



DEMOCRATISATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE: REALITY OR MYTH?¹

1. Korka Diallo Mamadou²

ORCID No 0009-0008-3762-004X

2. Başak Özoral³

ORCID No 0000-0003-4620-9275

Başvuru Tarihi: 01.06.2023

Kabul Tarihi: 13.06.2023

Yayın Tarihi: 23.06.2023

ABSTRACT

This study examines the democratisation of political parties in Côte d'Ivoire, focusing on three major parties: PDCI (Parti Democratique Côte d'Ivoire), RHDP (Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace) and FPI (Ivorian Popular Front). Content analysis was used to assess organizational democracy, internal stability and their impact on democratic challenges. The findings indicate low organizational democracy and stability. They also have a weak democratic culture, which affects their internal dynamics. Obstacles to democracy include poor succession planning, inadequate finances, aging leaders, restrictions on opposition parties, undemocratic practices and opaque internal workings. It is important to note that the study's findings are specific to the three selected parties and may not apply to all political parties in Côte d'Ivoire.

Keywords: Political Parties, Democracy, Cote d'Ivoire, Content Analysis

FİLDİŞİ SAHİLİ'NDE SİYASİ PARTİLERİN DEMOKRATİKLEŞMESİ: GERÇEK Mİ HAYAL Mİ?

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Fildişi Sahili'ndeki siyasi partilerin demokratikleşmesini üç büyük partiye odaklanarak incelemektedir: PDCI (Parti Democratique Côte d'Ivoire), RHDP (Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace) ve FPI (Ivorian Popular Front). Örgütsel demokrasi, iç istikrar ve bunların demokratik zorluklar üzerindeki etkisini değerlendirmek için içerik analizi kullanılmıştır. Bulgular düşük örgütsel demokrasi ve istikrara işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca iç dinamiklerini etkileyen zayıf bir demokratik kültüre sahiptirler. Demokrasinin önündeki engeller arasında zayıf halefiyet planlaması, yetersiz finansman, yaşlanan liderler, muhalefet partileri üzerindeki kısıtlamalar, demokratik olmayan uygulamalar ve şeffaf olmayan iç işleyiş yer almaktadır. Çalışmanın bulgularının seçilen üç partiye özgü olduğunu ve Fildişi Sahili'ndeki tüm siyasi partiler için geçerli olmayabileceğini belirtmek önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasi Partiler, Demokrasi, Fildişi Sahili, İçerik Analizi

¹ This article is derived from the master thesis.

² Korka Diallo Mamadou, İstanbul Ticaret University, mkdorka@gmail.com

³ Asst. Prof., Başak Özoral, İstanbul Ticaret University, bozoral@ticaret.edu.tr



1. INTRODUCTION

This article provides insight into political parties and democratization issues in Cote d'Ivoire. In this light, key issues that bedeviled Cote d'Ivoire's major political parties over the years are identified for further discussion in the literature review section. Issues discussed include internal party stability, internal party democracy, poor political culture; political leaders' partisan mobilization of ethnicity, regional identity and nationality; constant tensions around elections and formal politics; lack of reconciliation, unorganized coalitions, political parties using media or having and financial power. Moreover, the following sections review the theoretical frameworks of the study and concepts related to political parties and democratization. The concluding section discusses the study findings from secondary sources and recommendations of the study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Internal Party Stability

After the inception of the multiparty system in the 1990s, opposition political parties in Ivory Coast were legally recognized and allowed to participate in the political system under constitutional requirements (Crisis Group, 2020). However, the organization of most political parties afterward was found to be traced to ethnic, religious, social classes and regional lines, which was against the constitutional requirements. Also, the domination of major political parties in the Ivory Coast with autocratic, charismatic political elites instigated conflicting political alliances and divisions in the political space (Crisis Group, 2020). A look at the major political parties and their conflicting alliances and divisions with other minor political factions are needed to justify the weak internal stability of major political parties.

The Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), a major political party player founded by former president Laurent Gbagbo, had to split into two distinct factions due to the absence of its leader, who was arrested for war crimes. The FPI party is divided into two different factions: The Moderate-Gbagbo led by N'Guessan, and the pro-Gbagbo led by Sangare, who passed on in 2018 and replaced the current Laurent Gbagbo and Assoa Adou (Crisis Group, 2020). Another major political party founded by former president Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), saw its top officials, notably Alassane Ouattara, resign immediately after his death to form his own political party, the Rassemblement des républicains (RDR) (Crisis Group, 2020).

The Rally of Houphouetistis for Democracy and Peace (RHDP) party, founded by current president Alassane Ouattara in 2005, was founded based on alliances of small conflicting parties to oppose Laurent Gbagbo's (FPI) dictatorship strongly. The RHDP is composed of the unification of RDR, PDCI, MFA and UDPCI. The unification of various political parties implies that RHDP loses its unifying identity and replaces it with diverse conflicting ideologies threatening party stability and internal democracy (Crisis Group, 2020). However, it had a problem with its major ally PDCI leader Bedie, who retracted its alliances because of a breakout agreement on power alternation promised by President Ouattara.

Also, because of the RHDP's sole dominance in the Ivorian political system, most opposition parties are planning for future alliances to overthrow the RHDP out of power in the 2025 election. These alliances cause internal divisions in their original parties, and new alliances result in conflicting ideologies and interests in the new parties formed from the alliance. This has led the RHDP political elites to become weary and use ad hoc tactics to suppress political activities, resulting in political violence. Lastly, the numerous independent parties with a micro share in the political space immediately after the election form a coalition with other major political parties, deepening the fragmentation and instability in the political space.

2.2. Internal Party Democracy

Democracy has been preached by renowned political leaders in Cote d'Ivoire before and after independence, opposing the single-party rule and dictatorship system (Heitz-Tokpa, 2019). The undemocratic nature of the single-party system necessitated actions of political leaders' revolution in the political space (Heitz-Tokpa, 2019). Ironically, when these political leaders assume power, their parties' internal organization quickly transformed from its democratic system to autocratic governance,



restricting the participation of party members in internal party governance. Consequently, participation is included in only a few party elites described as financiers of the party and family relations. This results in friction among the majority of non-elite in the party, causing intense divisions and making the party unpopular in the political space. This development has characterized Cote d'Ivoire's political space since its independence in 1960 (Heitz-Tokpa, 2019).

The internal party democracy for the three popular parties in Ivory Coast (PDCI, RHDP and FPI) overtime has been problematic and worsened as party leadership is still dominated by the same political leaders since its formal practice of a multiparty system (Heitz-Tokpa, 2019). These political leaders, Bedie, Laurent Gbagbo, and Allassane Ouattara, have practiced autocratic governance seizing any contention against their leadership as illegal. Also, their popularity with their parties made their exclusion from the party unpopular and weak politically; for example, following the arrest and trial of Laurent Gbagbo, the FPI as a party lost its dominance in Ivorian politics. This is due to the split of the party into two opposing political factions and the unpopularity of their new leaders in the party's stronghold.

Similarly, the PDCI, after allying with the RHDP and later withdrawing in 2018, has divided the party into opposing factions, such as party supporters of the alliance forming a new party and those supporters of the withdrawal. These events made the party unpopular and weak in the political space. The RHDP political supremacy will be at the test after the withdrawal of important political allies such as the PDCI. The promise of the RHDP President to alternate power within the party's internal leadership is not fulfilled, resulting in primary divisions in the RHDP (Heitz-Tokpa, 2019).

2.3. Poor Political Culture

As already emphasized, due to economic and social challenges, Ivory Coast unpreparedly embraced the multiparty system impromptu under a conflicting political system after the death of its first president. During that period, political parties formed are seen to have adopted a particular patrimonialism form of political culture traced from the country's political party, PDCI (Seifu, 2012). After the death of Ivorian's first president Felix Houphouet-Boigny, all the successive ruling political leaders have strategized power and authority centered on them in their various parties and governance rule to continue their leadership forever. They have no provision to hand over political power or party leadership in the future and do not tolerate any rebellion against their authoritarian leadership, both party and governance. They appoint based on ethnic and political favoritism to gain mass supporters from their ethnic and religious affiliations. Their influence on the political space of political parties is inseparable, and during their respective periods of rule used, various strategies of exclusion and frustration on opposition parties to create an artificial single-party system. In this particular governance system, the ruling party's presidents hold the exclusive authority to appoint or remove individuals from the government and political party positions. This ensures their loyalty among the members of governance, which ultimately strengthens their position as the president. Preventing the opposition from fully participating in elections is one of the specific anti-democratic measures that can be taken. The goal is accomplished through alterations to the current constitution, such as adjusting the age limit for presidential candidates, modifying identity status criteria, and implementing changes in the judiciary system. The changes made by different Presidents have negatively promoted violence among the opposition, leading to boycotts of elections and resorting to rebellion and coup d'états against the government. Additionally, political parties are not based on distinct divisions in the population but rather on limited ethnic and religious membership (Aalen & Tronvoll, 2009). There are always clashes between these groups during elections, not necessarily to contest political results but to fight among themselves, which is the dominant groups

Also, there is the political concentration of economic and national power in state institutions because of the large public sector, which politicians access to solidify their supremacy and dominance in the political space (Combaz, 2020). He argued further that the ruling government might want to remain in power as long as they exist because of the availability of abundant economic benefits to satisfy its party members to remain loyal and expand the party. On the other hand, the opposition party members have nothing to benefit from and face the suppression of the incumbent government, which weakens their party organization's structure. This is through military actions and suppression tactics targeted at weakening the supporting base of opposition party leaders. The opposition party may respond with a



violent protestation, civil war, political conflicts against the incumbent political elite and boycott elections as being rigged.

Political leaders' partisan mobilization of ethnicity, regional identity, and nationality;

The political parties in Ivory Coast have infancy assembled their supporting base and patrons from specific ethnic, religious, regional and national identities based on the identity of their party presidents (Crisis Group, 2020). The RHDP supporting base is mainly from the Bambara, Malinké, and Northern Manding (Mandé or Dioula) groups originating from the northern and central areas of the country, classified religion mainly as Moslems. At the same time, the FPI draws its patrons from western and central-western areas, including Krou, some southern subgroups of the Akan classified religion mainly as Christians. On the other hand, the PDCI party followers mainly originate from Akan subgroups in the central part of the country. This juxtaposed the ethnic and religious conflicts and increased violence during and after elections in this political stronghold. Political parties call their supporters to boycott elections and suppress opposition parties from casting their votes (Combaz, 2020). For instance, excluding Gbagbo and Blé Goudé is likely to put their supporters "at odds with northerners and parties most closely associated with them" (Crisis Group, 2020a, p. 8). Also, building party patrons on ethnic and religious coalitions instead of a national ideology has resulted in opposition clashes resulting in ethnic and religious violence. Also, the divisions in the country on ethnic and religious lines have made certain minor ethnic and regional groups disregard the political space in terms of development, e.g., the Tonkpi region (Allouche & Bley, 2017).

Constant tensions around elections and formal politics

In recent years, Ivory Coast's contested elections have been linked to incendiary remarks and communications made by advocates and officials of leading political parties; also, as the constant suppression and frustration of the opposition parties by the incumbent party in the electoral process. Investigators claim these unacceptable electoral tactics as the root cause of electoral violence in the Ivory Coast (Oyewole, 2022). During the recent political campaigns, the use of defamatory statements by the different parties caused a significant amount of tension, hostility, animosity, and violence amongst their respective supporters. (Oyewole, 2022). Also, It has been widely reported that many elections have been plagued by massive rigging and increasing election malpractices over the years (Karim, 2014). The conflicts surrounding the election became extremely violent, with arson, theft, murder, vandalism, extensive property damage, and a complete breakdown of security measures. For example, tensions in the 2020 elections intensified when the government restricted the participation of charismatic political leaders Gbagbo Laurent, Guillaume Soro and Blé Goudé. This resulted in their supporters engaging in violent attacks on followers supposedly aligned with the RHDP party. Moreover, excluding the military-political leader General Soro in the electoral process rekindled old rivalry as past clashes between Soro's Forces Nouvelles rebels and several pro-Ouattara mayors in the 2010/2011 civil wars.

Lack of reconciliation

Political parties over the years have been absent at the negotiation table in peace and reconciliation council meetings. Major opposition parties have boycotted almost all reconciliations meetings, making consensus-building impossible. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is a significant player in settling electoral disputes in the Ivory Council. However, the various opposition parties have accused it of being more aligned with the incumbent government over the years. The PDCI, a significant opposition party, has accused the IEC of its members being from the north, including its presidency, of being selectively chosen by the ruling government to bias its decisions on political and electoral dispute cases (Crisis Group, 2020). Also, the FPI accused the IEC has failed to prosecute members of the Ouattara political party who engaged in the 2010/2011 civil war and only going after FPI primary party members to suppress and weaken the party (Akindès, 2017). He explained that after the 2010/2011 civil war majority of members of the FPI party were arrested or exiled, including Laurent Gbagbo, Laurent Akoun, Alphonse Douati, and Justin Kone Katinan, for threatening the national security (Crisis Group, 2020). At the same time, political opposition groups who are members and supporters of the incumbent government party RDR donor face a real risk of arrest or prosecution when allegations are made of their involvement in the civil war (Crisis Group, 2020).



Unorganized Coalitions

Conflicting alliances and divisions have marked the Ivory Coast's political landscape due to the dominance of major political parties led by autocratic and charismatic elites (Crisis Group, 2020). When examining the major political parties and their opposing alliances, it becomes clear why disorganized coalitions and subsequent divisions characterize the political landscape.

The first unorganized coalition among political parties that occurred in Ivory Coast was in 1995. The RDR and FPI formed a political coalition to end the continuous rule of the PDCI, which had been the dominant party in the Ivory Coast since independence (Crisis Group, 2020). However, Over time, both parties faced internal problems that led to divisions and rival factions (Crisis Group, 2020).

The Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), a significant political party founded by ex-president Laurent Gbagbo, has been divided into two separate factions owing to the absence of its leader, who was detained for war crimes. The FPI party is split into two factions: The Moderate-Gbagbo led by N'Guessan, and the pro-Gbagbo led by Sangare, who passed away in 2018 and was succeeded by Laurent Gbagbo and Assoa Adou (Crisis Group, 2020). Another major political party founded by former president Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), saw its leaders, notably Alassane Ouattara, resign immediately after his death to form his political party, the Democratic Rally of Republicans (RDR) (Crisis Group, 2020).

The Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (RHDP) party, established in 2005 by current president Alassane Ouattara, was formed through alliances with various conflicting parties to strongly oppose the dictatorship of Laurent Gbagbo (FPI) in 2010 in the name of democracy and peace. The RHDP comprises several alliances, including the RDR, PDCI, MFA, and UDPCI. However, the party has faced issues with its major allies, particularly PDCI leader Bedie. This is due to a disagreement over President Ouattara's promised power alternation agreement after the RHDP regained political power. The merging of multiple political factions indicates that RHDP may forfeit its cohesive identity, adopting instead a multitude of conflicting ideologies that could jeopardize the party's stability and internal democratic processes. (Crisis Group, 2020).

In addition, due to the RHDP's complete control over the Ivorian political system and failure to fulfill their promise of alternating presidential power, several opposition party leaders are considering forming informal alliances to remove the RHDP from power in the upcoming 2025 election. The political elites of RHDP have become cautious and are using ad-hoc tactics to suppress political activities, leading to political violence. Finally, after the election, several small independent parties joined forces with larger political parties to form a coalition, causing further fragmentation and instability in the political sphere. The formation of these alliances is often seen as an unorganized coalition, which can lead to internal divisions within the parties involved. In forming new political alliances, leaders with differing ideologies and interests often emerge, leading to a lack of respect for agreements and disrupting the peaceful transition of political power within parties.

2.4. Political Parties Using Media or Having a Financial Power

Limited Media Power of Opposition Parties

The transmission of information to the public through recognized media outlets like newspapers, TV, radio and the internet is known as media communication. (Samson, 2015). The media has reinforced public attention and participation in political issues in Côte d'Ivoire after introducing a democratic multi-party system and the formal liberalization of the media space (Sendín, 2013). It has been noted that the media's role in promoting democracy in Ivory Coast is biased, as many prominent media organizations have close ties to major political parties and their affiliates. Certain media outlets have promoted biased and misleading information to gain support for their political backers among the general public. For example, some media outlets owned directly or indirectly by top political leaders and their allies include Nord/Sud by Soro; Nouveau Reveli, Bedie; Le Patriote by Hamed Bakayoko (Interior minister now) and Outtara; Noitre Voie by Gbagbo... RTI (Sendín, 2013). Thus over the years, political leaders often gain support from media outlets that are aligned with them while limiting the ability of opposition media parties to criticize their actions and using intimidation tactics to maintain their power. (Banegas, 2011). Media houses criticizing the ruling government or patronizing opposition parties' activities against the



ruling party are suspended, fined, banned and intimidated (Banegas, 2011). Opposition parties face limitations in using media as an effective tool to increase their membership due to the ruling party's control over it. As a result, opposition parties have limited visibility in the media space and cannot rely on their weak financing structure to achieve significant outcomes. (Banegas, 2011).

Limited Financial Power of Opposition Parties

Finance is the backbone of the political party's participation and competitiveness in the democratic process (Essis, 2020). Political parties primarily depend on various funding sources, such as contributions from members, public financing, aid, grants, and leaders' financing to support their involvement in the political arena. Political parties primarily depend on various funding sources, such as contributions from members, public financing, aid, grants, and leaders' financing to support their involvement in the political arena. Most opposition political parties in Ivory Coast need to be more significant regarding members to fund their internal operations independently. Political candidates in Ivory Coast may request public funding to support their election campaigns. Unfortunately, the allocation of public financing to political parties has been influenced more by politics than by impartial criteria. When the government provides funding to opposition political parties with the condition that they must support the ruling party's majority, it creates obstacles to the public financing of those parties. (Essis, 2020). Thus, the miniature resources of opposition parties in the Ivory Coast handicapped their effective participation in the democratic process (Essis, 2020). The incumbent government's allocation of funds to opposition parties has been poor. The requirement to access these funds puts much drain on the financial resources of opposition parties who need help to organize themselves effectively in all the polling stations. Despite having a significant number of followers and supporters, opposition parties have consistently received fewer votes in the political arena over the years. This raises questions about the reasons behind their underperformance. The incumbent government strictly controls media influence in the political space, limiting opposition access to the airwaves. This is done to popularize party followers and increase their party support base. Failure to comply may result in the closure of media outlets. (Essis, 2020).

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Political Party

Political parties are organized institutions representing a collective interest, mandated by the governing electoral body to contest in national and legislative elections (Montero & Gunther, 2002). Their roles include organizing election campaigns, protests against undemocratic practices, representing their members in parliament, presenting electorates for elections, participating in democratic governance, and providing platforms for its members to air their views (Montero & Gunther, 2002).

Political parties are also described as democratic institutions that act as viable representatives of the masses (Salih & Nordlund, 2007). They claim to be essential actors in the political system, ensuring that the democratic transition of power is transparent and representative of the interests of the masses. They added that political parties themselves represent institutions of democracy, as their structures are built on the foundation of democratic principles. They further argued that their absence or inactivity in the political systems threatens the sustenance of any democratic state and vice versa. Moreover, their inclusiveness in the political system shows democracy and political maturity, unifying all stakeholders in the political system. According to Hicken and Kuhonta (2011), the significance of the political party's institutionalization and the emergence of a multiparty system has brought massive economic and social developments to people in the developing world.

Dix's (1992) definition focuses more on a political party's primary functions, which are to represent its members in governance, participate in the democratic process, provide political leadership, engage in peaceful political competition, participate in national and legislative elections, criticize and provide alternatives to governance policies and programs.

Jonasson (2004) established a set of requirements for an institution to be defined as a political party. He argues that a political party must be a democratic organization. It must represent a group of members with a common interest. It should have a political and founding philosophy. In addition, he actively participates in the political life of the system, presents electoral candidates in legislative and national



elections, offers a peaceful and competitive opposition to the government, proposes political alternatives, and participates in the parliamentary process.

For this paper, political parties are defined as organized democratic institutions with members with a common interest and mandated by governing state bodies to participate in legislative and national elections.

3.2. Democracy or Democratization

In Africa, a shining light has been on certain countries that have progressed in democratic practices, including Ghana, Senegal, Kenya, and Morocco. On the other hand, democracy has been a quest that seems unachievable to certain African nations as they struggled to sustain this system of governance over time; such countries include the Central African Republic, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire. (Ibrahim Governance Efficiency Index report, 2018).

Democracy is defined as a system of governance where leadership is represented by the people. There is responsible government, respect for the rule of law and an independent judiciary, respect for human rights, and free and fair elections (United Nations, 2016).

The definition revealed five critical foundations to building a democracy; free and fair elections, a responsible government, equal participation by all citizens in politics, The observance of human rights, the state of law and the judiciary's autonomy. (Chwalisz, 2019).

Elections: Democracy principles argues that states must ensure that independent institutions are established and are mandated to conduct and regulate free and fair periodical elections to select all national representatives, whether presidential or parliamentary.

Government: Democracy means good governance, which implies a government that ensures improved expression and accountability, political stability and absence of violence or terrorism, government efficiency, regulatory quality, the rule of law, and control of corruption.

Equal participation by all citizens in politics: Democracy ensures free and equal participation by all citizens in the political process. That is when one can participate in a national election or stand as a candidate without discrimination.

Respect for human rights: In a democracy, individual rights are protected without preference and discrimination. Individual rights in the political space, such as freedom of speech, expression, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly, are significant in ensuring equal political participation.

The rule of law and an independent judiciary: Democracy ensures that the rule of law is adhered to by all private and public institutions, agencies, individuals, and groups in society and enforced by independent national security institutions and the courts. Its measurement involves reviewing eight factors: Constraints on government, absence of corruption, the openness of government, fundamental rights, order and security, implementation of regulations, civil justice and criminal justice. (Carty, 2013).

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Institutional Theory

The institutional theory is built on the principle of conformity to set institutional standards, rules, roles, routines, practices, and procedures that shape an organization's internal structure (Douglass, 1990). He claimed that the degree of conformity to these institutional principles affects institutions' performance and stability. He explained further that political institutions' adherence to and motivation for adopting democratic practices in their operations is a factor in the strict implementation of institutional laws and regulations in the political system. Scott (2001) states that institutional rules and laws in democratic practices and principles are standardized in every country's political system. However, enforcement and compliance of political system practices vary from country to country and are stricter in developed countries than in developing countries. He further explained that citizens, civil society groups, political



parties, government, and international laws are the drivers of institutional laws and rules aiming at the democratic institutionalization of a country's political system.

Group (2013) argued that political institutions are composed of governing procedures, norms, operating practices, laws, and rules that influence human behavior. These governing political practices are regarded as constraints as they force or persuade members and stakeholders of political parties to comply with the political process. These constraints are categorized into formal, informal, and third-party enforcement. The informal constraints include cultural heritage, conventions, behavior, norms, and conduct, which are transmitted as part of the culture. The formal constraints include governing procedures, norms, operating practices, laws, and rules that guide the informal constraints' compliance. Formal constraints also examined political institutions' active role in legalizing governing procedures, norms, operations, laws, and rules. They ensured the positive conduct of political institutions in the political system. Third-party enforcement looks at the enforcement of formal electoral laws and rules by the state, the electoral commission, security, and legal agencies. Thus, formal, informal, and third-party constraints form the political system's institutional environment, which comprises legal governing procedures, norms, operations, laws and rules, state, electoral commission, national security, courts, and international bodies. Thus, institution theory in this research examined the influence of constraints on the function of political parties and the present challenges to democracy in Cote d'Ivoire. Institutional theory application in the political system and democratic stability state that compliance and tolerance of political constraints have a significant impact on party internal stability, which ensures the development of a country's democratic system.

Institutional theory has been criticized for overburdening political institutions with conformity to all political constraints present in the political system, which may restrict party creativity and innovation.

5. CONCLUSION

The article examined how political parties' involvement in the political space has resulted in challenges to democracy in Ivory Coast. A probe in history on the political party's role in challenges of democracy in Ivory Coast revealed that the country, after independence, immaturely initiated a multiparty system imposed by the West (Europe and the United States) as an exchange for external financial aid. Institutions of states such as the IEC in Ivory Coast needed to be more conversant with the new governance political system. They committed many shortfalls in the organization of national elections. Also, opposition political parties were not structured to tolerate losses and perceived elections as not a credible tool to access power, only favoring the incumbent government political party. Ivory Coast political parties resort to unapproved practice tactics such as unorganized coalitions to regain political power. The research revealed the following challenges in the political space; ethnicity issues, identity issues, elections violence; lack of reconciliation; unorganized coalitions; inadequate financing of political parties; poor political culture; internal party instability; intimidating media, free press and undemocratic nature of political parties (Crisis Group, 2020).

REFERENCES

Aalen, L. & Tronvoll, K., (2009). The end of democracy? Curtailing political and civil rights in dans les États fragiles'. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Allouche, J., & Adama M., J. (2017). How can mining in Côte d'Ivoire better serve local communities without exacerbating conflict? [Brief]. IDS. <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/13367>.

Banegas, R. (2011). Post-election crisis in Côte d'Ivoire: The Gbonhi war, African Affairs, Vol. 110, Issue 440, p. 457-468

BBC News, Millions in Laurent Gbagbo assets frozen in Switzerland, May 5, 2011, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13298459>, accessed December 12, 2022

BBC, Afrique, Referendum en Côte d'Ivoire: avis partagé, 31 October 2016,



- BBC, Charles Ble Goude: Ghana extradites Ivory Coast Gbagbo ally, January 18, 2013, https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/auge_tensions_ghana_cote_ivoire_2018.pdf, accessed December 12, 2022
- BBC, Ivory Coast closes Ghana border after a deadly attack, September 22, 2012, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19683708>, accessed December 12, 2022
- BBC, Ivory Coast election: Alassane Ouattara wins a second term, October 28, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34655049>, accessed December 12, 2022
- BBC, Ivory Coast Profile–Timeline, January 10, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13287585>, accessed December 12, 2022
- Carty, K. R. (2013). Are political parties meant to be democratic? In: Cross, W, Katz, R (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 11–26.
- Chwalisz, C.: (2019). A New Wave of Deliberative Democracy. Carnegie Europe November 26, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2019/11/26/new-wave-of-deliberative-democracy-pub-80422?> (accessed on March 17, 2023).
- Combaz, E. (2020). Effects of political economy on development in Cote d'Ivoire. K4D Helpdesk Report 833. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
- Crisis Group. (2020). Côte d'Ivoire: defusing electoral tensions amid polarized politics (Watch List No. 2020-Spring edition). International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/c%3B4te-divoire/cote-divoire-defusing-electoral-tensions-amid-polarized-politics>.
- Dix, R. H (1992). *Democratization and the institutionalization of Latin America Political Parties*.
- Douglass, C., (1990). *North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*.
- Essis, B. M. (2020). Le financement public des partis politiques en Cote d'Ivoire. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/elfenbeinkueste/16245.pdf>
- Heitz-Tokpa, K. (2019). Mande hunters and the state: Cooperation and contestation in post-conflict Côte d'Ivoire. *African Studies Review*, 62 (1), 148–172. <https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2018.143>.
- Hicken A. and Kuhonta E. M. (2011). Shadows from the past: Party system institutionalization in Asia, <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/44/5/572>.
- Jonasson, A.K. (2004). At the command of God? On the political linkage of Islamist parties *Kompendiet Aidla Trading AB Goteborg*.
- Karim, A. A. (2014). *Reflections on electoral violence in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.
- Montero J. R. & Gunther R, (2002). *Political parties, old concepts and new challenges, comparative politics*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Oyewole, S. (2022). There is violence every election season in Nigeria: what can be done to stop it?
- Salih, M. A. & Nordlund, P., (2007). *Political parties in Africa: Challenges for Sustained Multiparty*, Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Samson, C. A. (2015). Political Violence and Media Challenges in Ghana *International Journal of Novel Research in Humanity and Social Sciences*. Vol. 2, Issue 5, pp: (75–87).



Scott, W.R. (2001). *Institutions and Organizations*. 2^{ns} Edition, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 21–22. Second Republic. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Seifu, T. T., (2012). *Causes of electoral violence: lessons from the May 2005 election of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Sendin J. C. (2013). Côte d'Ivoire 2010–2011 post electoral crisis: An approach from the media. *Journal of African Media Studies*, n°2, vol 5, p. 187–201

United Nations (2016). *United Nations rule of law, poverty alleviation and sustainable strategic business models*. New York: United Nations Publications.

World Bank (2021). *Cote d'Ivoire Country Brief*. World Bank.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2630> License: CCBY 3.0 IGO.