial de restructuration et de refondation de l'Armée sera adopté par ordonnance pour fixer le cadre général d'organisation, de composition et de fonctionnement des nouvelles Forces de Défense et de Sécurité. En conséquence, les deux Parties décident de procéder à l'unification des deux forces en présence par la création d'une structure opérationnelle intégrée.

[...]

IV : DE LA RESTAURATION DE L'AUTORITE DE L'ETAT ET DU REDEPLOIEMENT DE L'ADMINISTRATION SUR L'ENSEMBLE DU TERRITOIRE NATIONAL

4.2 Le redéploiement de l'administration et des services publics se fera par l'ensemble des ministères concernés, sous l'autorité du Premier Ministre, dès la suppression de la zone de confiance et l'établissement des postes d'observation. Le redéploiement de l'administration concernera l'ensemble des services publics, y compris les services sociaux de base, notamment ceux de l'éducation, de la santé, de l'eau et de l'assainissement."

UNOCI, 12 April 2007

“« The process of eliminating the zone of confidence will stretch over many weeks, » the Force Commander of the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), General Fernand Amoussou, announced on Thursday at UNOCI's weekly press conference.

Gen Amoussou was speaking one day after the chiefs of staff of the Defence and Security Forces of Côte d'Ivoire (FDS-CI) and the Armed Forces of the Forces Nouvelles (FAFN) along with the commanders of the impartial forces signed a document stipulating that the lifting of the zone of confidence will begin on Monday 16 April at noon. "The process is heavy with regard to both the repositioning of our units and, in particular, the transfer of responsibilities to the Ivorian forces," he explained.

Referring to the document, Gen Amoussou pointed out that in keeping with the Ouagadougou Agreement concluded on 4 March by Côte d'Ivoire's presidential camp and Forces Nouvelles (FN), the impartial forces will withdraw from their checkpoints in the zone of confidence and set up 17 observation posts. "We shall thus continue to observe, survey the situation and ensure that the peace process cannot be reversed," he stated, adding that this first phase was aimed at ensuring the continuity of the Ivorian territory.

Asked by journalists about the role of his forces on the ground, the ONUCI Force Commander said they would no longer be involved in checking the movement of persons and goods on the ground. Those not in the observation posts would be redeployed in Abidjan and elsewhere on the national territory. "Whether or not [UNOCI's] military troop strength is reduced depends on the Security Council," Gen Amoussou said.

In this connection, he recalled that the multi-sectoral assessment mission now in Côte d'Ivoire would report to the Security Council which, in turn, would decide on UNOCI's role within the framework of the Ouagadougou Agreement.”

The dismantlement of the buffer zone advances the reunification of the country, April 2007

- The process of dismantling the zone confidence starts on April 16 as agreed in the March peace agreement
- Government and rebel soldiers start joint patrolling in order to gradually replace the UN and French peacekeepers in the buffer zone

BBC, 12 April 2007

“Rival Ivory Coast military commanders have agreed to dismantle a buffer zone separating their forces, starting on Monday, as part of a peace deal.

The "confidence zone", patrolled by 11,000 French and UN peacekeepers, was set up four years ago to keep apart rebel and government forces.

This move follows the appointment of former rebel leader Guillaume Soro as prime minister.

But a BBC correspondent says many still have doubts about the deal.

The military commanders of the New Forces rebels, the loyalist armed forces and the United Nations and French peacekeeping missions signed a document confirming the removal of the buffer zone.

The practical details have not yet been worked out and the BBC's James Copnall in Ivory Coast says these may provoke some fierce discussions over the next few days."

Reuters, 30 April 2007

"Once sworn foes, government and rebel soldiers in Ivory Coast on Monday began their first joint patrols in a "battle for peace" aimed at reuniting the West Africa state split by a 2002/2003 civil war.

The patrols will gradually replace United Nations and French peacekeepers in a 600 km (375 mile)-long buffer zone that has kept the two sides apart since the brief conflict that divided the world's top cocoa producer into two opposing halves.

It is being dismantled under a March 4 peace plan struck between President Laurent Gbagbo and his rebel foes which foresees national reunification and elections within a year.

At a ceremony on Monday in the small town of Bangolo in western Ivory Coast, soldiers and civilians cheered as the U.N. flag was lowered at a military base and replaced by the orange, white and green Ivorian flag.

"I would like to invite you all to adopt an attitude of non-belligerence and forgiveness," Defense Minister Michel N'Guessan Amani told the joint brigade of government and rebel troops as they paraded together.

"I would like to ask everyone to dedicate themselves to this last battle, the battle for peace," he added.

The first joint patrols under the peace plan will each consist of 10 government soldiers, a similar number of rebel soldiers and four U.N. police officers. These mixed brigades will be the seeds of the new, integrated Ivorian armed forces.

The mixed patrols were starting out around Bangolo and nearby Zeale in western Ivory Coast, one of the country's most turbulent zones which has seen bloody ethnic clashes, militia raids and massacres of civilians in recent years."

Main causes of displacement

Xenophobia and anti foreigner sentiments are a root cause of displacement

- The concept of foreigner stands in negative relief against "ivoirité" and leads to its consideration as the root cause of displacement and exclusion
- Thousands of people have been persecuted, harassed, threatened and evicted from their lands during the past few years because they, or their parents were foreign-born
- In November 1999, the anti-foreigner sentiment resulted in the displacement of 15,000 Burkinabes who were chased from their homes in the southwestern town of Tabou
- The conflation of ethnicity, culture and religion has proved particularly dangerous and several massacres have underscored the pattern of ethnic persecution as Muslims and other northerners claimed at the time that security forces in Abidjan had rounded them up and tortured them

Commission on Human Rights, 22 December 2004, paras. 50, 52, 53

"The outbreak of war in a context so dominated by this heightening of ethnic sensitivities by ideological, political, legal and administrative means helped push the dynamic of xenophobia into a higher gear. Representing as it did a shift from words to action, the war paved the way for pent-up feelings of frustration, fear and exclusion to spill over into acts of violence and other clearly xenophobic behaviours, some committed by the forces of law and order, the police, the armed forces and gendarmerie, or paramilitary groups, others by rebel groups. The next stage was that the various political rivals, appealing now to ethnic rather than democratic legitimacy, began acting and speaking in such a way as to effectively take the population hostage, giving the groups and communities whose interests they claimed to be defending the impression that they had no choice but to go along with their proposals and give them, if not their active support, at least a degree of approval.

[...]

E. The conflation of ethnicity, culture and religion

Côte d'Ivoire is a multireligious country made up principally of animists, Christians and Muslims. Although the north is usually portrayed as mainly Muslim and the south as Christian, Côte d'Ivoire has for a great many years benefited from a rich mix of coexisting faiths. Thus while the majority in the north are indeed the mainly Muslim north Mande, there are also Gur, who are basically Christians or animists. To the west live the southern Mande, who include Christians (some of them Yacouba and some Gouro), animists (Yacouba, Gouro and Krou) and Muslims (chiefly Yacouba). The east of the country is inhabited mainly by Akan, for the most part animists or Christians, while to the south live Krou, Lagunaires and Akan, again mainly animists or Christians.

However, during his visit, the Special Rapporteur found that the withdrawal into a core identity had given rise to a tendency to conflate ethnicity and religion, a particularly dangerous shift. Thus it emerges from reports received that northerners, foreigners and those who oppose the President are being termed Muslims. Some of the media have fanned the hatred of certain sections of the population for Muslim communities, who have apparently been accused of wishing to "incinerate Côte d'Ivoire". The Special Rapporteur has received reports of a proliferation of Islamophobic acts such as damage to places of worship, the destruction of Muslims' property, as well as violence and torture and even summary executions of members of the Muslim faith. Several imams have allegedly been murdered."

Alertnet, 23 June 2003

"Since the start of the war in Ivory Coast, approximately 400,000 foreigners have fled the country, including about 200,000 Burkinabes, 70,000 Guineans, 48,000 Malians, and 44,000 Liberians.

These people were not simply fleeing the conflict. Instead, many have run from the hostile xenophobia that has grown rampant in the past year in Ivory Coast. Thousands have been harassed, threatened and evicted from their homes or their lands.

When I visited Ivory Coast in March I was stunned by what I found. I travelled there expecting to investigate the needs of people fleeing the fighting between the rebels and the government, which had been well documented by NGOs and the media.

Instead I discovered a serious problem that was hardly being reported: many people were fleeing persecution because they, or their parents, were foreign-born. Ivoirian civilians and military have harassed, threatened, and in a few instances, killed those considered foreigners.

Let's parse the term "foreigner". By the government definition, anyone whose parents were not born in Ivory Coast -- both parents, mind you -- is regarded as foreign. This working definition renders about 30 percent of Ivory Coast's 16 million inhabitants foreign, and, thereby, subject to hostility, even though many of these foreigners have never set foot outside Ivory Coast.

The concept of foreigner stands in negative relief against that of ivoirité, or "ivorianness." One's ivoirité is established simply by lacking foreign-born parents, and yet this has become the credential du jour throughout Ivory Coast.

LICENCE TO PILLAGE

For some Ivorians, it has also become a licence to pillage, intimidate and kill. Military and armed local youth have organised outfits of terror in western Ivory Coast.

The 35,000 Liberian refugees that remain in Ivory Coast are in imminent danger of being caught up in the conflict in the west and being targeted by these bands of thugs. In effect, the Liberian refugees who have sought refuge in Ivory Coast in the past decade are again in need of a safe haven.

This campaign of xenophobia comes at a high cost, literally. Ivory Coast, the world's biggest cocoa producer, relied on thousands of foreigners to work in the plantations. The violence inspired by the government has had the effect of dispersing this labour force from the cacao and coffee plantations.

[...]

The origins of ivoirité-based ethnic tension are varied and complex. The notion itself began as a political tactic of former President Henri Konan-Bédié to prohibit some politicians, including prominent northerner Alassane Ouattara, from standing as president.

It has increased tensions among ethnic groups and created a division between the mainly Muslim north, which is where most of those considered "foreigners" are living, and the mainly Christian south.

CHASED FROM THEIR HOMES

In November 1999, the anti-foreigner sentiment resulted in the displacement of 15,000 Burkinabes who were chased from their homes in the southwestern town of Tabou.

In the past eight months of conflict, Burkinabes, along with other foreigners such as Malians and Liberians, have been the targets of hostility. An ethnic massacre at Yopougon, outside Abidjan, in October 2000 and the massacre of gendarmes by northern rebels in the town of Bouaké in October 2002 exemplified ethnic hostility.

The roadblocks to peace in Ivory Coast are legion. Human rights abuses, including forced recruitment, must be stopped immediately. Liberian refugees need to be moved from western Ivory Coast to a safer area.

The government must ensure the protection of immigrants and refugees. It should also establish a new legal framework that liberalises citizenship requirements and protects the rights of foreign nationals living and working in the country.

These measures alone will not suffice. The government must also root out its own hypocrisy on the matter. For a government that has occasionally encouraged anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiments by publicly reviling foreigners, taking an active and public role in soothing xenophobic tension is imperative.

National reconciliation in any meaningful sense cannot happen until the government defuses ivoirité, and welcomes its citizens - all of them - to a persecution-free Ivory Coast. Until the people of Ivory Coast scrap the identity politics, there is little hope for a lasting peace."

Refugees International, 6 May 2003

"Since the start of Ivory Coast's conflict on September 19, 2002, more than one million people have been displaced. In addition to the political turmoil that has impelled their flight, many of these people have fled persecution. In the last seven months of conflict, the Government of Ivory Coast has occasionally encouraged anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiments by publicly reviling "foreigners."

Although a new government of national unity was recently created and a ceasefire was signed this weekend, failure to curb xenophobic laws and attitudes could compromise attempts at peaceful resolution and catalyze further displacement.

The term "foreigners" in this case is a misnomer: many of those being persecuted were actually born or raised in Ivory Coast, and some have never been outside of the country.

But by the government's narrow definition of "Ivoirian," about 30% of Ivory Coast's 16 million inhabitants are considered "foreigners" because both parents were not born in Ivory Coast. Ivoirian civilians and military have harassed, threatened, and in a few instances, killed those designated foreigners. Since the start of the war, approximately 400,000 "foreigners" have fled the country, including about 200,000 Burkinabès, 70,000 Guineans, 48,000 Malians, and 44,000 Liberians.

Members of the international community have highlighted the importance of national reconciliation, and have pointed to the need to address the anti-immigrant sentiment. The United Nations Humanitarian Envoy to Ivory Coast, Carolyn McAskie, and the new National Reconciliation Minister, Sebastien Danon Djedje, discussed xenophobia when they met recently.

On April 24, the UN information network reported that in this meeting with the new minister, McAskie "highlighted the importance of his portfolio, assured him that the international community was willing to help Ivory Coast's government, but noted the need for reconciliation at the government level."

The campaign of xenophobia has already caused massive damage to the country and the region. Thousands have been harassed, threatened, and evicted from their homes or their lands. In addition, damage to the regional economy has been great. Ivory Coast, the world's biggest cocoa producer, relied on thousands of foreigners to work in the plantations. The violence inspired by the government has had the effect of dispersing this labor force from the cacao and coffee plantations. The hostile and intimidating environment may leave the plantation workers reluctant to return even if Ivory Coast is stabilized. Such disruption of planting and harvesting - even for a short time - would deal a severe blow to a major pillar of West Africa's economy.

Neighboring countries have already suffered economic losses. For example, the Humanitarian Envoy reported, "Mali relied on Côte d'Ivoire for over 70% of its imports and exports, and along with Burkina Faso, and to a certain extent Niger, is suffering serious economic setbacks at a time when it is also affected by the drought in the Sahel." The violence and xenophobia in the Ivory Coast have had severe economic consequences: the loss of remittances, a poor agricultural season, and the strain for communities in Burkina Faso and Mali of accepting thousands of returnees. Together, these consequences present a major challenge to the region.

Anti-foreigner sentiment is not new in Ivory Coast. The notion of "ivoirité" or "ivoirianness" started out as a political tactic of former President Konan-Bédié to prohibit some politicians, including prominent northerner Alassane Ouattara, from running for President. It has increased tensions among ethnic groups and created a division between the mainly Muslim north, which is where most of those considered "foreigners" are living, and the mainly Christian south.

In November 1999, the anti-foreigner sentiment resulted in the displacement of 15,000 Burkinabès who were chased from their homes in the southwestern town of Tabou. In the last seven months of conflict, Burkinabès, along with other foreigners such as Malians and Liberians, have been the targets of hostility.

In response to the latest outflow of Burkinabès, a UN worker told RI that "it appears to be rather clear cut that the Burkinabès have left Ivory Coast based on a well-founded fear of being persecuted owing to their nationality."

Several massacres have underscored the pattern of ethnic persecution. A recent Amnesty International report explained that an October 2002 massacre of gendarmes by the northern rebels in the town of Bouaké was reminiscent of an ethnic massacre at Yopougon (outside of Abidjan) in October 2000.

"All the victims of this massacre belonged to the Dioula ethnic group, a name often used to describe Côte d'Ivoire nationals from the north of the country... [Dioula] is also sometimes used to describe nationals of neighboring countries, especially those from Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea," stated Amnesty. The report added that until the massacre at Yopougon, "[Ivory Coast] had steered clear of ethnically motivated massacres and violence, even though for some years, certain sections of the press and the state media had been regularly publishing xenophobic material promoting the ideology of 'ivoirité'."

Refugees International has advocated for increased protection of Liberian refugees in Ivory Coast who also face anti-foreigner threats. In March, RI reported, "More than 35,000 Liberian refugees that remain in the Ivory Coast are in imminent danger of being caught up in the conflict in the west or targeted by the military and armed local youth.

These Liberian refugees, who [have] sought refuge in the Ivory Coast over the last decade, are again in need of a safe haven." This safe haven has not been furnished. Furthermore, recent reports from western Ivory Coast state that there is an increase of forced recruitment of these refugees."

Government and rebel forces cause mass displacement in Abidjan and provinces in aftermath of failed coup of September 2002

- In September 2002, a failed coup by disaffected soldiers marked the beginning of the worst crisis in Cote d'Ivoire's post-independence history
- Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced by fighting which left rebels in control of much of the predominantly Muslim north of the country
- At least 200,000 people were estimated to have fled the rebel-held northern town of Bouake, and several thousand were made homeless in the economic capital Abidjan by a government demolition policy aimed at rooting out dissidents
- Fierce fighting between government forces and two new rebel factions in the west of the country, as well as systematic human rights abuses against civilians displaced more than one million people, including some 150,000 who fled to neighbouring countries

UNHCR, 8 October 2002

"UNHCR remains concerned about the ongoing developments in Cote d'Ivoire amid reports of growing internal displacement following renewed fighting after the collapse of cease-fire

negotiations on Sunday. A government-sanctioned program to raze shanty towns in Abidjan is also continuing, displacing thousands of local residents and foreigners, including refugees.

As a result of the renewed fighting in Bouake, a humanitarian inter-agency needs-assessment mission (OCHA, UNICEF, WFP, WHO and UNHCR) that was heading towards Bouaké yesterday (Monday) to assess the dire humanitarian situation there was turned back on the outskirts of Abidjan for security reasons. An advance team left Abidjan again this morning to the capital, Yamoussoukro. Depending on security conditions, the planned inter-agency mission to Bouake could take place in the next few days.

Worsening conditions in Bouake, including lack of water, electricity and food supplies, have prompted many residents to flee. According to the Red Cross, between 150,000 and 200,000 residents of Bouaké (pop. 600,000) have fled in recent days to escape fighting and insecurity. Most of them are believed to have sought shelter with families of relatives in other parts of the country.

In Abidjan, meanwhile, the demolition of houses in the city's shanty towns continues, affecting thousands of Abidjan's local and foreign inhabitants, including refugees. The governor of Abidjan announced on Friday that the burning of shanty towns in Abidjan is expected to be completed in one month. During a visit to UNHCR's office in Abidjan on Friday, however, the Minister of Human Rights said the razing of shanty towns would be suspended for ten days. There is still no suspension, however. Such a suspension would be welcomed because it would give humanitarian agencies some more time to find alternative accommodation for the thousands of people, including migrants, refugees and Ivorians, who are being displaced on a daily basis. The minister told UNHCR that this is not an operation against foreigners, as many Ivorians are also affected. She reiterated that refugees have always been welcome in Cote d'Ivoire and remain so."

UN OCHA, 15 October 2002

"According to mission members, the city of Bouake has partially become a 'ghost town' with several neighbourhoods completely empty of its residents. Shops, banks, pharmacies and commercial businesses remained closed since the 19th of September. The inability of Bouake's remaining residents to withdraw money from the banks is creating an increasingly untenable situation. The few open markets have very limited produce with only onions and yams available in some quantity. In addition, the prices of these basic commodities have increased three to four times from their original price since the beginning of the conflict. Cooking gas or charcoal has also become very scarce and expensive.

While hospitals and other social services are barely functioning, most of the medical personnel have either left the city or are unable to leave their homes.

The mission witnessed an estimated influx of more than 32,000 people fleeing Bouake in the direction of Brobo, M'Bahiakro, Sakassou, Didiebei and Yamoussoukro. This brings to about 200,000 the number of people estimated to have left Bouake and become internally displaced persons [IDPs]. The figures, collected from some of the transit centers in the region of Bouake, are partial and need to be verified. After leaving Bouake some of the IDPs proceeded to their villages of origin or towns located further south of the 'ghost town'. Women and children are the most affected, exhibiting signs of extreme exhaustion and fatigue including swollen feet, after two to three days of walking to safety. The Catholic Church has been instrumental in providing shelter and food, and in some instances transportation for the displaced. Their capacity to continue this level of services will be stretched to the limit should the flow of displaced persons continue to increase."

IRIN, 29 January 2003

"The UN children's agency, UNICEF, has appealed for US \$5.7 million for emergency health, nutrition and education to cover over the next two months needs of more than one million people

displaced by conflict in Cote d'Ivoire, over the next two months. At least 150,000 of the displaced had crossed into neighboring countries, straining already weak social service systems.

'Four months after the attempted coup in Côte d'Ivoire, the country is teetering on the brink of a catastrophe that threatens to trigger massive population upheaval if fighting between rebels and government forces continues,' UNICEF said. 'The political turmoil has unleashed an anti-immigrant sentiment affecting millions of foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire that likely will linger even if a solution to the current military standoff can be found. Vigilante groups, often acting with total impunity, continue to target immigrants from the sub-region.' "

Abuses in rebel-held areas cause renewed displacement following November 2004 crisis (2004-2005)

- Rebels in northern Cote d'Ivoire have reportedly increased human rights violations against civilians since November 2004, including kidnapping for ransom, which has caused new displacement
- Thousands of IDPs sheltering at various sites and with host families following attacks and harassment by Forces nouvelles rebels remain too afraid to return to the north
- In Abidjan, the humanitarian situation of IDPs continues to deteriorate and little assistance is provided

IRIN, 25 November 2004

"Government bombs may have stopped falling on towns in the northern half of Cote d'Ivoire, but now rebels are taking residents hostage for ransom, reports of human rights violations are on the increase, and the price of essential items such as bread and fuel has doubled.

Rebel forces, who hold the north of the country and were hit by Ivorian airplanes when an 18-month ceasefire was shattered on 4 November, are reported to be raiding villages to demand cash.

Some commentators in the Abidjan press see this as part of a drive by the rebels to strengthen their war chest in case full-scale conflict resumes.

An Ivorian woman, who asked not to be identified, told IRIN on Thursday that rebels fighters had stormed her home village of Konaklo in early November, looking for money.

All the young men in Konaklo, which lies about 50 km from the main rebel stronghold Bouake, fled into the bush as the rebel fighters arrived. The gunmen began breaking into houses to search for hidden notes and beat up many of the people they found inside, who pleaded that they had nothing left to give.

The woman said her own mother, who is aged over 70, also fled. She was smuggled over the frontline by a young nephew, who carried her on his bicycle.

Four middle-aged men were not so lucky. They were taken hostage by the rebels, who imprisoned them in containers seven kilometres down the road in the town of Sakassou, pending the payment of a 1.5 million CFA (\$3,000) ransom.

The New Forces rebel movement have used containers as makeshift prisons before in the northern city of Korhogo.

A UN human rights investigation into clashes between rival rebel factions in Korhogo in June reported that dozens of people were arrested and held in hot airless containers. A medical examination of 99 bodies discovered in mass graves on the outskirts of the city showed that many of them had suffocated to death.

Race to raise funds

With their neighbours languishing in custody, the remaining Konaklo villagers were only able to raise one million francs between them, the woman said. They therefore sent an envoy to Abidjan at the end of last week to raise the remaining 500,000 CFA (\$1,000) from people who had left the farming community to seek jobs in Cote d'Ivoire's economic capital.

The woman said the rebel fighters gave no reasons for demanding money and did not accuse the villagers, who are mostly from the Baoule ethnic group of former president Felix Houphouet Boigny, of siding with the government.

But she said the rebel gunmen threatened bluntly to kill the hostages and burn down the entire village unless the money was paid. One of her relatives, who witnessed the scene first-hand, quoted the leader of the rebel fighters as saying: 'If you don't give us the money, you won't see them again. They will be dead.' "

UN OCHA, 17 January 2005

"Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) remain a particularly vulnerable group in Côte d'Ivoire. It is expected that more humanitarian assistance will be needed in 2005 as many IDPs and their host families have exhausted their resources and no longer have the capacity to cope with a third year of crisis. In the meanwhile, new displacements have taken place since the November crisis, also demanding humanitarian assistance.

Between August and December 2004, IOM has registered 1.233 new arrivals at the IDP centre in Guiglo since August 2004. There are now a total of 6.648 IDPs at the centre. Many of the new arrivals are IDPs who until recently were living with host communities in and around Guiglo, who have come to the centre to benefit from the humanitarian assistance available at the camp. It is expected that more families will arrive at the camp in 2005 as many no longer have the coping mechanisms to deal with a third year of little revenue and limited food stock. IOM is concerned, as the IDP centre does not have the capacity to deal with this growing population. In December the centre received 15 new tents and 2 kitchens in order to cater for the new arrivals.

Over 3500 IDPs, the majority of them children and women, remain sheltered at various sites and with host families in the towns of Priko and M'Bahiakro situated within the zone of confidence. The many IDPs gathered here following attacks and harassment by the Forces Nouvelles in early November. Humanitarian aid agencies have provided assistance and are currently reviewing the possibility of facilitating their return to the North. A joint mission including ONUCI, FIANCI and Licorne went to Priko and M'bahiakro to encourage the return of IDPs to the village of Bonguera, so far 35 IDPs in M'Bahiakro returned to Bonguéra, however many are still wary of the security situation and prefer to wait. UNICEF has ensured the supply of water and sanitation to these two towns as well as conducted a vaccination campaign against measles and provided vitamin A supplements for the children. WFP has distributed 30days of ration benefiting 2109 IDPs.

UNHCR has commenced its repatriation programme for 2005. In early January 100 Liberian refugees from Bolequin were voluntarily repatriated to Liberia with the support of GTZ and SAARA. Another 50 refugees will be flown to Liberia by UNHCR on 18th January. UNHCR plans to repatriate approximately 45.000 Liberian refugees by the end of 2005. It is estimated that there are currently 72.000 refugees living in Côte d'Ivoire.

OCHA Korhogo, has received reports from the local NGO ARK, that a group of Ivorian refugees from Mali have returned to the border town of Pogo in Côte d'Ivoire and are in need of assistance. OCHA Korhogo is currently organising an assessment/verification mission to the site.

The Mie N'Gou centre in Yamoussoukro, will remain open until further notice. The centre was scheduled to close by the end of the year 2004. The 479 IDPs residing there have refused to leave following the November crisis as they are concerned about the security situation in the North. The local NGO ASAPSU continues to provide medical assistance to the IDPs at the centre and WFP provides food assistance.

The number of refugees in the Tabou refugee camp has increased by 128 people since September 2004. The new arrivals previously lived with host communities, but had come to the camp for assistance due to increased vulnerability from sickness and/or poverty. WFP distributes food aid to the refugees at the camp, in September WFP distributed aid to 3,369 refugees, in January 3,497 people benefited from assistance.

In Abidjan, the humanitarian situation of IDPs continues to deteriorate and little assistance is provided. A local association for IDPs from Bouaké, has reported that many of those who had returned to the North have now come back to Abidjan following the crisis of November. In Abobo, there are 11 631 IDPs from the North of which 2412 are children. Enfance Meurtrie Sans Frontières (EMSF) is the only international NGO currently providing assistance to this group."

Resumption of armed clashes and mob violence in Abidjan causes displacement and mass evacuation of expatriates (November 2004)

- In November 2004 government warplanes bombed the rebel stronghold of Bouake in an operation to retake the north, killing nine French peacekeepers and an American aid worker
- France's response of destroying Cote d'Ivoire's airforce sparked widespread mob violence in Abidjan, targeting mainly French citizens as well as opposition politicians and immigrants
- Several thousand expatriates were evacuated amid accusations that France was supporting Ivorian rebels

AFP, 5 November 2004

"The Ivory Coast military on Friday resumed air strikes on positions held by former rebels, after 24 hours of air raids and political violence targeting opposition parties in Abidjan raised fears of a collapse back into civil strife.

Regional leaders prepared talks to cool the situation, with African Union leaders calling a crisis meeting for Saturday, while UN agencies suspended relief and humanitarian work in response to the fighting.

On Thursday, military aircraft attacked strongholds of the ex-rebel New Forces (NF) at Bouake in central Ivory Coast and Korhogo in the north, leading NF officials to describe a shaky peace pact as 'defunct'.

[...]

The Ivorian military said Thursday's raids -- in which three people died and at least 40 were wounded -- had achieved their objectives, destroying ex-rebel camps and strategic targets in both cities.

Overnight arson attacks on opposition party buildings in Abidjan and belligerent language from both sides have added to tensions in the divided country.

Radical young supporters of Ivory Coast President Laurent Gbagbo ransacked the Abidjan offices of two main opposition parties late Thursday, also torching the offices of three pro-opposition newspapers.

Targeted were the Ivory Coast Democratic Party (PDCI), the country's former ruling and now main opposition party, and the Rally for Republicans (RDR) which is led by exiled former prime minister Alassane Ouattara."

IRIN, 7 November 2004

"Militant supporters of President Laurent Gbagbo rampaged through Abidjan's streets overnight, looting and burning French homes, schools and businesses and forcing France's military to airlift more than 150 foreigners to safety and send in troops to restore calm.

The violence erupted in Cote d'Ivoire's commercial capital after France destroyed almost the entire airforce of its former colony, following the Ivorian army's bombardment of a French base in the north. Nine French peacekeepers and one American civilian died in Saturday's bombing on the rebel town of Bouake.

Pro-Gbagbo militants, some wielding machetes and sticks, set fire to three French schools and the offices of the Orange mobile phone company. French-owned restaurants, hotels and homes were also looted as militant leader Charles Ble Goude called on his Young Patriots group to 'go and liberate Cote d'Ivoire'."

IRIN, 8 November 2004

"France sought on Monday to reassure thousands of angry Ivorian demonstrators that it was not trying to topple President Laurent Gbagbo, after a weekend of mob violence forced more than 2,000 foreigners to flee their homes.

As French troops tried to restore calm to the streets of the West African nation, French diplomats scurried to push a resolution through the UN Security Council that would impose penalties on Cote d'Ivoire, while South African President Thabo Mbeki prepared to fly into Abidjan to kick-start the battered peace process.

Ivorian youths began setting fire to French schools and businesses, looting homes and threatening foreigners on Saturday after the French army destroyed almost the entire Ivorian air force in retaliation for the killing of nine of its peacekeepers in an aerial bombardment in the northern town of Bouake.

At least 2,050 foreign residents were sheltering in French and UN military bases in Abidjan on Monday, many having been plucked by helicopter from their homes as they came under attack from angry mobs, some armed with sticks, stones and machetes.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said well over 400 people had been treated on Sunday, some for wounds from live ammunition and it appealed to be allowed to continue its activities unharmed.

Gbagbo made his first television appearance late Sunday, appealing to protesters to head home and not let themselves be provoked, but on Monday around 5,000 demonstrators lined up opposite French tanks stationed outside the Hotel Ivoire in the upmarket suburb of Cocody.

Screaming anti-French slogans and carrying banners branding the French assassins, the protesters rallied at the hotel following a morning appeal on state radio to form a human shield to protect Gbagbo, whose residence is nearby.

A diplomat at the hotel said French troops had fired shots in the air to disperse the protesters. Ivorian state television broadcast images of injured people getting to hospital. Over the weekend, it also showed the bodies of protesters who, it said, had been killed by French forces.

However it was unclear how many casualties there were.”

Ethnic clashes in « Wild West » displace civilians, 2002-2006

- Inter-communal violence in western Cote d'Ivoire has been on the increase since the failed coup of September 2002, continuing into 2006, displacing many thousands of people
- Fighting has taken place in and around the 'Zone of Confidence' where only French and UN peacekeeping troops are supposed to carry arms
- Violence in this area had originally been provoked by indisciplined bands of Liberian militiamen, but more recently has involved villagers of the local Guere tribe and settlers from Burkina Faso, Guinea and other parts of Cote d'Ivoire who grow cocoa in the region
- Thousands of immigrants have been chased off their land, and many have sought refuge at the already overburdened camps at Guiglo and Niela
- Complicated property issues in cocoa-growing areas and the proliferation of small arms contribute to the tension in western Cote d'Ivoire

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, paras. 10-11

“ The Representative of the Secretary-General concludes from various discussions he had that the causes of population displacement today are basically related to the conflict that broke out in September 2002. According to the information he received, displacement has many causes. First, people have fled areas of conflict following attacks on military facilities in Abidjan, Bouaké and Korhogo. The Representative of the Secretary-General was also informed about displacements that occurred between October 2002 and March 2003 in Abidjan after the destruction of some of the poorest districts there. In the west of the country and in the ‘zone of confidence’, which are under the control of the neutral forces of Operation Licorne and UNOCI, inter-community conflicts are also a cause of population displacement. The Representative of the Secretary-General notes, moreover, that a general sense of insecurity with regard to political developments, fear of reprisals from one of the two parties to the conflict, the dismantling of the public administration and the destruction of infrastructure in the area controlled by the Forces Nouvelles and in the zone of confidence, as well as the economic consequences of the conflict, are at the root of some of the more recent cases of displacement.

Many observers have drawn attention to the land-related conflicts that have given rise to a large number of displacements, especially in the west, a highly agricultural area. Many people are reported to have been chased from their homes in Moyen Cavammy region since 2003, often by gangs of youths or by village or ethnic-based self-defence committees. Recent events in late 2004 and in 2005 have also given rise to displacements in the regions of Guiglo, Bolequin and Duékoué. In this region, the land issue continues to give rise to further displacements following inter-community clashes and criminal attacks. The Representative of the Secretary-General also observed that, while the recent crisis in the country has had an impact on internal displacement, especially as a result of political groups exploiting the problem for political ends, the land issue and subsequent inter-community conflicts predate the crisis.”

OCHA-CI, 13 March 2006

“L’Ouest du pays reste le théâtre de déplacements des populations en raison des affrontements entre les différentes communautés ethniques. Dans la nuit du 05 au 06 février 2006, le campement de Peehapa du village Mona, situé à environ 17 km de Guiglo a été attaqué par des individus non encore identifiés. Au total, 12 personnes appartenant aux communautés Guéré et Gnaboua (ethnie minoritaire ivoirienne) ont été tuées et il y a eu plusieurs autres blessées. Cette attaque a provoqué un mouvement de population dans la zone. Une vingtaine des familles déplacées a été signalée par le comité de crise de la mairie de Guiglo. Les familles déplacées ont trouvé refuge dans des familles d’accueil. Les autorités politico-administratives et militaires de Guiglo ont ouvert une enquête qui se poursuit.

Suite à l’attaque de Peehapa, un groupe des jeunes des villages de Zouan et de Monan situés à une dizaine de kilomètres à l’ouest de Guiglo se sont mobilisés le 13 février 2006, pour aller attaquer le Centre d’Accueil Temporaire (CATD) à Guiglo. Selon les rapports des FDS, les jeunes voulaient se venger de l’assassinat de leurs douze (12) parents dans le campement de Peehapa une semaine avant. Ils accusaient les burkinabés d’être les auteurs de ce massacre. Les autorités locales (mairie, préfecture et FDS) informées des menaces, se sont rendues sur le lieu et ont contenu les jeunes. Les autorités locales restent en contact avec le comité de déplacés et ont promis de continuer à assurer leur sécurité.

En janvier 2006 le département de Tabou a connu les mouvements importants des populations suite aux tensions inter-communautaires. Les affrontements inter-communautaires à Yakro le 19 janvier 2006, entre les lobi (groupe ethnique du nord de la Côte d’Ivoire avec des ramifications au Burkina Faso) et les populations considérées comme « allogènes » (baoulé et abron) et « autochtones » (krumen), ont fait 09 morts et plusieurs blessés. Face à la dégradation de la situation sécuritaire, les populations de Yaokro ont fui leur campement pour se réfugier dans les villages voisins et ensuite à la mission catholique de Tabou. Pendant les premiers jours, 153 déplacés avaient été enregistrés sur le site de la mission catholique. Les déplacés étaient pris en charge par le HCR et la mission catholique. La mission du PAM sur le terrain les 26-28 janvier 2006 a confirmé les faits.

A la fin du mois de février 2006, les déplacés ont quitté le site de la mission. Toutefois, IRC-Tabou a rapporté que le village de Niplou (approximativement 35 km de Tabou) reste toujours vide de presque toute sa population (environ 289 personnes) qui a trouvé le refuge dans les villages environnants, notamment à Béséréké (25 km de Tabou) pour des raisons de sécurité. Selon les autorités locales de Déholinké, les populations n’ont pas accès à leurs champs parce que des hommes armés (apparemment des lobis) les empêchent d’y accéder.”

UN, 18 November 2005

Examples of inter Community conflicts in 2005

Date	Principal events	Impact assessment
28 February 2005	Following the attack on the positions of the <i>Force Armée des Forces Nouvelles</i> (FAFN) at Logoualé, the youths of the MILOCI militia set fire to the houses of the so-called alien Burkinabe (from Burkina Faso) at Fengolo, who in turn retaliated by burning the houses of the Guérés	Destruction of the majority of the houses at Fengolo and all the indigenous population fled to Duékoué
16 March 2005	Request for investigation by UNOCI following the death of 13 so-called alien villagers who were said to have been tortured by the forest guards in the Marahoué national park	13 fatalities and several wounded
30 March 2005	An argument between Dioula and Baoulé (ethnic groups) children led to inter-ethnic clash between two communities at Boli village	6 people suffered severe injuries, hundreds of people were displaced and the majority of the houses and shops were torched
29 April 2005	Inter ethnic clashes between the Dioulas and the Guérés at Duékoué	More than 15 died and some 500 people were displaced at Duékoué
30 mai/02 June 2005	Another inter ethnic incidents between Dioulas and the Guérés at Duékoué	More than 70 died and some 5000 people were displaced at Duékoué and at Man
14/15 June 2005	Expropriation by the so-called local Attié youth of farmers from the North, (of the Lobi, Koulango and Abron ethnic groups), who have been in Attié country for generations	More than 500 displaced persons people at Alépé,
23/24 Juillet 2005	Attack by unidentified elements at Agboville and Anyama	Some 25 deaths including 7 soldiers

Human Rights Watch, 3 June 2005

"In the past week alone, renewed clashes between local indigenous groups and farm workers from the north and neighbouring countries have brought the total number of dead in western Côte d'Ivoire since February to at least 89. Ethnic tension in this fertile cocoa-producing region predates the civil war between northern-based rebels and the Ivorian government, which is primarily composed of officials from the south and west.

Despite the end of the war in 2003, tension has remained high between indigenous groups in the west and the northern and foreign-born workers who for decades have worked on the local cacao plantations. In recent years, this tension has been both exploited and exacerbated by the country's political and military divisions.

[...]

At least three waves of communal violence have broken out in Côte d'Ivoire in the last four months. On February 28, an attack by government-backed militia on the rebel-held town of Logoualé sparked ethnically motivated attacks between the indigenous Wê tribe and immigrant farm workers, mostly from Burkina Faso, that caused some 16 deaths. The violence also caused more than 13,000 villagers to flee, and left several villages in flames. In late April, several days of interethnic fighting around Duékoué resulted in the death of at least 15 people from the indigenous Guéré and Northern Dioula tribes.

The latest wave began one week ago when Guéré tribesmen allegedly killed at least four farmers from the Senoufo ethnic tribe, which originates from the northern part of the country. On May 31, unidentified men attacked the two largely Guéré villages of Guitrozon and Petit Duékoué, shooting, stabbing or burning to death at least 41. This in turn triggered more attacks against Dioulas and Burkinabe (those originally from Burkina Faso), which on June 1 claimed at least another 11 lives.

[...]

The western region of Côte d'Ivoire, the heart of the country's vital cocoa and coffee industry, is a zone of smoldering instability which, if ignited, could engulf the whole sub-region. For decades, immigrants from Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Guinea have provided cheap labor for local landowners, which helped turn Côte d'Ivoire into the world's leading cocoa producer.

However, competition over land rights, economic decline and the 2002-2003 civil war resulted in ever-increasing ethnic tension. As a result, both indigenous groups and immigrant farmers have organized themselves into militias and self-defense groups resulting in a lethal tit-for-tat dynamic between the groups. Western Côte d'Ivoire saw the heaviest fighting in the months after the September 2002 rebellion."

IRIN, 19 April 2005

"An exchange of insults between two children of different ethnic groups mushroomed two days later into full-scale fighting between neighbours in this large village in the no-man's land between government and rebel lines in Cote d'Ivoire.

Houses were burned, cattle were killed, several people received machete wounds and 1,000 members of the minority Dioula community in Boli last month trekked out to seek shelter in the rebel sector.

UN peacekeepers were called to restore order, but took six hours to arrive from the rebel capital Bouake, 75 km to the north."

IRIN, 2 February 2005

"Suleymankro is a microcosm of the cocoa belt, a region where so many different ethnic groups and nationalities live together that political leaders once proudly nicknamed Côte d'Ivoire the 'land of hospitality'.

For decades, the indigenous Bete people welcomed migrants from less fertile regions of northern Côte d'Ivoire and immigrants from Burkina Faso and Mali to cultivate the land alongside them.

But the settlers' welcome wore out as cocoa prices fell and unused land grew sparse.

During the 1990s, nationalist politicians began to promote the notion of 'Ivoirite' - Ivorian national identity - from which the immigrants and their descendents were excluded.

However, violent clashes between the two communities only began in September 2002 when rebels from northern Côte d'Ivoire tried to overthrow president Laurent Gbagbo in a coup d'état that presidential supporters say was sponsored by Burkina Faso.

The coup failed, but Cote d'Ivoire plunged into civil war. The country ended up split into a rebel-controlled north and a government-controlled south, with French and UN peacekeeping troops patrolling a buffer zone in between.

Since the conflict erupted two and a half years ago, angry Bete villagers have driven hundreds of settlers off their farms, accusing them of being a fifth column, sympathetic towards the rebels if not openly collaborating with them.

However, many residents of Suleymankro believe that the expulsions have little to do with politics or ethnicity. They say that the indigenous population is primarily interested in easy money. "

See also, *International Crisis Group (ICG)*, [Cote d'Ivoire: 'The War Is Not Yet Over'](#), 28 November 2003

POPULATION FIGURES AND PROFILE

Global figures

Total number of IDPs set at 709,000 (March 2007)

- UNFPA-funded study published in March 2006 puts total number of IDPs in five key government-held zones at 709,377
- Figure subsequently revised to 750,000 in the Mid-Year Review of the UN Consolidated Appeal
- Considering the return of around 300 IDPs, UNHCR estimates the total number in the five key government-held zones at 709,000 in March 2007

UNHCR, 23 March 2007, p. 6

Planning figures for Côte d'Ivoire				
Type of population	Origin	Dec 2007		
		Total in country	Total in country	To be assisted by UNHCR
IDPs	Western, northern and central Côte d'Ivoire	709,000	509,000	170,000
Returnees (IDPs)	Western, northern and central Côte d'Ivoire	300	200,000*	65,000
Total		709,300	709,000*	235,000

*200,000 IDPs are expected return only if political stability and the reunification of the country are reached.

UN, 18 July 2006

"One of the main challenges in Côte d'Ivoire at present is to extend and diversify humanitarian responses to better address the needs of returning IDPs and host communities at a time when, each year, an additional 2% of the population is falling below the poverty line. According to a new baseline survey the total figure of IDPs in Côte d'Ivoire – originally believed to be close to 500,000 – is now estimated at 750,000 with less than 10% living in transit camps and more than 90% being hosted by families. Each host family on average cares for about six IDPs, while about 30% of displaced children are not attending school."

UN Humanitarian Coordinator (Cote d'Ivoire), 27 April 2006

"En 2005 les membres du IAHCC (Comité de Coordination Humanitaire Inter-Agences) ont commandité une étude sur les conditions de vie des personnes déplacées d'où il ressort notamment, que :

- Le nombre de déplacés en situation de grande vulnérabilité est actuellement estimé à près de 700 000 personnes sur cinq zones, à savoir Abidjan, Daloa, Duekoué, Toulepleu et Yamoussoukro,
- Plus de 90 % des déplacés ont été pris en charge par des familles d'accueil,

- Les familles ont accueilli en moyenne six déplacés, avec comme conséquence une forte pression sur leurs ressources et pour certaines un début de paupérisation grandissante,
- 50 % des déplacés indiquent avoir vu leur santé se dégrader,
- 30 % des enfants déplacés n'ont pas les moyens d'aller à l'école."

More than 1 million Ivorians were estimated to be displaced at the height of the conflict (2003)

UN OCHA 8 May 2003

"Relief agencies estimate that between 700,000 and one million people were forced to flee their homes by the fighting and seek refuge in other parts of the country - mainly the government-held south."

UN OCHA, 10 January 2003

"The scale of displacement in Cote d'Ivoire is both large and rapid. Out of a population of 16 million, an estimated 600,000 were displaced internally by the end of November. Fighting in the west since then has caused further population movements, currently estimated at an additional 500,000. The total number of IDPs topped 1.1 million by the beginning of January."

Geographical distribution

Abidjan hosts almost 70 per cent of IDPs in government-held south (November 2006)

- IDPs are generally concentrated in urban areas with almost 70% in Abidjan
- Rural IDPs are more numerically relevant in the other departments

ENSEA, March 2006

"Au total, environ 709 377 personnes ont été accueillies dans des ménages avec une proportion relativement importante (67,5 %) pour le département d'Abidjan. Cette population déplacée est composée de 48 % d'hommes et de 52 % de femmes. La supériorité numérique de la population féminine est constatée dans tous les départements. Les PDI sont dans l'ensemble concentrées en milieu urbain (81% des déplacés) : ceci est lié au poids démographique de la ville d'Abidjan et des possibilités offertes pour les accueillir. En revanche, la population rurale des déplacés est numériquement plus élevée dans les autres départements exception faite de Duékoué (43%) : Daloa 68%, Toulépleu 71%, Yamoussoukro 55%. Un quart des PDI sont des enfants de moins de 10 ans. Les jeunes de moins de 25 ans représentent 62% des déplacés. Par ailleurs, parmi les 709 377 PDI, 51 037 sont des enfants nés après le déplacement des parents. Par conséquent, l'ajustement de l'estimation des Personnes Déplacées Internes, après déflation de l'effectif de ces enfants, conduit à 658 340 déplacés internes."

United Nations, 30 November 2006, p. 56

"The table below presents recent statistics on displaced persons registered in the zone [west] by various sources:

Locality of origin of IDPs	Current places of residence in the West Zone	Total Number Registered	Source/ Observations
Zarabaon County (Zou)	San Pedro	271	IOM Figures, Extract summary table, registered on July 2006.
	Duekoué	1,161	
	Bangolo	220	
	Guiglo	6,987	
	Bloléquin	1,003	
	Abidjan	1,907	
TOTAL		11,549	
Various Categories	Tabou	5,117	Source: Office of War Victims and Displaced Persons in Tabou, August 2006.
Non-Natives	Duékoué-Guiglo-Bloléquin	46,958	8,426 families IOM Figures, April 2006.
Non-Natives and Foreigners	CATD	7,092	1,107 families; IOM Figures
Various Localities (Dieouzon...)	Bangolo	12,000	ICRC, August 06 Displaced persons and affected families.

"

Disaggregated data

Demographic data of IDPs in government zones (March 2006)

- The majority of IDPs surveyed were aged between 0-4 years and 15-19 years (13 per cent in each category)
- 50 per cent of host family members were aged between 15-30 years
- One in five heads of household (of host families) were women
- The vast majority of IDPs were directly related to the head of their host family

ENSEA, March 2006

" *Structure par sexe et âge*

Les groupes d'âge dominants dans la population des déplacés sont ceux compris entre 0 et 4 ans et 15 et 19 ans (13% chacun). Au sein de ces âges, les effectifs par sexe sont quasiment identiques (13% de femmes contre 12% d'hommes). En outre, une personne sur deux a moins de 20 ans. En considérant la population non déplacée, il apparaît une faible proportion d'enfants âgés de 0 à 5 ans. Elle est deux fois moins importante que dans la population déplacée. Par ailleurs, la majorité des personnes non déplacées se situe dans la tranche de 15 à 30 ans (50% de la population non déplacée). Par ailleurs, avant 30 ans, il existe plus de femmes que d'hommes parmi les déplacés ; cette tendance est inversée chez les non déplacés.

Caractéristique des ménages

Les ménages de plus de 8 membres sont majoritaires (16%), suivis de ceux comportant 3 personnes (14%) et des unités regroupant 5 individus (13%). L'âge moyen des chefs de ménage est de 45 ans ; 39,5% d'entre eux n'ont jamais été scolarisés. A Daloa et à Toulépleu, cette proportion est relativement importante et atteint 47%. Il ressort qu'une femme sur cinq est chef de ménage. C'est à Yamoussoukro que cette proportion est la plus élevée (31% des chefs de ménage). Chez les déplacés, les personnes sans lien de parenté avec le chef de ménage et son épouse sont en faible proportion dans l'ensemble (2%). Toutefois, le département de Toulépleu reste une exception avec 19% dans l'ensemble et 27% dans son milieu rural. Enfin, la proportion de chefs de ménage occupés a connu une baisse significative de 12%. La baisse la plus importante (25%) est survenue à Duékoué suivie d'Abidjan (13%)."

PATTERNS OF DISPLACEMENT

General

Vast majority of IDPs live with host families or communities (2007)

- Of the estimated 700,000 IDPs in Cote d'Ivoire, only a small number are housed in camps
- IDPs are generically concentrated in urban areas
- The vast majority of IDPs live with host families or communities
- IDP movements are mainly registered around conflict areas where IDPs have settled in villages and towns nearby their areas of origin
- In general, displaced men from 'Vallée du Bandama' have mainly relocated to urban areas while those from 'Haut Sassandra' have preferred to remain in rural areas

UNHCR, 23 March 2007, p.4

"Apart from IDPs staying with host families or renting accommodation, there are about 8,000 IDPs in camps, of which approximately 7,000 are in Guiglo and 1,000 in Yamassoukrou. The fact that most IDPs are not in camps has made their plight less visible to the humanitarian community and has made it more difficult to reach them and assess their situation."

United Nations, 30 November 2006, p.19

"The survey on IDPs conducted by ENSEA in collaboration with UNFPA in five departments (Daloa, Abidjan, Duékoué, Toulépleu and Yamoussokro) showed that the displaced population is composed of 48% men and 52% women. The numerical superiority of the female population is observed in all the departments. The IDPs are generally concentrated in urban areas (81% of IDPs) with a relatively important proportion of 67.5% for Abidjan department. On the other hand, the rural population of displaced persons is numerically higher in the other departments with the exception of Duékoué (43%), Daloa (68%), Toulépleu (71%) and Yamoussokro (55%)."

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, para. 13

"The representative of the Secretary-General notes with interest that only a small number of displaced persons are housed in camps or shelters; most of them are in Guiglo, where there are two centres that hold about 7,100 people. Most of the displaced persons – about 98 per cent of them – have been taken in by families, which shows the generosity and solidarity of the Ivorian people. However, their social integration complicates the job of monitoring and assisting displaced persons."

ENSEA, March 2006, pp. 38-39 ; p.45

"Le mouvement des personnes déplacées a été guidé plutôt par le souci de retrouver un endroit plus sécurisant. Les plus chanceux d'entre eux ont trouvé refuge, dès leur arrivée, auprès de parents, d'amis, de collègues, etc... Les autres ont transité par des camps aménagés avant de trouver une famille d'accueil. L'insertion des personnes déplacées dans un ménage d'accueil s'est réalisée selon différentes approches (Tableau 25).

Tableau 25 : Répartition des familles d'accueil selon l'organisation de l'arrivée des déplacés

		Décision du CM	Entente CM et PDI	Famille ou communauté	Initiative PDI	Autre	Effectif
Abidjan	Urbain	31,1	15,8	6,4	44,4	2,4	283
	Rural	48,1	5,9	4,5	40,8	0,7	232
	Total	33,2	14,6	6,1	43,9	2,2	515
Daloa	Urbain	46,7	5,9	5,5	41,9	1,7	225
	Rural	21,4	7,5	29,6	39,5	1,9	254
	Total	22,5	7,5	28,6	39,6	1,8	479
Duékoué	Urbain	37,2	13,9	7,2	39,0	2,8	287
	Rural	19,4	9,0	2,2	60,5	8,9	186
	Total	24,5	10,4	3,6	54,3	7,1	473
Toulépleu	Urbain	20,1	14,2	24,2	41,5	0,2	211
	Rural	22,0	5,9	15,1	57,1	0,9	242
	Total	21,8	6,6	15,8	55,8	0,1	453
Yamoussoukro	Urbain	20,6	46,1	5,2	27,7	0,4	245
	Rural	46,5	15,6	17,8	19,4	0,7	218
	Total	39,4	24,0	14,3	21,7	0,6	463
Type De Ménage							
Non accueil		20,9	17,1	12,1	48,1	1,8	2203
Accueil		33,1	13,3	9,5	41,6	2,5	2383
Statut du chef de ménage							
Non déplacé		24,4	13,6	13,0	45,9	3,0	3229
Déplacé		42,7	14,3	4,7	36,9	1,4	1357
Total		31,3	13,9	9,9	42,3	2,4	4586

Source : ENSEA – PDI 2005

Dans la plupart des cas (43%), c'est le déplacé lui-même qui a entrepris les démarches d'hébergement auprès des familles d'accueil. Les chefs de ménage ont pris eux-mêmes l'initiative d'héberger les déplacés dans 31% des cas. Peu de situations ont nécessité une entente entre chefs de ménage et déplacés (14%) ou l'intervention de la famille ou d'une communauté (10%) à laquelle appartient le déplacé. Le recours à la famille ou à une communauté comme intermédiaire dans la recherche d'une famille d'accueil se rencontre principalement en milieu rural (16% contre 6% en milieu urbain).

Depuis le déclenchement de la crise, les départs des zones de conflits ont été organisés par vagues successives. La durée des conflits est un facteur important dans le changement de comportement car certains ménages ont pu se reconstituer et accueillent les nouveaux déplacés. Les déplacés installés dans leur propre ménage se montrent plus sensibles à la situation des autres déplacés. En effet parmi les personnes ayant facilité l'accueil des déplacés dans leur ménage, 43 % (contre 24 %) sont des chefs de ménage eux-mêmes déplacés.

[...]

Le conflit armé a provoqué des mouvements de population fuyant prioritairement les régions de combat mais venant également de diverses zones du pays pour différentes raisons. C'est ainsi que les localités situées en lisière des zones ayant connu les conflits, ceux situés dans l'Ouest, le département du Haut Sassandra et la Vallée du Bandama, ont reçu une des vagues importantes de personnes déplacées. Les personnes rendues nécessiteuses du fait de la guerre, viennent ainsi principalement des zones peu éloignées des régions d'accueil. On note en effet une relative concentration des personnes déplacées dans les villes ou villages proches de leur localité de départ. La solidarité de proximité a été ainsi largement développée lors de la crise. A l'ouest, Duékoué et Toulépleu ont recueilli la quasi totalité des réfugiés venant de l'Ouest (97% et 83% respectivement). De même à Yamoussoukro, on note une prépondérance des déplacés issus de la Vallée du Bandama : 78% en milieu urbain et 64% en milieu rural (Tableau 32). Quant à Daloa, ville située au Centre Ouest, elle a accueilli essentiellement des déplacés venant de la Région du Haut Sassandra et de l'Ouest. Abidjan, située loin des zones d'hostilités, connaît une situation

moins tranchée. On y compte une majorité de déplacés venant de la Vallée du Bandama mais aussi une part importante de réfugiés qui résidaient dans la partie septentrionale du pays ou dans l'Ouest.

D'une manière générale, on observe que les hommes déplacés provenant de la Vallée du Bandama se sont surtout installés en zone urbaine (51%). Par contre, ceux issus du Haut Sassandra ont préféré le milieu rural (2% de destination vers les villes) (Annexe Tableau E.2.1). Chez les femmes, le comportement reste identique. En effet, celles en provenance de la Vallée du Bandama et de l'Ouest ont préféré les villes contrairement à celles issues du Haut Sassandra (3% de destination vers les villes) (Annexe Tableau E.2.2)."

Continuous violence causes repeated short-term displacement (2007)

Médecins Sans Frontières, 2007, p. 7

"When violence flares, people flee their village and seek refuge in larger towns or in the bush. The pattern of attacks and counter-attacks results in repeated short-term displacement lasting anywhere from days to months. Families lose their goods, abandon their fields and are exposed to malnutrition and disease.

When the war started, my in-laws fled to the bush to save their lives. They only returned to the village after one and a half years. But sometimes, even now, they spend the night in the village and the only return to the bush during the day- especially when they hear some rumour and are afraid.

This year, many people fled to other villages to stay with their family and friends. When we heard about the recent attack [in July 2005], we fled to the bush- but not for long because the attack was farther away. We stayed in the bush for three days because we wanted to be careful. We are always on the run, fleeing people who might attack. We sleep on the bare floor. We don't eat well. When we are thirsty, we drink whatever water we can find. There is no time for us to nourish our children well- but it was not like this before the war. We are eating food from the old manioc fields that my in-laws planted in the bush when they were there over a year ago.

Woman from the zone of confidence, interviewed in August 2005. "

Complex patterns of displacement and lack of access make IDPs hard to locate (2003)

- In March 2003, UN OCHA reported that despite a concerted effort to document numbers of IDPs, available information and data were insufficient
- Reasons for this included lack of access, lack of national capacity, and ad hoc registration and monitoring
- Biggest constraint to accurate information was the fact that some 80 per cent of IDPs had found shelter with host families

UN OCHA, 31 March 2003

"The weeks and months following the violence of the 19 September coup attempt saw population movements mainly from the central areas of Cote d'Ivoire towards the south, and from areas further north into neighboring countries. Based on accounts coming out of rebel-held zones, including that Cote d'Ivoire's northern "second" city Bouake (pop. 600,000) had become a ghost town, it was estimated that as many as 600,000 people had been displaced by mid-November.

Then two more rebel groups emerged in the west, and that violence created further displacement, roughly estimated at 500,000. In January of 2003, however, given differing estimates of the number of IDPs among various UN Agencies and the Government, a concerted effort to tackle the issue was begun. OCHA held two ad hoc working groups on IDPs in February, which were followed by a workshop held in Abidjan in March by an OCHA IDP expert sent from Geneva. The current estimate, based on the information and data available, is that approximately 750,000 IDPs are currently in Cote d'Ivoire.

Available information and data are, however, insufficient due to a variety of factors. The majority of population movements occurred before humanitarian structures were in place; the humanitarian community lacks targeted information on IDP presence in large portions of the north; the west is almost completely inaccessible due to violence and insecurity; the Government Solidarity and Humanitarian Action Cell is lacking in human resources and technical capacity to tackle the issue in the south; registration and monitoring to date have been largely ad hoc and incomplete; and perhaps most important, approximately 80% of IDPs have found shelter with host families, making them hard to locate.”

PHYSICAL SECURITY & FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Physical security

Protection concerns remain high in the zone of confidence (2007)

- MSF reports almost daily attacks against civilians in the zone of confidence since its dismantlement on April 16
- Rapes and armed attacks are multiplying in the area imposing a law of fear
- The insecurity in the zone of confidence has had a negative impact on the overall human rights situation in the past two years
- UNOCI recorded several cases of killings, tortures and abductions throughout 2006

Médecins Sans Frontières, 25 April 2007

"A week after the official suppression of the Zone of Confidence, the international humanitarian organisation Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) reports a sharp increase of violence against civilians in the area around Bangolo.

The Zone of Confidence (zone de confiance) was a buffer zone between the warring parties in Ivory Coast, spanning from the Liberian border in the west to the frontier with Ghana in the east, under the responsibility of the UN peacekeepers and a French force, together known as the Impartial Forces. As part of a recently approved peace process, the zone is being dismantled and the Impartial Forces have reduced their activities and presence.

From April 16 onward, the MSF team in Bangolo have reported almost daily attacks against people living in the Zone of Confidence, as well as for those who have to travel across the zone. Assaults on small buses, robberies, assassinations and rapes reached an alarming level.

"The security situation in the area around Bangolo had already been very bad over the past two years, as we have seen in the course of our work here and have documented in a collection of testimonies," says Operational Coordinator Stephan Goetghebuer, who visited the Zone of Confidence last week. "This was in spite of the presence of Impartial Forces who aimed at maintaining a minimum level of peace and security. Now these forces are being redeployed and the people living in the zone are, for the moment, left defenceless."

Armed bandits are currently multiplying their attacks in this area and imposing a law of fear. Most attacks happen along the main route between Man and Duékoué. Vehicles, from buses to bikes, are stopped at gunpoint; often this is accompanied by shooting, after which people's belongings are stolen.

On many occasions women are raped as part of the attacks. The MSF team received six raped women this month and fears that others are simply not coming to the hospital. The city of Bangolo is not safe either, as attacks here take place at night. Part of the population is fleeing their homes and hiding in the bush or seeking protection during the nights in the hospital supported by MSF, where since January 2007 more than 30 wounded by gunshots were treated.

The announced deployment of Ivorian security forces in the Zone of Confidence does not provide any sense of relief in an area where waves of violence were already part of the daily life and where today the vacuum of power can even lead to a worsening of the situation."

UN Security Council, 8 March 2007, para. 44

"The insecurity in the zone of confidence, which is due to an absence of any law enforcement authority, continues to have a negative impact on the overall human rights situation. The cases of abuse witnessed in the zone range from banditry to ethnically motivated, targeted killings and attacks.

UNOCI, March 2007, para. 50

"La situation des droits de l'homme est restée alarmante dans la zone de confiance où des conflits intercommunautaires récurrents ont continué à plonger la population dans une insécurité rampante. Plus particulièrement, dans la zone de Bangolo, les criminels, individus armés, milices, "dozos" (chasseurs traditionnels) et autres bandes armées sévissent en toute impunité. L'ONUCI a pu répertorier des cas d'assassinats, de tueries, de confiscation de biens privés, d'enlèvements, de disparitions et d'exactions continuelles portant atteinte à l'intégrité physique des personnes."

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, paras. 22-23, 47

"The UNOCI report gives no specific information about the zone of confidence, but the Representative of the Secretary-General was told about security problems and particular difficulties linked to the absence of State bodies, particularly the judiciary."

Displaced women and girls are most vulnerable particularly to acts of sexual violence (2007)

- IDP population consists largely of West African immigrants, among whom women and girls remain most exposed to abuse, especially sexual violence
- Protection needs of these groups are great, but support is practically non-existent
- IDPs are discriminated against in various fields, which also impacts on the prospects of return/resettlement

Amnesty International, 15 March 2007, para. 3.1

"Although accurate statistics are difficult to obtain, it is estimated that hundreds, possibly thousands of women were victims of sexual violence as a result of the armed conflict. Large movements of IDPs and refugees fleeing the conflict have resulted in increased vulnerability for IDP and refugee women, particularly Liberian women, in Côte d'Ivoire. Recent information gathered by Amnesty International shows that women continue to suffer sexual assault committed with complete impunity by members of the security forces as well as by members of armed opposition groups. Civilians and militia members benefiting either from the political backing of government authorities in the south, or from the support of the New Forces in the territory under their control, also commit sexual violence against women with total impunity."

UN, 17 December 2004

"Throughout the country, in the Government and FN-controlled zone as well as the Zone of confidence, inadequate prosecution of human rights violations, cases of arbitrary arrests, recruitment of refugees and children, detentions, tortures, rapes, disappearances, and destruction of property continue to be reported.

Both sides of the conflict have breached international humanitarian law. Humanitarian actors have been harassed, have vehicles searched and confiscated and it has been reported that Liberian refugees and children have been targeted for recruitment as soldiers.

In the South, the recent events confirmed the vulnerability of certain communities and the lack of state protection and security available to them. People and communities identified as the most vulnerable and exposed to acts of violence include non-African foreigners (particularly French), urban refugees, Ivorians living in poorer neighbourhoods, other West-African nationals living in poorer areas (Burkinabe, Malian, Senegalese, Beninoise etc.) and youths aged 13-18. Within these groups women and girls remain the most exposed, particularly to sexual violence. For these groups of people there is little physical or moral security and limited access to judicial support. Psychosocial assistance is practically non-existent for those who have suffered traumatic experiences. 'These communities form the largest part of the IDP population which, due to their displacement status, face specific protection needs which have to be addressed. These needs are linked to the root causes of displacement where groups have been targeted specifically because of their membership to the above communities. As a result they continue to be discriminated against in various fields which also will influence the return / resettlement of the displaced. The discrimination issue has to be included in the peace process and also followed up in responding to the protection needs of the displaced.'

The state-controlled media has also played a key role in mobilising the violence of the 4-12 November, spreading discriminatory, xenophobic and hateful messages and encouraging the pro-Gbagbo supporters to take to the streets. The coverage was entirely partial as all the opposition newspapers were silenced by vandalism and/or death threats and the international radio stations were pulled off the air.

Many children have been directly affected and traumatised by the situation. A number of children were mobilised to participate in street demonstrations and have therefore been directly subjected to violence, aggression, and psychosocial trauma. Four French schools in Abidjan were burnt down and other schools throughout the South remained closed for several days."

Impunity continues to be major factor in worsening human rights situation (November 2006)

- Violations of human rights increase as the administrative and judiciary authorities as well as the police are not present or operational in most of the country
- The roundtable on the "Protection of Civilians in Côte d'Ivoire" identified the stalemate of the DDR process as a risk for the protection of civilians in the north, an atmosphere of impunity in the west and the lack of an independent judiciary in the south
- Both government forces, their allied militia and rebel forces are continuing to commit serious abuses against civilians with impunity, increasing the likelihood of pre-election violence
- HRW recommends prompt publication of key UN inquiry into human rights violations committed since 2002, as well as an investigatory mission by the International Criminal Court
- The UN similarly warns of the problem of impunity as a factor in the worsening human rights situation across Cote d'Ivoire

United Nations, 30 November 2006, pp. 37-38; pp.61-62

"An increasing number of cases of violations of human rights and humanitarian law and of crime rates, including Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), inter and intra-ethnic violence and

the requisition of child soldiers and of children associated with armed forces as well as some 20,000 newly displaced persons and the murder of more than 50 persons during the first half of the year in the West and in the Zone of Confidence, highlight the fact that the administrative, police and judiciary authorities are not present in most of the country and/or are not operational. There is also a climate of impunity, in which these acts of violence and violations go unpunished.

[...]

Following the Protection of Civilians roundtable in New York, OCHA organised in Abidjan a roundtable on "Protection of Civilians in Côte d'Ivoire", from 12 to 13 October 2006. Approximately 80 representatives from the Government – including a representative of the FN - UNOCI, UN Agencies, international humanitarian organisations, ICRC and civil society participated in the workshop.

There was a consensus amongst participants on the fact that the stalemate in the peace process is deepening the protection crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and that protection concerns vary according to the different zones in the country, the north, the Zone of Confidence and the south. The western region seems to be most affected by the large presence of militia, the large number of violations of human rights, humanitarian law and crime in an atmosphere of impunity and ongoing internal displacement. The security challenges in the zone of confidence were discussed in depth and various recommendations made on how to respond. The main threats to civilians in the north were related to the absence of the public administration and limited access to basic social services and public utilities (education, health, safe drinking water). In addition, the stalemate of the DDR process was considered a further risk for the protection of civilians, given the large scale of forces to be demobilised and reintegrated (approximately 30,000). As for the south, participants identified the lack of an efficient and politically independent judiciary as an obstacle to the effective protection of civilian populations. Key final recommendations were to:

- Have more effective coordination among all stakeholders and to develop a policy framework for the protection of civilians in specific sectors and geographic areas;
- Improve the regular exchange of security information between the impartial forces and other stakeholders, particularly at field level, and to suggest comprehensive measures to strengthen the security situation particularly in the Zone of Confidence and in its neighbouring areas."

[...]

The issue of protection and social cohesion is marked by the increasing number of human rights violations and IDPs, social and cultural fracture in a context of impunity.

- The socio-political and security context prevailing in the West, as illustrated by the multiple uncontrolled manifestations, often affecting the life of the populations, and this in total impunity. This climate may further deteriorate at the end of October, with the pending issues concerning the elections, identification and mobile courts (which have been opposed by the patriots and militia in the Moyen Cavally);
- The problem of displaced persons confronted with difficulties of survival and integration;
- Aggravation of the vulnerability of the population, especially of women and young populations exposed to all the dangers (prostitution, AIDS, rape, drogue, enrolment, etc.). Concerning the protection of children and girls, the situation, according to the Sainte Gemma nuns, is highly worrying in the Bas Sassandra. Several young girls are pregnant, raped and sexually abused in families. They are mostly from the villages. Those who are pregnant are particularly found in the "Sans lois" popular district of Sassandra. This situation is due to lack of accommodation, tutors and reception structures for school children from villages, who often sleep five to ten in one room, thus creating visible promiscuity;
- The land issue, regularly a source of inter-ethnic conflicts and killings/injuries, followed by reprisals and population movements. In this regard, in Tabou, there are major risks to be feared by the month of November 2006, the period set for the end of the banishment of the Burkinabé

community expelled from Tabou and surrounding villages since 1999, following a land dispute that resulted in the death of a native. This issue is still of concern for the authorities of Tabou, who are relying on the meetings and discussions being held for several months by the National Association for Peace and civil servants from the department as well as traditional chiefs.”

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, paras. 22, 47

“There have been reports of violations of the right to life and physical integrity, particularly in the form of torture and ill-treatment, in the area under the control of the Forces Nouvelles. The UNOCI report refers to a fall in the number of arrests for infiltration during this period, but notes the resurgence of inter-community conflicts and an increase in the number of rapes of minors and forced marriages.

[...]

The Representative of the Secretary-General is also concerned about the persistence of problems related to the physical protection of displaced persons, particularly in the regions in the west and south of Côte d'Ivoire. Throughout the crisis, in fact, displaced persons who have had to flee their regions of origin for, basically, security reasons have been the victims of serious human rights violations committed both by the defence and security forces and by rebel or youth groups, who often go unpunished. According to the information received by the Representative of the Secretary-General, displaced persons continue to be the victims of numerous violations, and cases of targeted assassination, torture and sexual abuse have also been reported. There have also been reports of atrocities during the coffee and cocoa harvest. It is alleged that displaced persons are frequently the victims of extortion and racketeering.”

Human Rights Watch, 25 May 2006

“Government forces in Côte d'Ivoire, their allied militias and New Forces rebels alike are committing serious abuses against civilians with impunity...These abuses and the impunity that fuels them raise serious concerns about the potential for violence in the run-up to the October elections.

[...]

Human Rights Watch found that members of the government security forces continue to prey on civilians by extorting, robbing and, at times, beating those they are entrusted to protect. These abuses typically take place under the guise of routine security checks during which police and gendarmes inspect the identity papers of individuals they stop at road blocks, in markets or other public places. Nationals of neighboring states and Ivorians from the north of the country are particularly signaled out for abuse, on the basis of suspicions that they support the northern rebels. Individuals from these groups are targeted and frequently subjected to arbitrary arrests, beatings, torture and sometimes murder, particularly during episodes of heightened political tension.

In the northern part of Cote d'Ivoire, Human Rights Watch found that New Forces rebels routinely extort money from civilians through threats, intimidation or outright force. In the zone administered by the New Forces, citizens accused of common crimes are sometimes subject to arbitrary arrest by rebel-administered police officers, and the imposition of custodial “sentences” of questionable legal authority continue to occur with no independent judicial or executive checks.

The report notes how neither the Ivorian authorities, the leadership of the rebel New Forces, nor the international community has taken meaningful steps to bring to justice those responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law in Côte d'Ivoire. Unless measures are taken now to combat impunity, a repeat of the violence experienced during the 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections could occur. In 2000, political, ethnic and religious

violence in the run-up to the elections resulted in the deaths of more than 200 people and injuries to hundreds more.

Human Rights Watch recommended that the U.N. Security Council authorize wider application of travel and economic sanctions against individuals identified as responsible for serious human rights abuses. The organization said the council should promptly publish and discuss the recommendations of a U.N. Commission of Inquiry's report into human rights violations committed since 2002 – a report that has not yet been made public, even though it was submitted to the Security Council in December 2004.

[...]

The International Criminal Court should promptly dispatch a mission to Côte d'Ivoire to investigate government and rebel forces accused of serious crimes. The report also calls on the government of Côte d'Ivoire and the New Forces to investigate and punish, in accordance with international standards, crimes committed in their area of effective control, including extrajudicial execution, torture, and the harassment and extortion of civilians."

UN Security Council, 11 April 2006, paras. 55-57

"Serious human rights violations continue to be committed in Côte d'Ivoire, mainly by elements of the Defence and Security Forces in the Government-controlled south, elements of the Forces nouvelles in the northern zone under their control, and militias on both sides of the Ivorian conflict. As in the past, human rights violations documented by UNOCI include summary executions, disappearances and death threats, rape and sexual exploitation, human trafficking, torture, and inhuman and degrading treatment, as well as interference with freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of association.

Impunity continues to be a major contributing factor to the worsening human rights situation in Côte d'Ivoire. Repeated appeals by UNOCI and other international actors to civilian and military authorities to institute criminal proceedings against elements of the Defence and Security Forces in the south, and of the Forces nouvelles in the north, who have committed serious human rights violations, have remained unheeded. The imposition of sanctions by the Security Council early in February against a commanding officer of the Forces nouvelles for human rights violations is a welcome signal to military and civilian leaders on both sides of the Ivorian crisis that they will henceforth be held personally accountable for serious human rights violations.

UNOCI continued to implement its human rights promotion programme, with funding from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. In a pilot phase, for which a grant of \$25,000 was received, human rights training was conducted for a total of 250 representatives of Government departments, judicial services, local administrations and civil society organizations in Abidjan, Bouaké and Yamoussoukro. Within the same programme, human rights awareness-raising materials, including posters, pamphlets and T-shirts, were produced and distributed to more than 50,000 people in target communities. The Operation is also establishing a field presence in Bouna, Korhogo and Odienné, bringing to eight the number of UNOCI human rights regional offices in the country."

See also:

IRIN, COTE D'IVOIRE: "Hostages in our own land", **22 March 2007**

Human Rights Watch, "Côte d'Ivoire: the Human Rights Cost of the Political Impasse", **21 December 2005**

Children are associated with armed groups (October 2006)

- Children are associated with armed militia groups though there is no evidence of children participating in the Government's regular armed forces
- UNICEF estimates that more than 5,000 children have been associated with armed groups in Cote d'Ivoire's conflict
- Continuing inter-ethnic violence as well as attacks on the UN has put former child combatants at risk of re-recruitment
- Various UN agencies are attempting to apply Resolution 1612 in Cote d'Ivoire, aimed at monitoring the situation of children in armed conflict

Refugees International, 5 March 2007

"The numbers of children associated with fighting forces are small, probably in the high hundreds to low thousands. Children continue to be associated with the armed forces and militia groups as well as with the Forces Nouvelles. UNICEF, Save the Children and other international and non-governmental agencies are working to end the use of child soldiers and to provide assistance. A series of programs reunited 500 children with their families and placed others who cannot rejoin their families in host families. Youth no longer of school age can attend non-formal education programs teaching life skills, prevention of HIV-AIDS, as well as soap making, embroidery, carpentry, and animal breeding. Other programs provide recreation and literacy training. The agencies work together to prevent militants from recruiting new or previously engaged children. At the time of RI's visit, it was widely reported that in a recent month over 100 children had come from Liberia to fight."

UN Security Council, 25 October 2006, paras. 9-11

"Children are associated with armed forces and groups both in the Government-held territories and in areas under the control of FAFN. In my report on children and armed conflict of 9 February 2005 (A/59/695-S/2005/72), I cited the release of 273 children by FAFN, which was listed in the report for the recruitment and use of child soldiers.

There is currently no tangible evidence of children participating in the Government's regular armed forces (FANCI). It is evident, however, that children are associated with armed militia groups close to the ruling party, the Front populaire ivoirien (FPI). These militias are active in areas under the control of the Government, notably in the west, where the following four groups have been identified: Front pour la libération du grand ouest (FLGO), Alliance patriotique du peuple Wê (APWE), Union patriotique de résistance du Grand Ouest (UPRGO) and Mouvement ivoirien de libération de l'ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire (MILOCI). Both FAFN and pro-Government militia groups in the west deny the recruitment of child soldiers. However, they admit to the association of children with their fighting forces.

Since the adoption by the Security Council in July 2005 of resolution 1612 (2005) and the concerted advocacy of the United Nations for dialogue and action plans to end the recruitment and use of children in the framework of the resolution, FAFN and militia groups have signalled their willingness to cooperate in this regard. Since July 2005, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and its implementing partners have reported the demobilization of 327 children associated with fighting forces in areas under the control of the Forces nouvelles, of which 251 were officially handed over to the United Nations by FAFN. In addition, 600 self-demobilized children in Danané, who received military training from pro-FAFN Liberian fighters during the conflict, and 400 children formerly associated with militia groups in the west have been identified for rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. Although no exact figures of the total number of children associated with FAFN are available, a caseload of approximately 4,000 children was estimated.

United Nations monitoring and verification over the past year indicates that active recruitment of children by FAFN is not occurring and that measures are being put in place to identify children associated with their forces for handover to the United Nations. At this time there is no specific information regarding ongoing active recruitment of children by pro-Government militias, owing in part to access restrictions."

UNICEF, 22 February 2006

"The demobilization of child soldiers -- and other children associated with armed groups -- is one of UNICEF's most urgent priorities in Côte d'Ivoire. It is estimated that more than 5,000 children have been associated with armed groups in the conflict. Working with its UN and other partners, UNICEF has been able to help reintegrate more than 1,900 of these children back into their communities.

The village of Gnakanzou in the volatile west of the country has been a particular success story. Close to the border with Liberia, it is situated in an area that has been exposed to more than a decade of instability. In November 2002 rebels attacked the village killing, injuring and raping scores of civilians and abducting more than a thousand children. The children were then forcibly recruited by warlords and forced to participate in campaigns of violence before being taken across the border to Liberia.

In late 2004 most of these children managed to escape from Liberia following clashes between different rebel factions. Together with PAHO, a local non-governmental organization, UNICEF was able to repatriate 720 of them back to Gnakanzou. Today through counselling, skills training and regular follow-up visits they have been successfully reintegrated into the community.

However fresh outbreaks of inter-ethnic violence and recent attacks on UN peacekeepers by militant youth groups in the western region have resulted in the evacuation of many humanitarian workers, putting these former child combatants at risk of re-recruitment.

[...]

In July 2005 the UN Security Council approved Resolution 1612 to monitor the situation of children in a number of countries affected by conflict -- including Côte d'Ivoire -- and impose sanctions on violators. Together with other UN agencies in Côte d'Ivoire UNICEF has started the establishment of a viable Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism (MRM) in the application of the resolution.

[...]

UNICEF is also conducting extensive briefings on the application of Resolution 1612 to all sides in Côte d'Ivoire's conflict. However as long as the instability continues and a lasting peace is not firmly established, children will remain at risk of being recruited."

Shaky political situation raises fears of massive human rights violations against civilians (June 2005)

- Government militia attack on rebel-held town of Loguoualé in February, as well as inter-ethnic massacres around Duekoué in May and June, increased tensions particularly between indigenous Ivorian ethnic groups and immigrant communities in volatile western region

- Both government and rebel forces have continued to perpetrate summary and extrajudiciary executions, rape, sexual violence and extortion throughout the country
- Rights organisations continue to highlight the dangers posed by indisciplined pro-government militia
- The issue of impunity remains key to both preventing and addressing the resumption of violence

UN Security Council, 17 June 2005, paras. 42-44

“The human rights situation throughout Côte d'Ivoire remains worrying. It has been exacerbated in the western part of the country by the continuing tensions created by the armed attack by a group of elements claiming to be members of the Mouvement Ivoirien pour la Libération de l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire (MILOCI) against Forces nouvelles positions at Logoualé on 28 February and also the attacks around Duékoué.

Summary and extrajudiciary executions, rape, sexual violence and extortion continue throughout the country, involving elements of the Forces nouvelles and affiliated militias such as the Dozos, the Ivorian Defence and Security Forces, pro-Government militias and other armed groups.

Relations between indigenous Ivorian ethnic groups and immigrant communities in many areas remain tense, notably in Duékoué and Guiglo and in and around the zone of confidence. The continuing confrontations between these communities have resulted in serious human rights violations. Robberies have also increased on main roads, while some elements of the Forces nouvelles and pro-Government militias have infiltrated the zone of confidence on several occasions.”

Human Rights Watch, May 2005

“The continuing failure of the government of Côte d'Ivoire and the New Forces rebels to address human rights concerns raises the prospect of massive rights violations should the shaky peace between the government and rebels fall apart. The government has provided support for some ten thousand ill-disciplined militia fighters, which often are supplanting the official security forces. These militias have committed serious crimes with impunity, particularly against northerners, Muslims and West African immigrants and others perceived to be supporting the rebels. The government's past willingness to use hate speech in the media to incite violence against perceived opponents remains a cause of future concern should armed hostilities return. As well, the northern-based New Forces rebels continue to engage in serious human rights abuses such as extrajudicial executions, torture, arbitrary detentions and confiscation of property.

The 1999-2000 military junta and the 2002-2003 armed conflict between the government and northern-based rebels, in addition to the political unrest and impasse that has followed, have been punctuated by egregious atrocities by both government and rebel forces including political killings, massacres, ‘disappearances’ and numerous incidents of torture. The steady crescendo of impunity by armed groups from all sides, but especially government militias, has resulted in ever-increasing incidents of violence against civilians. The political and social climate has become increasingly polarized and characterized by intolerance, xenophobia, and suspicion, bringing fears of what could happen should there be an all-out resumption of hostilities.

Two military incidents since November 2004, discussed in this report, demonstrate the precarious nature of the situation, and how further incidents could set off a spiral of human rights violations that could prove difficult to control. The two incidents – the November 2004 government offensive against the rebel-held north and the February 28, 2005 militia attack on the rebel-held town of Logouale – not only sparked an alarming spate of ethnically motivated attacks between

indigenous groups and immigrant farm workers over land rights, but also highlighted the desperate need for stronger measures to protect vulnerable groups of civilians.

In the first several months of 2005, diplomats, U.N. sources, international aid workers and Liberian fighters said they believed, despite official denials, government forces were training and equipping militias, including hundreds of Liberian mercenaries, to renew the war against the New Forces rebels. The attacks would likely start from the far west where long-simmering tensions between indigenous groups and immigrant farm workers over land rights are easily manipulated for political gain. The deployment of ill-trained and ill-disciplined militias would greatly increase the likelihood of abuse against the civilian population and suspected rebels. Human rights abuses by New Forces rebels, which have a history of torture and summary execution against perceived government opponents, are also a grave source of concern, especially given that rebel commanders sometimes appear to be unable to exert effective command and control over armed bands, ostensibly allied to them."

UN report exposes grave human rights abuses ahead of peace talks (April 2005)

- Report by the human rights division of the UN peacekeeping mission in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) documents series of abuses by both sides to the conflict in the first two months of 2005
- Both government and rebel forces were guilty of extra-judicial killings, disappearances, torture, beatings and extortion
- Militia activity had risen sharply in Abidjan, as had the crime rate since almost 4,000 prisoners escaped from jail during the November 2004 riots
- Other causes for concern highlighted by the report were continuing ethnic tensions in western Cote d'Ivoire, racketeering by security forces and state control of media

IRIN, 1 April 2005

"The UN peacekeeping force in Cote d'Ivoire has published a detailed and scathing [report](#) on recent human rights abuses in Cote d'Ivoire as President Laurent Gbagbo prepares for a face-to-face meeting with rebel leader Guillaume Soro at fresh peace talks in South Africa on Sunday.

[...]

The report by the human rights division of the UN Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (ONUCI) chronicled a series of human rights abuses committed during the first two months of this year.

These took place in the government-controlled south and the rebel-held north of the country, as well as the lawless buffer zone patrolled by UN and French peacekeepers that lies in between.

The report ... cited a long list of extra-judicial killings and disappearances and instances of torture, beatings and extortion by gunmen supporting both sides in Cote d'Ivoire's three-year-old civil war.

[...]

The ONUCI human rights report said that in the government-run south of Cote d'Ivoire, 'summary and extra-judicial executions and excessive use of force continue to be regularly perpetrated.'

It highlighted the execution-style killing of 18 alleged 'gangsters' by the security forces in the Abidjan suburb of Yopougon in broad daylight on January 18.

The rebel-held north is not much safer.

The report said at least four civilians were found summarily executed in rebel territory during the two-month period.

It accused the rebels of arbitrarily detaining civilians suspected of sympathising with or working for government forces.

Several detainees in rebel custody had 'disappeared,' while others had been subjected to torture in the homes of rebel leaders, notably at the Bouake residence of Mobido Drabo, a rebel commander known as "Mobio".

He died shortly afterwards in suspicious circumstances. The ONUCI human rights investigators said they had been unable to verify allegations that he had simply become the latest troublesome commander to suffer rough justice at the hands of the rebel leadership.

In the government zone as well as in the rebel-controlled north, "the climate of suspicion and fear of conspiracies [...] have provoked arbitrary arrests and acts of intimidation targeting individuals suspected by the rebels to be a supporter or a sympathizer of 'the enemy', the report said.

UN and French peacekeeping troops patrol the Zone of Confidence, which runs as a dividing belt through the centre of the country. But the report said this no-man's-land was equally cause for concern because 'the judicial system and the administration do not function according to required norms, which leaves much room for impunity'.

It said the Zone of Confidence had become infested with bands of robbers, who blocked roads with tree trunks and stripped passers-by of their money and possessions at gunpoint.

The report highlighted an 'increase of cases of theft, racketeering and violence committed by military elements, bandits or militias against civilians who live in the confidence zone or who are crossing it.'

The report said crime had risen sharply in Abidjan since 3,858 prisoners escaped from the city's main jail during anti-French rioting in early November. It noted that only 153 of the escaped prisoners had been recaptured.

Every day, Abidjan newspapers publish reports about burglaries, armed robberies and random killings. Many of the thugs appear to be carrying AK47 automatic rifles, the standard weapon used by all the armed groups in the Ivorian conflict.

The UN human rights division warned that militia activity had intensified since January and that armed groups were active in at least seven neighbourhoods of Abidjan, which hosts a quarter of Cote d'Ivoire's 16 million population.

According to the report, one such militia group, which guards a TV mast on the outskirts of the city, appeared to have been responsible for the murder of a mechanic from northern Cote d'Ivoire, whose body was found nearby.

[...]

Other worrying developments, highlighted by the report were continuing ethnic tensions in western Cote d'Ivoire, racketeering by security forces, which frequently extort money from passers by at roadblocks, and an attempt by Gbagbo to reassert full control over state radio and television. This technically comes under the authority of Soro, the rebel leader, who is Minister of Communications in Cote d'Ivoire's dysfunctional government of national reconciliation."

Deteriorating human rights situation throughout Côte d'Ivoire remains of “very serious concern” (December 2004)

- UN Secretary General reported in December 2004 that gross human rights violations continued to be perpetrated in government and rebel territories, as well as in the zone of confidence
- Failures of the parties to the conflict to adhere to the peace agreement and the resumption of hostilities in November 2004 contributed to the deteriorating human rights situation
- In government-held areas of the countries, abuses were often targeted on the basis of ethnicity, religion or political affiliation
- In rebel-held areas, tensions between rival factions resulted in serious human rights violations, including a rise in cases of rape

UN Security Council, 9 December 2004, paras. 41-47

"The deteriorating human rights situation in Côte d'Ivoire remains an issue of very serious concern. Gross violations continue to be reported throughout the country, in both the Government and Forces nouvelles-controlled areas, as well as in the zone of confidence. These include cases of summary executions and extrajudicial killings, torture, rape, forced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, illegal and incommunicado detentions and the destruction of houses and other property.

The tense situation created by the failure of the Government and the Forces nouvelles to meet the deadlines stipulated in the Accra III Agreement, as well as the military offensive launched by FANCI against Forces nouvelles positions in early November, have caused a further deterioration in the human rights situation in Côte d'Ivoire. In this context, the number of requests for protection received by UNOCI from individuals who fear for their lives and physical integrity have steadily increased during the reporting period. There were numerous reports of women and girls being raped and also of the ransacking and burning of houses of opposition supporters during the recent outbreak of violence.

In the Government-controlled south, the human rights situation has been exacerbated by a series of high-profile incidents such as the operations carried out by security forces in Abidjan against the civilian population in the Gobebe neighbourhood and at the Adjamé market on 29 September 2004. Other incidents, which took place in recent months, include a security operation against worshippers at the mosque in Yamoussoukro, the attack by members of the militant student organization, Fédération estudiantine et scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI), against inhabitants of the Abidjan shanty towns of Wassa and Blingué and the abduction of four employees from the Abidjan residence of RDR leader, Alassane Ouattara, one of whom was subsequently found dead while the others were tortured and suffered serious physical injuries. In the western part of the country that is under Government control, militias supporting President Gbagbo repeatedly attacked residents of other ethnic groups in Bloléquin, Guiglo, Tai and other locations, as well as impeding the movement of humanitarian agencies within the region.

Tensions between rival factions of the Forces nouvelles in the west and the north, notably in Man, Logouale and Korhogo, also led to serious violations of human rights. A rise in cases of rape committed by Forces nouvelles elements has been reported in Korhogo.

In accordance with its mandate to contribute to the promotion and protection of human rights and to ending impunity for human rights violations in Côte d'Ivoire, UNOCI monitored, investigated and reported on several cases of human rights violations. It has also repeatedly urged the Government, which has primary responsibility for the protection of human rights in Côte d'Ivoire, as well as the Forces nouvelles leadership, to bring the perpetrators of these abuses to justice. However, the prospects of holding the perpetrators of gross human rights violations accountable

are seriously diminished by a general unwillingness on the part of both the Government and the Forces nouvelles to take the necessary measures, including providing investigators with access to information and to sectors of their security services for the purpose of identifying those within their ranks who are responsible for committing these violations.

In its efforts to combat exploitation of child labourers in the cocoa and coffee plantations, on 29 September 2004, the Government of National Reconciliation established a National Committee against Child Labour, with the technical support and assistance of the International Labour Organization (ILO). Subsequently, a conference aimed at defining dangerous child labour practices in Côte d'Ivoire was held in early October. Since September 2004, UNOCI has conducted training for peacekeepers and personnel of all its units on the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse.

On 15 October 2004, the International Commission of Inquiry established under the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement to investigate all serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law perpetrated in Côte d'Ivoire since 19 September 2002, submitted its report to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. It was subsequently circulated to the Ivorian parties signatory to the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement for their comments and was finalized and submitted to the Secretary-General on 19 November, for transmission to the Security Council."

UN News, 23 November 2004

"Human rights abuses in Côte d'Ivoire are giving rise to concern, with cases of arbitrary arrests, incommunicado detention and forced disappearances continuing to be reported nationwide after the resurgence of violence in the West African country earlier this month, the United Nations mission said today.

The Human Rights Office in Bouaké in the rebel-held north reported yesterday increasing cases of forced disappearances, arrests and detention of people accused of supporting President Laurent Gbagbo, the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) added in its second such warning on abuses in five days.

In this connection, the rebel Forces Nouvelles has proposed the nomination of a liaison officer with the mandate to interact on human rights issues with the Bouaké Human Rights Office, the mission added.

Last Friday it said summary executions, torture, rape, disappearances, arbitrary arrests and destruction of property continued to be reported throughout Côte d'Ivoire, both in Government- and rebel-controlled zones and in the UN-patrolled Zone of Confidence (ZOC) separating the combatants.

The latest crisis began 4 November when Government forces bombed rebel positions in the ZOC. Two days later Government forces bombed French peacekeepers there, killing nine, and French troops destroyed the Government's air force in retaliation, leading to widespread rioting, looting and harassment of foreigners.

More than 10,000 Ivorians, mostly women and children, fled into neighbouring Liberia, itself struggling to recover after 14 years of vicious civil war, and thousands of foreigners were air-lifted out of Abidjan, the country's largest city."

Pro-government militias commit abuses with impunity, says Human Rights Watch (November 2004)

- Human Rights Watch documents serious abuses against civilians by government-backed armed groups between 2002 and the end of 2004
- Militia groups have targeted immigrants from other West African countries as well as Ivorians of ethnic groups perceived to be opposed to the government, and chased thousands from their land
- Pro-government militia groups, known as the 'Young Patriots', have proliferated in Cote d'Ivoire since the attempted coup in September 2002
- There has also been an upsurge in reported incidents of abuse carried out by undisciplined armed elements linked to the rebels in the north of the country

Human Rights Watch, 11 November 2004

"As the security situation in Côte d'Ivoire deteriorates, the Ivorian authorities must ensure that pro-government militias end all attacks and threats against civilians, Human Rights Watch said today. The government must also cease radio or television broadcasts intended to incite violence against perceived government opponents, Human Rights Watch said today.

United Nations peacekeepers, under Security Council resolution 1528, have the responsibility 'to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.' Both within Abidjan and the rural areas, and most urgently in the western cacao-growing region, U.N. peacekeepers should conduct frequent patrols and make their presence felt in areas heavily populated by vulnerable groups. In recent years, northerners, Muslims and West African immigrants have come under attack from pro-government militias, which accuse them of supporting the northern-based rebellion.

'Until they were evacuated, French citizens bore the brunt of the militias' xenophobic attacks. Now we are concerned the militias will turn their rage on their more familiar targets — Muslims, northerners and West African immigrants,' said Peter Takirambudde, executive director of Human Rights Watch's Africa Division. "Given the history of militia abuses during Côte d'Ivoire's political crisis, the United Nations must anticipate such attacks and be ready to respond."

Over the last few days, local Ivorian human rights activists in hiding told Human Rights Watch about numerous cases of northern civilians and opposition supporters whose houses and business in Abidjan had been ransacked or burned by pro-government militias. On Tuesday, pro-government militias attacked northerners and West African immigrants in the western town of Gagnoa, killing at least five of them.

Speaking on state radio and television, government officials and militia leaders have disseminated continual messages inciting the militias to attack French civilians after French forces destroyed Ivorian aircraft. These messages recently spread to private radio stations. There has been at least one instance in which a broadcaster incitement of an attack included the number plate of a vehicle said to be driven by French nationals."

Human Rights Watch, 27 November 2003

"Pro-government militias in Côte d'Ivoire are committing serious abuses against civilians, including killings and torture, Human Rights Watch said today. The Ivorian government and international peacekeeping forces must take steps to control the rise of these militias, which operate with impunity.

In a visit to Côte d'Ivoire in October, Human Rights Watch received many credible accounts that armed groups -- which the official security forces allowed to act with impunity -- had carried out serious abuses against civilians in government-controlled parts of the country. These abuses, which included killings, torture and assaults, have continued since the nominal end in July of the civil conflict that had broken out in September 2002.

[...]

The reports received by Human Rights Watch indicate that in the west and southwest of the country these government-supported militias have harassed and assaulted peasant farmers, many of whom are migrants from other West African countries, including Burkina Faso. Most of the militia members are Bété -- the same ethnic group of the Ivorian president, Laurent Gbagbo -- or are from groups related to the Bété. Over the past 10 months, thousands of farmers who had migrated from Burkina Faso have been forced from their homes around Toulepleu, in western Côte d'Ivoire. In late October, several hundred West African immigrants and Ivorians of the Baoulé ethnic group were chased off their lands around Gagnoa, in southern Côte d'Ivoire, reportedly by groups of Bété youths. Militia groups supporting the government also remain active in the Ivorian capital, Abidjan.

Pro-government militia groups, known as the 'Young Patriots' (Jeunes Patriotes), have proliferated in Côte d'Ivoire over the past 14 months. Membership is believed to number in the thousands, although precise figures are unknown. Several of the leaders of the umbrella group -- the Group of Patriots for Peace (Groupement des Patriotes pour la Paix, or GPP) -- are ex-student leaders from a national university students association, the Student and School Federation of Côte d'Ivoire (Fédération Estudiantine et Scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire, or FESCI). They appear to have built up membership from the student network and the youth wings of political parties, particularly the Ivorian Popular Front (Front Populaire Ivoirien, or FPI), the ruling party. Student activists have also played a prominent role in the rebel movement and within other major political parties.

Several of the militia units -- known by names like the Bees, the Gazelles, the Ninjas and the Panthers -- have reportedly received support in their training exercises from members of the national armed forces. There are also credible allegations that some of the militia members, particularly those of Bété ethnicity, have been armed by government forces. As recently as October, militia members attacked water and electricity companies in Abidjan, allegedly for providing services to the rebel-held northern part of the country. In late October, they attacked newspaper distributors and kiosks selling newspapers linked to opposition parties, temporarily shutting down press circulation.

Since the end of the conflict in July, and as recently as this month, Human Rights Watch has continued to receive reports of torture, arbitrary detentions and 'disappearances' perpetrated by members of the state security forces in Abidjan.

In northern Côte d'Ivoire, controlled by the rebel New Forces (Forces Nouvelles), in recent months there has been an upsurge in reported incidents of assault, rape and looting allegedly carried out by undisciplined armed elements linked to the rebels. Many members of the New Forces have not been paid since the war was officially declared over.

[...]

Côte d'Ivoire's nine-month civil war began with a rebel uprising in September 2002, and was officially declared over in July. But the implementation of the French-brokered Linas-Marcoussis peace agreement, which called for a transitional government and elections in 2005, has all but broken down. In September, the rebel New Forces walked out of the government of national reconciliation, citing the government's failure to implement the agreement in good faith.

Urban and rural militias played an increasingly active role following the outbreak of hostilities in the civil war: civilian militias manned checkpoints on main roads in government-controlled areas,

checked civilian identification, and generally took on tasks usually carried out by uniformed government security forces. In Duékoué, in the west of the country, Human Rights Watch documented executions and harassment of civilians in April by civilian militias acting with full impunity and, in some cases, with the collaboration of state security forces. In Abidjan, militia activity brought the town to a standstill during the militias' demonstrations against the peace accords in January. During those demonstrations, pro-government militias attacked French businesses and institutions with no response from the state security forces.

While a ceasefire, monitored by 5,300 peacekeepers from France and ECOWAS, is still holding, there are worrying signs that the two sides are again preparing for war. Militias would likely play a large part in any return to violence. ECOWAS-sponsored talks aimed at breaking the impasse were held earlier this month, but failed to bring the rebels back into the government of national reconciliation. At present, the country remains split in two, with the rebel forces controlling the northern part and the government holding the south.

Crucial provisions in the January peace accords provided for a national human rights commission and an international inquiry into abuses committed during the conflict. To date, neither the commission nor the inquiry has materialized. Other key provisions of the peace agreement -- including those on disarmament, land reform and nationality law -- remain unfulfilled.

Impunity by government security forces remains a fundamental concern in Côte d'Ivoire and is both a cause and a result of the disintegration of the rule of law over the past four years.

Since 2000, Human Rights Watch and other human rights organizations have documented a persistent pattern of serious human rights violations committed by state security forces alone or in complicity with civilian militias, none of which have been seriously investigated or prosecuted by the Ivorian government. During the violence surrounding the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2000, there were scores of extrajudicial executions as well as numerous disappearances, cases of sexual violence, and hundreds of cases of torture committed by government forces, often in collaboration with youth supporters of the ruling party, the Ivorian Popular Front.

Human Rights Watch documented similar patterns of abuses against northern Ivorians, foreigners and suspected rebel sympathizers since the outbreak of the internal conflict on September 19, 2002. These violations included systematic and indiscriminate attacks on civilians, summary executions, arbitrary arrest and detention, 'disappearances', torture, rape, pillage, corporal punishment and other violent acts against civilians."

Both government forces and rebels have committed war crimes, reports Human Rights Watch (2003)

- The war has produced numerous abuses against civilians
- Armed groups have targeted civilians, as looting has been their primary objective
- HRW has documented executions, sexual violence, and forced labor at the hands of both government and rebels in the west of Côte d'Ivoire

Human Rights Watch, 20 June 2003

"The eight-month-old war in the Côte d'Ivoire has revealed deep divisions in Ivorian society and produced numerous serious abuses against civilians, some of which amount to war crimes.

Western Côte d'Ivoire has been the site of a virtual proxy war by Liberian forces, demonstrating the easy spillover potential of the Liberian conflict. As was the pattern by all sides in Liberia, armed groups have targeted civilians for abuse, and looting has been a primary objective.

Human Rights Watch has documented widespread abuses by both government and rebel-allied fighters in the west. Executions, sexual violence, forced labor and systematic looting of property have been commonplace, abuses that echo the treatment of civilians in Liberia.

The recent ceasefire in the west, and the formation of the government of reconciliation, are steps in the right direction, but the Ivorian peace process remains extremely fragile.

There is an urgent need for the parties to the conflict, the United Nations and member states to reinforce these positive steps with further concrete action, both within Côte d'Ivoire and in neighboring Liberia. Parts of the country, particularly along the Liberian border, remain volatile, demonstrating the degree to which the Liberian and Ivorian conflicts are interlinked.

Impunity-both past and present, Ivorian and regional-remains a key concern that must be addressed if a stable Côte d'Ivoire is to emerge from the past months of conflict. Efforts must be made to bridge the social divisions created by years of manipulation of ethnic and political tensions.

Abuses committed by the government and government-allied forces include: reprisal killings by state security forces based on the ethnic, national, religious or political affiliations of individuals; indiscriminate attacks on civilians by helicopter gunships; killings, rapes, and other acts of violence against civilians committed by Liberians recruited by the Ivorian government in refugee camps and from the Liberian MODEL rebel group; and attacks on northern Ivorians and immigrant civilians by civilian militias encouraged by and sometimes working in complicity with government in and around Duékoué, Daloa, Toulepleu and Tabou.

Abuses by the "Forces Nouvelles"¹ rebel groups and allied Liberian fighters include: summary executions of dozens of government officials, suspected government sympathizers and members of civilian militias by Ivorian rebel troops; systematic looting, summary executions and other acts of violence against civilians by Liberian fighters allied to the MPIGO rebel group; and sexual violence against girls and women in the west, including rape and sexual slavery.

Refugees and immigrants have been particular targets in the Ivorian war. Liberian refugees, including children, have been subjected to forced recruitment and violence by state authorities and local communities in western Côte d'Ivoire.

Immigrants, particularly Burkinabé, continue to suffer from widespread attacks that have in many instances been encouraged or tolerated by authorities. Efforts to relocate the refugee population and ensure protection for the immigrant population must be implemented without further delay."

Freedom of movement

Removal of buffer zone to facilitate freedom of movement (2007)

Agence France Presse, 11 April 2007

"The removal of the buffer zone will allow Ivorians to freely move between the two parts of the country and be subjected to fewer controls than before.

"All the practical modalities will depend also on the Ivorians. Others would like it to go fast, but others are worried to see the international forces pulling out quickly," said a European military source. "

Roadblocks continue to hinder free movement of people and goods (2007)

- Militia barricades on the Guiglo-Bloléquin axis prevented the return of some 900 IDPs in February 2007
- Displaced persons without identity papers are particularly limited in their freedom of movement
- Roadblocks in both government and rebel-held areas continue to impede freedom of movement, limit the provision of basic supplies to the north, and ultimately contribute to the economic downturn of the country

UN Security Council, 8 March 2007, para. 35

"The situation has deteriorated in recent weeks, as increased banditry and militia activities have severely hampered humanitarian operations in the western part of the country. Since 26 February [2007], militia elements of the Front de libération du grand-ouest have erected barricades on the Guiglo-Bloléquin axis and prevented vehicular traffic in the area. This obstruction to freedom of movement disrupted the repatriation of Liberian refugees from Toulepleu, which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had scheduled for 27 February. On the same day, the International Organization for Migration was forced to suspend the return of some 900 internally displaced persons from Toulepleu to 14 villages around Péhé. These incidents were brought to the attention of the Minister for Territorial Administration and to that of the local administrative authorities in Guiglo."

Refugees International, 31 January 2007

"Numerous security and identity checkpoints subject the population not only to physical risks but also to lost income and work opportunities. Detained individuals experience endless delays, constant harassment, and extortion from armed elements on both sides, who frequently confiscate or destroy papers, seize goods, arrest travelers, or physically abuse and even rape vulnerable travelers. A person might be pressed to give between \$1-10 (of a \$30 monthly income) to regain freedom of movement. Human rights workers told RI, "Checkpoints are places where women are set aside and sexually assaulted. The bus leaves and they are alone. This is a hidden problem, but is increasing."

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, para. 44

"Infringements of the freedom of movement have also been reported to the Representative of the Secretary-General. Roadblocks are common, and displaced persons without identity papers are particularly susceptible to harassment and racketeering when they reach one. As a result, people facing serious economic difficulties cannot always afford to move around."

Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 25 April 2005

"Roadblocks continue to be present in the Forces Nouvelles –held areas as well as in the Government's areas. While roadblocks in the South have resulted in constant delays in the provision of basic supplies like fuel for electricity to the North, roadblocks in the FN- held areas are hindering the free circulation of goods and people and contribute to what has been defined the "economic cost of the crisis". It has been estimated that by increasing the price of cocoa (the main export crop) from currently US\$ 0.5 to US \$ 0.75 (which will still be below the US\$ 1.0 producer price in Ghana) one would generate an extra overall revenue of US\$ 150 million to the producers i.e. more than three times what the UN Agencies received for humanitarian funding through the CAP in 2004. Such an increase would need not necessarily come from an official

increase at the price level as a mere reduction of roadblocks, hence illegal taxation, would have the same effect. From an economic standpoint, the mission noted that the lead role of one of the major international actors, has been substantially weakened thus contributing to the economic downturn of the country.”

UN ‘peace corridors’ to promote freedom of movement (2004)

- UN ‘peace corridors’ aim to allow families separated by fighting to travel between government-controlled and rebel-held areas

UN News, 9 September 2004

“The United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI) today announced plans to set up ‘peace corridors’ in a bid to promote freedom of movement in the strife-torn West African country.

As the parties work to reunify the divided country by implementing the Accra III agreement reached in late July, the UN mission is helping those displaced by the conflict which began in 2002. The corridors will serve to allow families separated by the fighting to travel between areas controlled by the Government and those controlled by the rebel Force Nouvelles.

ONUCI says the travel should provide hope to the war's victims that peace is returning to Côte d'Ivoire.”

SUBSISTENCE NEEDS

General

Difficult living conditions in the west lead to IDPs' feeling of abandonment (November 2006)

United Nations, 30 November 2006, p. 55

"A critical issue is addressing the protection of displaced persons in the West of Côte d'Ivoire, pending the resolution of the crisis. Indeed from Sassandra to Tabou, Bangolo, Touleupleu through Duekoué, Guiglo, Bolequin and villages along the same route, the displaced are facing extremely difficult living conditions and feel abandoned. In the urban areas, where there is a high concentration of displaced persons, most of whom have no access to land, the major problems concern feeding, health, non-food products (cooking utensils, sleeping materials, etc.), shelter, education."

Huge presence of IDPs puts increasing strain on vulnerable host families (July 2006)

- Effects of ongoing displacement have seriously affected purchasing power of host families
- Water crisis remains of particular concern across the country

United Nations, 18 July 2006

"The need to address the devastating 'spill-over effects' of the massive presence of IDPs on vulnerable host families and on already fragile inter-ethnic relations is corroborated by a WFP needs

assessment indicating that forced population displacements from conflict zones to more secure zones

has led to a significant drop in the purchasing power of host families. Further, despite limited progress in some areas, the water crisis in the country remains a major problem. Côte d'Ivoire's utilities companies have supplied an estimated six million people in the north with free water and electricity resulting in the near halt of services and the collapse of infrastructure. In May 2006, Guiglo

experienced power supply cuts for several days and its telephone communication network also collapsed. Concurrently, the telephone network of the entire region of Denguelé was out of service for

two weeks contributing to nurture apprehension and increase social tensions. Similarly, the second

biggest town in the country, Bouaké (about 600,000 inhabitants) remained without water supply for the

whole month as a result of the breakdown of hydraulic pumps caused by lack of adequate maintenance. A grave humanitarian crisis was avoided thanks to the action of humanitarian agencies

and organisations as well as ONUCI that supplied local health facilities, schools and public utility services with emergency water supplies and assisted in sanitising water sources. As a result also of

persistent and concerted humanitarian advocacy, the hydraulic pumps were repaired at the beginning

of June.”

Summary of living conditions of IDPs and host families – new survey (March 2006)

- Living conditions differ between rural and urban areas
- In Abidjan and Yamoussoukro families have access to potable water while in rural areas the water quality is only mediocre
- Families almost equally access latrines in both urban and rural areas

ENSEA, March 2006

“Cadre de vie et équipements

A l’opposé des ménages urbains qui comptent un cinquième de propriétaires, en milieu rural, deux ménages sur quatre le sont et vivent en majorité dans leurs propres maisons ou celles de leurs familles. En ce qui concerne le mode d’approvisionnement en eau, il existe une inégalité entre les milieux de résidence et les départements. En effet, les ménages urbains d’Abidjan et de Yamoussoukro ont un accès correct à l’eau potable avec environ quatre ménages ravitaillés sur cinq, alors que ceux de la zone rurale ont recours de façon générale à des sources d’eau de qualité médiocre. Au plan de l’éclairage, en milieu urbain, la quasi-totalité des ménages utilise l’électricité pour moins d’un ménage sur deux en milieu rural. En matière d’équipement, les postes radios sont plus fréquents dans les ménages ruraux (47%) qu’en milieu urbain (23,5%). Le téléphone est disponible dans 10% des ménages ruraux et le téléviseur dans 16%. Ces deux équipements se retrouvent beaucoup plus en ville. Concernant l’assainissement, dans l’ensemble, plus de quatre ménages sur dix utilisent des latrines situées dans leur cour, deux sur dix utilisent la nature comme lieu d’aisance, une proportion équivalente se sert de WC avec chasse d’eau et un sur dix, d’un WC sans chasse d’eau. En milieu rural les ménages font usage en majorité des latrines localisées dans leur concession (25,5%) ou dans la nature (26,6%).”

Displacement is major contributing factor to wide-ranging needs of children (March 2006)

- Child and infant mortality rates have seen a serious increase primarily due to collapse of the health care system and poor nutrition
- In early 2006, UNICEF estimated 40,000 children in Cote d'Ivoire were living with HIV/AIDS, a rate likely to increase
- Massive displacement has contributed to serious nutritional problems of children and women

UNICEF, 27 March 2006

“The health system, which was gravely disrupted due to the crisis, has been reactivated in 2005, but suffers from an insufficient return of qualified personnel. This situation, in combination with poor nutrition and disease monitoring and reduced routine EPI coverage, has contributed to a serious increase in child and infant mortality rates. A recent meningitis outbreak caused several deaths before UNICEF could respond with a vaccination campaign in the targeted area.

Access to safe drinking water is problematic due to a high number of broken water pumps and absence of public administration personnel in FN-controlled areas.

According to the latest estimates, 40,000 children in Côte d'Ivoire are currently living with HIV/AIDS, and as long as the crisis continues, this rate is likely to increase.

Loss of harvests, food reserves and the massive displacements of persons have seriously affected the nutritional status of children and women, leading to 11% of children in the Northern half suffering from wasting, and over 20% from stunting.

The Education sector has been seriously affected as well, with excess enrollment demands in government controlled areas and shortages of teachers and deterioration of school infrastructures in the FN-controlled areas. In addition, national exams have not been held in the latter for more than two years, but this situation is currently being addressed with some 93,000 children convened to take exams in the FN-controlled zones.

The lack of a functioning judicial system and state representatives in the North negatively affects the protection of children and women. Birth registration is problematic and girls have been exposed to all sorts of sexual abuse without having subsequent access to health or judicial assistance."

Health

Deterioration of health infrastructure hinders provision of health services (2007)

- A meningitis outbreak was recorded in the north of the country affected by a strong degradation of health infrastructures
- An outbreak of chicken pox was registered at the IDP camp in Mie Ngou where drastic hygienic conditions facilitate the spread of epidemics
- Health care provision for HIV-positive patients in the north remains precarious for lack of healthcare facilities and health workers

IRIN, 21 February 2007

"Health authorities in Côte d'Ivoire have reported an outbreak of meningitis in the north of the country where health infrastructure has deteriorated during a more than four-year political impasse that has divided the country.

Thirty-six cases of bacterial meningitis, including six deaths, had been reported at the regional hospital in the city of Bouaké as of 5 February, according to the United Nations humanitarian coordination office (OCHA).

"We confirm that there are cases of meningitis in Bouaké," said Souleymane Kone, spokesman for the World Health Organisation (WHO) in Côte d'Ivoire. "Also, in partnership with the Ivorian Health Ministry, we are pursuing investigations in other health facilities in Bouaké to see if there are other cases."

A vaccination campaign is being prepared for the region of Savanes and some districts in the region of Bouaké, 350km north of the main city, Abidjan, according to the Health Ministry.

Although Côte d'Ivoire has been divided between a government-run south and rebel-held north since a brief civil war in 2002, the Health Ministry is working with WHO in Bouaké, which is the rebel stronghold, without hindrance."

OCHA, rapport hebdomadaire n. 5, 8 février 2007

"Selon OCHA/Bouaké, une cinquantaine de cas de varicelle sont aussi rapportés à Bouaké, dans certains hôpitaux visités et à Yamoussoukro (au site des déplacés du centre Mie Ngou). Selon l'ONG IRC, le district sanitaire de Yamoussoukro confirme dix cas de varicelle au site des déplacés du centre Mie Ngou, dont huit (08) enfants de deux (2) à quinze (15) ans et deux adultes. Le district sanitaire, qui envisage une intervention au niveau du site a exprimé un besoin en produits (Ehozin). En plus des cas de varicelle, la situation hygiénique est aussi préoccupante (latrines très sales et remplies jusqu'à déborder dans la cours) au centre Mie Ngou et nécessite une action d'urgence, pour prévenir d'autres maladies et ou une épidémie au vu de la promiscuité."

IRIN, 20 October 2006

"Services declined drastically when the area was drained of healthcare workers and services after conflict broke out in September 2002. A study in 2004 by the Swiss Centre for Scientific Research, in conjunction with the University of Abidjan, found that in parts of the north nearly 90 percent of health professionals had abandoned their posts and 80 percent of healthcare facilities were destroyed or looted.

Patients receiving ARVs from the government's National Programme for the Fight Against AIDS were the first to see supplies cut off, and even when the drugs were available at hospitals, many patients could not afford the monthly cost of US\$2.

[...]

Local NGOs say they lack the means to provide comprehensive care. Health workers who stayed or have agreed to return to the north complain about the lack of support by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry for the Fight Against AIDS, and the results are showing.

In the hospital at Man, currently run by the international medical charity, Medecins Sans Frontieres, AIDS has become the main cause of death among hospitalised patients, followed by tuberculosis, the most common AIDS-related illness.

Another emerging problem is the cost of treatment. Most NGOs waived patient fees in light in of the critical situation, but these will likely be reinstated once the state takes over."

Summary of health data on IDPs (March 2006)

- Almost 50% of IDPs have noticed a worsening of their health conditions since the beginning of the crisis
- The causes can be found in a generalised degradation of living conditions and on the mental health status of the displaced
- Clear differences are found in the different departments with Abidjan and Daloa registering a higher number of health-related cases

ENSEA, March 2006, p.67

"La crise telle qu'elle est vécue par les déplacés internes a probablement des répercussions néfastes sur leur état morbide. Bien que ne se basant sur aucun diagnostic clinique, l'enquête essaie d'apprécier l'évolution de la situation médicale de ces derniers en comparant la situation d'avant la crise à celle qu'ils vivent actuellement. Se basant donc sur leur perception des choses, les déplacés se sont prononcés sur l'évolution de leur état morbide. Il leur est apparu prioritairement que leur état de santé s'est souvent dégradé, beaucoup plus que par le passé lorsqu'elles n'avaient pas encore la crise. En effet, 49% des personnes interrogées ont remarqué

qu'elles connaissent plus souvent des problèmes de santé. Cette aggravation de l'état morbide de la population des déplacés a probablement une double cause. Elle se justifie par les conditions de vie qui se sont nettement dégradées pour tout le monde. Les plus nécessiteux ont bien entendu payé un plus lourd tribut. La seconde cause se rapporte vraisemblablement à l'état psychologique des déplacés qui, accablés de tout part, ne peuvent pas toujours compter sur les autres pour se tirer d'affaires. Les déplacés du milieu rural semblent connaître relativement les mêmes problèmes de santé que leurs homologues du milieu urbain. En effet, 48.4% des 'ruraux' et 50.5% des 'citadins' ont rapporté une aggravation de leur état de santé. En outre, on relève des différences parfois notoires entre les départements de résidence. Abidjan et Daloa se situent au-dessus de la moyenne avec des proportions plus élevées de personnes dont la situation sanitaire s'est aggravée alors qu'à Toulepleu les plaintes pour les problèmes de santé sont relativement moins nombreuses."

Crisis in the health sector continues in all areas of the country (2004-2006)

- IDPs and other vulnerable groups in the north and west of the country have extremely limited access to health care facilities, while malnutrition and various diseases have been on the increase
- In one area of the north a single doctor serves a population of 200,000
- During the November 2004 crisis in Abidjan hospitals did not have the capacity to provide emergency treatment to some 2,000 people
- The prevalence of HIV/AIDS is estimated at 7 per cent as a direct consequence of the crisis (the highest rate in West Africa)

United Nations, 18 November 2005

"The health sector is still an issue of concern, especially in the North and West of the country, despite the efforts of humanitarian agencies. A rehabilitation exercise carried out by UNICEF and ICRC in the West and North reported that about 497 out of a total of 578 health centres were open. UNICEF has supplied drugs to the majority of these health centres. The ICRC ensures and will continue to ensure in 2006 the supply of medicines from the central pharmacy Pharmacie de la Santé Publique (PSP) to seven major hospitals and clinics in the North. The World Health Organization (WHO) opened a sub office in Bouaké to facilitate information management through quick assessment and information sharing for better health interventions coordination. Apart from the rehabilitation of health centres by UNICEF and the European Union, international NGOs working in the field of health and nutrition participated in the humanitarian response. Save the Children-U.K. initiated a programme of mobile clinics, with UNICEF's support, to cover the health care needs of displaced local populations at Duékoué and immigrants who remained at Fengolo in departments of Guiglo, Bloléquin and Grabo.

Some NGOs have invested heavily in nutrition centres to combat chronic malnutrition, that is ranging between 3% and 15% in the West. As of 1 August 2005, the Therapeutic Nutrition Centre "Centre de Nutrition Thérapeutique" (CNT) of MSF-France in Guiglo was treating 85 children including 40 inpatients and 45 outpatients. According to ACF, cases of malnutrition increased at three of its Supplemental Nutrition Centres "Centres de Nutrition Supplémentaires" (CNS) in the third quarter of 2005. During the same period, MSF-Belgium was concerned by the growing number of malnourished children at its CNT in Man, which received 232 children from the Bangolo area and the Northern part of Danané. Humanitarian actors are considering a concerted curative and preventive action in Bangolo and northern Danané where the majority of those hospitalised originate from. In addition, ACF and MSF-Belgium received WFP food rations for care and support of malnourished children admitted to the National Health Centres of Zouan

Hounien, Bin Houyé and Téapleu, and the National Transit Centres in Man and Zouan Hounien. Meanwhile, the Northern region has recorded the highest rate of malnutrition estimated 15%.

In spite of the various initiatives and actions carried out to rehabilitate health facilities and supply materials and drugs, access to health care remains problematic for populations impoverished by the crisis. After three years of crisis, most people cannot afford to pay for health care.

In response to the low national immunisation coverage, observed in the past six years, the Ministry of Health, with the support of UNICEF, WHO and several other partners, organised three vaccination campaigns in 2005 against polio, immunising more than 5 million children aged 0 - 5 years, i.e. 99.9%. As part of the fight against measles, 7,8 million children aged 9 months - 14 years were vaccinated between 18 and 27 August 2005, representing 87.7%. Hence, for the year 2005, there was significant improvement in the prevention of poliomyelitis and measles, increasing from a coverage rate of approximately 50% in 2004.

Côte d'Ivoire is the country most affected by HIV in West Africa, and one of the 15 most affected countries in the world. In fact, the country continues to register the highest rates of HIV prevalence since the outbreak of the pandemic, at 7% (range: 4.9-10%) although Abidjan registered its lowest rate in a decade (6%)⁵ in 2000. Accordingly, it is estimated that there were 570,000 people living with HIV/AIDS in 2004. HIV/AIDS has become one of the main causes of death in adults in Côte d'Ivoire. The infected populations are increasingly young and mostly women.

This indicator is currently all the more significant given the crisis raging in the country for the past three years, bringing in its wake factors favouring the spread of HIV, notably population displacements, collapse of traditional sexual standards, explosion of the sex industry, rape, destruction of the health systems and increase in the consumption of substances (alcohol and drugs). In addition, according to the United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) 2004 report, the epidemic is spreading in circles where there is malnutrition and food insecurity, as in the case of Côte d'Ivoire. Unfortunately, recent statistics are not available, as the partition of the country and dysfunctional institutions have made data collection very difficult.

The impact of AIDS on the development capacity of the country will seriously jeopardise the chances of progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, especially as regards poverty reduction, education, health, and care and support of orphans."

United Nations, 23 June 2005

"The health system is unable to meet the needs of the most vulnerable, particularly in the north and west, with children under five, who are less and less protected following the interruption of routine immunisation programmes and the weakness of the epidemiological surveillance system. Meanwhile, according to World Health Organization (WHO), the global and moderate malnutrition rates among children under five remain high with 22% of chronic malnutrition and 7% of acute malnutrition. In addition, the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) prevalence rate has reached 7%, which may increase further as the deterioration of the situation causes an important displacement of the population.

Where the health facilities and staff are present, lack of water has serious implications on the functioning of the main hospital and on the treatment available to the local populations. Furthermore, the breakdown of the system has considerably slowed down the collection of medical information and data, including on epidemics, resulting in a slow response to such outbreaks."

UN Security Council, 18 March 2005, para. 61

"In the health sector, vulnerable populations in the north and the west are still suffering because of a lack of medicines, medical equipment and professional health workers, despite tremendous efforts undertaken by medical non-governmental and other organizations. An increased prevalence of diseases such as cholera, yellow fever, meningitis, measles and poliomyelitis has been reported. The World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF, in cooperation with the Ministry of Health, jointly organized vaccination campaigns in 2004 to eradicate these diseases, especially poliomyelitis, and planned another five poliomyelitis vaccination campaigns for 2005."

United Nations, 17 December 2004

"The lack of medical personnel and staff will continue to constitute a major obstacle to providing basic health care throughout the country. It is feared that redeployment efforts to the northern part of the country controlled by the FN will no longer be a priority for the Government. Populations living in the FN-controlled areas have had limited access to basic social services for over two years. Even with the redeployment of some medical staff, there was still a serious lack of personnel. During the heat of the crisis in Abidjan, over 2,000 wounded people were in need of emergency health care. The capacities of the hospitals in Abidjan were overstretched and there was an urgent need for medicines and first-aid material. The Ministry of Health had not developed a contingency plan and hospitals were not equipped and prepared for an emergency situation."

WHO, 11 November 2004

"Three-and-a-half million vulnerable persons, including 500,000 IDPs, are affected by the crisis and ongoing insecurity. Host families of IDPs have completely depleted their resources and are no longer capable of providing for them, while government resources to respond to needs have greatly diminished.

Access to health services: Access to social services (health centres and education) is difficult for vulnerable groups in areas under control of the Forces Nouvelles (FN). There is a shortage of medical care and facilities in the Northeastern region, where a single doctor serves a population of 200,000, making it difficult to address health needs. While only 110 health centres out of 350 are operational and are supplied with medicines, a lack of medical staff remains a true constraint.

Disease surveillance and control: World Bank data in 2002 listed the under-five mortality rate in Côte d'Ivoire as 191 deaths per 1,000 children. This is an alarming increase since 1995, when the mortality rate was of 142 deaths per 1,000 children. Only 49% of children have been vaccinated against measles but it is expected that the next vaccination campaign in December 2004 will reach many more. With regard to HIV/AIDS, the current prevalence rate (according to UNAIDS' annual report for 2004) is estimated at 7% as a direct consequence of the crisis."

Food

Difficult access to land leads to reduced agricultural production (2007)

- In IDPs' areas of origin access to seeds has been difficult

- Food insecurity is higher in landlocked areas and where roadblocks and checkpoints have been reported
- Where access to food is guaranteed the problem faced is the variety and its nutritional balance
- There is no direct link between hosting IDPs and food insecurity
- Displacement has prevented households from carrying out their farming activities thus leading to a decrease in crop production
- The North is particularly hard hit with cultivated lands diminishing

World Food Programme, 2 January 2007, pp. 25, 29

“Dans les zones où les récoltes 2005 ont été mauvaises et celles où les ménages déplacés se réinstallent chez eux, l'accès aux semences n'a pas été facile. Dans toutes les autres zones, si un accès est resté possible grâce aux réserves des récoltes précédentes, il se pose en revanche un problème de qualité des semences. La FAO et ses partenaires (CICR, ONG, gouvernement) ont distribué des semences (riz, maïs, cultures maraichères), du petit outillage et des engrais à plus de 25 000 ménages vulnérables. Seuls les ménages associés aux sociétés cotonnières, les ménages bénéficiaires des programmes d'assistance agricole et les ménages qui ont les moyens ont eu accès aux engrais. Malgré les difficultés rencontrées (accès à la terre, aux semences et/ou engrais, quelques aléas climatiques), l'évaluation des récoltes de l'année 2006 montre que les productions vivrières ont été globalement meilleures en 2006 qu'en 2005.

[...]

A l'échelle nationale, on peut affirmer que la disponibilité alimentaire reste assurée grâce aux productions locales, aux importations alimentaires (600 000 tonnes de riz) et à l'aide alimentaire (20 000 tonnes). De même, les marchés sont relativement bien approvisionnés. Cependant, dans les zones enclavées les flux de produits alimentaires restent limités. Par ailleurs, des entraves aux échanges commerciaux liées aux barrages militaires ou aux coupeurs de route ont été rapportées.

Par contre, l'accès à une alimentation suffisante et variée reste problématique pour les ménages vulnérables. Non seulement les capacités de production restent limitées, mais aussi, leurs revenus restent insuffisants pour l'achat du panier alimentaire de base. Avant la guerre, les sources de revenus reposaient essentiellement sur les cultures de rente, mais la crise cotonnière et les mauvaises récoltes d'anacarde au nord, l'insécurité à l'ouest qui empêche l'entretien des plantations de café et cacao, ont provoqué une baisse significative des ressources de nombreux ménages. Dans certains cas, les activités de rente ont été remplacées par la vente des produits vivriers.

En matière d'élevage, la relative stabilisation de la situation à l'ouest et le retour des déplacés chez eux permet la recapitalisation du petit bétail.

Mouvements de population

Le fait que les ménages ayant accueilli des déplacés se trouvent dans chaque classe tend à démontrer que cela n'a pas nécessairement affecté négativement leur sécurité alimentaire. Ainsi, dans certains ménages, ces déplacés ont au contraire fourni une main d'œuvre supplémentaire ou des actifs additionnels, contribuant aux revenus du ménage à travers des contrats journaliers, par exemple."

United Nations, 30 November 2006, p.15

" The continued incidences of insecurity have led to a substantial increase in the number of displacements from the West and Centre regions to towns in the South and prevented households directly affected by conflicts from carrying out their normal farming activities. As a result, the 2005 harvests were on the whole unequal. Access to land for displaced persons was generally difficult which led to reduced agricultural production, which meant a significant increase in agricultural and food support by relief agencies. For the 2006 season, access to selected seeds and fertilisers is very limited and according to preliminary estimates, harvests for the 2006 season in some regions is affected by ethnic tensions and irregular rainfall patterns. A stagnation and even reduction of the 2006/2007 farming season output is therefore expected.

In the South of the country, the production of the main cash crops, particularly coffee, cocoa and rubber, was satisfactory. In the North, on the other hand, the crisis facing the cotton sector deteriorated and cultivated areas continued to diminish. Production of cashew was very poor in the North and the price of grains, particularly rice, remained stable. Despite food being available at a national level, the flow of food products was limited in the landlocked zones,.

Although the situation of cattle breeding improved, epizooties and transhumance from the Sahel persisted, causing damages to crops and conflicts between cattle breeders and farmers. Cases of bird flu were detected and controlled by the Government, with the support of the UN agencies in Abidjan and San Pédro.

Access to adequate and varied food was still a problem for vulnerable households: the production capacities were limited and the bridging period started early, and their incomes were inadequate to purchase the basic food basket. In terms of vulnerability, between 4% and 13% of households in Man, Bouaké and Korhogo were facing food insecurity and needed support from humanitarian agencies WFP, Food Security Monitoring System, 2005-2006. An important proportion (20%-30%) of the populations of these Departments and other regions in the North could rapidly face food insecurity. The nutritional and food security situation is difficult to evaluate at the global level, pending the results of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) III surveys and the ongoing WFP/FAO in-depth evaluation."

Food security situation remains fragile in conflict-affected areas and may deteriorate (2005)

- Internal displacement and insecurity continue to prevent many farmers from accessing their land
- The conflict also wiped out 80 per cent of animal stock in western and central Cote d'Ivoire
- As a result, substantial sections of the population rely on food aid and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future

United Nations, 18 November 2005

“Until the beginning of the 1990s, Côte d’Ivoire experienced a relatively prosperous food security situation as a result of peace and social stability, favourable agro-climatic conditions, available and skilled agricultural populations, good quality social services rendered and functioning infrastructures. The strong development of cash crops had been at the centre of the economic growth and food security.

With the onset of the crisis in 2002, the social and economic situation of the country has radically changed, with significant humanitarian consequences for the population. In rural areas some 500,000 people are still internally displaced and insecurity is still preventing many farmers from accessing their land. The food security situation remains fragile in most of the conflict-affected areas and is likely to deteriorate for the most-vulnerable segments of the population. Although population resettlement and agricultural rehabilitation activities in the west of the country have led to an increase in planted areas and production, continued instability, economic stagnation and insufficient income has left urgent agricultural needs unmet and agricultural production still below pre-war levels leaving substantial sections of the population in need of food aid.

Food crop production during the 2004 season was still below the average of the five pre-war periods, mainly due to a marked decrease in cereal crop production⁸. Rice levels were lower by 10%; maize, root and tuber crop outputs even decreased by 15%. Conflict-related problems, notably insecurity, population displacement, lack of access to agricultural inputs, labour scarcity and obstacles to the freedom of movement of people and commodities with consequent market fragmentation were among the major causes of this agricultural decline in the Centre West of the country, while in the North West some localised rain shortage induced a negative impact on the yields of staple cereals. Even though it is early at this stage to have a complete picture, preliminary surveys indicate that outputs in 2005 should reveal large pockets of vulnerability in line with 2004’s findings. The conflict had a very negative impact on the animal stock in western and central Côte d’Ivoire, where over 80% of the flocks were wiped out. During 2005, the livestock has shown little improvement and, in most of the conflict-affected areas, communities still do not have small ruminants or poultry. Moreover, they can no longer afford animal protein.

The crisis had also limited the activities of fresh water fisheries in central Côte d’Ivoire, where the population was forced to leave. Boats and fishing gear were looted or destroyed and were not replaced.

In the northern regions under the control of the FN, technicians and specialists working in the agricultural sector did not return, leaving farmers with a serious lack of technical assistance. Since the beginning of the 2002 crisis, many vulnerable populations including refugees have depended on external assistance to survive. In 2005, in addition to the School Feeding programme (465,000 students), WFP provided food aid to: (i) 17,500 refugees and displaced persons living on sites; (ii) 35,000 returnees and others war-affected and food-insecure people; (iii) 40,000 rural households experiencing short-term food insecurity during the lean season; and (iv) 23,000 households beneficiaries of the seeds ration protection for the joint agricultural recovery programme with FAO. The emergency agricultural assistance carried out by FAO allowed more than 14,000 vulnerable families in 2005 to resume food crop production through the distribution of key agricultural inputs (cereal and bean seeds, vegetable seeds, tools and fertilizers). In order to improve self-reliance and resilience of the local population, an additional 1,700 farmers received training and support for the production of quality seed. Altogether the agencies involved in the agricultural support programme have assisted some 20,000 households.

As indicated above, in 2006 Côte d’Ivoire will remain a food-deficit country with large pockets of food insecurity and vulnerability. Although insecurity and intercommunity conflicts represent the main threats to food security, the conclusion of a peace agreement through the election will not immediately result in the reduction of the number of households in need of humanitarian

assistance, as many people are still internally displaced and/or have lost most of their assets during the conflict. Ensuring food security in the context of a peace building process is of paramount importance to facilitate the reinsertion of approximately 500,000 people living in sites or with host families. In addition, the success of the peace process is closely linked to the success of disarmament programmes and social reinsertion. In this context, the capacity to ensure, through agricultural support and food assistance, the food security of households involved in the reinstallation and reintegration programme, including ex-combatants and their dependants, is a prerequisite for durable peace and stability.”

Shelter

IDPs' housing characteristics (2006)

- Most of the IDPs in the five departments studied live in compounds or 'simple houses'
- An important number of IDPs have also found shelter in shacks or adjoining houses

ENSEA, March 2006, p. 28

"Sur l'ensemble des cinq départements, la majeure partie des ménages vivent dans des 'maisons simples' ou des concessions. En effet, quels que soit le département et le milieu, ces deux types de construction sont plus nombreux. Aussi enregistre-t-on trois ménages sur six dans les 'maisons simples' et deux ménages sur six dans les concessions.

Les maisons en bande et les baraques abritent également une partie relativement importante de ménages. Les autres types de construction, les immeubles et les villas modernes, abritent très peu de ménages (tableau 17).

Tableau 17 : Répartition des ménages selon le type de construction et le milieu (%)

Départements	Milieu	Type de construction						Effectifs
		Villa moderne	Maison simple	Maison en bande	Immeuble	Concession	Baraque, autres	
Abidjan	Urbain	1,7	48,2	14,8	8,3	30,8	1,8	523
	Rural	12,7	30,5	1,8	0,1	43,2	9,8	444
	Ensemble	3,4	40,4	14,0	7,7	33,7	2,4	967
Daloa	Urbain	8,5	22,1	18,5	0,0	52,1	2,6	425
	Rural	8,0	39,6	5,5	0,0	39,3	6,5	485
	Ensemble	8,1	35,8	7,8	0,0	43,5	5,8	913
Duoékoué	Urbain	3,3	42,1	18,8	0,4	35,0	6,3	545
	Rural	2,0	50,3	8,7	0,0	23,5	9,3	368
	Ensemble	2,5	44,3	13,1	0,1	27,5	8,3	913
Toukpetou	Urbain	8,2	67,3	18,9	0,0	11,4	0,6	421
	Rural	8,1	78,5	1,2	0,0	0,5	5,1	481
	Ensemble	8,1	72,4	5,5	0,0	2,4	4,3	902
Yamoussoukro	Urbain	10,5	58,1	50,2	8,5	1,1	0,3	471
	Rural	6,2	89,4	1,7	0,0	1,2	1,1	420
	Ensemble	7,3	73,8	14,2	2,2	1,2	0,8	891
Ensemble	Urbain	3,1	47,8	18,0	7,8	30,8	2,0	2385
	Rural	7,7	53,8	4,2	0,0	26,2	6,1	2201
	Ensemble	4,1	43,2	13,2	6,1	29,5	3,0	4586

* le nombre total de ménages dans les cinq départements est estimé à 754 504. Le gap est imputable aux non-réponses.
Source : ENSEA – PDI 2005

Thousands remain homeless following the destruction of shanty towns in Abidjan (January 2003)

- A UN envoy to Côte d'Ivoire was shocked by the living conditions facing people who were forced from their slum homes when war broke out in September 2002
- The people's homes had been razed on the orders of President Laurent Gbagbo days after rebels rose up against his government
- The aid agency "Save the Children" has said that 16 out of Abidjan's 30 neighbourhoods have been razed since October. Some 25,000 people have been affected by the raids, and 3,000 left homeless

Agence France-Presse, 18 January 2003

"A UN envoy on a visit to west Africa said Saturday she was shocked by the living conditions facing people who were forced from their slum homes when war broke out in Ivory Coast four months ago.

"I had heard about the situation these people faced but to see how they really live was shocking," Carolyn McAskie told AFP after meeting with the slum dwellers, dubbed "evictees," in the Allakro neighbourhood of Abidjan.

McAskie, who arrived in Ivory Coast on Thursday for the start of a three-week visit to the region, visited a group of slum dwellers, most of them west African migrant workers, in the economic hub of the west African country.

The people's homes had been razed on the orders of President Laurent Gbagbo days after rebels rose up against his government on September 19, sparking the conflict that has ground on for four months.

The government announced on October 4 that it would destroy all shantytowns in the city within a month, claiming that foreign supporters of the rebels were living there.

Allakro was completely destroyed in the post-rebellion raids. McAskie urged Gbagbo's government "to treat the people who were chased from their homes in a humane manner and allow them to keep their personal belongings." She said the UN would give "humanitarian aid to displaced persons who are in a difficult situation."

The aid agency "Save the Children" has said that 16 out of Abidjan's 30 neighbourhoods have been razed since October. Some 25,000 people have been affected by the raids, and 3,000 left homeless. ...

[...] The head of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Besida Tonwe, has estimated that between 600,000 and a million people have been displaced by the Ivory Coast war."

Water and Sanitation

IDPs and host communities continue to have urgent needs for water and sanitation facilities (2007)

- Access to clean water is still poor for IDPs and other vulnerable populations, particularly in the west and in rebel-held areas
- Limited access to potable water has resulted in the resurgence of endemic diseases and indirectly had a negative impact on education
- During the November 2004 crisis, water and electricity supplies were cut off to key northern and western towns, increasing the risk of epidemics due to waterborne diseases

IRIN, 21 March 2007

"It hasn't rained since December in the region of Duekoué, about 400km west of the main city, Abidjan. The southwest is where much of the country's rice, yams and manioc are produced, as well as the leading cash crops: cocoa, coffee and rubber.

Rains should have begun falling in February, but instead the dry season only persisted.

As a result, agricultural production is down and at least half of all local households are suffering from water shortages. Residents are forced to trek hours from where they live to rivers and wells to find water.

Problem compounded

The water shortage in the southwest is exacerbated by an infrastructure that has deteriorated since a brief civil war erupted in 2002, leading to the division of the country between a rebel-held north and a government-run south. Residents wonder whether a new peace accord signed last month will provide better results than previous agreements that have faltered. The new accord makes no reference to the country's various humanitarian crises.

The problems in the southwest are so grave that the state-run Water Distribution Company of Cote d'Ivoire (SODECI) has to alternate its supply of water between neighbourhoods within Duekoué and Guiglo and can only sporadically truck in water to outer villages.

"The boreholes we have are not enough," said a SODECI water technician in Guiglo who asked not to be named. "Every day almost 600 cubic metres of water are required for Guiglo and the surrounding area but we cannot extract more than 300 cubic meters so we cannot satisfy everyone."

He said the water problems would likely worsen in the coming months. "We will just have to wait for the rainy season to solve the problem but in the meantime I am extremely doubtful we can stop the taps and wells from completely drying up," he said.

No water in schools

The lack of water increases the risk of disease, particularly among children. In all but one of the 20 schools in Duekoué and the surrounding area, children have no access to drinkable water.

"They have to drink something in the course of the day and so they look for what water they can get," including from unsafe sources, said a teacher in Duekoué.

Children at school don't even have water to clean themselves, Pascal Niando, the assistant treasurer of one of the schools, told IRIN."

UNICEF, 29 January 2007, p.213

"In the water and environmental sanitation sector, North, West and Central Côte d'Ivoire suffer from a chronic lack of drinking water: 50 per cent of rural populations do not have access to drinking water, and 40 per cent of rural pumps are out of order. In the cities that have received the most significant number of IDPs (Abidjan, Yamoussoukro, Daloa, Duékoué), the still

functioning hydraulic infrastructures and sanitary facilities (68 per cent have broken down countrywide) are at the verge of collapsing due to over-exploitation.”

United Nations, 30 November 2006, pp. 15-16

“The **water and sanitation** is one of the most affected sectors, with strong pressure exerted on potable water resources of towns that received many displaced persons (Daloa, Duékoué, Yamoussoukro, Abidjan) resulting in the decline of the level and even shortages of water supply in some districts. Worse still, in towns in the interior a section of the population, which has increased with the crisis, has no access to any sanitation system or continue to use non-potable water wells and other sources. In both cases, the situation has serious health consequences. Water infrastructures and sanitation facilities, already marked by regional disparity and major breakdown rates (68%), are strained by overexploitation in zones with high concentrations of displaced persons. Contrary to towns in the interior, Abidjan has a sanitation system of public gutters of more than 990 km for evacuation of wastewater and matter, including the combined sewerage system. This main system covers nearly 70% of the city. However, only 45% of households are connected to the system (Sanitation Department, 2005). Until quite recently, it drained all wastewater and matter into the Ebrié Lagoon. Presently, many households (about 55%) have opted for an individual sanitation system (septic tanks in residential areas and latrines elsewhere). Despite these different types of sanitation, many families continue to discharge water from washing of plates and clothes into streets and gutters.

The Centre, North and West suffer from chronic shortages of potable water. Bouaké, the second largest city with a current estimated population of 400,000 inhabitants, was without water supply for more than one month (2 May-15 June 2006). During this period, humanitarian agencies assured emergency supplies following the breakdown of one of the two engines of the only water station that was still operational. The breakdown was caused by lack of maintenance. Thanks to the action of humanitarian agencies and organisations that supplied water to health centres, public social services and helped with the sanitation of water sources, a major humanitarian crisis was averted. In fact, continuing advocacy contributed to the repair of the pumps at the beginning of June 2006.

In Odienné and Danané, the population has, since the beginning of the first semester of 2006, been suffering from frequent power cuts and interruptions of water supply. SODECI provided a partial solution to these technical problems by repairing the water supply pumps. It is estimated that 50% of the rural population of these zones has no access to potable water. Field evaluation by agencies of the UNS and humanitarian NGOs. and that 40% of the rural pumps remain out of service, which represent 3,000 pumps to be rehabilitated nationwide CI 2006, Mid-Year Review (MYR)/OCHA., after the rehabilitation of nearly 6,000 pumps in 2006.”

United Nations, 18 November 2005

“**The water and sanitation sector** is one of the major concerns of the humanitarian response, in light of the difficulty of populations to access safe water in sufficient quantities and of satisfactory quality. The differences are more pronounced in areas of the North and of the West controlled by the FN as illustrated by a joint UNICEF/SODECI study from May to June 2005. At the level of urban water supply, apart from Abidjan and some major towns in the Government zone, less than 60% of the population has access to safe water. A case in point is the water level of the Korhogo dam. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the current availability of water in the dam is estimated at 1,000,000 m³. Based on a ration of 3,000 m³ per day, this quantity would be merely sufficient until the end of February 2006. This situation is due primarily to the lack of maintenance of water supply infrastructures and unfavourable climatic conditions. UNICEF and ICRC have installed emergency facilities in Korhogo to distribute more than 700,000 litres of safe water per day to an estimated population of 180,000 inhabitants.

The 2001/2002 assessments by the Water Supply Department, the *Direction de l'Hydraulique Humaine* (DHH), indicated breakdown rates of 35% nationwide. According to a sectoral group report, the breakdown rates were estimated at 60% in 2004. In 2005, a vast programme aimed at rehabilitating 8,200 pumps was launched by the DHH. For reasons of inaccessibility by civil servants, the programme was carried out only in Government controlled zones. In the North, West and North East, it is difficult to evaluate the breakdown rates, but estimates by humanitarian agencies indicate rates ranging from 70 - 80% in some areas.

Poor rainfall and the drying up of water supply sources in the North of Côte d'Ivoire considerably increased safe water shortages in a number of localities (Korhogo, Bouna, Man, Katiola, Séguéla, etc) with adverse effects on farm crops. In response to this critical situation and following a nationwide assessment mission, the Ministry of Economic Infrastructures has set up an emergency national water committee to address this issue.

In the area of sanitation, rapid assessments on the ground indicate that more than 54% of the population does not have adequate excreta disposal systems, which leads to increased risk of epidemics such as diarrhoea, cholera, typhoid fever, measles, Guinea worm, poliomyelitis, etc."

United Nations, 23 June 2005

"Since February 2005, water cuts are very frequent in the areas under FN control. It is estimated that 9,000 water pumps are not operational throughout the territory. Their breakdown rate has risen from 35% to 70%. In urban areas, households are increasingly hard-hit by shortages of potable water. Most cities (Abobo, Yopougon, Anyama, Kouassi-Kouassikro, Kouassi-Datédro, Guiglo, Bouaké, Bouna, Nassian, Téhini, San Pedro, Tabou, etc.) are experiencing a drinking water shortage due to breakdowns in the water works and insufficient capacity of hydraulic infrastructures. Limited access to potable water, particularly for women and children affected by the war, has resulted in the resurgence of endemic diseases, epidemics, and in a negative impact on education. Fetching water is increasingly a chore done by children, notably girls, detrimental to their schooling, and leads to a high dropout rate amongst girl children. More than 50% of the women and children in rural areas do not have access to potable water, while only 30% of primary schools have potable water."

See also:

United Nations, "[Addendum: Consolidated Appeals Process \(CAP\): Humanitarian Appeal 2005 for Côte d'Ivoire](#)", 17 December 2004

UN News, "[Côte d'Ivoire towns lack safe drinking water, adequate latrines, UNICEF says](#)", 12 July 2004

United Nations, "[Mid-Year review of the Consolidated Appeals Process \(CAP\): Humanitarian Appeal 2004 for Côte d'Ivoire plus three](#)", 15 June 2004

ACCESS TO EDUCATION

General

Small progress is made with the organization of two rounds of exams (2007)

- Shortage of full-time teachers and the deterioration of school infrastructures have impaired the education system
- An attempt to return to normality is made with the organization of exams after a three-year break
- Lack of means reduces IDP children's access to education

UNICEF, 29 January 2007, p. 213

"The education sector is particularly affected by the division of the country. In government-controlled areas the demand for enrolment exceeds the capacities of the educational institutions, while in the Forces Nouvelles-controlled zone, shortages of full-time teachers and the deterioration of school infrastructures have seriously impaired the education system. Exams had not been held in the north since 2003, leaving hundreds of thousands of children without final results and increasing the likelihood of children dropping out. The organization of two rounds of exams in March and September 2006 has partly addressed the situation."

United Nations, 30 November 2006, pp. 59-60

"The difficulties are generally the same, although they are more serious from one region of the zone to another. To problems of infrastructures to be rehabilitated, equipment, furniture, inadequate accredited teachers (88 secondary school teachers and 720 primary school teachers needed in the Moyen Cavally), compelling the authorities to use unqualified voluntary teachers, is added the fact that a number of displaced children or from host families do not go to school as their parents do not have the necessary resources. UNICEF's "Reorientation Class" project, which is already catering for 210 children, could be a remedial teaching solution for these children. In the Bas Sassandra, the number of students in classrooms keeps reducing (fragility of families, the fact that the schools are far removed from the villages) and lack of school canteens. In Tabou, out of about 60 primary schools, the most remote one is at Nigré (210 km from Tabou), and the constituency has only 38 school canteens."

Summary of education data on IDPs (March 2006)

- IDPs living in urban areas have more access to education
- Less IDP girls are sent to school than boys
- Reasons for not attending school include lack of financial means and not having attended earlier for those aged under ten

ENSEA, March 2006

"Education"

Les déplacés vivant en milieu urbain semblent plus scolarisés que ceux du milieu rural (70% en ville contre 60% en zone rurale). Les enfants et les jeunes dont les âges se situent entre 6 et 24 ans révolus sont en majorité encore inscrits à l'école (75%). Lorsque l'on s'intéresse aux enfants déplacés de moins de 15 ans, il ressort que 70% d'entre eux poursuivent leur scolarité.

Cependant, les filles déplacées sont moins scolarisées que les garçons. Ce sont en moyenne 59% d'entre elles qui sont encore à l'école entre 6 et 24 ans contre 69% de garçons. Cette configuration est peu satisfaisante, néanmoins, elle est appréciable comparativement à la situation à Duékoué où à peine trois filles sur dix ont la chance d'être scolarisée. Les départements ayant les taux de scolarisation les plus élevés sont Abidjan et Yamoussoukro avec des niveaux respectifs de 71% et 67%.

Les principales raisons évoquées par les déplacés qui ne fréquentent plus l'école sont le manque de moyens financiers surtout parmi ceux de 10-24 ans (34%) et le fait de n'avoir jamais été à l'école chez les moins de 10 ans (64%). En général, les frais de scolarité des déplacés scolarisés sont pris en charge par leurs parents biologiques. Ce qui est confirmé par les propos de plus de 70% d'entre eux."

After three years of limbo, promise of exams for thousands of students in rebel-held north (February 2006)

- In February 2006 the Ivorian government announced a plan to allow some 90,000 students in rebel-held territory to sit key exams
- Many schools in the north had been closed since the crisis began in 2002, with large numbers of teachers displaced in the south

IRIN, 16 February 2006

"After waiting more than three years to sit key exams because of Cote d'Ivoire's unrelenting civil war, more than 90,000 school students left in limbo in rebel-held territory could be able to take the tests as soon as this month.

In a statement issued after Wednesday's weekly cabinet meeting, the West African country's interim government announced a new plan to restore schooling in the northern half of Cote d'Ivoire, which has been split in two since a failed coup in September 2002.

Teachers, judges, nurses and a host of other civil servants left jobs in the north after the start of the civil war, heading for the government-held south where public administration and civil service pay have continued uninterrupted.

Since the conflict began, schools in the north - home to some six million people - have been operating with the help of volunteer teachers, while exams have been scrapped because they needed the approval of the education ministry.

'The proposed plan will enable the school year to begin on 1 March 2006 and to organise exams for the 2003/2004 and 2004/2005 school years according to a schedule running from 23 February to 29 March 2006,' the cabinet statement said.

In Cote d'Ivoire the school year generally begins in October with final exams set for June.

In 2004, exams for the 2003/2004 school session for 72,243 northern pupils were set for 10 November but had to be cancelled at the last minute when fighting flared up.

By 2005, the number of students from the north who had paid fees to sit the exams had swollen to 93,845, but Education Minister Michel Amani N'Guessan said at the time that it was too dangerous to send teachers to rebel territory to supervise the tests.

Of the total who have paid out the fees, 8,776 hope to sit their final secondary school leaving exam, the 'baccalaureat,' which is needed to advance to further study. Another 23,715 have applied to sit for the BEPC leaving certificate after four years of secondary school, and 60,140 for the CEPE exam certifying the end of the primary school cycle.

The fate of school children in northern Cote d'Ivoire has been a sticking point in peace talks, with the New Forces rebel movement slamming the government of President Laurent Gbagbo for failing to allow exams to take place. Rebels have called this 'cultural genocide.'

A new interim government was put in place in December, however, headed by Prime Minister Charles Konan Banny. He has been tasked by the international community with overseeing a UN peace blueprint for the country."

Education severely disrupted by the crisis (2005)

- In September 2005, school exams had not taken place in rebel-held areas for over 2 years for apparent reasons of security
- By December 2004, few teachers had returned to the rebel-controlled north, while schools in the south remained overcrowded with IDPs
- Due to massive levels of displacement and other conflict-related factors, an estimated 700,000 children have had their schooling interrupted since 2002
- During the November 2004 crisis in Abidjan, numerous schools were destroyed, affecting thousands of children

"In the zones under FN control, the Ministry of Education (MoE) has still not organised the 2003-2004 school examinations, stating that it was impossible to do so due to the prevailing insecurity since the events of November 2004, and insisting on the beginning of disarmament as a precondition. However, there has been a slight shift in that position but it is unclear when the deployment of teachers and school administration will take place." (UN, 23 Jun 05)

"Children's education throughout the country has and will continue to be negatively affected by the deteriorating crisis. In Abidjan, numerous schools were destroyed from the 6 to 9 November, affecting thousands of children. Furthermore the Government has stated that final exams for children in the

FN-controlled zone will be postponed until the country is reconciled, which could jeopardise the next academic year of hundreds of thousands of children.

It is feared that the education sector will also suffer greatly from the slow or non-redeployment of civil servants, including school administrative staff and school teachers. Few teachers have returned to their posts in the North as well as the insecure West. UNICEF estimates that there are currently 700,000 children who have left school since the start of the conflict in 2002. There is great concern that this figure will grow if teachers are not redeployed and exams ensured for the children in the North.” (UN, 17 Dec 04)

“The Ivorian school system continues to suffer as most teachers drawing government salaries in the South have refused to return to the FN-controlled North. In the meanwhile schools in the South remain overcrowded due to the large number of displaced children. The Ministry of Education estimates that almost half of the 533,000 children, who remained in the North have been deprived of education since the start of the crisis. Only 20% of the teachers in the North stayed at their post or returned once the fighting died down. Over 3,000 volunteers have supplemented these few to help fill the gap. The local NGO, Ecole pour Tous, report that 286,000 children now attend primary school and 55,000 attend secondary school. The Minister of Education, Michel Amani N'Guessan, admitted to IRIN, that he was reluctant to push for the return of teachers to the North before the FN disarm. In the meanwhile humanitarian organisations continue to maintain childrens interests including their right to go to school.” (UN OCHA, 10 September 2004)

ISSUES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Self-reliance

Employment strategies used by IDPs (2006)

- Survival mechanisms vary according to gender
- A great number of IDPs are registered as students
- Those IDPs who are employed work in commerce, administration, craft industry and agriculture
- The ENSEA survey found two times less employed people among IDPs than the general population

United Nations, 30 November 2006, p. 55

“The survival mechanisms developed in the rural areas vary according to gender. The men look for small contract jobs that are often scarce and poorly paid in the farms. But, once the work is completed, payment of salaries is often a source of misunderstanding. The women buy products on credit and resell them on the market to earn some profit, sell firewood (after asking for permission from the host), local materials used for roofing (“papos”) and snails.”

ENSEA, March 2006

“Emploi

De manière générale, la structure de l'occupation dans la population des personnes déplacées indique une prépondérance des élèves (38%). Ce constat est nuancé dans les départements de Duékoué et de Toulépleu où la majorité des déplacés est occupée. Les actifs occupés (26%) viennent ensuite suivis des chômeurs et des personnes en quête de leur premier emploi (25%). Les personnes actives occupées travaillent essentiellement dans le commerce (34%), l'administration (31%), l'artisanat (19%) et l'agriculture (16%). La structure de l'occupation dans la population des non déplacées est quelque peu différente. En effet, les occupés sont dominants (42%) suivi des élèves (33%), des chômeurs et personnes en quête de leur premier emploi (14%). Dans l'ensemble, les populations déplacées renferment deux fois moins de personnes occupées que dans la population non déplacée.”

Public participation

IDPs risk disenfranchisement in rushed elections (2005)

- Lack of information on numbers and locations of IDPs, as well as the risk of renewed displacement of Ivorian "settlers" and West African immigrants, are just some of the factors contributing to possible disenfranchisement of IDPs in elections scheduled for 30 October 2005
- By July 2005 practically none of the necessary preparations had been made for October elections, including electoral lists and voter education

Refugees International, 22 July 2005

"The electoral process in Cote d'Ivoire is facing severe constraints, with time running out. Senior United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) officials insist that elections will take place on schedule, even though a High Representative for elections has only just been appointed, there has been no agreement on voter rolls, and there has been little in the way of technical preparation and voter education. An electoral law was finally passed by presidential decree, but rebel forces are saying they will wait to see the fine print before accepting the conditions. Disarmament, a condition for elections, has not taken place yet, with deadlines on both sides repeatedly ignored.

According to an NGO specialist, the estimated 500,000 internally displaced persons in the country would risk disenfranchisement if elections were to take place this October because little thought has been given to ensuring how they would participate. Up until now, there has been little real information about the exact numbers, whereabouts, and needs of IDPs; the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) has been tasked with launching an IDP survey, but the work has yet to begin. The political situation is also still so polarized and unstable that unrest in the run-up to elections is highly likely. With the recent massacres in the west of the country and the prevalence of anti-foreigner sentiment, disruptive forces can easily manipulate ethnic tensions with violent results. Potential targets of violence include the displaced Burkinabé who have been living in isolated camps for the past several years near Guiglo, as well as Liberian refugees. Because of the severely reduced timeline for election preparation in Cote d'Ivoire, an enormous investment by the international community, which heretofore has been reticent at lending support, is required."

DOCUMENTATION NEEDS AND CITIZENSHIP

General

Renewal of national identity cards made difficult because of religious or ethnic affiliation (2007)

US Department of State, 6 March 2007, para. 2.c

“Some Muslims believed that their religious or ethnic affiliation made them targets of discrimination by the government with regard to both employment and the renewal of national identity cards. As northern Muslims shared names, style of dress, and customs with several predominantly Muslim neighboring countries, they sometimes were accused wrongly of attempting to obtain nationality cards illegally to vote or otherwise take advantage of citizenship.”

Life for the undocumented is difficult (2007)

- Addressing documentation needs will contribute to addressing the root causes of the conflict
- Customary marriages and lack of birth certificates have contributed to create between three and five million undocumented people
- Lack of documentation prevents formal employment and access to education and fosters harassment by security forces

Refugees International, 15 February 2007

“The government’s wish to issue new identity documents to the entire population is unquestionably an administrative challenge but the effort is essential to resolve the critical questions facing this country with large migrant populations. Who is a citizen of the country and who rightfully should be? Who should own land? One international worker told RI, “People have been living for decades without documents; now it is even harder to get them. Everyone understands the problem cannot be solved in six months, but it is important to advance the operation.” Residents are expected to return to their place of birth, which is difficult while the conflict is unresolved.

Some government officials claim there are over three million undocumented (some estimates are as high as five million) West African immigrants (about half from Burkina Faso) living in the

country with questionable eligibility for citizenship. Birth on Ivorian soil does not automatically confer citizenship, but only one parent must be a citizen for the child to become one. Blurring the issue further are family ties and intermarriage that stretch across borders. Most marriages in the country are customary and unregistered with the state, and many lack birth records, thus proving an Ivorian parent may be difficult. There may also be some migrants in Côte d'Ivoire who do not wish citizenship. The pilot program on documentation found that approximately 16 percent of those seeking nationality documentation were ineligible and thus at high risk of statelessness.

Life for the undocumented is difficult. Some displaced lost their documents during flight, others have had them confiscated. Still others lost their proof of citizenship when government buildings were destroyed during the conflict. Northerners complain they've been marginalized, denied jobs, citizenship and identity cards, and harassed because of their northern names. RI was told that the police and military personnel routinely abuse and harass those they deem non-citizens or to be northerners. One humanitarian worker reported, "Checkpoints make life almost impossible. Every couple of kilometers travelers assumed to be foreign have to get down from the vehicles and pay." Another source said, "Individuals are harassed, sometimes taken to jail, and if they can't pay, their documents may be taken away. They become stateless." Lack of documentation prevents formal employment not only for individuals who were born in Côte d'Ivoire but also for those who are citizens of member countries of the Economic Community of West Africa, even though they have the right to live and work in any ECOWAS member country."

United Nations, 30 November 2006, para. 42

"[T]he lack of identity papers limits displaced persons' access to social and educational services. For example, mothers describe how difficult it is to enrol their children in school without a birth certificate. Their lack of identity papers also makes them particularly vulnerable to racketeering and corruption."

PROPERTY ISSUES

General

Land ownership needs to be at the heart of the reconciliation process (2006)

- The complexity of land ownership is linked to both economic and demographic reasons and political manipulation
- The 1998 Rural Land Act as amended in 2004 currently regulates land rights
- The authorities are responsible for recovering property illegally occupied and where possible provide compensation in consultation with IDPs

IRIN, 13 November 2006

"Authorities this year completed a pilot programme to record rights to land after lengthy consultations with villagers, elders, chiefs and local officials. The consultations include reviewing existing territorial agreements between individuals, families and communities.

Competition for land and the lack of official identity documents are partly behind the political impasse that has divided Cote d'Ivoire since a failed coup in September 2002 triggered a brief civil war. The conflict resulted in the exodus of millions of West Africans who for years had considered Cote d'Ivoire their home after they or their parents immigrated to work the country's fertile land.

The government effort has aimed to clarify land tenure and safeguard it through formal registration. The boundaries of 105 villages in the southwestern cocoa belt and the southeast were mapped out and at least 20 land disputes have been resolved since 2004, analysts said.

"People were very happy. All the operations went well," said one analyst, speaking on condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of land issues in Cote d'Ivoire. "Villagers and farmers are hungry for official documents and contracts. They need concrete and visible marks accepted by everyone because sometimes they simply don't know that this is not their parcel of land but the neighbour's one."

Door closes

Founding president Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who ruled Cote d'Ivoire for 33 years after independence from France, had decreed that "land belongs to the person who cultivates it" and encouraged West Africans from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and other neighbouring countries to farm in the fertile west and southwest of Cote d'Ivoire to help develop the country's economy.

As the population grew, swathes of virgin rainforest were slashed and burned to create more land to grow coffee, fruit and cocoa. The immigrants helped transform Cote d'Ivoire into the world's largest cocoa exporter and the most successful economy in West Africa.

But falling world prices for cocoa led to an economic downturn in the 1980s. Many Ivorian youths left the economic hub of Abidjan on the coast and returned to their villages only to find there was not enough farmland to go around.

Politicians, including former president Henri Konan Bedie, began talking of "Ivoirite" or "Ivorianness" after Houphouet-Boigny's death in 1993. Then a 1998 law recognising customary land rights in Cote d'Ivoire effectively ended the country's open-door immigration policy by preventing migrants and their offspring from having land rights.

The introduction of nationalism, coupled with the country's economic problems and competition for land, triggered attacks on West African migrants. "The Ivorian political context favours the explosion of [land] conflicts, feeds them and prevents their resolution," one Abidjan-based analyst said."

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, paras. 58-60

"The problems related to land in rural areas are one of the major challenges facing the Ivorian authorities. This is a complex issue and raises questions about the scarcity of arable land, demographic pressures, the economic crisis that dates from the beginning of the 1980s following the collapse of coffee and cocoa process on the world market, and the exploitation of the issue for political ends.

Rural land is governed by the 1998 Rural Land Act, the prime purpose of which was to clarify land rights by providing a legal framework for them and to modernize customary land rights. Under

article 1 of the Act, only the State, public authorities and individual Côte d'Ivoire nationals can own rural land. This provision represents a break with the past policy of President Houphouët-Boigny, under which the land belonged to the person cultivating it. Against a background of political tension linked to the power struggle, the Act aroused a sense of injustice in many non-Ivorian owners, some of whom had been cultivating the land for several generations. They were especially worried that their non-Ivorian descendants would not be able to become owners of the land. In response to their fears, and in implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, the 1998 Act was modified by a law dated 14 August 2004, under which rights to rural land ownership acquired before 2004 can be transmitted to descendants. The owners concerned by this derogation must be on a list drawn up by the Council of Ministers. At a time when the question of identifying Ivorian citizens is at the heart of the discussions, the Representative of the Secretary-General is concerned about the risks that the law will either not be applied or will be applied in a discriminatory fashion.

The authorities have a responsibility to help displaced persons recover their property and possessions and, where possible, to provide appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation (Principle 29). The process of adopting legislation to provide a framework for the provision of such compensation should be speeded up. In cases where the property of displaced persons is occupied by unauthorized individuals- especially in the north- the necessary steps should be taken to enable the property to be returned to them. In this connection, the Representative of the Secretary-General has taken note of the communiqué from the secretary-general of the Forces Nouvelles announcing the establishment of a special committee to address this question in territory under the control of the Forces Nouvelles. All these matters, like every other issue related to the situation of displaced people, should be addressed in consultation with the people most affected- displaced persons themselves."

PATTERNS OF RETURN AND RESETTLEMENT

General

Peace process promotes return but obstacles remain (2007)

- Land and property rights are among some of the main challenges faced by returnees
- Returns were recorded throughout 2006 but because of lack of land access secondary displacement has also taken place
- There are no reliable figures with regard to returnees
- Insecurity remains the major obstacle to return

IRIN, 5 April 2007

“The new peace deal may bring a new set of problems. “Now they say we are going to return but will we have the right to our plantations?” asks Kouassi.

Michel Tia, head of the regional IOM bureau in Duekoué, said the agency was trying to accelerate the return process to further help people like Kouassi and his family who do not receive the same assistance as those in the displaced camp in Guiglo.

Humanitarian organisations held negotiations with landowners to help ease people back into their communities but many challenges remain.

“Houses are nonexistent in the villages they are returning to,” said Tia. “Everything was destroyed. We have thought of putting up tents. The displaced [at the Guiglo center] are used to that and afterwards we will think about rehabilitating the houses to settle them definitively.”

Amadou Malgré Ouédraogo, 60, is one of the leaders of the Burkinabe community at the Guiglo camp. He said his garden of peppers, beans and eggplant is embarrassing compared to the hectares he once farmed. But he is resolved to restart his life once he returns to his village.

“I lost everything and now in the name of peace we are obliged to accept the situation,” he said. “But that will not be easy if they do not guaranty us a minimum of land to cultivate.”

IOM, 23 March 2007

“IOM has assisted a first group of some 178 internally displaced persons (IDPs) return to and resettle in their areas of residence in Western Cote d'Ivoire.

The group, made up mostly of West African migrant workers who had fled ethnic strife in 2002 and 2003, left the IOM-run Centre for Assistance to Temporary Displaced Persons (CATD) in Guiglo on Wednesday for three villages in the prefecture of Toulepleu, on the Liberia border.

Upon arrival in Péhé, Taibly and Diari, the returnees and vulnerable families in the host community received food and non food items such as tarpaulins, blankets and kitchen kits, which had been pre-positioned ahead of time by IOM. More food assistance, seeds and tools will be distributed next week by WFP and FAO.

This first return and reintegration operation follows extensive efforts deployed by IOM over the past year to promote reconciliation between communities of displaced West African migrant workers and host communities over complex land issues.”

UNHCR, 23 March 2007, p. 6

“There are no reliable figures on the return movement, which has already started on a small scale. One figure, which was collected by IOM and the NGO Cap Anamur in June 2006, concerned 300 IDPs who returned to their places of origin from Duékoué and Yamoussoukro. Some of these returnees have, however, recently moved again following insecurity in Blody and Fengolo in the *Zone de Confiance*.”

US Department of State, 6 March 2007, para. 2.d

“During the year an estimated 40,000 IDPs returned to their areas of origin, some without external assistance. UN agencies and local authorities also facilitated the small-scale return of IDPs to several locations in the west of the country with varying degrees of success. The displacement patterns often complicated the return of IDPs. For example, the displaced Burkinabe and other settlers living in the Guiglo IDP camp said that their plantations around the western town of Blolequin, south of the Zone of Confidence, were being occupied by indigenous Guere populations, who themselves had been displaced from their land in the Zone of Confidence at the beginning of the crisis. The government had not addressed this situation by year's end.

[...]

In late 2005 the government attempted to forcibly expel approximately 200 IDPs from a Catholic mission in the western town of Duekoue to compel them to return to their villages. Some of the IDPs cited security concerns and refused to return. The subprefect of Guehieby, located in the Zone of Confidence, used limited local funds to rent private homes for the IDP families, and families were forced to share overcrowded houses or take up residence in abandoned houses. The Catholic Mission permitted a number of IDPs to remain until alternative arrangements were made.”

UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, para. 53

“Everyone who spoke to the Representative of the Secretary-General, particularly displaced persons themselves, stressed that all displaced persons would like to return to their region of origin. The Representative of the Secretary-General was unable, however, to collect reliable information on the number of people who had already returned to their place of origin. In most cases, displaced persons believe that the conditions for their return are not in place, especially with regard to security. Many of the individuals questioned spoke of material problems related to their possible return – basically their increasing poverty and problems related to the destruction or occupation of their homes in their place of origin. The total absence of State organizations in the zone of confidence and the absence of the government administration in the north of the country are also obstacles to return.”

Summary of data on IDPs' wishes to return or resettle (March 2006)

- Almost 80% of IDPs have not returned to their areas of origin since the start of the crisis
- The majority of the IDPs plan on going back to their homes once the situation will be normalized
- Wishes to return change according to area of origin with only a minority of men from the north wanting to return
- Support in material resources constitutes an extra incitement for IDPs to return

ENSEA, March 2006**“Volonté de retour des PDIs vers leurs lieux d’origine et les raisons de leur sédentarisation dans leur lieu de résidence actuelle.**

En règle générale, les déplacés ne sont pas retournés dans leur zone de résidence d’avant la crise pendant toute la durée de celle-ci. C’est le cas de 8 personnes déplacées sur 10. Aussi, 83% des déplacés qui ont refusé de faire un tel voyage ont avancé la raison de l’insécurité qui règne toujours dans le pays.

La majorité des PDIs (72%) font le projet de quitter les ménages d’accueil et de retourner dans leur zone de provenance à la fin de la crise, après que la situation se soit complètement normalisée. Cependant, cette situation d’ensemble n’est pas uniforme et change parfois considérablement selon la zone de provenance du déplacé. Ainsi, les hommes déplacés venus de la zone nord qui souhaitent y retourner ne sont que 17 % alors que, la proportion de femmes venant de cette zone et ayant manifesté le même désir s’élève à 43 %. Ce sont les proportions les plus faibles des volontés de retour exprimées. Les réfugiés en provenance de la Vallée du Bandama manifestent également une assez forte réticence à retourner dans leur zone de départ : 46 % des hommes et 57 % des femmes seulement ont exprimé le désir de retour. En revanche, plus de 4 personnes sur 5 souhaitent retourner lorsqu’elles proviennent du Haut Sassandra ou de l’Ouest (82 % et 77 % respectivement au niveau des hommes, 74 % et 77 % respectivement pour les femmes).

Une proportion significative de 13 % des déplacés interrogés (autant chez les hommes qu’au niveau des femmes) refuse obstinément le retour dans leur ancienne localité de résidence quelle que soit l’incitation.

Des attentes matérielles ont été avancées comme incitation pour le retour dans leurs localités d’origine par certaines PDIs. Elles souhaitent une aide au retour et d’autres pensent que la réhabilitation des logements endommagés et leur évacuation seraient les conditions préalables. Les premiers constituent 14 % de l’ensemble et les seconds 10%.”

Tensions high between returning IDPs and local communities in western Cote d’Ivoire (2004)

- In western Cote d'Ivoire, many local communities are frightened by the return of IDPs due to continuing ethnic tensions and violence, and this has itself caused further displacement
- In some cases IDPs are unwilling to return before armed elements are disarmed
- Serious efforts for conflict resolution and reconciliation are needed in the villages

UN OCHA, 10 September 2004

“There has been limited movement of IDPs, the majority of which are living with host families in the South of the country. It has been estimated that there are at least a quarter of a million IDPs living in Abidjan. Some movement has been noted in the western part of the country, however this mostly concerns farmers who have returned to cultivate their crops. The environment in the west remains very hostile towards IDPs. There has been virtually no return of civil servants to the Northern part of the country, and they remain reluctant to return before the DDR process.

On the 13th of August a group of Baoulé, including men and women attempting to return to their homes in and around Bolequin, was held up in the village of Kaadé, where they were physically aggressed, stripped of their belongings and denied the possibility to pass through the area. They

were also prevented access the following day even though they had received passes from the local authorities and were escorted by gendarmes. The problem of denied access has also been encountered by humanitarian agencies, which have been denied access to vulnerable populations including IDPs North of Bolequin."

UN OCHA, 26 April 2004

"In the western Côte d'Ivoire tensions are heightened due to the premature return of IDPs to their areas of residence. Humanitarian organisations are receiving mixed reports from IDPs and host villages regarding their return. It is clear that while some communities and IDPs may be ready to be reunited others are not.

In the classified Forest Scio, situated northwest of Guiglo, the return of IDPs to the campement of CIB in the forest of Scio led to violent clashes and the death of one Guéré, who was decapitated in early April. Due to this incidence and a general feeling of insecurity among the local inhabitants, many have chosen to leave the village. It is estimated that since the 2nd April 2004 a total of 321 IDPs have returned to CIB. OCHA and IOM will conduct a mission to this area to further investigate the situation.

The conflict between the of Dozos from Duoekpé and the Guéré from Diéouzon (26km northeast of Bangolo), on the 20th April has led to the displacement of 357 villagers of the Guéré ethnic group from Diéouzon and 158 from Duoekpé, who have fled to Bangolo.

LICORNE has been prevented from conducting its routine patrols in the Bolequin. On the 19th April, LICORNE was held back by a barrage set-up by groups of young men, accusing LICORNE of facilitating and organising the " clandestine" return of Burkinabé. Also in Bolequin, between Guiglo and Toulepleu, it has been reported that, the local population are alarmed and frightened by the return of IDPs and have sought shelter on the main road. Many villagers are still against the return of immigrants and intercommunity tensions are still very high. It is clear that serious efforts for conflict resolution and reconciliation are needed and that villagers are unable to initiate this process themselves. On the 23rd April the Minister of National Reconciliation, Professor Danon Djedje, visited Bolequin and Toulepleu in order to start the process of peace and reconciliation by establishing the local reconciliation committees.

Tuteurs (land owners) are coming to the camps in Nicla, Guiglo to encourage the return of IDPs as they urgently need the labour force for the start of the agricultural season. However, as mentioned earlier, many local communities are not yet ready for their return, likewise not all IDPs are not willing to return before the disarmament of armed elements begins.

In Man 1486 IDPs (173 families) have registered with the committee for IDPs to facilitate their return to their areas of residence, which include Danané, Bin-Houye, Zouan-Houien and Mahapleu. Many of these families expressed a wish to return to their homes in order to commence this year's agricultural season. The humanitarian community have been contacted to provide support for their return.

Number of IDPs Wanting to Leave Man and Return to Areas of Residence:

Area of residence	No. IDPs	Families
Danané	472	58
Bin-Houye	259	26
Zouan-Hounien	594	70
Mahapleu	161	19
Total	1486	173

Source: Committee for IDPs in Man

There are some humanitarian support mechanisms (WFP food-aid) in place for IDPs who have returned to their areas of residence. Between the 14th-20th April, WFP in partnership with ICRC WFP provided 5,515 returnees with rations and commenced food for work programmes in Zouan Houien, Bin Houye and Man.

The general council of Danané has presented a project for peace and reconciliation in the department of Danané. During the crisis many fled from this area, particularly from Bin Houye and Zouan Hounien. The project is comprised of various different stages including 1) facilitating inter-community dialogue and building social cohesion, 2) sensitisation of local authorities (formal and informal) and 3) addressing the specific cases of IDPs in the prospect of their return.”

HUMANITARIAN ACCESS

General

Roadblocks impede humanitarian access (2007)

- Roadblocks mounted after inter-community clashes prevent access to UN agencies and NGOs
- The tensions erupted around Guiglo in February 2007 calmed down after a few days allowing the international community to resume their operations

UN OCHA, 4 March 2007

"Le 25 février 2007 à Glopoudi, à 15 km nord de Guiglo, des individus armés non identifiés auraient attaqué un autochtone Guéré, le blessant grièvement à la mâchoire. A la suite de cet incident, la situation est restée très tendue entre populations autochtones et allogènes sur l'axe Guiglo-Bloléquin. Plusieurs barrages ont été érigés à Glopoudi, Zouan, Domobly et Mona. Le 26 février 2007, une équipe du HCR se rendant à Toulepleu procéder au rapatriement des réfugiés Libériens a été bloquée à Zouan. Une autre équipe UNICEF en mission à Toulepleu a été obligée de rebrousser chemin sur Guiglo. Des patrouilles militaires des Forces Impartiales (FI) ont été également refusées d'entrer tant à Domobly qu'à Glopoudi. Dans l'après-midi du 27 février, la situation s'est davantage dégradée lorsque des instituteurs venant de Bloléquin pour Guiglo, accompagnés d'une escorte militaire, ont été bloqué par des jeunes de Glopoudi qui ont par ailleurs désarmer les militaires. Les FDS de Bloléquin sont venus en renfort à ceux de Guiglo pour rétablir l'ordre et récupérer les armes auprès des jeunes. La situation sur l'axe est redevenue calme le 1er mars 2007, le HCR a pu organiser le rapatriement de 124 réfugiés Libériens dont 17 venus du camp Peace Town de Nicla, et le reste est venu de Toulepleu et environs."

Assistance for IDPs threatened by anti-UN riots (January 2006)

- More than 6,000 IDPs and 8,000 refugees in camps in western Cote d'Ivoire were left without assistance after UN agencies were forced to evacuate in January 2006 by violence and looting directed at them
- Several hundred UN peacekeepers also left their base in the western town of Guiglo
- Humanitarian assistance in the area had to be suspended for several weeks until sufficient security was restored to allow operations to be resumed

IRIN, 23 January 2006

“The gutting of UN facilities and evacuation of staff in western Cote d’Ivoire last week could deprive thousands of refugees and displaced of food aid and other humanitarian assistance, officials warned on Monday.

About 14,000 refugees and displaced persons live in camps near the western town of Guiglo, where anti-UN protesters loyal to President Laurent Gbagbo went on the rampage last week, torching the offices of 10 UN agencies and other aid groups and driving out all UN personnel and most other aid workers.

‘The situation is extremely serious,’ Abdou Dieng, UN World Food Programme country director, told IRIN. “We don’t know what’s going to happen to these people.”

Angry youths damaged or stole at least 20 UN vehicles and looted a WFP warehouse of just under 700 tonnes of rice destined for vulnerable populations, according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). They also made off with laptops, cameras, scanners, generators and satellite phones.

Total damages for the UN could amount to US \$1.8 million, UN humanitarian coordinator Abdoulaye Mar Dieye said in a statement, condemning what he called a ‘flagrant violation of human rights and humanitarian law.’

[...]

Currently, UN agencies feed and provide humanitarian assistance to almost one million people faced by food insecurity, and about one out of five of the country’s 17 million people receives humanitarian assistance of some kind, UN officials told IRIN.

Last week’s riots, which lasted four days and brought the economic capital Abidjan to a standstill, targeted UN-sponsored attempts to bring peace to Cote d’Ivoire, split between a rebel-held north and government-controlled south for more than three years.

While calm has returned to Abidjan, the head of the UN Mission in Cote d’Ivoire (ONUCI), Pierre Schori, told reporters at the weekend that the situation in the west is ‘very worrying...because it can lead to a humanitarian disaster.’

Staff from the medical aid group Medecins Sans Frontieres-France are among the few humanitarian agents left behind in the region, according to head of mission Hiam Elzein, who said MSF-France’s health and nutritional centres were continuing to function.

‘We’re trying to maintain a humanitarian presence,’ she said.

The densely forested region around Guiglo is home to a refugee camp for 8,000 Liberians and a camp sheltering some 6,000 Burkinabe farmers, driven off their plantations in Cote d’Ivoire during three years of conflict.

Nearly all aid workers were forced out of the region last week when mobs began to burn and loot UN facilities following the death of five youths when peacekeepers opened fire following an attack on a UN military compound.

Following the clashes several hundred Bangladeshi peacekeepers left their bases in Guiglo and the nearby town of Duekoue, retreating to the buffer zone that separates the rebel and government zones.

For the refugees and displaced persons stranded in the west, WFP’s Dieng says the priority must be to resume aid to those who need it. ‘We must return there. We cannot just abandon them.’ ”

Renewed fighting further hampers humanitarian access (November 2004)

- Resumption of fighting in November 2004 resulted in the evacuation of staff of both UN agencies and NGOs, some for several months
- Humanitarian agencies have been threatened, harassed and directly attacked
- WFP was forced to temporarily suspend operations at the end of November 2004 after rebels opened fire near one of its planes

IRIN, 7 November 2004

"The United Nations Mission in Cote d'Ivoire (ONUCI) on Sunday raised its security level across the whole country to Phase Four, the last phase before evacuation, a spokesman said.

Phase Four enables security chiefs on the ground to recommend the relocation outside the country of all international staff except those concerned with emergency or humanitarian relief operations or security matters."

UN News, 6 November 2004

"With six of their vehicles no longer available and roadblocks proliferating, United Nations humanitarian agencies are struggling to continue their work in Côte d'Ivoire, the world's largest exporter of cocoa, during government bombardment of rebel-held areas, a UN spokesman said today.

The bombing around the rebel Forces Nouvelles-controlled towns of Bouaké and Korhogo has forced the agencies to restrict staff movements, spokesman Fred Eckhard said. Five agency vehicles were "confiscated" by armed groups and a sixth was destroyed.

Continued hostilities could prevent farmers from going to their fields, affecting the harvesting of food, as well as the biggest revenue earner in the south and west, cocoa, he said."

WFP, 16 November 2004

"WFP has been able to resume some of its operations in crisis-ridden Cote d'Ivoire just days after the wave of unrest sweeping the country had forced the agency to suspend most of its food aid projects.

WFP food aid is currently reaching more than 15,000 refugees and displaced persons sheltering at camps in Guiglo and Tabou.

The agency also continues to provide assistance to thousands of malnourished children and pregnant & nursing women at therapeutic feeding centres across Cote d'Ivoire.

"Continued instability is limiting the number of distributions, but we hope to be able to resume full operations soon," said WFP spokesman Ramin Rafirasme.

WFP suspended most of its Cote d'Ivoire activities in the wake of violence sparked by the government's November 4 offensive against rebels.

The insecurity has forced the United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) to evacuate non-essential UN civilian staff, including WFP personnel. On November 15, the UN Security Council imposed an immediate arms embargo on Cote d'Ivoire."

OCHA-CI, 24 November 2004

“The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reports that a small number of UN humanitarian staff returned to Abidjan yesterday.

Today, more UN humanitarian staff or those working on emergency-related programmes are scheduled to return. If conditions permit, rapid assessment missions will be conducted to various areas, including Guiglo and Bouake.

The UN relocated most of its staff to Accra on November 10th, due to the seriousness of the situation in Abidjan and other parts of the country.

OCHA says the return of the staff will allow the resumption of humanitarian operations in all parts of the country – although there are still serious concerns that the crisis could worsen.”

UN News, 1 December 2004

“A senior United Nations official has obtained assurances from the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire that there will be no repetition of the kind of incident that forced the world body's emergency feeding agency to suspend flights last week after one of its planes was met with shots fired in the air, threats and hostile slogans.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Principal Deputy Special Representative in the West African country, Alan Doss, met with senior representatives of the Armed Forces of the Forces Nouvelles in Bouaké in the rebel-held north where he stressed the need for full respect by all parties of Security Council resolution establishing the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI).

The rebel representatives assured Mr. Doss of free and unimpeded access for UN peacekeepers, military observers and UN and other humanitarian agencies' personnel.

The UN World Food Programme (WFP) suspended its flights after the incident last Thursday in Man, in the west of the country, warning that such acts risked compromising its humanitarian mission at the expense of the local population.”

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES

National response

Overview: Government response limited despite positive steps (2007)

The overarching goal of the government is the return of all displaced persons to their original homes. The Ouagadougou Accord focuses only on the drafting of a national strategy document to facilitate the return of IDPs and it remains silent on the option of voluntary resettlement in another part of the country, as stated in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

Since the start of Côte d'Ivoire's civil conflict in September 2002, the state's response to the situation of internal displacement in the country has been hampered by the fact that at both the policy and operational levels there was little knowledge or general experience of tackling humanitarian crises. While several government ministries have worked to varying degrees on issues related to displaced persons – including the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims, the Ministry of National Reconciliation and Institutional Relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Reconstruction and Reintegration – the lack of a government focal point greatly hampered UN OCHA-led efforts to put in place a coordinated IDP response structure. However, in mid-2006, the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims officially took the lead role on IDP issues, and drafted an action plan for IDP return which it discussed with international humanitarian agencies. The Government has also set up a number of bodies, including an inter-ministerial committee, in charge of coordinating the protection of and assistance to the country's internally displaced people (IDMC, 8 February 2007; GoCI, 20 March 2007), but the lack of necessary resources has limited their effectiveness.

This situation has been compounded by the continuing absence of local administration and social service workers from many parts of the country, particularly the rebel-held north as well as insecure areas of government-held territory in the west. Although some efforts have been made to re-establish state administration, principally through the *Comité National pour le Redéploiement de l'Administration*, the lack of services combined with a deteriorating humanitarian situation remains of major concern. Humanitarian organisations have therefore been working directly with various government institutions aiming to complement their work, but in many cases effectively substituting for them.

International response

Overview: International response is constrained (2007)

The UN response to the humanitarian crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is headed by the Humanitarian Coordinator, Georg Charpentier, who is also the Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, supported by UN OCHA in Abidjan and other strategic locations. He leads the Inter-Agency Humanitarian Coordination Committee (IAHCC), which includes UN agencies, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, the International Organization for Migration and international NGOs.

The coordinated response for the protection and assistance of IDPs has generally improved in the past year. The UNFPA-funded IDP survey, carried out in five government priority zones, fills an important information gap and may serve as a basis for improved response to IDPs' protection and assistance needs (ENSEA, March 2006). Various protection forums now exist, with varying levels of focus on IDPs. UN OCHA's Protection Network, developed in July 2005, was an important advocate for IDP protection and assistance in line with the UN Guiding Principles, and coordinated the development of an inter-agency IDP strategy (UN OCHA-CI, 11 July 2006). The more-recent IDP Protection Cluster under the leadership of UNHCR, which replaces the Protection Network, is intended to bring greater accountability and predictability to the protection of civilians, including IDPs, in line with the global humanitarian reform. After the set up of regional clusters in Tabou, Guiglo and Bouake, the national Protection Cluster and its partners are currently establishing a monitoring system for the return and resettlement process as well as preparing benchmarks for guiding it (UNHCR, 23 March 2007). Additional activities include the establishment of a subgroup on identification and documentation issues, which are central to finding a sustainable exit strategy from the crisis.

Various constraints have hampered the response of international agencies to the needs of IDPs in Côte d'Ivoire. The lack of information about IDPs' numbers, needs and locations has been a fundamental obstacle, one which the UNFPA-funded evaluation should help to alleviate, although it was only carried out in five areas in the government-held south of the country (ENSEA, March 2006). The poor state of roads, particularly in the rainy season, has made access to remote areas in the north and west of the country practically impossible, according to WFP.

Humanitarian access has also been limited to varying degrees by the insecurity in some areas of the country. Agencies have at various times been harassed, blocked in their movements, or deliberately targeted with violence. Following the resumption of hostilities in November 2004, many humanitarian agencies were forced to suspend operations and personnel were temporarily evacuated. Following orchestrated attacks against UN offices in various parts of Côte d'Ivoire in January 2006, which caused widespread destruction and forced the evacuation of hundreds of peacekeepers, as well as most humanitarian agencies, from the western town of Guiglo, IDPs and other vulnerable populations were left without assistance for several weeks (UN News, 26 January 2006; UN OCHA, 9 February 2006).

Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland's visit to Côte d'Ivoire in February 2006 helped to focus international attention on the humanitarian situation in the country, albeit briefly. Condemning the anti-UN violence in the country, Egeland said that "the humanitarians are hanging on by their fingernails in many areas due to decreasing humanitarian space" mainly referring to the west and that "international support is desperately needed if we are going to continue to help the Ivorian people" (UN OCHA, 17 February 2006). The acute lack of funding for humanitarian programmes has been another major constraint, largely as a result of donors' wariness for the country's 'no war no peace' situation and the perceived lack of transparency and good governance (IRIN, 6 February 2007).

High-level advocacy on the situation of IDPs was also undertaken by Walter Kälin, the Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of IDPs, following a visit to the country in April 2006. Describing the situation in Côte d'Ivoire as "a protection crisis in terms of the human rights of the internally displaced", Kälin called on the authorities and humanitarian organisations to draft without further delay a comprehensive strategy to address the challenges of internal displacement in the country as well as a detailed plan of action to improve the current situation of the country's internally displaced people. He also requested the donor community to support a long-term strategy to identify and implement durable solutions to the internal displacement crisis. Kälin further recommended that a law providing for indemnities be adopted as soon as possible (UN Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006; OHCHR, 25 April 2006).

References to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Known references to the Guiding Principles

- References to the Guiding Principles in the national legislation
- Other references to the Guiding Principles (in chronological order)
- Availability of the Guiding Principles in local languages
- Training on the Guiding Principles (in chronological order)

References to the Guiding Principles in the national legislation

None

Other references to the Guiding Principles (in chronological order)

As of June 2006, several important documents with references to the Guiding Principles remained in draft form. These included:

- a) an IDP response framework (containing elements of the previous IDP strategy), developed by the Protection Network in Cote d'Ivoire***
- b) an IDP action plan also being developed by the Protection Network***
- c) final report and recommendations of the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on the Human Rights of IDPs, Walter Kaelin, following his visit to Cote d'Ivoire in April 2006***

Strategy for the Assistance and Protection of Internally Displaced Persons, developed by UN OCHA's IDP Adviser in Cote d'Ivoire at the beginning of 2004, sets out objectives along the lines of the Guiding Principles, e.g. the need for durable solutions for returning IDPs.

Source: UN OCHA

Date: 17 January 2004

Document: Proposition de stratégie d'assistance et de protection des personnes déplacées (endorsed)

Availability of the Guiding Principles in local languages

Guiding Principles in [French](#)

Training on the Guiding Principles

OCHA and UNICEF-CI training workshop: OCHA and UNICEF-CI jointly organised a workshop in Abidjan on 14 and 15 May to develop a Code of Conduct for all humanitarian workers in Cote d'Ivoire, as well as a strategy to improve assistance and protection of vulnerable groups, including refugees, the sick and wounded, minorities, the elderly, handicapped individuals, women and children, and particularly IDPs. The workshop which was part of the effort to increase complementarity between humanitarian and military initiatives, was attended by Government Ministries, UN agencies and local and international NGOs as well as the FANGI (Ivorian national armed forces), ECOMICI and French Operation Licorne representatives.

Sources: UN OCHA; UNICEF

Date: 14-15 May 2003
Document: "On the basis of the consensus reached during the seminar, humanitarian actors will soon finalise a Code of Conduct for all humanitarian workers in Cote d'Ivoire and will revise their strategies for assistance to and the protection of vulnerable populations, particularly internally displaced populations (IDPs)" (UN OCHA, 16 May 2003).

OCHA and UNICEF-CI training workshop: OCHA and UNICEF-CI jointly organised a workshop in Abidjan on 16 May directed to the impartial forces ECOMICI and the French Operation Linconne Forces to the sensitise them on humanitarian intervention.
Sources: UN OCHA; UNICEF
Date: 16 May 2003
Document: "On the basis of the consensus reached during the seminar, humanitarian actors will soon finalise a Code of Conduct for all humanitarian workers in Cote d'Ivoire and will revise their strategies for assistance to and the protection of vulnerable populations, particularly internally displaced populations (IDPs)" (UN OCHA, 16 May 2003).

LIST OF SOURCES USED

(alphabetical order)

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 5 November 2004, Armed clashes resume in Ivory Coast, UN agencies suspend aid work

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/SZIE-66FMQY?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 11 April 2007, Cote d'Ivoire foes, peacekeepers dismantle buffer zone

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/YSAR-726RJX?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 12 April 2007

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 12 January 2003, Details of three Ivory Coast rebel groups and French forces

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/0f237eb58424e12249256cad000bac7b?OpenDocument> , accessed 23 January 2003

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 24 January 2003, Ivory Coast displaced speak of bloodthirsty, ruthless Liberian attackers

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/9c2788aa5149ae3049256cbb001d06f2?OpenDocument> , accessed 3 April 2003

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 18 January 2003, UN envoy "shocked" by govt treatment of I. Coast slum dwellers

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/0ff057c30b87462e49256cb4001e4bd4?OpenDocument> , accessed 18 June 2003

Amnesty International (AI), 15 March 2007, Targeting women: the forgotten victims of the conflict

Internet : <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAFR310012007?open&of=ENG-2AF> , accessed 12 April 2007

BBC News, 30 October 2005, Defiant Gbagbo pledges to stay on

Internet : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4389832.stm> , accessed 1 November 2005

BBC News, 10 June 2005, Timeline: Ivory Coast

Internet : http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1043106.stm , accessed 6 October 2005

BBC News, 30 November 2002, Ivory Coast: Who are the rebels?

Internet : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2531715.stm> , accessed 6 June 2006

BBC News, 21 September 2006, Ivorian poll delay as talks fail

Internet : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/5366808.stm> , accessed 2 October 2006

BBC News, 12 April 2007, Ivory Coast moves to end division

Internet : <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6547733.stm> , accessed 12 April 2007

BBC News, 26 April 2007, Timeline: Ivory Coast

Internet : http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1043106.stm , accessed 31 May 2007

CARE Cote d'Ivoire, 30 June 2005, Coping with communal violence: building alliances to promote reconciliation

Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée (ENSEA), 31 March 2006, Enquete sur les personnes déplacées internes (PDIs) dans cinq départements de la Cote d'Ivoire

Government of Côte d'Ivoire, 4 March 2007, Accord Politique de Ouagadougou
Internet : http://www.onuci.org/pdf_fr/pio/Dialogue%20Direct%20-%20Accord%20Politique%20de%20Ouagadougou,%204%20mars%202007.pdf , accessed 26 March 2007

Government of Côte d'Ivoire, 20 March 2007, 4ème session du Conseil des Droits de l'Homme: Commentaires du Représentant permanent de Côte d'Ivoire sur les droits de l'homme des personnes déplacées

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 21 December 2005, Côte d'Ivoire: The Human Rights Cost of the Political Impasse
Internet : <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/cote1205/> , accessed 1 June 2006

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 11 November 2004, Côte d'Ivoire: Rein in militias, end incitement
Internet : <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/11/10/cotedi9660.htm> , accessed 3 May 2005

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 3 June 2005, Cote d'Ivoire: As killings surge, UN must boost troops
Internet : <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/06/03/cotedi11070.htm> , accessed 4 July 2005

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 25 May 2006, Because they have the guns...I'm left with nothing
Internet : http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/05/24/cotedi13443_txt.htm , accessed 1 June 2006

Human Rights Watch (HRW), May 2005, Country on a Precipice: The Precarious State of Human Rights and Civilian Protection in Cote d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/cdi0505/> , accessed 1 November 2005

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 20 December 2000, Election Violence in Abidjan: October 24-26, 2000
Internet : <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/IvoryCoastbrf.htm> , accessed 6 June 2006

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 20 June 2003, The Regional Crisis and Human Rights Abuses in West Africa A Briefing Paper to the U.N. Security Council
Internet : <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/wafrica/wafrica-humanrights.htm#Cote> , accessed 22 June 2003

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 28 August 2001, Cote d'Ivoire: Politicians Incite Ethnic Conflict
Internet : <http://www.hrw.org/press/2001/08/cote-0828.htm> , accessed 21 November 2002

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 27 November 2003, Côte d'Ivoire: Militias Commit Abuses With Impunity
Internet : <http://www.hrw.org/press/2003/11/cote112703.htm> , accessed 27 November 2003

Human Rights Watch (HRW), 13 April 2005, West Africa: Roving warriors recruited for new conflicts
Internet : <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/westafrica0405/> , accessed 3 May 2005

Humanitarian Coordinator (HC), 27 April 2006, Press release

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 18 September 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Clean-up of toxic waste begins

Internet : <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/IRIN/e666e29fa559d2ca89c9bdd6d0abebba.htm> , accessed 2 October 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 20 October 2006, Access to HIV/AIDS treatment in rebel north precarious

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=61379> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 13 November 2006, Solving conflict on a smaller scale

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=61551> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 6 February 2007, Côte d'Ivoire: On the brink

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=69961> , accessed 11 May 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 21 February 2007, Meningitis outbreak reported

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=70300> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 19 March 2007, Drought and poor infrastructure spell water shortage in the west

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=70777> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 22 March 2007, Hostages in our own land

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=70873> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 5 April 2007, Back to the land

Internet : <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?ReportID=71207> , accessed 12 April 2007

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 29 January 2003, WEST AFRICA: UNICEF appeals for \$5.7 million for two months

Internet : http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=32003&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=West%20Africa , accessed 21 June 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 4 May 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: Leaked UN report says 120 killed by government during Abidjan protest

Internet : http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=40899&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 14 June 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), August 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: Peace summit sees disarmament starting in October

Internet : http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=42471&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 11 October 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 9 August 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: Power sharing cabinet meets for first time in four months

Internet : http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=42588&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 11 October 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 5 October 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: Pro-Gbagbo Youths resume protests against French peacekeepers
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=43517&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 11 October 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 11 October 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: UN and French peacekeepers fire shots at rebel demonstrations
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=43611&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 12 October 2004

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 7 November 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: Militants rampage in Abidjan, foreigners airlifted from homes
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=44030&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 18 April 2005

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 8 November 2004, Côte d'Ivoire: France denies trying to topple President, diplomatic efforts continue
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=44054&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 3 May 2005

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 25 November 2004, Côte d'Ivoire: Ivorian rebels hold villagers to ransom in northern sector
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=44349&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 3 May 2005

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 2 March 2005, Côte d'Ivoire: Several reported killed in Monday's clash, militia promises fresh attacks
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=45880&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 10 May 2005

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), April 2005, Côte d'Ivoire: UN highlights tide of human rights abuse in run-up to peace summit
Internet : http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=46430&SelectRegion=West_Africa , accessed 7 April 2005

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 18 January 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Five killed, peacekeepers beat retreat on third day of anti-UN protests
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=51208&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 1 June 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 23 January 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Anti-UN riots threaten continued assistance to refugees, displaced
Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=51289&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 1 June 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 8 February 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: UN sanctions Ivorian leaders for first time

Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=51618&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 30 May 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 16 February 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Exams at last for 90,000 students left in limbo in rebel territory

Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=51756&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 1 June 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 29 September 2006, Cote d'Ivoire: Infrastructure crumbling in rebel-held north

Internet :
http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=55774&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=COTE_D_IVOIRE , accessed 3 October 2006

Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 5 September 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Four years of crisis puts millions in need

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KKEE-6TCNBY?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 2 October 2006

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), 25 April 2005, Report of the Inter Agency Standing Committee mission to Côte d'Ivoire 02-07 April 2005

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EVIU-6BSM7M?OpenDocument> , accessed 3 May 2005

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 7 November 2005, Déplacements internes en Cote d'Ivoire: une crise de protection

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 7 November 2005, Internal displacement in Cote d'Ivoire: a protection crisis

International Crisis Group (ICG), 17 May 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Peace as an Option

Internet : <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4112&l=1> , accessed 1 June 2006

International Crisis Group (ICG), 7 September 2006, Côte d'Ivoire: Stepping up the pressure

Internet : <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4365&l=1> , accessed 2 October 2006

International Organization for Migration (IOM), 23 March 2007, Return and reintegration of displaced persons begins in the west of the country

Internet :
<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pbnAF/cache/offonce;jsessionid=63810C5B780187FDA9D437C4CDD461CA.worker01?entryId=13480&titleHolder=Return%20and%20Reintegration%20of%20Displaced%20Persons%20Begins%20in%20the%20West%20of%20the%20Country> , accessed 23 March 2007

Jefferys and Porter, 26 November 2004, Ivory Coast is a case of too much UN coordination

Internet : <http://www.alertnet.org/thefacts/reliefresources/110148544524.htm> , accessed 3 May 2005

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), 25 April 2007, Ivory Coast: Increasing violent attacks against civilians in the former Zone of Confidence

Internet : http://www.msf.org/msfinternational/invoke.cfm?objectid=28BF4B94-15C5-F00A-25B0668F6FC7A278&component=toolkit.pressrelease&method=full_html , accessed 27 April 2007

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), 2007, "People are left defenceless". Testimonies from Ivory Coast: an overview 2003-2006
Internet : <http://www.msf.org/source/countries/africa/ivorycoast/2007/MSF-Ivory%20Coast-25APR2007.pdf> , accessed 27 April 2007

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, 13 March 2006, Rapport de la situation humanitaire en Côte d'Ivoire 15 janvier – 13 mars 2006
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-6MXU4K?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, 24 November 2004, OCHA/Côte d'Ivoire update
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/SZIE-672QXH?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, 11 July 2006, Project for an Inter-agency IDP Strategy

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, 5 September 2005, Protection Network, Cote d'Ivoire

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, 11 August 2005, IDP summary in CDI

OCHA Cote d'Ivoire, September 2006, Mission Inter-agences à Toulepleu et Guiglo

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 25 April 2006, Côte d'Ivoire facing protection crisis in terms of human rights of IDPs, expert says
Internet : <http://www.ohchr.org/english/press/newsFrameset-2.htm> , accessed 1 June 2006

Refugees International, 22 July 2005, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire: Upcoming elections may exclude displaced persons
Internet : <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/6419/> , accessed 6 October 2005

Refugees International, 31 January 2007, Continuing IDP crisis complicated by nationality and voting issues
Internet : <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/9827/> , accessed 11 April 2007

Refugees International, 15 February 2007, Address root causes of conflict to prevent and reduce statelessness
Internet : <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/9850/> , accessed 11 April 2007

Refugees International, 5 March 2007, Children and Youth Call for Status and Safeguards
Internet : <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/9874?PHPSESSID=0c656c737877c5b37309d9b6e0ca24aa> , accessed 6 March 2007

Reuters, 30 April 2007, Ivorian ex-foes patrol together as peace advances
Internet : <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L30506496.htm> , accessed 4 May 2007

Reuters, 2 January 2003, Many dead in Ivory Coast rebel attack - refugees
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/0eb0bc1d6c98252b85256ca3006065d5?OpenDocument> , accessed 18 June 2003

Reuters, 9 January 2003, Ivorian war creates over 600,000 refugees -U.N.

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/285e522d6c7cb68ac1256ca9005e5de0?OpenDocument> , accessed 18 June 2003

Reuters AlertNet, December 2004, Response: UN says coordination not the enemy in Ivory Coast

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EVIU-67BJPH?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

Reuters AlertNet, December 2004, Response: UN says coordination not the enemy in Ivory Coast

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EVIU-67BJPH?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 November 2005

Reuters AlertNet, 23 June 2003, Government must curb Ivory Coast's xenophobia

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/4cf03b0f90dfd3bc1256d4e0041bae9?OpenDocument> , accessed 24 June 2003

UN Humanitarian Coordinator (HC), 27 April 2006, Communiqué de Presse du Coordonnateur Humanitaire

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 17 February 2006, Protection of civilians, impunity are gravest humanitarian problems in Côte d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/ABES-6M4NVV?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 30 September 2005, Situation of internally displaced in Cote d'Ivoire town at risk

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EGUA-6GQM8R?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 November 2005

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 9 February 2006, United Nations resumes aid in western Côte d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EGUA-6LUN22?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 4 March 2007, Côte d'Ivoire : OCHA Rapport Hebdomadaire No. 09

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EVOD-6Z5JKY?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 10 May 2007

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 17 January 2005, Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 36

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/JMAN-68SDJ7?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 17 December 2004, UN aid agencies say humanitarian needs growing in north Côte d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KHII-67U2SY?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 7 April 2005

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 8 February 2007, Côte d'Ivoire : OCHA Rapport Hebdomadaire No. 05

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/YSAR-6Y8TF7?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 7 May 2007

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 16 May 2003, Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 10

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/3237850998bbf989c1256d2b004cb431?OpenDocument> , accessed 19 May 2003

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 15 October 2002, UN humanitarian mission witnesses the flight of thousands of persons from Bouaké

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/d2fc8ae9db883867852567cb0083a028/4f672a59b6ba8229c1256c5300500323?OpenDocument> , accessed 21 November 2002

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 3 March 2003, Côte d'Ivoire-Liberia: Fighting reported on both sides of border

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/4d173ea880c644d685256cde006bed44?OpenDocument> , accessed 17 June 2003

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 31 March 2003, Humanitarian Voices - OCHA Regional Support Office for West Africa, Issue No. 1, 2003

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/82c074055484cad085256d03006fcaef?OpenDocument> , accessed 16 June 2003

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 26 April 2004, Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 26

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/b2ce950b7a184165c1256e850049252e?OpenDocument> , accessed 14 June 2004

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 31 March 2003, Humanitarian situation in Côte d'Ivoire worsens

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/c3ee7c9bc551605085256cfa006b30d1?OpenDocument> , accessed 16 June 2003

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), April 2004, Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 24

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/d57581deee83abbd85256e6900578ebd?OpenDocument> , accessed 14 June 2004

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 17 May 2004, Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 27

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/d58fd60751a10be5c1256e9900356836?OpenDocument> , accessed 14 June 2004

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 10 September 2004, Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire Situation Report No. 31

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/f74f1af57761f63285256f10006bb944?OpenDocument> , accessed 12 October 2004

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 17 January 2004, Proposition de stratégie d'assistance et de protection des personnes déplacées

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 22 February 2006, Former child soldiers still at risk as instability continues in Côte d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/ETOA-6ME4SA?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 27 March 2006, UNICEF Humanitarian Action: Côte d'Ivoire Donor Update 27 March 2006

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/LSGZ-6NADAX?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 29 January 2007, UNICEF Humanitarian Action Report 2007

Internet : http://www.unicef.org/har07/files/HAR_FULLREPORT2006.pdf , accessed 16 April 2007

United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR), 22 December 2004, Report by the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance: mission to Côte d'Ivoire (E/CN.4/2005/18/Add.3)

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 8 October 2002, UNHCR briefing notes: Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan/Eritrea, Sierra Leone/Liberia

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/d2fc8ae9db883867852567cb0083a028/7602da49187e6b98c1256c4c0040f424?OpenDocument> , accessed 21 November 2002

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 23 March 2007, Supplementary Appeal for Côte d'Ivoire: protection and assistance to internally displaced persons

Internet : <http://www.unhcr.org/partners/PARTNERS/4603eb472.pdf> , accessed 2 April 2007

United Nations Human Rights Council, 18 October 2006, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced people, Walter Kalin. Mission to Côte d'Ivoire (A/HRC/4/38/Add.2)

United Nations News Service, December 2004, Côte d'Ivoire rebels pledge no repeat of hostile acts against UN relief flights

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/JCDR-679RQW?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

United Nations News Service, 6 November 2004, UN aid agencies forced to limit work during renewed fighting in Côte d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KHII-66J4R3?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

United Nations News Service, 23 November 2004, Human rights abuses continue to be reported in Côte d'Ivoire – UN mission

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KHII-6723UJ?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

United Nations News Service, 26 January 2006, Chief of UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire says 400 UN staffers evacuated after riots, siege

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/RMOI-6LF2GJ?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 1 June 2006

United Nations News Service, 9 September 2004, Cote d'Ivoire: UN sets up 'peace corridors' to facilitate freedom of movement
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/149206ff3adf90a349256f0b00063a01?OpenDocument> , accessed 12 October 2004

United Nations News Service, 12 July 2004, Cote d'Ivoire towns lack safe drinking water, adequate latrines, UNICEF says
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/f303799b16d2074285256830007fb33f/f9810d5eea20e1b385256ed00006ab59?OpenDocument> , accessed 12 October 2004

United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), 12 April 2007, Summary of UNOCI weekly press conference - 12 April 2007
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/SODA-72E7T4?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 19 April 2007

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 26 September 2005, Sixth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2005/unsc-civ-26sep.pdf> , accessed 6 October 2005

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 11 April 2006, Eighth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2006/unsc-civ-11apr.pdf> , accessed 1 June 2006

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 17 July 2006, Ninth progress report of the Secretary-General on the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2006/unsc-civ-17jul.pdf> , accessed 2 October 2006

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 15 November 2004, Security Council imposes immediate 13-month arms embargo on Côte d'Ivoire, unanimously adopts resolution 1572 (2004)
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-66SL9E?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 7 April 2005

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 18 March 2005, Fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-6ASNE2?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 17 June 2005, Fifth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-6DMK9P?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 4 July 2005

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 9 December 2004, Third progress report of the Secretary-General on the UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/KHII-67P3NU?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 7 April 2005

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 27 February 2004, Security Council establishes peacekeeping operation in Cote d'Ivoire, unanimously adopts resolution 1528 (2004)

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/498dddbf06d0e81685256e470067e252?OpenDocument> , accessed 14 June 2004

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 25 October 2006, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Côte d'Ivoire (S/2006/835)

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 10 January 2007, Security Council Resolution 1739

United Nations Security Council (UN SC), 8 March 2007, Twelfth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire

United Nations (UN), 17 December 2004, Addendum: Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Humanitarian Appeal 2005 for Côte d'Ivoire

Internet :
[http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/CAP_2005_Cdlvoire/\\$FILE/CAP_2005_Cdlvoire_ADDENDUM_SCREEN.PDF?OpenElement](http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/CAP_2005_Cdlvoire/$FILE/CAP_2005_Cdlvoire_ADDENDUM_SCREEN.PDF?OpenElement) , accessed 3 May 2005

United Nations (UN), 18 November 2005, Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Appeal 2006 for Cote d'Ivoire

Internet :
[http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/CAP_2006_Cdlvoire/\\$FILE/CAP_2006_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.pdf?OpenElement](http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/CAP_2006_Cdlvoire/$FILE/CAP_2006_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.pdf?OpenElement) , accessed 29 November 2005

United Nations (UN), 23 June 2005, CAP: Mid-Year Review of the Humanitarian Appeal 2005 for Cote d'Ivoire

Internet :
[http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/MYR_2005_Cdlvoire/\\$FILE/MYR_2005_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.PDF?OpenElement](http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/MYR_2005_Cdlvoire/$FILE/MYR_2005_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.PDF?OpenElement) , accessed 6 October 2005

United Nations (UN), 18 July 2006, Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Mid-term Review of Côte d'Ivoire

Internet :
[http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/MYR_2006_Cdlvoire/\\$FILE/MYR_2006_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.pdf?OpenElement](http://ochadms.unog.ch/quickplace/cap/main.nsf/h_Index/MYR_2006_Cdlvoire/$FILE/MYR_2006_Cdlvoire_SCREEN.pdf?OpenElement) , accessed 2 October 2006

United Nations (UN), 23 June 2005, Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Mid-Year Review of the Humanitarian Appeal 2005 for Cote d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EVOD-6DMK6X?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 4 July 2005

United Nations (UN), 18 July 2006, Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Mid-Year Review of Cote d'Ivoire

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/YAOI-6RM7LZ?OpenDocument> , accessed 18 July 2006

United Nations (UN), 15 June 2004, Mid-Year Review of the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Humanitarian Appeal 2004 for Cote d'Ivoire plus three

Internet :
<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc852567ae00530132/6a3b0e7f78714ce8c1256eac0040ba1c?OpenDocument> , accessed 15 June 2004

United Nations (UN), 30 November 2006, Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) for Côte d'Ivoire 2007

UNOCI Human Rights Division, February 2006, Rapport No. 4 sur la situation des Droits de l'Homme en CDI (aout-decembre 2005)

UNOCI Human Rights Division, March 2007, Rapport n.6 sur la situation des Droits de l'Homme en Côte d'Ivoire (mai-août 2006)

UNOCI Human Rights Division, August 2005, Rapport sur la situation des droits de l'homme en CDI, mai-juillet 2005

U.S. Department of State (U.S. DOS), 6 March 2007, Country report on human rights practices 2006

Internet : <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78730.htm> , accessed 16 April 2007

World Food Programme (WFP), 2 January 2007, Evaluation approfondie de la sécurité alimentaire

Internet : <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp121222.pdf> , accessed 11 April 2007

World Food Programme (WFP), 16 November 2004, WFP resumes food aid deliveries in spite of Côte d'Ivoire chaos

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-66TNY2?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005

World Health Organisation (WHO), 11 November 2004, Côte d'Ivoire: CAP Compendium: Health 2005 (WHO)

Internet : <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-66STRV?OpenDocument&rc=1&cc=civ> , accessed 3 May 2005