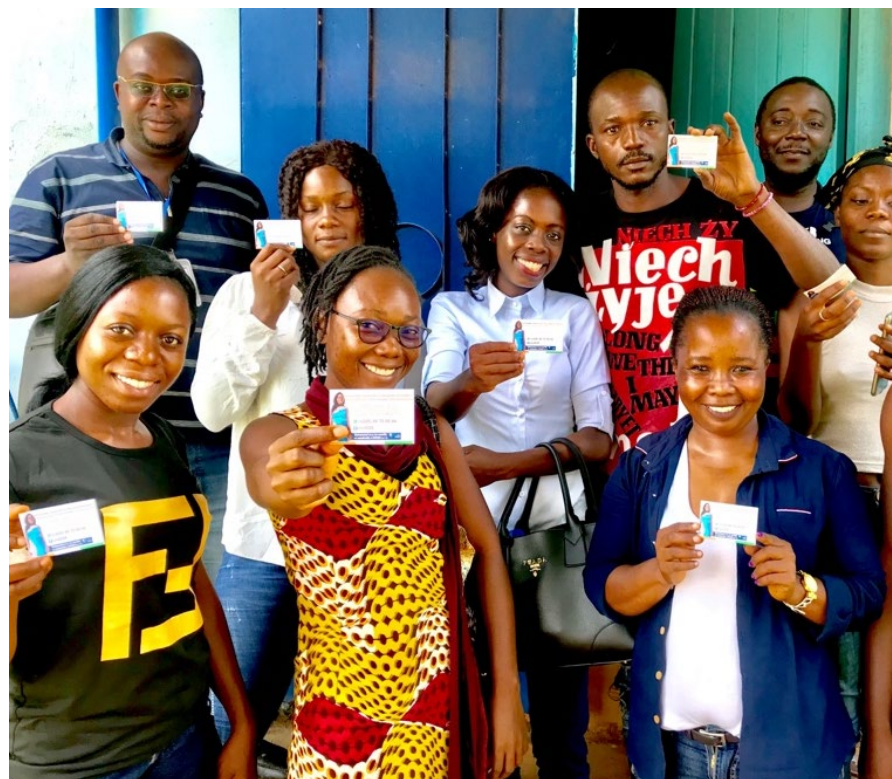




USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



PHOTOS: USAID/CÔTE D'IVOIRE

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & LEADERSHIP FINAL REPORT

Côte d'Ivoire Assessment

October 2023

DISCLAIMER This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by NORC at the University of Chicago. The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research II Activity
Tasking N083
Contract No. GS-I0F-0033M / Order No. 7200AA18M00016

Additional support by The Cloudburst Group under Tasking CB066
Contract No. GS-I0F-0218U / Order No. 7200AA18M00017

Submitted to:
Matthew Baker, COR

Submitted by:
Sarah Chamness Long
Alexandre Monnard

Acknowledgments:

Primary data for this assessment were collected by a local Assessment Team that included Tingbo Germain Philippe Assale (Team Leader), Fofana Memon (Team Member), Abiba Diarrassouba (Team Member), and Lynda Senou (Logistician). Additional data analysis was conducted by Aminata Kane and Camille Smith at NORC. The authors would like to thank NORC's Subject-Matter Expert and Technical Advisor, Mona Lena Krook; Levi Adelman, Julie Denham, and Caroline Hubbard at the USAID Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Bureau; and Manogodjon (Adja) Binaté, Guy Martorana, and Brigitte Karekezi Djedj at the USAID/Côte d'Ivoire Mission for their technical inputs and thoughtful review of each draft of this report. This report also benefitted greatly from additional peer reviews conducted by Protik Ali, Varuni Dayaratna, and Katie Mark at NORC.

NORC at the University of Chicago
Attention: Matthew Parry, Program Manager
Bethesda, MD 20814
Tel: (301) 634-5444; E-mail: parry-matthew@norc.org

CONTENTS

- ACRONYMS.....v**
- EXECUTIVE SUMMARY..... 2**
- INTRODUCTION 2
- BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL 2
- RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION 3
- INTRODUCTION..... 7**
- ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES 7
- COUNTRY BACKGROUND 7
- METHODOLOGY 16
- CURRENT STATE OF WPPL..... 17**
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 17
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP 21
- BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL..... 28**
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 28
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP 35
- RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION..... 50**
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 50
- WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP 52
- ANNEX A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION..... 56**
- DESK REVIEW SOURCES 56
- POLITICIAN SURVEY 62
- KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS 63
- FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS 63
- METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND LIMITATIONS 64
- ANNEX b. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS..... 66**
- POLITICIAN SURVEY INSTRUMENTS 66
- KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES 82
- FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES 110

TABLES

Table 1. Prominent Gender-Focused CSOs in Côte d'Ivoire	20
Table 2. Women's Representation in Elected and Non-Elected Office	21
Table 3. Women's Representation in Parliamentary Committees	22
Table 4. Women's Representation in Parliament's Senior Management	23
Table 5. Women's Representation in Parties' Executive Management Bodies	24
Table 6. Politicians Surveyed	63
Table 7. Key Informants Interviewed	63
Table 8. Focus Group Discussions	64
Table 9. Fieldwork Timeline	65
Table 10. Limitations and Mitigation Strategies	66

FIGURES

Figure 1. Discrimination in Social Institutions in Côte d'Ivoire	15
Figure 2. Politicians Views on Women's Wings and Party Decision-making	25
Figure 3. Violence Against Women Voters	32
Figure 4. Violence Against Women Candidates	43
Figure 5. Violence Against Women Leaders	45

ACRONYMS

2C2PF	<i>Comité de coordination pour la participation politique des femmes</i> (Coordinating Committee for Women's Political Participation)
AVEC	Association d'épargne et de crédit du village (Village Savings and Credit Association)
CEI	Commission Electorale Indépendante (Independent Electoral Commission)
CDVR	Commission nationale d'enquête et la Commission dialogue, vérité et réconciliation (National Commission of Inquiry, Dialogue, Truth, and Reconciliation)
CONARIV	Commission nationale pour la réconciliation et l'indemnisation des victimes (National Commissions for Reconciliation and Compensation of Victims)
CSO	Civil society organization
EU	European Union
FEMPACI	Caucus des femmes parlementaires de Côte d'Ivoire (Caucus of women parliamentarians of Côte d'Ivoire)
FGD	Focus group discussion
FPI	Front populaire ivoirien (Ivoirian Popular Front)
GBV	Gender-based violence
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KII	Key informant interview
MGC	Mouvement des Generations Capables (Capable Generations Movement)
NAP	National Action Plan
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NORC	National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFACI	Organisation des femmes actives de Côte d'Ivoire (Organization of Active Women in Côte d'Ivoire)
ONEG	Observatoire Nationale de l'Équité et du Genre (National Observatory for Equity and Gender)
PEACE-CI	Plateforme des organisations de la société civile pour des élections apaisées, crédibles et équitables en Côte d'Ivoire (Platform of Civil Society Organizations for Peaceful, Credible, and Fair Elections in Côte d'Ivoire)
PDCI	Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire)
POECI	Plateforme des organisations de la société civile pour l'observation des élections en Côte d'Ivoire (Platform of Civil Society Organizations for Election Monitoring in Côte d'Ivoire)
PPA-CI	Parti des peuples africains—Côte d'Ivoire (African People's Party—Côte d'Ivoire)
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (African Democratic Rally)

RHDP	Rassemblement des Houphouétistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix (Rally of Houphoutists for Democracy and Peace)
SIGI	Social Inclusion Institutions and Gender Index
WPPL	Women’s Political Participation and Leadership
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
URD	Union Républicaine pour la Démocratie (Republican Union for Democracy)
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research II Activity, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) tasked the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (NORC) with implementing five country-level assessments on women's political participation and leadership (WPPL), including this one focusing on Côte d'Ivoire, based on the [WPPL Assessment Framework](#) (2023). The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key barriers and opportunities to advancing WPPL that exist at the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual levels within focus countries. The findings are intended to guide program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire. The assessment's findings are derived from a desk review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a politician survey, key informant interviews (KIIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs) with politicians, civil society, and media in Abidjan, Abengourou, Bouaké, Gagnoa, Korhogo, and Man.

Côte d'Ivoire has great but unrealized potential to make advancements in WPPL. The country has a rich history of women's political activism dating back to its struggle for independence and has adopted important legislation to promote gender equality, including in politics. Chief among these is its 2019 quota law, requiring political parties to meet a female candidate quota of 30 percent for their lists for the national legislature (National Assembly and Senate) and regional and municipal councils. Although implementation of the law has been slow (it was not enforced for the 2021 legislative elections), it is intended to help address Ivorian women's severe underrepresentation in elected positions. In addition, Côte d'Ivoire is at an important nexus following a civil war and recent post-electoral crisis that have normalized violence in politics while also highlighting the country's need for social cohesion and inclusive politics. This assessment explores these dynamics and highlights barriers to and opportunities for realizing the country's potential to advance WPPL.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL

Below is a brief itemization of barriers and opportunities to women's political participation and women's political leadership at socio-cultural, institutional, and individual levels in Côte d'Ivoire, further elaborated in the report.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Socio-Cultural Factors:

- Patriarchal norms related to men as decision-makers and women as care providers are reflected in the masculinization of the political sphere.
- Norms around women's movement undermine their ability to participate in political events and party meetings.
- Marital status limits women's freedom of political choice, with early marriage being particularly harmful.
- Intimidation, threats, and violence affect women's political activity, particularly their ability to vote.

Institutional Factors:

- Gaps in enforcement capacity and legislation undermine women's political participation.
- Some logistical barriers hinder women's participation but are possible to address.

Individual Factors:

- Low levels of confidence and political awareness affect women's rates of political participation, but ongoing efforts to address these factors are seen as valuable.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Socio-Cultural Factors:

- Patriarchal norms and attitudes affect perceptions of women as political leaders, and sometimes women's conduct once elected.
- A myriad of social norms which negatively influence women's perceived ability and willingness to run for elected office.

Institutional Factors:

- The 2019 quota law is a welcome start, but it has not yet manifested in gender parity in political representation.
- Existing laws on violence against women do not cover political violence specifically, and views on effectiveness are generally negative.
- Most politicians report that their party is taking measures to address violence within their party, but views on their effectiveness diverge along gender lines.
- Parties' candidate selection processes are opaque and favor men.
- Parties offer uneven financial and in-kind support to men and women candidates.
- Men politicians overestimate their party's efforts to advance WPPL but politicians of both genders support measures to increase women's leadership.

Individual Factors:

- Political violence has a chilling effect on women candidates, politicians, and leaders and also undermines their ability to perform their duties once in office.
- Lower levels of educational attainment and training "on the art of politics" limits women's political leadership potential.
- Women's lack of self-confidence in their ability to successfully run for elected office surfaced as a common theme in the quantitative and qualitative data collection.
- Women politicians are often disadvantaged by a lack of personal financial means, networks, and financial support from their party.
- There are challenges to being in politics while having a family in Côte d'Ivoire for both sexes, but especially for women.
- Prominent women politicians' success is often attributed to personality traits, such as tenacity.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Below is a summary of the recommendations for action, which are elaborated on in the report. These are broken down by recommendations for women's political participation and those for women's political leadership, as well as by socio-cultural, institutional, and individual factors.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Socio-Cultural Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Support gender transformative education programs that include WPPL issues, both within schools and more broadly.** Donors, the government, and local stakeholders should develop culturally informed educational materials on civic education and WPPL to be disseminated both within schools and more broadly.
- **Tactic 2: Mobilize influential men and women to advocate for an evolution of gender norms and women's political participation.** Donors and partners (including civil society organizations [CSOs] and women's organizations) should identify and mobilize influential men and women at the national level—such as athletes, actors, musicians, media personalities, and customary and religious leaders—as champions to transform gender norms and women's role in political life.
- **Tactic 3: Encourage parents—both fathers and mothers—to cultivate a culture of equality between boys and girls.** Donors should work with civil society partners to design programs, such as media programs, aimed at empowering parents to reshape gender roles within their families and communities.

Institutional Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Strengthen the *Commission Electorale Indépendante* (Independent Electoral Commission—CEI), including its gender unit.** Working with donors and other partners such as United Nations (UN) Women, the Women and Youth Observation Platform, *Plateforme des organisations de la société civile pour l'observation des élections en Côte d'Ivoire* (Platform of Civil Society Organizations for Election Monitoring in Côte d'Ivoire—POECI), and *Plateforme des organisations de la société civile pour des élections apaisées, crédibles et équitables en Côte d'Ivoire* (Platform of Civil Society Organizations for Peaceful, Credible, and Fair Elections in Côte d'Ivoire—PEACE-CI), the government should strengthen the CEI's independence and authority, including via monetary support, to solidify recent progress in enforcing the 2019 quota law.
- **Tactic 2: Work with political parties to reduce logistical barriers to women's participation,** including, for example, working with parties' women's wings to advocate for party meetings and political events to take place during the day or in more women-friendly venues or using other inducements for women's participation.
- **Tactic 3: Expand women's involvement in local-level decision-making authorities.** Donors should work with CSOs and the government to encourage women's political participation at the local level, such as setting and promoting guidelines for women's quotas in decision-making bodies such as village- or commune-level committees and working through the *Observatoire Nationale de l'Équité et du Genre* (National Observatory for Equity and Gender—ONEG) to monitor progress and compliance.

Individual Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Support actions that foster solidarity among women.** Donors should work with CSOs, the media, and other stakeholders such as organized labor to organize activities that promote solidarity among women, with a particular focus on cultivating cross-ethnic bonds.
- **Tactic 2: Promote women's civic education.** Donors should work with the Ministry of Education, the CEI, CSOs, and other stakeholders to develop and deploy civic education materials targeting women to bolster their knowledge of and confidence to participate in civic and political life.

- **Tactic 3: Improve literacy and education rates for girls and women.** Donors should work with the Ministry of Education to develop outreach plans to families to address attrition rates of girls compared to their male counterparts, particularly among secondary and high school ages and in rural areas.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Socio-Cultural Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Recognize women leaders as role models.** Donors should work with CSOs, political parties, and the media to develop communications campaigns—such as profiles of women leaders on national television/radio programs or in social media—to recognize and celebrate women who have achieved success in decision-making roles in different fields and, in particular, women in political positions.
- **Tactics 1 through 3 above addressing socio-cultural factors related to women's political participation:** 1) Support gender transformative education programs that include WPPL issues both within schools and more broadly; 2) Mobilize influential men and women to advocate for an evolution of gender norms and women's political participation; and 3) Encourage parents—both fathers and mothers—to cultivate a culture of equality between boys and girls. These three tactics mentioned above under women's political participation also target the principal barriers for women's leadership by facilitating women's consideration for and access to political leadership and by promoting greater political participation of women, including voting and openness to women candidates.

Institutional Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Strengthen the CEI's capacity to enforce the 2019 quota law.** Leveraging the successful application of the quota law in the September 2023 municipal and regional council elections, the government could further strengthen the authority and independence of the CEI to fully enforce the 2019 quota law across all levels of legislative elections. Additionally, the government should consider amending the law to incorporate a provision targeting the number of women-headed candidate lists.
- **Tactic 2: Incentivize parties' voluntary compliance with the 2019 quota law.** Toward holding political parties accountable for gender inclusion, and highlighting those that are making progress, the government could partner with civil society and media stakeholders to develop a communications and advocacy campaign that publicizes the gender balance (or lack thereof) among parties' current representatives in elected office and on candidate lists for upcoming elections.
- **Tactic 3: Implement a complementary quota law targeting the executive and/or judicial branches.** Donors should work with the government to implement a parallel quota law targeting the executive and judicial branches, as well as greater representation of women as heads of government bodies such as the Supreme Court, the National Assembly, the Senate, etc.
- **Tactic 4: Implement legislation to address political violence and its chilling effect on women's political leadership.** Combating political violence, and specifically violence against women in politics, is essential. Donors should work with CSOs, political parties, and the government to push for specific legislation aimed at reducing instances of violence against women in politics.
- **Tactic 5: Promote measures to increase women's leadership within party structures, as heads of lists, not just as candidates.** As a foundation, engage male leadership within parties to promote equality through institutional change and advocacy for WPPL. Promote party renewal

processes that highlight opportunities to increase women’s participation in elected and appointed party structures and contribute to policy and message formation—moving women beyond the role of mobilizers.

- **Tactic 6: Improve data and reporting on parties’ inclusion of and support for women candidates,** such as by collecting and publishing accessible statistics on women’s nomination and candidacy rates on party lists, the number of elected and non-elected women in leadership positions by party, the number of women in appointed positions, levels of funding, training, measures to address discrimination within the party, etc.

Individual Recommendations:

- **Tactic 1: Develop a comprehensive plan to improve women’s earnings and wealth equality.** Donors should work with CSOs, the government, and political parties (especially their women’s wings) to develop a plan comprising actionable approaches to reduce the gender earnings and wealth gap.
- **Tactic 2: Continue and expand programs to improve the capacity of women candidates and elected officials to succeed in politics.** Donors and partners such as CSOs, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and women wings of political parties should continue, expand, and refine political education and training programs with the goal of creating a pipeline of competitive women candidates.
- **Tactic 3: Develop a mentorship program for potential women political candidates as well as elected officials.** Donors should work with CSOs, international NGOs, and political parties (and potentially with the government of Côte d’Ivoire) to create a formal, at-scale program matching women in leadership positions with women interested in running for office and leadership positions within political parties.

INTRODUCTION

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research II Activity, USAID tasked NORC with implementing five country-level WPPL assessments, based on the latest iteration of the WPPL Assessment Framework. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify factors that serve as key barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL at the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual levels:¹

1. **Socio-cultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality.
2. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context.
3. **Individual factors** refer to the calculations of individual women to participate (or not) in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for women's political engagement.

Together these three interacting sets of factors form an “ecosystem” that supports or undermines WPPL. Focusing only on one set of factors to the exclusion of the others is likely to lead to misinterpretations of the current situation and, in turn, to the adoption of only partially effective solutions to expand WPPL. In contrast, this ecosystem approach, which considers the three sets of factors together—such as combining shifts in prevailing social norms with institutional reforms and with individual shifts in thinking—aids in identifying more holistic strategies.

This report discusses the results of the Côte d'Ivoire WPPL Assessment. These results are intended to guide the Mission's program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire, as well as guide the work of other stakeholders working on gender and democracy in Côte d'Ivoire.

COUNTRY BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Côte d'Ivoire's struggle for independence and post-electoral crisis 50 years later serve as two key historical moments for shaping and understanding the country's WPPL landscape. This struggle began in 1943 and culminated in the country gaining its independence on August 7, 1960.² In the years leading up to this milestone, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (African Democratic Rally—RDA) was established as a movement to bring together all liberation forces in French-speaking territories. The

¹ Krook, Mona Lena. “Women's Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework.” NORC at the University of Chicago, United States Agency for International Development, 2003. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZSBV.pdf.

² Ageron, Charles-Robert. “Les chemins de la décolonisation de l'empire colonial français, 1936-1956 : Colloque organisé par l'IHTP les 4 et 5 octobre 1984 Paris.” CNRS Éditions, 2001 (re-published 2023).

leaders of the Côte d'Ivoire section of the RDA movement suffered reprisals from the French colonial administration and were arrested and imprisoned.³

During this struggle, many women became active in efforts to support the RDA and help free men who had been arrested and imprisoned. These activities included collecting dues for the RDA, hosting members of parliament and other public officials, boycotting imported goods, and participating in public marches and demonstrations.⁴ Anne-Marie Raggi was a particularly prominent woman activist during this period; she led a movement calling for a boycott of important products in 1949–1950 and a hunger strike among political prisoners. The women's march on the Grand Bassam prison, where members of the RDA were detained, has also become an important symbol of women's entry into politics in Côte d'Ivoire.⁵ While these developments provided important entry points for women to play a role as both political activists and leaders, they did not necessarily result in women's contributions being valued or integrated into the political party system in Côte d'Ivoire at the time or in the longer term. On this point, Henriette Dagri Diabaté writes:

“For [women], the RDA label and card were a passport to a better future. Although they provided real support at election time, they were not integrated into the political organization of the party. All in all, there was no women's movement, just sporadic, passive, indirect action in the shadow of the men.”⁶

Post-independence Côte d'Ivoire has continued to struggle with political violence. The country has never had a peaceful transfer of power and people have come to expect violence during the electoral period. In December 1999, President Henri Bédié was removed from office in the country's first coup d'état. The coup was organized by General Robert Guéï, who took power until Laurent Gbagbo was elected in 2000. Guéï refused to recognize Gbagbo's victory, which prompted Ivoirians to protest in the streets until Gbagbo was able to take power.⁷ The 1999 coup marked a turning point in the history of politics in Côte d'Ivoire, introducing the widespread use of weapons and armed violence in the political sphere.

Fifty years after independence, the 2010–2011 post-electoral crisis became another important turning point in Côte d'Ivoire's political dynamics. The crisis built on remaining tensions from the 2002–2007 civil war in which rebels in the majority Muslim north rebelled against the government-controlled Christian South as part of a presidential succession crisis.⁸ The later post-electoral crisis began with the 2010 presidential elections when the Ivoirian elections commission, the CEI, backed by the then UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire and the international community, pronounced Alassane Ouattara the winner on December 2, 2010.⁹ Laurent Gbagbo, Côte d'Ivoire's incumbent president since 2000, contested the result and on December 3, the Constitutional Council declared Gbagbo the winner and announced that the election

³ Diabaté, Henriette, *Mémorial de la Côte d'Ivoire, volume 1, époque précoloniale*. AMI, 1987. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editions-cnrs.430>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Chourouba, Marie Madeleine Farma. “Participation politiques des citoyens et des citoyennes, le cas des femmes de Côte d'Ivoire.” *University of Laval*, 2001.

⁶ Diabaté, Henriette, *Mémorial de la Côte d'Ivoire, volume 1, époque précoloniale*. AMI, 1987.

⁷ Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, (2020). “The Good Coup” of 1999—the Very First Coup in Côte d'Ivoire.” <https://adst.org/2020/12/the-good-coup-of-1999-the-very-first-coup-in-cote-divoire/>

⁸ The Women, Peace and Security Programme. “Côte d'Ivoire.” Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. n.d. <https://1325naps.peacewomen.org/index.php/country/cote-divoire/>.

⁹ Cessou, Sabine. “Pourquoi la guerre reprend en Côte d'Ivoire.” *SlateAfrique*, August 19, 2012. <http://www.slateafrique.com/93037/pourquoi-la-guerre-reprend-en-cote-divoire-ouattara-gbagbo>.

results in seven northern regions were canceled, spurring outbreaks of violence and conflict in the months that followed.¹⁰

Between December 2010 and March 2011, a series of violent clashes broke out between pro-Gbagbo and pro-Ouattara supporters. These clashes killed an estimated 3,000 and caused at least 700,000 Ivoirians to flee their communities, many of whom fled from Abidjan, where there were frequent clashes between Ouattara's supporters and government forces and militias.¹¹ The conflict was also marked by widespread violence against civilians and human rights violations, including the Duékoué massacre, in which both Ouattara and Gbagbo forces were alleged to have been involved in the killings of 1,000 civilians.¹² While official estimates vary, Amnesty International confirmed growing reports of abductions, disappearances, and physical abuse during this period and Human Rights Watch estimated that 150 women were raped during the conflict.¹³ The crisis came to an end in April 2011, when Ouattara's forces seized control of most of the country with the help of the UN and France's military forces arrested Gbagbo at his residence in Abidjan.¹⁴

In the aftermath of the crisis, Ouattara made repeated commitments to fight against impunity and strengthen the rule of law, and his administration put in place mechanisms to facilitate the reconstruction process.¹⁵ These included a Special Investigation Unit, the Dialogue, Truth, and Reconciliation Commission (CDVR), and the National Commission for Reconciliation and Compensation of Victims (CONARIV). Despite the state's commitment to an effective and non-partisan transitional justice system, victims from the losing side complained that "victor's justice" had prevailed: all those prosecuted both domestically and abroad in connection with the post-electoral crisis were sympathizers or members of the Gbagbo inner circle or political party. With the help of international organizations, victims have been supported in putting pressure on the government for justice and reparations. International organizations also helped the judiciary and prosecutors create laws to protect victims and witnesses. However, commitments to transitional justice have not been realized as economic growth has been prioritized over accountability. Over time, international policymakers and donors lost interest as the country started to make progress in its economy and reconciliation efforts. The Ministry of Solidarity has also become less committed to implementing reparative measures, which has left victims unsure if they will ever get reparations.¹⁶ In 2020,

¹⁰ BBC. "Ivory Coast poll overturned: Gbagbo declared winner." *BBC News*, December 3, 2010. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11913832>.

¹¹ Nossiter, Adam. "Ivory Coast." *New York Times*, April 14, 2011. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110720223637/http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/ivorycoast/index.html>; Cessou, Sabine. "Pourquoi la guerre reprend en Côte d'Ivoire," *SlateAfrique*, August 19, 2012. <http://www.slateafrique.com/93037/pourquoi-la-guerre-reprend-en-cote-divoire-ouattara-gbagbo>.

¹² BBC. "Ivory Coast: Battle for Abidjan intensifies." *BBC News*, April 3, 2011. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110403074214/http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12946018>.

¹³ Smith, David. "Death squads attacking Ivory Coast opposition, claims spokesman." *The Guardian*, December 21, 2010. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130920225733/http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/21/ivory-coast-gbagbo-death-squads-claim>. Wells, Matt. "'They Killed Them Like it Was Nothing: The Need for Justice for Côte d'Ivoire's Post-Election Crimes.'" *Human Rights Watch*, October 5, 2011. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/10/05/they-killed-them-it-was-nothing/need-justice-cote-divoires-post-election-crimes>.

¹⁴ Lynch, Colum and William Branigin. "Ivory Coast strongman arrested after French forces intervene." *The Washington Post*, April 11, 2011. https://web.archive.org/web/20110413014353/http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/ivory-coast-strongman-arrested-after-french-forces-intervene/2011/04/11/AFOBaeKD_story.html.

¹⁵ Fédération Internationale pour les Droits Humains. "11 ans après la crise post-électorale en Côte d'Ivoire : des victimes oubliées, une justice sacrifiée." Fédération Internationale pour les Droits Humains, August 7, 2022. <https://www.fidh.org/fr/regions/afrique/cote-d-ivoire/cote-ivoire-victimes-justice-crimes-guerre#:~:text=Au%20cours%20des%20cinq%20mois,affiliations%20politique%2C%20ethnique%20ou%20religieuse>.

¹⁶ ICTJ. (2020, September 23). ICTJ Experts reflect on Côte d'Ivoire's transitional justice process and the legacy of their work. <https://www.ictj.org/news/ictj-experts-reflect-c%3B4te-d%E2%80%99ivoire%E2%80%99s-transitional-justice-process-and-legacy-their-work>

Ouattara's run for a third presidential term again led to widespread rioting, violent street demonstrations, civil disorder, and an electoral boycott, which were met with violent crackdowns, including the deaths of at least 85 Ivoirians.^{17, 18}

While the social, economic, and political impacts of Côte d'Ivoire's 2010–2011 post-electoral crisis are many, it has reasserted political violence as an aspect of the “new face of politics” in the country, which in turn holds many women and youth back from entering politics, both as activists and as leaders.¹⁹ Indeed, violence against women in political parties has worsened in Côte d'Ivoire.²⁰ In a survey conducted by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), 59 percent of respondents representing seven political parties indicated existing laws were insufficient to combat violence against women in politics, including violence within political parties.²¹ There are currently no mechanisms or laws in place to prevent or respond to violence against women in politics.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

Côte d'Ivoire has a presidential system of government, whereby the president is elected by popular vote for a five-year term. Since 2018, the parliament of Côte d'Ivoire has been a bicameral body with a National Assembly and a Senate.²² The National Assembly is composed of 255 members who are directly elected through a first-past-the-post plurality voting system, whereas the Senate is composed of 99 members, one-third of whom are appointed by the president and two-thirds of whom are indirectly elected by National Assembly members and members of regional and municipal councils.

For the 2021–2025 legislature, three groups have representation in parliament:

1. The ruling *Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix* (Rally of Houphoutists for Democracy and Peace—RHDP) parliamentary group with 157 members.
2. The *Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire* (Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire—PDCI) parliamentary group with 64 members.
3. The *Parti des peuples africains—Côte d'Ivoire* (African People's Party—Côte d'Ivoire—PPA-CI) parliamentary group with 18 members.^{23, 24}

¹⁷ RFI. “At least two killed, dozens injured in Côte d'Ivoire election violence.” *RFI*, January 11, 2020. <https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20201101-at-least-two-killed-in-cote-d-ivoire-election-violence-lassane-ouattara-third-term-violence-protests-opposition-boycott>.

¹⁸ Reuters. “Election-linked clashes have killed 85 in Ivory Coast, government says.” November 11, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/ivorycoast-election-idAFL8N2HX5Y0>

¹⁹ Compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire. “Côte d'Ivoire: la violence freine les femmes et les jeunes dans les débats politiques (étude).” Compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d. http://www.competencesfeminines.gouv.ci/detail_actu.php?num=76&lang=.

²⁰ NDI. “No Party to Violence Compendium Report: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties in Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, and Tunisia.” NDI, n.d. <https://www.ndi.org/publications/no-party-violence-compendium-report-analyzing-violence-against-women-political-parties>.

²¹ NDI. “Gagner avec les Femmes.” NDI, n.d.

²² Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Parline. “Côte d'Ivoire.” Inter-Parliamentary Union, n.d. https://data.ipu.org/node/41/data-on-women?chamber_id=13373.

²³ L'Assemblée nationale de la Côte d'Ivoire. “Liste des groupes parlementaires.” *Assemblée Nationale, République de Côte d'Ivoire*, n.d. <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?liste-des-groupes-parlementaires>.

²⁴ It is important to note that PPA-CI members were elected under the “Ensemble pour la Démocratie et la Souveraineté” banner as PPA-CI did not yet exist in March 2021 when the 2021–2025 legislature was elected.

The ruling RHDP parliamentary group includes members from the Union pour la démocratie et la paix en Côte d'Ivoire (Union for Democracy and Peace in Côte d'Ivoire). The Front populaire ivoirien (Ivoirian Popular Front—FPI) is also represented in parliament but is not attached to any of the aforementioned parliamentary groups. There are also two political parties in Côte d'Ivoire that are led by women yet do not currently have representation in parliament: *Mouvement des Generations Capables* (Capable Generations Movement—MGC) and *Union Républicaine pour la Démocratie* (Republican Union for Democracy—URD).

LOI 2019-870: Côte d'Ivoire's "Quota Law"

In October 2019, Côte d'Ivoire passed Law 2019-870, entitled "Promoting the representation of women in elected assemblies." This pivotal legislation for WPPL requires political parties to meet a women candidate quota of 30 percent for parliamentary and local elections, with the intent of eventually achieving gender parity in politics.²⁵ Under Article 2, the 30 percent quota applies to elections for the National Assembly and Senate, as well as municipal, district, and regional elections. Under Article 3, the law requires that "any list of candidates must respect the alternation of the sexes so that if two candidates of the same sex are entered, the third is of the other sex."²⁶ Articles 4 and 5 specify that any political party whose list reaches 50 percent or more women candidates will benefit from "additional public funding," the terms and conditions of which are set by decree.

Despite the promise of Côte d'Ivoire's Law 2019-870—henceforward "the quota law"—realization of the 30 percent women candidate threshold has been slow due to several factors, including delayed implementation, poor enforcement, and a lack of independence and authority of the CEI. However, it is important to contextualize this with an understanding of the recent history of the quota law. The law was enacted in late 2019. Since then, there have been presidential elections in 2020 (to which the 30 percent provision of the law does not apply because there is only one candidate per party) and National Assembly elections in 2021. For these 2021 legislative elections, the quota law should have applied, but none of the political parties were prepared and they jointly agreed and appealed to the CEI not to apply the law for that election. The CEI, which is composed primarily of members nominated by the political parties and not fully independent of the ruling party, obliged this appeal. Ultimately, in the 2021 legislative elections, only 16.76 percent of the candidates were women—significantly below the 30 percent mandated by the quota law—and of the candidates ultimately elected, only 12.94 percent were women.²⁷

For the September 2, 2023 regional and municipal elections which just occurred, CEI stated that candidate lists that do not meet the 30 percent quota and the provision on alternating men and women candidates will be rejected.²⁸ These are the first elections in Côte d'Ivoire in which the 30 percent quota was expected to be enforced.

According to CEI, the 30 percent quota was met for the September elections; 34.0 percent of the candidates included in lists submitted for the September 2, 2023 municipal elections were women.²⁹ Similarly, 31.8 percent of the candidates included in lists submitted for the September 2 regional elections were women.³⁰ Not only was Côte d'Ivoire's quota law implemented during these most recent elections,

²⁵ République de Côte d'Ivoire. "Loi n° 2019-870 du 14 octobre 2019: Favorisant la représentation de la femme dans les assemblées élues." October 14, 2019. <https://www.famille.gouv.ci/public/documents/19838507.pdf>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ <https://www.cei.ci/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/DECISION-N°002-ECM-CEI-CC-DU-1er-AOUT-2023.pdf>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ www.cei.ci/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/DECISION-N°001-ECR-CEI-CC-DU-1er-AOUT-2023.pdf

it resulted in the election of women candidates to more than 30 percent of all communal council and regional council seats.³¹

Although Côte d'Ivoire did attain the 30 percent of women candidates in the 2023 elections and the majority of lists also respected the alternation rule,³² the number of lists that are headed by women for both the municipal and regional elections remains low—although it is important to note that there is not currently a provision in the 2019 quota law that requires that a specific percentage of lists be headed by women). In the most recent 2023 elections, just 5.4 percent of regional lists and 10.0 percent of municipal lists were headed by women.³³

In addition to Côte d'Ivoire's quota law, and its objective of achieving gender parity in elected assemblies, there are other areas of legislative and institutional progress toward promoting WPPL in the country. For example, the Ivorian Constitution of 2016 stresses the political participation of women and stipulates in Article 36 that “the State shall work to promote the political rights of women by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.”³⁴ Côte d'Ivoire has ratified several international and regional conventions recognizing the equal rights and duties of men and women and prohibiting all discrimination against women. This includes signing the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, which calls for the fair and balanced participation of men and women at all levels of decision-making; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol the same year; and the Solemn Declaration of African Heads of State and Government on Gender Equality in Africa, adopted in July 2004. Côte d'Ivoire's first NAP under UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security was in place from 2008 to 2012 but has since expired.³⁵ Additionally, Côte d'Ivoire's criminal code includes laws on some forms of gender-based violence (GBV), such as rape and domestic violence, although there is no specific law pertaining to violence against women in politics. UN Women estimates that Côte d'Ivoire has put in place 50 percent of the legal frameworks that promote, enforce, and monitor gender equality under Sustainable Development Goal 5 on gender equality.³⁶

In 2006, the government of Côte d'Ivoire also established a *Direction de l'Égalité et de la Promotion du Genre* (Directorate for Gender Equality and Promotion) within the Ministry for Women, which has now become the *Département de la promotion et de l'autonomisation des femmes* (Department for the Promotion and Empowerment of Women). Another key action was the 2007 establishment of the Gender Thematic Group, which includes gender units and gender focal points within government agencies tasked with ensuring that the practical and strategic needs of women and men are considered in national and sectoral plans and programs. In 2009, Côte d'Ivoire adopted a National Policy Document on Equal Opportunities, Equity, and Gender, which provides broad guidelines on the government's gender priorities. On an operational level, the government established the 2011 *compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire* (Compendium of Côte d'Ivoire Women's Competencies), which is a networking program to promote women's visibility and leadership in public and private sector management and to provide information to the president regarding women's recruitment, appointment, and representation.³⁷ In addition, other support mechanisms for women were established at this time through the *le Fonds National*

³¹ Reporting from NDI based on data from CEI, received from USAID on 15 September 2023.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Constitute Project. "Côte d'Ivoire's Constitution of 2016." April 27, 2022. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cote_DIvoire_2016.pdf?lang=en.

³⁵ Security Women. "Côte d'Ivoire." n.d. <https://www.securitywomen.org/uns-cr-1325-and-national-action-plans-nap/cote-divoire>

³⁶ UN Women. "Côte d'Ivoire." 2020. <https://data.unwomen.org/country/cote-divoire>.

³⁷ Compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire. "COCOFI - Compendium des Compétences Féminines de Côte d'Ivoire." <http://www.competencesfeminines.gouv.ci/compendium.php?num=&type=&lang=en>

Femme et Développement (Women and Development Fund—PNGFNFD) and the *Fonds d'Appui aux Femmes de Côte d'Ivoire* (Côte d'Ivoire Women's Support Fund), both of which encourage women's entrepreneurship by providing low-cost financing instruments for women.³⁸

As discussed later in this report, several factors impede Côte d'Ivoire's ability to improve women's representation in politics beyond the existence of legislation and institutions supporting gender equality. These include cultural traditions and norms around men as decision-makers, delayed implementation and enforcement of the 2019 quota law, and women's lack of access to financial and political party resources, among many others.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Côte d'Ivoire, like many of its African neighbors, has a young population, with over 40 percent of the 2021 population consisting of children under 14 years old. This demographic “youth bulge” presents challenges to the country in terms of education and employment. Schooling is compulsory for children ages 6 to 15, which explains the high net primary education enrollment rates, at just over 86 percent in 2022. However, this number is nearly halved for secondary education, with a 2022 net enrollment rate of 44 percent; even fewer are enrolled in tertiary education (at 9.8 percent gross enrollment rate). Enrollment rates also vary by sex, with girls and women experiencing consistently lower school enrollment rates than boys and men across primary, secondary, and tertiary education. With respect to literacy, from 1988 to 2015, the literacy rate among the population aged 15 years and above remained below 50 percent. Moreover, women's literacy rates are over six percent lower than those of men, at 86.7 percent and 93.1 percent, respectively.³⁹ However, literacy rates have increased dramatically in the past decade, and, as of 2019, 89.9 percent of the population aged 15 and over is literate.⁴⁰

Côte d'Ivoire's economy is rapidly growing and has a labor force participation rate of 65.5 percent and an official unemployment rate of just 3.5 percent as of 2022.⁴¹ Over two-thirds (68 percent) of Côte d'Ivoire's labor force is engaged in the agricultural sector (including farming, fishing, and forestry).⁴² However, the female labor participation rate is only 57.5 percent, over 15 percent lower than the male labor force participation rate of 73.2 percent.⁴³ Women also face higher rates of unemployment and, on average, only earn about half the salary of men. Women in Côte d'Ivoire work predominantly in the agriculture, retail, and domestic work sectors.⁴⁴

Côte d'Ivoire is a religiously and ethnically diverse country. According to the 2021 census, a plurality of the population, 42.5 percent, is Muslim (mainly Sunni and constituting a majority of the population in the

³⁸ Kalsi, K., and Memon, F. (2020, November). Women's economic empowerment in Côte d'Ivoire: WOW helpdesk query 55. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/970208/Query-55-WEE-in-Cote-D_Ivoire.pdf

³⁹ <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/cote-d-ivoire/>.

⁴⁰ UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Côte d'Ivoire: Education and literacy. <https://uis.unesco.org/en/country/ci?theme=education-and-literacy>

⁴¹ CEIC. Ivory Coast labour force participation rate. <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/ivory-coast/labour-force-participation-rate#:~:text=Ivory%20Coast%20Labour%20Force%20Participation%20Rate%20increased%20to%2065.5%20%25%20in,64.8%20%25%20in%20the%20previous%20year.>

⁴² CIA. (2023, September 8). Côte d'Ivoire. *World Factbook*. <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/cote-divoire/#economy>

⁴³ <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/cote-d-ivoire/>.

⁴⁴ Kalsi, K., and Memon, F. (2020, November). Women's economic empowerment in Côte d'Ivoire: WOW helpdesk query 55. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/970208/Query-55-WEE-in-Cote-D_Ivoire.pdf

north), followed by 39.8 percent identifying as Christian.⁴⁵ The remaining 17.7 percent report having no religious affiliation or traditional religion, such as Animism. Views on the impact of religion on WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire vary according to both previous studies on this question as well as insights from this assessment. Some assert that both Islam and Christianity hold women back from political life by reinforcing traditional gender norms and women's submission to men, while others—both women politicians themselves and religious leaders—maintain that the country's major religions and religious institutions are either neutral or supportive of WPPL.⁴⁶

With respect to ethnic diversity, Côte d'Ivoire has more than 60 ethnic groups which are typically classified under five broad groupings: 1) the Akan in east and central Côte d'Ivoire, 2) the Krou in the southwest, 3) the Southern Mandé in the west, 4) the Northern Mandé in the northwest, and 5) the Sénoufo/Lobi in the north center and northeast of the country. The Akan group is the largest, representing 28.9 percent of the population and including the Baoulé, which is the single largest subgroup. More than 5 million people living in Côte d'Ivoire—almost a quarter of the country's residents—are expatriates, half of whom are from Burkina Faso and the rest primarily coming from other francophone countries in West Africa.⁴⁷

While this assessment did not find that views on WPPL issues differed by ethnicity, Côte d'Ivoire's ethnic diversity has important implications for the political landscape and women's solidarity more broadly. The 2010–2011 post-electoral crisis deepened existing social divisions in the country and exacerbated tensions between different ethnic and national groups living in the same region, particularly around resource sharing and economic opportunities.⁴⁸ In addition, the assessment team found that many CSOs, including women's organizations, are mono-ethnic, which may contribute to a lack of women's solidarity on political issues.

While views are more mixed on the extent to which religion and ethnicity directly shape perceptions and outcomes pertaining to WPPL, geography certainly plays an important role. A 2022 analysis conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) found obstacles to gender equality to be the greatest in the north and northwest of Côte d'Ivoire. The OECD's Social Inclusion Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) is a composite index measuring discriminatory social institutions at the national and sub-national levels. The SIGI index relies on household survey data and covers four dimensions, using variables related to both attitudes (beliefs) and practices (behaviors): discrimination in the family, restricted physical integrity, restricted access to productive and financial resources, and restricted civil liberties. Figure 1 below depicts SIGI scores in the 14 districts of the country, illustrating how attitudes and practices create gaps between women and men in terms of opportunities and outcomes, with particular emphasis on girls' and women's education and economic opportunity. As shown in Figure 1, SIGI scores are appreciably higher—discrimination is more pronounced—in the Denguélé, Savanes, and Woroba districts in the northwest of the country. In addition, there are also disparities between urban and rural women in Côte d'Ivoire (with rural women experiencing greater discrimination, with a SIGI score of 45 versus 39, respectively.)⁴⁹

⁴⁵ United States Department of State. "2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Côte d'Ivoire." 2021. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/cote-divoire/>.

⁴⁶ Georges, K. "Enquête/ La religion, un frein à la participation politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Ce que disent des femmes et des religieux." *Institut Panos Afrique de l'Ouest*, n.d. <http://www.panosmedia.org/fr/femmes-occupez-les-medias/articles/enquete-la-religion-un-frein-la-participation-politique-des-femmes-en-cote-divoire-ce-que-disent-des>.

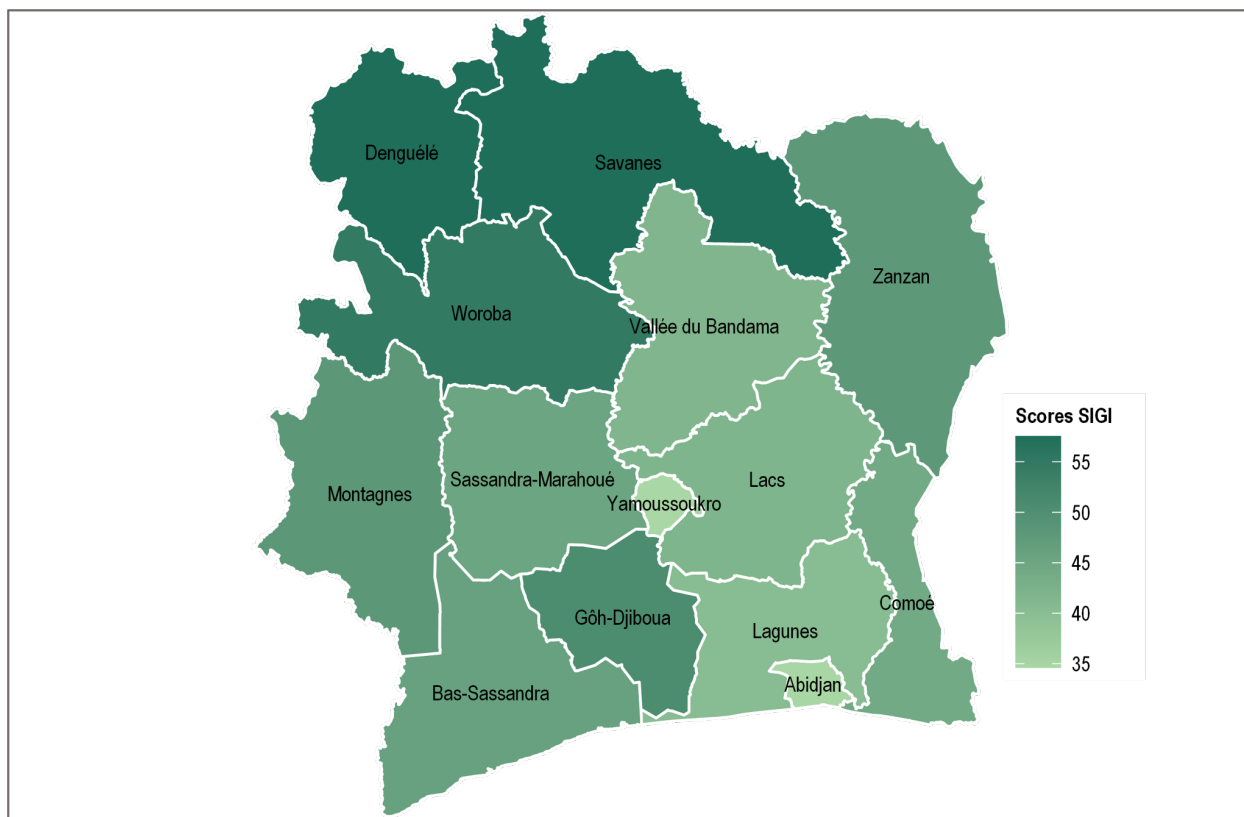
⁴⁷ Minority Rights Group. "Cote d'Ivoire" <https://minorityrights.org/country/cote-divoire/>

CIA. "Côte d'Ivoire" CIA World Factbook. <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/cote-divoire/#people-and-society>

⁴⁸ Interpeace. "L'étranger ne peut pas venir se cacher derrière une termitière et vouloir que sa tête la dépasse": Analyse locale des risques et opportunités pour la cohésion sociale à l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire." Indigo Côte d'Ivoire and Interpeace, 2018. http://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/2018-Cote_dIvoire-DEVCO-Fr-Web-single.pdf.

⁴⁹ However, it is worth noting that some of the most visible women political leaders in Cote d'Ivoire are from the same regions: Kandia Camara, Nasseneba Toure, Marietou Kone, Namizata Sangare, etc.

Figure 1. Gender Discrimination in Côte d'Ivoire: OECD's Social Inclusion and Gender Index (SIGI) Scores



Note: SIGI scores range from 0 to 100, where 0 indicates no discrimination and 100 indicates absolute discrimination against women. Source: OECD. "Base de données SIGI Côte d'Ivoire." 2022. <https://stats.oecd.org/>.

Another key element of the social context in Côte d'Ivoire relates to the role of traditional chiefs, kings, and elders. A 2021 Afrobarometer study found that nearly half (44 percent) of Ivoirians had contact with a local chief in the last year, and their views of traditional chiefs were largely positive.⁵⁰ Approximately two-thirds (66 percent) of respondents had some or a lot of trust in traditional chiefs; 74 percent were satisfied with the performance of their traditional chief; and 69 percent believed that traditional chiefs act in the best interest of their communities (as opposed to their own interests or those of politicians).

Perhaps most important for this assessment, 61 percent of those surveyed by Afrobarometer reported that traditional chiefs influence how members of their community vote.⁵¹ While traditional chiefs are required by law to be neutral on election-related matters, both the Afrobarometer study and a 2010 European Union (EU) report found that traditional chiefs often call on their communities to vote for their preferred candidate for president.⁵² In addition, the 2014 creation of the *Chambre Nationale des Rois et Chefs Traditionnels* (National Chamber of Traditional Kings and Chiefs) provides institutional and symbolic recognition of traditional chiefs as important partners for government and local authorities, who in turn

⁵⁰ Flan, Wohi Innocent, Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé, and Joseph Koné. "Chefferie traditionnelle en Côte d'Ivoire: Quel bilan après l'institutionnalisation?" Afrobarometer, August 26, 2021. https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/pp75-chefferie_traditionnelle_en_cote_divoire-afrobarometer-26aout21.pdf.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² European Union. "Côte d'Ivoire : Rapport final : Election présidentielle 31 octobre – 28 novembre 2010." EU Elections Observation Mission, December 3, 2010.

regularly seek the help of traditional leaders in reaching and influencing their communities.⁵³ Their important role in community management is also being increasingly recognized, as Côte d'Ivoire is still working to rebuild the country's social fabric after years of political crises.

While traditional chiefs are clearly important political stakeholders in Côte d'Ivoire, similar to other elements of the country's social context discussed in this section, views on whether and to what extent traditional chiefs support the advancement of WPPL are mixed. As will be discussed later in this report, in some regions women are active as traditional leaders and consulted by traditional chiefs. Nonetheless, some view the traditional leadership structure in Côte d'Ivoire as being male-dominated and upholding patriarchal norms that undermine WPPL.

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the assessment is to better understand the current state of WPPL and pinpoint challenges and opportunities for advancing WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire. The WPPL assessment has three parts: Part I involves mapping the current state of WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire, Part II entails analyzing barriers and opportunities to WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire, and Part III transitions from the research on barriers and opportunities to develop evidence-based recommendations.

The assessment employs four tools: a desk review, a politician survey, KIIs, and FGDs. These tools provide quantitative and qualitative sources of evidence to better understand the current situation as well as barriers to and opportunities for advancing WPPL, engaging a wide range of stakeholders and diverse groups of women.

The assessment findings discussed in this report are derived from a desk review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a survey of 60 politicians, 19 KIIs, and 29 FGDs with 255 participants including politicians, civil society, and media in Abidjan, Abengourou, Bouaké, Gagnoa, Korhogo, and Man. The Côte d'Ivoire assessment team conducted in-country data collection for this assessment between April 24 and May 18, 2023.

⁵³ Ciyow, Yassin. "En Côte d'Ivoire, les chefs traditionnels, plus convaincants que les fonctionnaires." *Le Monde Afrique*, April 2, 2020. https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2020/04/02/en-cote-d-ivoire-les-chefs-traditionnels-plus-convaincants-que-les-fonctionnaires_6035304_3212.html.

CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation refers to a wide array of activities citizens can engage in to influence political decision-making or solve collective problems, including actions taken individually or collectively in civil society.⁵⁴ Common forms of political participation include voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, protesting, joining political parties, and participating in CSOs and social movements.⁵⁵ This section discusses voting behavior, political mobilization, and participation in civil society, which the desk review and primary data collection for the assessment surfaced as key to understanding the current state of women's political participation in Côte d'Ivoire.

There is an appreciable gender gap in voter turnout, with safety concerns and social norms affecting women's voting behavior.

Women in Côte d'Ivoire were first granted the right to vote in 1952 under the French administration, and this right was confirmed by the *Loi-cadre deferré* of 1956, and then again at independence in 1960.⁵⁶ There is a slight gender gap in voter registration in Côte d'Ivoire, with 49 percent of women registered to vote compared to 51 percent of men, according to CEI's 2020 electoral roll.⁵⁷ The gender gap is significantly larger when it comes to actual turnout; 46 percent of women and 54 percent of men—an eight point difference—turned out to vote in Côte d'Ivoire's 2021 parliamentary election.

The research for this assessment—both the background research as well as the primary data collection—pointed to several factors affecting voter turnout and voting behavior among women. The WPPL “ecosystem” lens, and the interacting influences at the sociocultural (social norms regarding men's and women's roles), institutional (a context of election-related violence and instability), and individual (women's perceived lack of political agency and fear of violence), together contribute to this gender disparity in voting behavior. Several FGDs with both women and men reinforced this, indicating that women may feel intimidation (due to these interacting factors cited above), which in turn prevents them from voting, as well as political participation more generally. Both FGD and KII participants described GBV, fear of violence, and harassment as deterring Ivorian women from participating in political activities in general and voting in particular. FGD participants felt that more needs to be done to reduce these sociocultural, institutional, and individual barriers, and increase women's perceived agency to exercise their right to vote and fully participate in the political sphere.

This assessment also found family and community voting—determined by male heads of household or community leaders—to be common in Côte d'Ivoire. KII and FGD participants noted that men in Côte d'Ivoire traditionally oversee decisions at both the household and village levels, which explains this tendency in political behavior. Because men are used to managing family finances and decisions, they also

⁵⁴ Verba, S., Scholzman, K. L. and Brady, H. E. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

⁵⁵ Krook, Mona Lena. “Women's Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework.” NORC at the University of Chicago, United States Agency for International Development, 2003. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZSBV.pdf.

⁵⁶ IPU Parline. “Côte d'Ivoire.” Inter-Parliamentary Union, n.d. https://data.ipu.org/node/41/data-on-women?chamber_id=13373.

⁵⁷ CEI. “Commission Électorale Indépendante.” Institut électoral pour une démocratie durable en Afrique. “Mission internationale d'observation électorale (MIOE).” The Carter Center, 2020.

tend to assume they are better suited for political decision-making.⁵⁸ This dynamic was cited by both men and women participants in the interviews:

“It was my husband who chose who we should vote for. Men know politics better than we do. We never disputed the choice of men.” (KII with woman from Adaou)

“In certain geographical areas, voting is directed, dictated, or even imposed by the husband. Not all women are immune to such situations during the electoral process.” (FGD with men in civil society, Abidjan)

As noted in the previous section, Afrobarometer and EU studies also confirm that traditional chiefs influence how members of their community vote.⁵⁹

Women are seen as both important for and confined to mobilizing.

Women’s presence during political campaigns is viewed positively, and they are considered particularly important for grassroots mobilization. As one participant from an FGD with men in civil society put it: “when they see women in their campaign and political mobilization initiatives, they already know they will win.” The qualitative research for the assessment suggests that women are particularly mobilized by social movements aimed at promoting and defending women’s interests, such as the adoption of the 2019 quota law, and that these movements are typically organized by women’s rights organizations employing multiple strategies, including protests, lobbying, and press conferences.⁶⁰

However, according to women FGD participants, while women are more visible during marches, demonstrations, and efforts to organize political meetings during campaigns, they are expected to play less meaningful roles such as reception and catering during these meetings:

“Men always need women to organize political meetings. They count on us for mobilization of militants and sympathizers. We are confined to providing catering. Once they are elected, they forget our contribution.” (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

This FGD and another with women in civil society in Korhogo both suggest that the hard work of mobilizing is led by women, who are then forgotten after the elections are over. Indeed, a civil society key informant in Abidjan described women as being “confined to the ranks of mobilizers,” and one FGD participant shared:

“At the beginning men will collaborate with you for mobilization purposes. But as soon as they are elected, they delete and blacklist your phone number. Do you think that I will have the energy again to fight for a politician?” (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

This finding was highlighted in multiple interviews and FGDs, and, as discussed in the previous section, also seems to date back to women’s efforts mobilizing for the RDA during Côte d’Ivoire’s struggle for

⁵⁸ Falb KL, Annan J, King E, Hopkins J, Kpebo D, Gupta J. “Gender norms, poverty and armed conflict in Côte D'Ivoire: engaging men in women's social and economic empowerment programming.” Health Education Research, 29(6):1015-27. December 2014.

⁵⁹ Flan, Wahi Innocent, Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé, and Joseph Koné. “Chefferie traditionnelle en Côte d'Ivoire: Quel bilan après l'institutionnalisation?” Afrobarometer, August 2, 2021. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/publication/pp75-chefferie-traditionnelle-en-cote-divoire-quel-bilan-apres-linstitutionnalisation/>; European Union. “Côte d'Ivoire : Rapport final : Election présidentielle 31 octobre – 28 novembre 2010.” December 3, 2010.

⁶⁰ FGD with men in Civil Society, Abidjan.

independence. Despite women's many contributions during that struggle, women were not integrated into the political or party system in any long-term or meaningful way after independence.

As will be discussed in the next section, women's confinement to mobilization is likely driven by a combination of socio-cultural factors. These include norms and attitudes around what types of political activities are appropriate for women, the view that activism (which is often civil society-led) is safer for women than engagement in formal politics, and patriarchal views about women's potential as leaders that hinder them from being rewarded with political power in exchange for their activism. It is also important to note that these socio-cultural factors affect youth political participation in parallel ways; thus, young women are particularly disadvantaged due to the intersection of their gender and age.

Civil society is a key enabler of women's political participation.

Civil society plays a vital role in creating an enabling environment for women's political participation in Côte d'Ivoire. On one level, this is done through organizations and civil society campaigns whose objectives pertain directly to increasing women's representation and voice in politics. For example, the *Comité de coordination pour la participation politique des femmes* (Coordinating Committee for Women's Political Participation—2C2PF) played an important role in advocating for the adoption of the 2019 quota law. Following the 2015 and 2016 elections, which were marked by a worrying underrepresentation of women in elected assemblies and decision-making bodies, 2C2PF mobilized women activists and proposed a preliminary draft bill on gender parity in elected assemblies, which gave rise to the 2019 law and the requirement that political parties attain a women candidate quota of 30 percent for parliamentary elections.⁶¹ Côte d'Ivoire also has several women-led CSOs and coalitions created to oversee elections and ensure that they are inclusive. These include:

- Plateforme de veille des femmes et des jeunes pour des élections crédibles et apaisées en Côte d'Ivoire (Women and Youth Observation Platform for Credible and Peaceful Elections).
- POECI.
- PEACE-CI.

Women's organizations have also played key roles in training and mentoring women on civic engagement, encouraging voter turnout among women, and calling for policies to advance gender equity. For example, the *Organisation de femmes actives en Côte d'Ivoire* (Organization of Active Women in Côte d'Ivoire) has trained women from ten localities in Côte d'Ivoire on the voter registration process, electoral campaigns, voting, and electoral observation.⁶² Similarly, the 2015 *Interpell'ation* campaign led by *Genre, parité et leadership féminin* (Gender, Parity, and Women's Leadership) and *Leadafricaines* called on candidates to include a gender focus in their policy plans.⁶³

⁶¹ Zere Infos. "Avant-projet de loi sur le quota : Le 2C2PF félicite le Gouvernement et l'encourage à poursuivre ses efforts pour la parité Homme et Femme." WordPress. March 11, 2019. <https://zereinfos.wordpress.com/2019/03/11/avant-projet-de-loi-sur-le-quota-le-comite-felicite-le-gouvernement-et-lencourage-a-poursuivre-ses-efforts-pour-la-parite-homme-et-femme/>; *Fraternité Matin*. "Mise en place du Sénat : Le comité 2C2PF réclame au Chef de l'Etat une forte représentation des femmes." March 18, 2023. <https://www.fratmat.info/article/82690/10064/mise-en-place-du-senat-le-comite-2c2pf-reclame-au-chef-de-l-etat-une-forte-representation-des-femmes>.

⁶²Dougan, Salia. "Femmes et Participation Politique En Cote D'ivoire Impact Des Organisations Feministes." *Academia*, January 30, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/41783779/femmes_et_participation_politique_en_cote_divoire_impact_des_organisations_feministes20200130_49275_18h6c61.

⁶³ Guiraud, Pacôme Cyrille. "Participation sociale et promotion de la femme en Côte d'Ivoire: une lecture des organisations féminines." African Union. https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/31520-doc-participation_sociale_et_promotion_de_la_femme_en_cote_divoire_une_lecture_des_organisations_feminines_pacome_cyrille_guiraud.pdf.

However, it is also worth noting that several CSOs focus on women’s advancement in areas outside of politics. These include women’s agricultural organizations working primarily in rural areas to develop women’s social awareness and to have them achieve informed financial independence and village savings and loan associations now present in most neighborhoods and villages throughout the country. Despite not having explicitly political aims, these types of CSOs are vital for building women’s social capital and financial independence, the paucity of which is discussed in the next section as a key barrier to increasing WPPL in Côte d’Ivoire. Table I below presents an illustrative list of prominent CSOs working on women’s advancement both within and outside of the political sphere.

Table I. Prominent Gender-Focused CSOs in Côte d’Ivoire

ORGANIZATION	AREA OF FOCUS
ADDAD—Côte d’Ivoire New	Capacity-building for domestic workers in Côte d’Ivoire.
2C2PF	Adoption and implementation of the law on gender parity.
Réseau de paix et de sécurité pour les femmes de la région de la CEDEAO (Peace and Security Network for Women in the Economic Community of West African States Region of Côte d’Ivoire)	Women’s involvement in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and security, and post-conflict reconstruction.
Groupe d’organisations de femmes pour l’égalité des femmes et des hommes (Group of Women’s Organizations for Gender Equality)	Equal rights of daughters and sons in all areas of life, including decision-making bodies.
Association des femmes juristes de Côte d’Ivoire (Association of Women Jurists of Côte d’Ivoire)	Women’s access to justice and entrepreneurship.
Centre des femmes pour la démocratie et les droits de l’homme en Côte d’Ivoire (Women’s Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Côte d’Ivoire)	Girls’ education and human rights, with a focus on gender.
Côte d’Ivoire Coordination des femmes pour les élections et la reconstruction post crise (Côte d’Ivoire Women’s Coordination for Elections and Post-Crisis Reconstruction)	Conflict prevention and peacekeeping.
Africa Development Environment Initiative Free International (IDEAL INTER)	Gender equality and women and girls’ empowerment
ONG Vie sacrée (NGO Sacred Life)	Land ownership for girls and women.
Organisation des femmes actives de Côte d’Ivoire (Organization of Active Women of Côte d’Ivoire)	Education on civics and countering GBV.
Réseau ivoirien pour la défense des droits de l’enfant et de la femme (Ivoirian Network for the Defense of Children’s and Women’s Rights)	Combatting GBV in Côte d’Ivoire.
Association d’épargne et de crédit du village (Village Savings and Credit Association – AVEC)	Financial inclusion and literacy, with a focus on rural women.

Civil society is widely recognized as an important space for women’s political engagement, both in the Ivorian context and in general, given women’s long-standing exclusion from and underrepresentation in more formal political roles.⁶⁴ As one KII participant described:

“Civil society is a good window that women and young people have found to be leaders to drive, to share their dreams with the people. Not everyone can be a minister, not everyone can be a senior civil servant, not everyone can occupy a high position. But being [a] responsible [...] civil society [leader], meeting partners and mobilizing funds to do social work [...] it’s already a very good niche to become someone in society [...]. There are people who have been taking their skills, who have become essential today, and who work with governments to get things done.” (KII with government expert in Abidjan)

In the Ivorian context specifically, civil society is also seen as providing a safer space for women’s participation given the prevalence of violence—and in particular violence against women—in political spaces, which has become more normalized following the 2010–2011 post-electoral crisis, as discussed in the previous section.

WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Political leadership refers to activities women engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives.⁶⁵ This can entail running for and occupying elective and appointed offices at various levels in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, as well as serving in leadership positions in political parties, civil society, and social movements. This section discusses women’s representation in elected and non-elected political office, representation in leadership positions, efforts to advance gender parity across political parties, and women’s leadership in peacebuilding, which the desk review and primary data collection for the assessment surfaced as key to understanding the current state of women’s political leadership in Côte d’Ivoire.

Women continue to be underrepresented in elected and non-elected office and leadership positions.

While women’s leadership is increasingly viewed as a key indicator of socio-economic growth in Côte d’Ivoire, women are still underrepresented in leadership positions, both elected and non-elected, as outlined in Table 2 below. Notwithstanding the 2019 quota law, which, as discussed above, was not implemented until the 2023 municipal and regional elections, Table 2 shows that only 35 members (13.73 percent) of the National Assembly and 21 members (21.43 percent) of the Senate were women in 2021. The lowest rates of women’s representation in 2021 were seen among presidents of regional councils, minister-governors, and municipal-level officials, at 3.22 percent, 7.14 percent, and 7.96 percent, respectively.

Table 2. Women’s Representation in Elected and Non-Elected Office in 2021

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	% WOMEN
National Assembly	255	220	35	13.73%
Senate	99	77	21	21.43%

⁶⁴ Krook, Mona Lena. “Women’s Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework.” NORC at the University of Chicago, United States Agency for International Development, 2003. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZSBV.pdf.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	% WOMEN
Presidents of Regional Councils	31	30	1	3.22%
Municipalities	201	185	16	7.96%
City Councilors	4110	3493	617	15.01%
Ministers	46	38	8	17.39%
Minister-Governors	14	13	1	7.14%
Appointed Chiefs of Staff	48	42	6	12.50%
Magistrates	52	40	12	23.07%

Sources: IPU Parline. “Côte d’Ivoire.” IPU, n.d. https://data.ipu.org/node/411/data-on-women?chamber_id=13373; ONEG. “Rapport : les avancées de l’égalité de Genre en Côte d’Ivoire (2011–2020).” 2021.

As shown above, women’s representation in ministerial positions is also low, at 17.39 percent. Moreover, when women do hold cabinet or ministerial positions, they are often confined to the social- or education-related departments, such as the Ministry of Solidarity and the Fight against Poverty, Ministry of National Education and Literacy, and the Ministry of Family, Women and Children. However, it is noteworthy that the current heads of two powerful Ministries, the Ministry of Planning and Development and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are women.

Table 3 shows women’s representation in Parliamentary committees and Table 4 shows women’s representation in Parliament’s senior management body, the *Bureau de l’Assemblée Nationale*. Although Table 3 illustrates women’s low representation in Parliamentary committees (with the exception of the Natural Resources and Information and Communication Technology committee, at 50 percent), Table 4 shows women’s overall representation higher in Parliament’s senior management body, at 48.14 percent.

Table 3. Women’s Representation in Parliamentary Committees in 2021

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE	NO. OF MEMBERS	% WOMEN
General and Institutional Affairs Committee	40	7.5%
Economic and Financial Affairs Committee	43	6.97%
Security and Defense	42	9.09%
Natural Resources and Information and Communication Technology	8	50%
Social and Cultural Affairs Committee	42	8%
Committee on External Relations	40	4.76%

Source: ONEG. “Rapport : les avancées de l’égalité de Genre en Côte d’Ivoire (2011–2020).” 2021.

Table 4. Women’s Representation in Parliament’s Senior Management

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SENIOR MANAGEMENT	NO. OF MEMBERS	% WOMEN
President of the National Assembly	1	0%
Vice-Presidency of the Assembly	11	36.36%
Secretaries	12	50%
Quaestors	3	66.67%
Total	27	48.14%

Source: Assemblée Nationale. “Bureau de l’Assemblée nationale.” N.d. <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?bureau-de-l-assemblee-nationale>.

These low levels of women’s representation in both elected and unelected political positions constitute the political leadership context in Côte d’Ivoire, which the 2019 quota law was intended to address. As detailed earlier in the report, although the quota law was enacted in 2019, it was not applied to the 2021 legislative elections (political parties appealed to the CEI to delay implementation of the law, and the CEI complied). In addition, while the CEI has a gender unit responsible for promoting gender-inclusive elections and the application of the quota through training activities and lobbying efforts, an elections official interviewed for this assessment stated that this unit has no special budget or sanction power to enforce the application of the gender quota.

As will be discussed in more detail in the next section, many barriers beyond the rollout and enforcement of the 2019 quota law impact women’s access to and power in political leadership. These include the impact of socio-cultural norms on women’s perceived electability and willingness to run for office, the normalization of violence in politics, and women’s generally lower levels of education and financial resources. In addition, the role of men as gatekeepers in power-sharing will be important in addressing women’s underrepresentation in politics. As one key informant noted:

“You know, politics means governing, and in the history of our societies, governance has been exclusively reserved for men. Will men agree to share this power equitably with women? That’s the problem.” (KII with male party leader)

Lastly, it is also of note that there is a women’s caucus within Côte d’Ivoire’s parliament, the *Caucus des femmes parlementaires de Côte d’Ivoire* (Caucus of Women Parliamentarians of Côte d’Ivoire—FEMPACI). Founded in 2013 with the support of the EU and NDI and currently supported by IPU, this caucus aims to enable women parliamentarians to play a decisive role in the drafting and implementation of laws and policies on gender equality, despite women’s continued low representation in parliament. It also aims to promote women’s participation in decision-making bodies, strengthen partnerships between women and men parliamentarians, and build the capacity of women parliamentarians.⁶⁶ Information on the role of FEMPACI in parliamentary dynamics and its effectiveness in achieving its aims was not mentioned by members of parliament (MPs) consulted for this study, nor discussed in third-party research or discourse on the topic. However, a current sitting woman MP recently reported to USAID that the caucus is used more as a sounding board for the president of the National Assembly, and does not play a significant role

⁶⁶ Inter-Parliamentary Union. “Règlement du caucus des femmes parlementaires de Côte D’Ivoire.” 2013. http://w3.ipu.org/uploads/documents/REGLEMENT_ADOPTE_DU_CAUCUS_DES_FEMMES_PARLEMENTAIRES_DE_C%C3%94TE_DIVOIRE.pdf.

in setting priorities or providing strategic direction or leadership within the National Assembly.⁶⁷ These findings indicate that more information is needed about the dynamics surrounding the women’s caucus and its influence, and that in turn may suggest potential avenues to strengthen the caucus.

Women’s representation is low across political parties, with views on parties’ efforts to remedy this diverging along gender lines.

Just as women’s representation is low for the National Assembly as a whole, the same holds true when viewed by political parties. In advance of the 2021 elections, the *commission nationale des droits de l’homme* (National Human Rights Commission) calculated that women represented just 16 percent of RHDP candidates, 8 percent of PDCI candidates, 14 percent of FPI candidates, and 17 percent of *Ensemble pour la démocratie et la souveraineté* and PDCI coalition candidates.⁶⁸ Women’s representation in the executive management bodies of the main political parties is also very low, including in the woman-led URD party. Table 5 below shows that women constitute no more than 17.4 percent of these parties’ senior management bodies.

Table 5. Women’s Representation in Parties’ Executive Management Bodies

PARTY	FPI	PDCI	PPA-CI	RHDP	URD
Number of senior management body members	155	38	41	40	38
Number of women members	27 (17.4%)	6 (15.8%)	N/A	6 (15%)	3 (2.64%)

Source: Administrative data from political parties collected by the assessment team.⁶⁹

Politicians surveyed for this assessment were asked if their party had implemented measures to recruit women as candidates. A slight majority of politicians, 53 percent, felt that their party did so, with men politicians far more likely to report that their party did this than their women peers (63.3 percent versus 43.3 percent), a 20 percent difference. Substantial variation across parties was also observed. Nearly two-thirds of politicians affiliated with PPA-CI reported their party had taken action, versus just 40 percent of politicians affiliated with PDCI-RDA. RHDP politicians fell in the middle, with 55 percent reporting their party had taken action, although this total percentage masks a dramatic contrast between men and women politicians: just 20 percent of women in the RHDP felt their party took measures to recruit women as candidates, versus 90 percent of their men counterparts.⁷⁰ These answers, taken together, suggest that many politicians—and especially women politicians—felt that no measures to recruit women candidates were taken by their parties or that they were not aware of any measures.

⁶⁷ USAID/Côte d’Ivoire. Personal communication. 7 August 2023.

⁶⁸ Richard, Florence “Cote d’Ivoire: Women underrepresented in parliament despite 2019 law.” The Africa Report, February 16, 2021. <https://www.theafricareport.com/65880/cote-divoire-women-underrepresented-in-parliament-despite-2019-law/>.

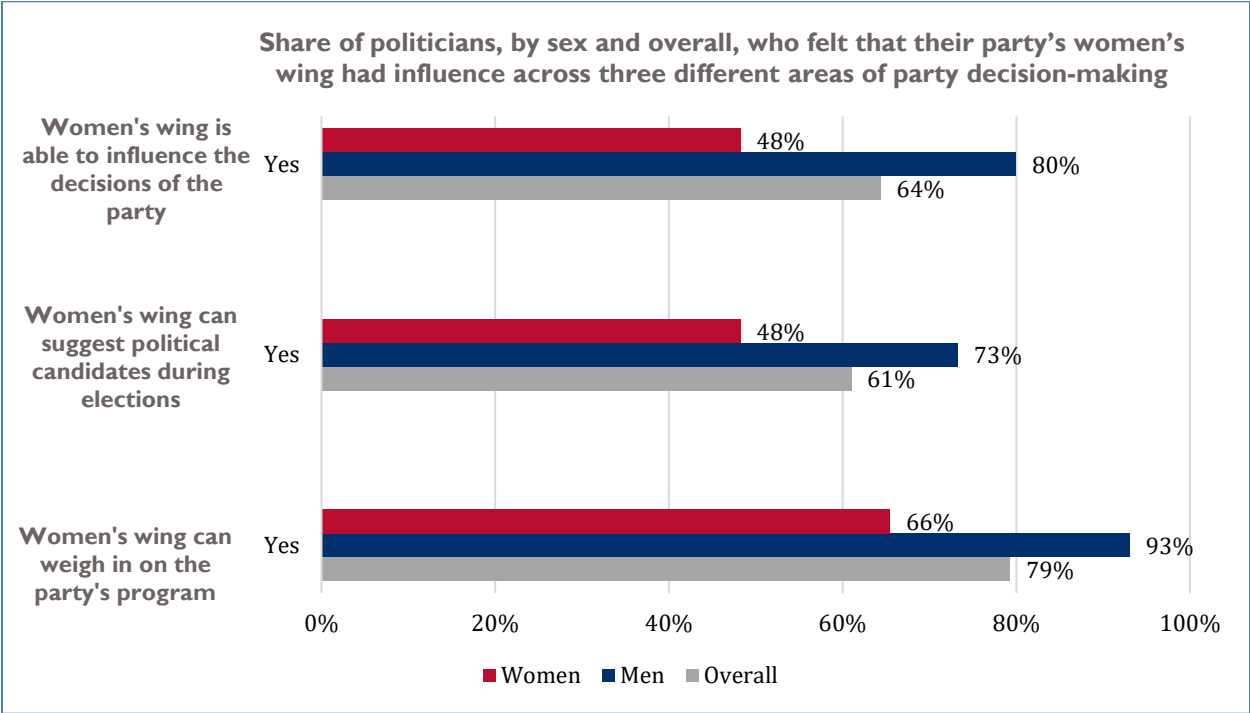
⁶⁹ Figures were calculated by the AT using the following sources: 1) 2C2PF “PDCI RDA où sont les femmes ?” Comité De Coordination Pour La Participation Politique Des Femmes, May 11, 2021. <https://doi.org/783972509154742>; 2) YECLO. “Côte d’Ivoire : Voici les nouveaux membres du secrétariat exécutif du PDCI.” May 12, 2021. <https://www.yeclo.com/les-nouveaux-membres-du-secretariat-executif-du-pdci>; 3) L’Infodrome. “PDCI : Bédié nomme de nouvelles personnalités au sein du secrétariat exécutif, Maurice Kacou Guikahué Indéboulonnable.” May 12, 2021. <https://www.linodrome.com/politique/67156-pdci-bedié-nomme-de-nouvelles-personnalites-au-sein-du-secretariat-executif-maurice-kacou-guikahué-indeboulonnable>; 4) Fratmat.Info. “Direction Exécutive Du Rhdp : Gilbert Koné Kafana Aux Commandes.” March 1, 2022. <https://www.fratmat.info/article/218895/politique/rhdp/direction-executive-du-rhdp-gilbert-kone-kafana-aux-commandes>.

⁷⁰ This result should be interpreted with caution as it is based on a small number of observations. Ten politicians of each gender were surveyed per political party included in the politician survey for this study.

Politicians who reported that their party had implemented one or more measures to recruit women candidates were then asked what these measures were. The most cited measure was following the 30 percent quota law. Other commonly cited measures are more directly tied to parties' internal decisions and include the creation of a women-specific wing or section and the provision of training. Allocating funding to that goal and nominating women to high-level positions in the parties were among the rarely cited measures, although they are likely to be of high importance. Regardless, both men and women politicians overwhelmingly thought the measures taken led to an increase in the number of female candidates. Support for these and other measures to increase the number of women elected were also overwhelmingly supported by politicians of both genders (93 percent among women politicians and 96.7 percent among men politicians) and systematically across all parties.

Almost all political parties in Côte d'Ivoire have women's wings, including the three main party groups with representation in parliament. When asked about the influence of their party's women's wing in the politician survey conducted for this assessment, the area where both men and women politicians felt the women's wing had the most influence was on the party's program. However, the influence of the women's wings was weaker in specific party decision-making areas, such as its influence on party decisions or political candidates. Most visible in Figure 2 below is the sharp gender divide in the perceived influence of parties' women's wings.

Figure 2. Politicians' Views on Women's Wings and Party Decision-making



Source: WPPL politician survey data, 2023

Between 73 and 93 percent of men politicians felt that their party's women's wing had significant influence across the three key areas of party decision-making, whereas their women counterparts were more split, with a majority (65 percent) feeling that their party's women's wing had influence on the party's program but a minority (48 percent) for the other two areas. The size of the gender gap ranged between 25 and

31 percent.⁷¹ Women politician’s ambivalence about the influence of women’s wings was underscored by key informants who viewed women’s wings as largely tokenistic and meant to signal sensitivity to gender issues and avoid accusations of not promoting women in politics. According to an elected woman, the creation of women’s wings within parties does not translate to a commitment by political leaders to promote women in politics:

“The creation of women’s wings within the parties is more a trend [...] to be politically correct than a strategic commitment for a real change [...] The existence of the women’s wing is intended to capture women’s votes.” (KII with elected woman politician)

According to a technical note by IDEA International on Women’s Participation and Representation, placing responsibility for gender equality and women’s empowerment within political parties solely with women’s wings has resulted in gender issues being removed from the main political agenda and priorities of most political parties.⁷²

Women are better represented in peace and reconstruction processes at the local level.

In recent decades, Côte d’Ivoire has experienced several crises, notably the rebellion of 2002, the post-electoral crisis of 2010–2011, and the deadly pre-election protests of 2020, all of which have undermined social cohesion. These conflicts have had a particular impact on women and girls, such as through discrimination and physical and sexual violence. Although they are the ones particularly affected by these crises, women’s involvement in the conflict resolution process and the management of the peace transition remains low.⁷³

In the aftermath of the 2010–2011 electoral crisis, President Ouattara established multiple reconciliation and investigation bodies discussed earlier in this report (i.e., CDVR, CONARIV, and a Special Investigation Unit), with the task of shedding light on the events and finding ways of restoring peace and social cohesion. Women were largely under-represented in CDVR’s central bodies and specialized commissions. Among its seven central commissioners were two women, one of whom was in charge of the gender sub-committee. However, women were in the majority on the local committees, accounting for around 68 percent of committee members.⁷⁴

As mentioned in the previous section, it is noteworthy that Côte d’Ivoire’s NAP for UNSCR 1325 expired in 2012, which may represent both a lack of symbolic and policy commitment to women’s leadership in the peace process at the national level. Beyond this mechanism no longer being active, the assessment did not find consensus on reasons why women are underrepresented in Côte d’Ivoire’s peace processes specifically (as opposed to their underrepresentation in other areas of political leadership).

A joint declaration issued by 25 CSOs in 2014 calling for greater inclusion of women in the country’s peace processes noted that issues such as women’s poverty and lack of economic security that undermine

⁷¹ Some differences across the three political parties also emerged in the analysis but, given the small sample size, it is difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions by political party.

⁷² IDEA International. “Sur la participation et représentation des femmes: Le rôle des partis politiques.” 2021. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/the-role-of-political-parties-on-womens-participation%20FR.pdf>

⁷³ Embassy of Canada in Ivory Coast. “Participation of women in the decision-making round table; peace and security in Ivory Coast.” 2019. https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/stories-histoires/2019/cotedivoire-peace-paix.aspx?lang=fra_

⁷⁴ Gorée Institute “Plaidoyer en Côte d’Ivoire sur le thème « Les femmes dans le processus de réconciliation et la consolidation de la crise en Côte d’Ivoire.” July 24, 2014. <https://goreeinstitut.org/plaidoyer-en-cote-d-ivoire-sur-le-theme-les-femmes-dans-le-processus-de-reconciliation-et-la-consolidation-de-la-crise-en-cote-d-ivoire/>; Ibrahim, Diarra. “Analyse de La Durabilité Des Accords de Paix En Afrique de l’Ouest.” *Centre Ivoirien De Recherches Economiques Et Sociales*, December 2015. <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/55839/IDL-55839.pdf>.

WPPL in general are also contributing to their lack of inclusion in the peace process.⁷⁵ In an FGD with men in civil society in Gagnoa, one participant expressed that women are wise and well-suited to help settle some community disputes, but they are not consulted as part of the peace process because they do not fight wars. A donor interviewed for the study shared their work on women's inclusion in the peace process following the failure of politicians to accept the proposals women submitted for sustainable peace.

“Once we had the proposals from civil society for peace, we organized meetings with politicians to submit our proposals to them and have them validate[d] with their contributions so that we would have a consensual document that underlined everyone's proposals for peace. [...] Here is what we found: women had a concern to contribute to the restoration of lasting peace in Côte d'Ivoire and we made our proposals, which were not accepted. So we embarked on a strategy ourselves to do so. Our problem is the lack of means, but women can really contribute, they can! [We] have supported a whole process with the Independent Electoral Commission with the network of women peace mediators, we mobilized for early warning signs, and facilitated women's voter registration because political participation is not only about being a candidate.” (— KII with donor in Abidjan)

⁷⁵ Gorée Institute "Plaidoyer en Côte d'Ivoire sur le thème « Les femmes dans le processus de réconciliation et la consolidation de la crise en Côte d'Ivoire." July 24, 2014. <https://goreeinstitut.org/plaidoyer-en-cote-d-ivoire-sur-le-theme-les-femmes-dans-le-processus-de-reconciliation-et-la-consolidation-de-la-crise-en-cote-d-ivoire/>

BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL

This section discusses the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual-level dynamics at play in Côte d'Ivoire that explain and contribute to WPPL. These three interrelated factors that contribute to the WPPL ecosystem are discussed in relation to their impact on women's political participation and on women's political leadership.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Patriarchal norms related to men as decision-makers and women as care providers are reflected in the masculinization of the political sphere.

Patriarchal norms are one of the major socio-cultural barriers to women's political participation in Côte d'Ivoire. Patriarchal norms, based on traditional patriarchal and religious hierarchies, are present in almost all regions, but they are particularly pronounced in the north of the country. Fundamentally, these beliefs prescribe women's subordination to men, and they manifest in a variety of ways, including limiting the freedom of movement and the ability of women to participate in political activities, how decisions within households are made, and the division of tasks within households.

For example, the results of the OECD's 2022 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) for Côte d'Ivoire underscore that in most households, the father or male head of household is the sole decision-maker regarding health and education decisions relating to children.⁷⁶ In certain districts, such as Sassandra-Marahoué, Denguélé, and Woroba, men were the sole decision-makers in more than 60 percent of households. In 72 percent of households, men are the sole decision-makers for decisions related to investment and large purchases (e.g., housing, land, vehicles, agricultural tools, and inputs). This trend is marginally more pronounced in rural areas than in urban areas. The report also reveals that 87 percent of the population feel that men should have the last word regarding household decisions, with this value reaching 92 percent in rural areas.

These imbalances in household decision-making may start through the widespread use of dowry, which can involve money, land, or other goods of value (e.g., cattle, vehicles). The SIGI report found that 72 percent of married women had a dowry arrangement, with this figure reaching more than 90 percent in some districts in the North. Dowry as an institution may foster subordination and limited autonomy of women, and in the case of Côte d'Ivoire, there are indications this is the case. The SIGI study found that 57 percent of Ivoirians believe that if a fiancée or her family pays a dowry, the woman belongs to her husband.

These data show the degree to which restrictive norms and attitudes systematically hinder women from participating in decisions made in the household. The quote below also illustrates how customs limit the ability of women to decide independently and transparently express their decisions and preferences.

“There are customs as well, customs where the woman up to today doesn't have the right to speak, has to be in the back while it's always men at the forefront of things. Even if the woman decides, it's always behind the scenes or in a backroom, and the man comes to validate what the woman said.” (FGD with women in civil society, Man)

⁷⁶ OECD. “Institutions sociales et égalité femmes-hommes en Côte d'Ivoire.” June 30, 2022. <https://www.oecd.org/fr/dev/institutions-sociales-et-egalite-femmes-hommes-en-cote-d-ivoire-c798990a-fr.htm>

Patriarchal norms and beliefs also ensure that women by and large must take on the vast majority of household tasks and unpaid care. Men are typically viewed as the providers for the household, in addition to their role as decision-makers. As a result, Ivorian women spend an average of 5.1 hours per day on household tasks and unpaid care, versus 1.3 hours for men. The 2022 SIGI report finds important variation across districts, however. In the Savanes district for example, women spend eight times more time per day on household chores than men, while this ratio can be as low as two in districts such as Denguélé. The link between these numbers and norms and attitudes is clear, as 84 percent of the population thinks that cooking for the family is a task exclusively reserved for women, and 70 percent thinks washing the children and cleaning the house are exclusively the domain of women.⁷⁷

Progress in the role of women in Ivorian society means that they are now frequently expected to also contribute to the total household revenue while continuing to be responsible for these household tasks. Thus, women commonly work more than 10 hours per day across paid and unpaid activities. Lack of available time can therefore constitute an important obstacle for women to participate in political activities. Women's domestic tasks and responsibilities and the lack of time available are also obstacles to political participation identified by the people interviewed in the assessment.⁷⁸

These beliefs also encourage collective acceptance of the masculinization of the political sphere. Some men politicians still believe that “politics is a man’s business in Africa” (KII with political party leader, PPA-CI, Abidjan). The research found that this type of attitude from men politicians is accepted in almost all the regions that the assessment team visited and results in challenges to women exercising power in political participation. As one woman leader from a rural area put it:

"Men are still in the past, they want us to be traditional, whereas the world has moved on...that's why, for several years now, they've been doing everything they can to prevent me from being section secretary for my party in this village." (FGD with women in civil society, Waraniéné Korhogo)

Even when women do manage to overcome these hurdles and participate in political debates, their voices may not be as loud as those of men and their influence may be weaker. For example, only a slim majority of politicians surveyed for this assessment felt that women have the same voice and influence on political debates. Women politicians were evenly split between the two positions. The quote below also illustrates this barrier.

“Although it is said that women are on equal footing with men, in practice that is not what we notice. [...] The man is much more listened to than a woman. [...] When a man speaks, people think what he says is true and has weight but when it’s the woman over there speaking, she must not have listened carefully. Nobody takes her seriously.” (FGD with women in civil society, Man)

Norms around women’s movement undermine their ability to participate in political events and party meetings.

Socio-cultural customs related to women’s movements outside their homes are also a barrier to women’s political participation. This barrier was found to exist whether a woman is married or not, although the form it takes and the degree to which it hinders movements appears to vary by marital status. The 2022 SIGI study indicates that more than three-fourths of the Ivorian population considers that unmarried

⁷⁷ OECD. “Institutions sociales et égalité femmes-hommes en Côte d’Ivoire.” June 30, 2022. <https://www.oecd.org/fr/dev/institutions-sociales-et-egalite-femmes-hommes-en-cote-d-ivoire-c798990a-fr.htm>

⁷⁸ KII, FGD, politician surveys.

women are free to go out alone. However, unmarried women face stigma when attending political meetings by themselves. One FGD participant (a woman in civil society) stated that in some cases, partisans attribute imaginary boyfriends to unmarried women within the party or outside to undermine their reputation. Other FGD participants also suggested that unmarried women running for office might be at a disadvantage and be subject to additional scrutiny, suggesting that there is still some mistrust or stigma around unmarried women's political participation even if their movement is not as restricted.

The attitude of the Ivoirian population is dramatically different when the discussion focuses on married women. The 2022 SIGI study found that a near totality of the Ivoirian population, including 96 percent of women (5 percentage points more than the figure for men, 91 percent), believe that married women can only leave their domicile if they have the approval of their husband. As explained by a participant of an FGD with women in politics in Abidjan, women returning home late is not socially accepted and can result in accusations of infidelity. However, women attending the same meetings as their husbands may mitigate these prejudices.

“I know a lady who was very advanced in politics, but her husband divorced her. Why? Because she goes to meetings at night. Political meetings are held from 7pm to 8pm. The husband complained and argued with his wife anytime she returned from meetings. He finally divorced her and took her children away from her.” (FGD with women in civil society, Abengourou)

One male key informant also noted women's participation in late-night meetings not being socially accepted, and even pointing out the hypocrisy of this idea:

“Me, as a man, I can finish my day and go to a meeting. I did it yesterday and I came home at midnight. But am I going to allow my wife to finish her workday and go to a meeting? No, if it was my wife who came back yesterday at midnight...ah, I have to be honest...Sometimes we work on changing behavior when we ourselves are not able to change.” (KII with donor, Abidjan)

Marital status limits women's freedom of political choice, with early marriage being particularly harmful.

Another harmful manifestation of patriarchal norms is the belief that a married woman must vote for the same political party as her husband. The 2022 SIGI study found that this view is widespread, as it was held by nearly one out of every two Ivoirians (46 percent). This limit to free decisions can extend also to women who are cohabitating with a partner but are not married. This represents a serious barrier for women who seek to take a stance on issues that are not a priority to their partner, including women's issues but also more broadly issues related to education and health, which women typically value greatly. It is worth noting here that more than half of Ivoirians (57 percent) reported not voting in the latest national elections, according to the 2022/2023 Afrobarometer survey. Thus, this form of political participation is generally low and elected leaders have a mandate from just 40 percent of the population. Substantially more women than men reported that they had not voted (62 percent versus 52 percent), which likely reflects the multiple barriers discussed in this section.

All of these barriers for married women must be considered in a context where early marriage of girls is not uncommon. Although girls must be 18 years old to get legally married in Côte d'Ivoire, this law is commonly violated. The 2022 SIGI study showed that 23 percent of women over 15 years old were married before the legal age of 18 and that among 20- to 24-year-old women, 41 percent were married before the legal age of 18. However, early marriage is not evenly distributed in the country and is much more prevalent in the north (and especially the northwest). Early marriage not only subjects young women

to the restrictive say of their husbands in the areas noted above but also has implications for girls' and young women's educational achievement and reproductive health (e.g., adolescent pregnancy). Early marriage of girls increases the likelihood that they will not receive formal education and will drop out of primary, middle, and high school. Women with less education, labor force participation, wages, and free time have lower levels of political participation and a lower likelihood of political leadership.⁷⁹ Indeed, research elsewhere in the developing world shows that delaying marriage has significant positive effects on women's political participation.⁸⁰

Early marriage also has implications for intimate partner violence, which is relatively widespread and culturally tolerated in Côte d'Ivoire. The 2022 SIGI study found that 22 percent of the population believes that a man has the right to use violence against his wife or partner in certain circumstances (e.g., burning a meal or neglecting children, arguing, leaving the house without asking for permission, withholding sex), but in certain districts (especially in the north), this figure can reach nearly 50 percent. Men are unsurprisingly more likely than women to hold this attitude (28 percent vs. 16 percent, nationally). It is therefore not surprising that 31 percent of Ivorian women who have lived with a partner have been subject to intimate partner violence, and 17 percent had been subject to such violence in the prior 12 months. Physical violence is the most common form of intimate partner violence, followed by psychological violence.

Intimidation, threats, and violence affect women's political activity, in particular their ability to vote.

Patriarchal norms may be a significant contributing factor to the violence, intimidation, and harassment that women voters and women seeking to engage in other forms of political participation are subject to. The prevalence of this violence is difficult to establish, but a significant number of politicians indicated that the problem is real.

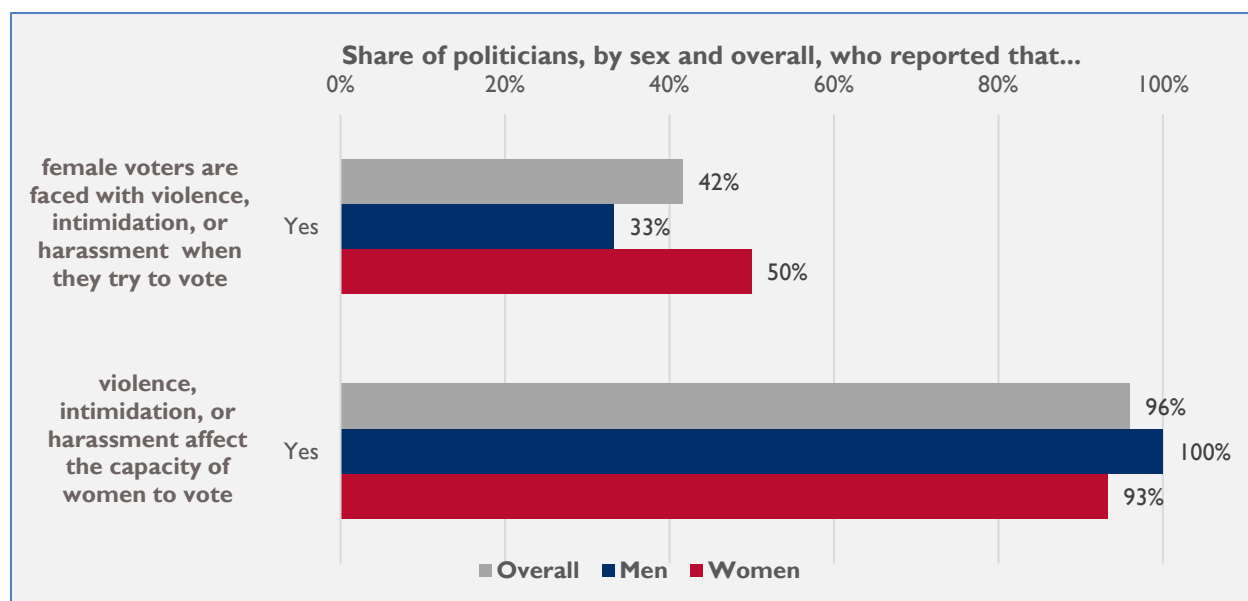
As shown in Figure 3 below, 42 percent of assessment survey respondents reported that women voters are victims of violence, intimidation, or harassment when they seek to vote. A significant gender gap exists in these results, but it is reasonable to consider that women politicians are more likely to hear about these issues through their daily interactions with women constituents who may be more forthcoming about these issues than they would be with men politicians. As noted elsewhere in this report, women politicians also commonly occupy positions in parties that relate to the women's wing, which might grant them greater insight into this problem.

Importantly, there was nearly universal agreement (96 percent) among politicians who reported that these forms of violence occur and that they affect the ability of women to cast their ballots. These different forms of violence should therefore be viewed as an important barrier to women's political participation.

79 The Cloudburst Group. What works for women's political participation and leadership. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZVWP.pdf

80 Carpena, F. and Jensenius, F. R. (2021). "Age of Marriage and Women's Political Engagement: Evidence from India," *Journal of Politics*, 83(4). <https://doi.org/10.1086/712141>

Figure 3. Violence Against Women Voters



Source: WPPL politician survey data, 2023

The most reported form of violence women voters face is intimidation and threats, with physical and verbal violence reported occasionally as well. Arrests and imprisonment were only rarely reported on the other hand. As to who is behind these acts of violence, the politicians typically blamed the party or parties that constitute their opposition and pointed particularly to their own party’s militants or groups of party-affiliated youth more rarely.

Despite these findings, not everyone agreed that various forms of violence affect women as they try to vote and their voting behavior. One example is a woman electoral official who previously worked in civil society and held positions related to women’s rights for the AU and the Economic Community of West African States. She pointed to a lack of evidence behind these claims, saying that she has “never been witness to violence against women simply because they wished to exercise their right to vote” and never experienced violence personally when she ran and was elected. Instead, she noted that NGOs have a strong incentive to push this issue to the fore to get funded.

Regardless of the degree to which different forms of violence befall women seeking to participate in politics, the mere threat and fear of this violence may be sufficient to steer women away from political activities.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Gaps in enforcement capacity and legislation undermine women’s political participation.

As discussed earlier in this report, Côte d’Ivoire’s 1960 Constitution guarantees women the right to vote and its 2016 constitution re-affirms its commitment to women’s political participation and rights, including the right to vote. However, there is a lack of enforcement mechanisms and resources for realizing these aims. This enforcement challenge was noted by a civil society representative, who shared:

“Côte d’Ivoire is a champion in terms of legal provisions, but the application of texts in favor of women is not valued. [...] We have an abundance of texts and rules in terms of

leadership and political participation, but there is a pronounced lack of application.” (KII with Civil Society, Abidjan)

Similarly, an elections official interviewed for this assessment noted that, although CEI has a gender unit charged with ensuring inclusive elections, it has no dedicated budget or sanction power to enforce the application of the law. However, this official noted that, in advance of the next elections, CEI has been working to ensure that at least one (if not more) of the three required workers in each polling station is a woman, indicating some political will to promote women’s participation in elections despite very limited resources.

On the existence and substance of the law itself, while several laws and international treaties ratified by Côte d’Ivoire cover guarantees to key political rights (e.g., the 1960 and 2016 Constitutions) and protections against GBV (e.g., the Penal Code and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), there is currently no legislation that pertains specifically to violence against women in politics, either as leaders or participants. In addition to addressing this important legislative gap, reviving the country’s expired UNSCR NAP could help signal the government’s renewed commitment to including women in peace and reconciliation processes, and in political participation and leadership more broadly.

Some logistical barriers hinder women’s participation but are possible to address.

Many of the socio-cultural barriers to women’s participation discussed earlier in this section—including patriarchal norms around women’s movement outside the home, fear of violence, and family expectations around women’s household responsibilities—are further compounded by logistical challenges to participating in political meetings. As explained by a participant of an FGD with women in politics in Abidjan, these logistical challenges are layered on top of married women’s responsibilities at home, especially when political meetings are held at late hours or on weekends, when women are expected to be available for domestic responsibilities. FGDs with men politicians also confirmed this view:

“We have our meetings, often around 5pm, 6pm, or 7pm; it's just a 30 minute or 1 hour meeting. Most women don't come to the meeting. Perhaps there are young girls who are not married or students. They are the ones who normally participate, not generally the married women. It's difficult. Maybe they'll come during campaigns and when there are deadlines.” (FGD with men politicians, Abidjan)

“The rules of the political game are not always in favor of women. Nighttime meetings can be tolerated for a month; beyond that, it becomes prohibitive.” (FGD with men politicians, Abidjan)

While the underlying challenges here are social and structural, and therefore complex, at least some of the solutions are less so. This can include holding political meetings and campaign events during the day, at times and venues more convenient for women, or holding women-led meetings and events.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Low levels of confidence and political awareness affect women’s rates of political participation, but ongoing efforts to address these factors are seen as valuable.

One of the individual barriers to women’s political participation is the lower level of literacy among women in general and rural women in particular. As noted earlier in the report, women’s literacy rates are lower than those of men, at 86.7 percent of women ages 15 and above, versus 93.1 percent of similarly aged

men.⁸¹ Educational disparities still exist across regions and between girls and boys at the secondary school level. According to the national review of the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals in Côte d'Ivoire (2019), regions with low secondary school enrollment rates tend to have the lowest gender parity indices. Lower levels of literacy coupled with traditional norms in Côte d'Ivoire also affect women's confidence and impact their willingness to engage in the public sphere. One FGD participant shared:

"The culture makes women so ashamed that they are afraid to come out...we say to ourselves that if I come out and fight for the same title as men and I fail, what will become of me in my society? I will be looked down upon for having disobeyed the culture...but in our country, we say that death is better than shame." (FGD with women in civil society, Korhogo)

While rates of various forms of political participation vary between women and men, the data suggest that multiple factors beyond simple interest in politics are at play. The latest round of the Afrobarometer survey in Côte d'Ivoire indicates that two-thirds of women never discuss politics with friends or family, while just six percent reported discussing this topic frequently.⁸² In comparison, 12 percent of men reported discussing politics frequently with friends or family, and 43 percent said they discuss this topic occasionally. However, some key informants pushed back hard against the idea that women are not interested and motivated to be involved in politics, which is raised in various parts of this report and by various types of stakeholders. A good example from an academic expert in governance in Abidjan:

"There are many women who are militating in and on behalf of political parties in Côte d'Ivoire. They are the first to arrive at meetings. They who are illiterate and don't have much are willing and able to wake up at 4 in the morning and travel many kilometers to attend political meetings." (KII with governance expert, Abidjan)

Afrobarometer data draws an interesting but complex picture of this topic. The survey includes a series of questions about political actions (i.e., attending a community meeting, joining others to raise an issue, attending a demonstration or protest) that respondents may have taken in the last year. Although there are variations across the questions, two trends emerge. First, although fewer women had undertaken these political actions in the last year, there is nonetheless a non-negligible proportion of women in the population who did. Second, women who did not were given the choice between "no, I would never do this" and "no, but I would do it if I had the chance." They consistently selected the latter, showing an openness to political participation but obstacles to doing so.

One notable exception to these trends relates to attending a demonstration or protest for which women overwhelmingly selected "no, I would never do this." Taking these elements together, it appears that lack of interest is not nearly as prevalent as some suggested and other barriers—such as low confidence, limited awareness of opportunities to participate, and logistical barriers—are instead at play. The exception around attending a demonstration might point to women's fear of violence or retaliations, for example.

A wide array of actors support women who have ambitions to participate in politics. They include international organizations and donors (e.g., UN Women, United Nations Populations Fund, and USAID),

⁸¹ <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/cote-d-ivoire/>.

⁸² Afrobarometer. "Côte d'Ivoire Round 9 Data." 2023. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/survey-resource/cote-divoire-round-9-data-2023/>

government institutions (e.g., ONEG and the Ministry for the Family, Women, and Children), and CSOs led mainly by women and with national coverage.

"We accompany the person who is prepared to travel, to tell you that in our community, if we see a woman who is determined, ambitious and courageous...we accompany her...but the majority of women are not involved in politics." (FGD with women in civil society, Abengourou)

Some noted the importance of this support. The quote below shows that training to become comfortable speaking in public, even in sometimes hostile or difficult contexts, was viewed as valuable.

"It only takes some shouting when a woman is speaking out in public. Then it's over, she is lost. It is therefore necessary that we have training so that if we are in front of a crowd we are not scared, so that we can give what we have to give. We want to be these political women." (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

These insights highlight the importance donors, international NGOs, government agencies, and civil society place on building women's agency and skills as political participants, raising their awareness of opportunities to participate, and in particular, addressing issues related to violence that make women fearful of participating in the political sphere.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Patriarchal norms and attitudes affect perceptions of women as political leaders, and sometimes women's conduct once elected.

As with political participation, patriarchal culture, traditional values, and religion negatively affect perceptions of women as political leaders. The 2022 SIGI report found that 56 percent of Côte d'Ivoire's general population considers men to make better political leaders than women. There are important district-level differences in this regard; less than 20 percent of the population of Yamoussoukro thought that men make better political leaders than women versus nearly 80 percent for Savanes, at the other extreme. Similarly, 45 percent of the population feels that men make better judges than women. The report found correlations between these attitudes and certain sociodemographic characteristics, including being a man (the gender gap for national figures on men being better political leaders than women is larger than 20 percent), living in a rural area, being married, and having a low level of education.

These data were supported by some of the FGD participants. For example, a man in an FGD of political party members in Abidjan insisted that if a woman is president, things cannot be stable. He explained that Liberia was only saved by the fact that Ellen Johnson Sirleaf had men to support and advise her. He also felt that when a majority of positions of responsibility are held by women, it represents a real danger to a well-functioning society. His argument devolved into tropes such as women taking a long time to put on make-up instead of being productive. An Imam echoed some of these views, noting that "a society governed by a woman is a cursed society."

The politician survey shows a dramatically different picture, however. Results suggest a widespread acceptance—at least among these politicians—that women are as effective as men in the role of political leaders. Every woman politician and the overwhelming majority of their male colleagues echoed this view. The discordance of these results with the SIGI survey findings is likely due to the very different samples

for these two sources of data (i.e., a sample of politicians versus a sample of the general population). Politicians' responses may also have been affected by social desirability bias. That said, one government expert did note that the electability of women is underestimated and relies on an outdated view burdened by stereotypes. She contends that things have evolved significantly in Côte d'Ivoire, citing the example of the north, where things were especially difficult for women in the past, but is now where many elected women are coming from.

Assessment data also found that once women assume leadership roles, men view women as a challenge to their natural authority as patriarchs, so they treat women harshly:

"When a woman enters in[to] politics or has a political leadership position, she's seen as a man. We don't do her any favors...We treat her as such." (KII, elected man, Abidjan)

Because of this type of attitude from men, women leaders must integrate and incorporate the patriarchal norms in their own public personas. Sometimes to fight the patriarchal perception, some women adopt an approach that creates a "super-leader" persona that top women managers take on "to fight gender stereotyping and break through the glass ceiling."⁸³ As a woman interviewee from civil society put it:

"Women have to work harder than men to gain recognition. When a woman becomes a leader, she behaves like men...people call a woman who shows a leadership aptitude "femme-garçon" [women with men attributes, or a "tomboy"]. It is as if leadership is inherent in the ability to be a man."⁸⁴

This change in behavior may also be necessary to avoid being perceived as too emotional or in touch with emotions. Indeed, nearly two-thirds of Ivoirians reported that women are too emotional to become political leaders. It may also be prompted by the fact that nearly 40 percent of men and a quarter of women stated they prefer to work for a man according to the 2022 SIGI study, whereas just very few men and just 13 percent of women stated they prefer to work for a woman.

Although women may be viewed as "naturally inclined" to support other women, this may not apply to other women in the political arena. One KII respondent reflected on this behavior:

"The fierce opposition that I have encountered in my career comes from women. I can't explain it so far ... I feel like some women have so internalized the ideologies of the patriarchy that they seem to be suffering from an overdose." (KII, woman WPPL expert, Abidjan)

One woman active in civil society also remarked that she does not support women leaders due to perceptions of them being too emotional, controlled by men, and without financial means. Another KII participant, a woman politician, deplored this same problem. She noted that "there is a lack of solidarity among women" and that "we prefer going to support the men than ourselves."

A myriad of social norms negatively influence women's perceived ability and willingness to run for elected office.

Politicians, men and women alike, surveyed for this assessment pointed to patriarchy and cultural impediments as important reasons for why there are fewer women than men occupying elected political

⁸³ Muhr, Sarah Louise. "Caught in the gendered machine: On the masculine and feminine in cyborg leadership." *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18, 337–357. 2011.

⁸⁴ KII with women civil society activists.

positions in the country. Key factors included marginalization and exclusion, the perception among the population and the political class that women are not capable or trustworthy, and the high level of discrimination in social and political institutions in the country.

A second related question in the politician survey touched on the challenges women face in getting elected. Politicians of both sexes converged on several key challenges, among them were social factors, including women's marginalization, Ivoirians' poor perception of women in politics, and a lack of trust in them.

At the same time, when women overcome cultural barriers, they face the perception that speaking out and vocally defending groups or ideas is “vulgar.” Thus, women end up in lower-profile positions with less decision-making power. Women in a civil society FGD in Korhogo noted that women are naturally inclined to help and support others (and often men), which makes such positions a natural fit for them despite the associated drawbacks (e.g., lack of direct say in decisions).

Another socio-cultural challenge affecting younger members of political parties is the importance of respecting and deferring to elders. It is not uncommon for political parties to require (explicitly or implicitly) less senior (in age and/or tenure) members to sit out elections if senior members decide to run. A man in an FGD of media personalities explained that this process affects younger potential candidates in general, and women especially. For example, Yasmina Ouegnin, the young woman MP from Cocody, was deemed disrespectful of former president and party leader Henri Konan Bédié for running against her party's choice of mayoral candidate in Cocody in the September 2, 2023 municipal election. She was forced to run as an independent after her party proposed a male candidate for the position she sought. It is difficult culturally and socially to go against the wishes of elders, especially those who have power. However, it is possible. The example provided was a woman who was mentored by a former mayor who sponsored her and pushed her to run despite not having the blessings of the elder of the party.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The 2019 quota law is a welcome start, but it has not yet manifested in gender parity in political representation.

Although the 2019 quota law has not yet manifested in gender parity in political representation, due in part to its delayed implementation (i.e., after the 2021 legislative elections) and ongoing impediments to enforcement, it is still viewed as a promising institutional mechanism for increasing women's political representation. Politicians surveyed for this study most often cited the 2019 quota law as an impetus for their party to recruit women as candidates. However, stakeholders other than politicians held more pessimistic views on the aims and effectiveness of the quota law thus far, as illustrated by the quotes below, and expressed that “quotas don't transform societies.”

“No political party mentions the issue of women's political participation in its text...and they all admit it.” (KII, woman in civil society, Abidjan)

“This quota law was passed precisely so that the commitment of the Ivoirian state and the Ivoirian people is in line with the reality of things...[I]n fact, we have the impression that laws are passed to look pretty. [Regarding the 2021 elections], no political party, I mean *no* political party, obligated itself to present 30 percent women candidates.” (KII with media expert, Abidjan)

In addition to its delayed implementation, the assessment participants also mentioned parties' poor compliance with the 2019 quota law—with respect to the 2021 legislative elections—pointing out the lack of enforcement and sanction mechanisms that would make compliance with the 2019 quota mandatory.

“We have to target clearly. We want women at the top of the list. We need [a] coercive clause; this is the only language we will understand. We can do advocacy, coercion, and more advocacy. If you don’t attain 30 percent, there’s no penalty currently. Women must be trained and be able to participate in political life.” (FGD with donor, Abidjan, referring to the 2021 elections)

Despite the pessimistic views expressed in the qualitative interviews regarding the implementation and enforcement of the 2019 quota law, it is important to clarify that the CEI does have the authority to reject candidate lists that do not comply with the 30 percent quota. However, a constraint to enforcement appears to be related to the independence and authority of the CEI, and not the law per se.

The importance of adding teeth to the law has also been reinforced by some experts in the country, such as the president of the *Association ivoirienne de défense des droits de la femme* (Ivoirian Association for the Defense of Women’s Rights), who believes the quota law is not respected because the law establishing it does not include any binding or sanctioning measures:

“There are no dissuasive sanctions. The national electoral commission should reject a...[candidate] list if it does not respect the quota. There must be a financial penalty. Taxes must be imposed on political parties that fail to comply with this provision.” (Constance Yai, Ivoirian Association for the Defense of Women’s Rights president and founder)⁸⁵

These views point to the need to strengthen enforcement—and therefore compliance—with the quota law by strengthening the CEI’s independence and authority. Measures to promote voluntary compliance among parties might include better media coverage on the gender balance (or lack thereof) on parties’ candidate lists and promoting the availability of additional public financing for parties whose lists include at least 50 percent women candidates, which is already a provision in the current law (Article 4).

Existing laws on violence against women do not cover political violence specifically, and views on effectiveness are generally negative.

Although the law seems to be the best tool for protecting women against such violence, many hurdles exist. First, there is no specific law dealing with cases of violence against women in politics. These cases of violence would fall under more general laws related to discrimination on the basis of sex and rape. Under Ivoirian law, rape has long remained a vague and imprecise concept. The recent legislative reform passed on June 26, 2019 has put an end to this legal vacuum with Act No. 2019-579 on the Criminal Code. Rape is now expressly defined in Article 403 of the new criminal code, and discrimination based on sex is condemned by law under Article 223 of the new criminal code. The law now offers victims protection and reparation.

Opinions on the effectiveness of existing laws are generally negative. Most politicians in our survey felt that existing laws are not sufficient to combat the violence, intimidation, or harassment affecting women when they try to vote, campaign for political office, or hold leadership positions. Just 41 percent of

85 Yai, Constance. 2023. “Press Conference Representing the Coalition on behalf of the Association Ivoirienne pour la Défense des Droits des Femmes.” Coalition of Civil Society Organizations for Women’s Political Rights. Palm Club Hotel, Cocody, Abidjan, June 1, 2023.

politicians felt the existing laws are sufficient. The 2017 study conducted by NDI reached a similar conclusion.⁸⁶

An NDI WPPL expert interviewed for this assessment noted that the problem is not the insufficiency of existing laws, but a lack of enforcement.⁸⁷ UN Women also noted in 2022 that access to justice and socio-cultural constraints may sometimes discourage victims from turning to the law. Instead, women sometimes turn to the parallel system of informal traditional justice. Regardless of where women turn to report violence and seek justice, the qualitative data suggest that Ivoirians widely expect that the woman complaining will be criticized, harassed, or humiliated by other members of her community, resulting in a chilling effect. This chilling effect was noted in discussions; according to women journalists, women who experience violence in the political arena do not report it or take legal action for fear of stigmatization, reprisals, and risk to their reputation instigated by male political leaders.⁸⁸ Women are also encouraged to be silent regarding violence they face within their party to protect “the secret of the party.”⁸⁹

Most politicians report that their party is taking measures to address violence within their party, but views on their effectiveness diverge along gender lines.

Political parties can also take steps and enact policies to mitigate these threats within their ranks, and this may be particularly important given the challenges noted above. Although most politicians (55 percent) reported their party did take such steps, women politicians were much less likely to report this than their male colleagues, leading to a 30-percentage point gap between sexes. The measures mentioned by members of the three parties largely dovetailed around the creation of committees to deal with complaints. Some also mentioned sensitization campaigns for party members and measures to protect candidates during campaigns.

Women politicians were much less optimistic than their male colleagues about whether the policies and steps announced are applied within their party. Although 64 percent of politicians felt the steps taken were applied, just 44 percent of women politicians felt that way, versus 71 percent of their men counterparts. Women politicians, speaking especially about the committees, often noted that these measures were insufficient and did not end the problem.

It is therefore unsurprising to see that the overwhelming majority of politicians, 93 percent overall and for both sexes, feel that other measures are needed to address this problem. When asked which organizations or entities should be responsible for ending these acts of violence and holding perpetrators accountable, politicians, especially men politicians, pointed to the justice system and broader government (e.g., National Assembly and executive branch) most frequently. Women politicians also spoke about the justice system and the government but were also more likely to mention party-level bodies such as the party leadership and the executive and management committees, as well as changes to the existing laws.

Parties’ candidate selection processes are opaque and favor men.

In addition to having fewer women candidates, the assessment team found that parties have traditionally placed women at the end of the candidate lists, which consequently limited their potential to reach elected office in parliament or the municipal council. Most of the time, men dominate the electoral lists presented

⁸⁶ NDI. “La Violence Contre les Femmes dans les Partis Politiques.” 2017. <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/A%20IMPRIMER%20-%20Version%20finale%20-%204%20%20%20Novembre%20-%20Rapport%20Etude%20VCF-P%20CORRIGE2.pdf>

⁸⁷ KII with NDI expert in Abidjan.

⁸⁸ FGD with women journalists in Abidjan.

⁸⁹ KII, elected woman, Abidjan

by parties and are often placed at the top.⁹⁰ On these lists, candidates appear in order of importance. The names at the top of the list have a higher chance of occupying positions such as deputy mayor or vice-chairman of the regional council.

Interviews for this assessment suggest that parties' processes for selecting candidates are often opaque. For example, an FGD with local women politicians noted a case where a woman candidate was selected behind closed doors and without informing other potential women candidates. However, the selected candidate did not really have the intention or the will to run, unlike other women in the party. The decision was made without informing anyone up until the candidacy was submitted. These women felt that the process was intentionally murky and secretive and were particularly displeased that the party acted as if it had followed procedures.

Despite these frustrations with party selection processes, running as an independent is not a viable option for most women. Although it is possible for women to run as independents, a woman in an FGD with media noted that this can present many drawbacks that limit the chances of being elected. Political parties, for all their flaws, are powerful and resourced organizations that hold an important advantage in terms of boosting the visibility of candidates. Working outside of the parties removes this advantage.

“But we see that [women candidates] who are carried by their political party led by men, what is accepted by the patriarchal system, is that they are the ones who will all the sudden rise up. Because in the sense of people, of men, it's easy when the leader says, 'here is my candidate.' And when I come as a politician, I come by myself, but when it's the political parties which is a big machine who send me, I have more visibility.” (FGD with women in media, Abidjan)

Women in an FGD of local political actors in Korhogo noted that party encouragement and support are also important factors in a successful candidacy. However, a competitive candidate willing to fight, whether because she has already been in politics or has other advantages such as education and resources, may be able to successfully take this path.

Parties offer uneven financial and in-kind support to men and women candidates.

How parties support their candidates, and whether the support provided differs between men and women candidates, also represents a potential barrier to women attaining political leadership roles. Survey results point to an uneven apportionment of support, financial or in-kind, to candidates by different parties.⁹¹ Although most politicians reported that their party does provide financial and in-kind support to candidates, women politicians were more likely to report that their parties did not. With respect to financial support, 26.7 percent of women reported that their party did not provide support versus only 3.3 percent of men. For in-kind support, 20 percent of women reported that their party did not provide support versus just 3.3 percent of men.

Those who reported their party does offer financial or in-kind support were asked whether they thought these two forms of support were uniformly distributed. Just 59 percent of women politicians felt that was the case for financial support (versus 83 percent among their male colleagues.) The gender gap was much smaller (5 percentage points) when the discussion shifted to the uniform distribution of in-kind support

⁹⁰ Yéo, Arnaud, Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé, and Joseph Koné. “Démocratie en Côte d'Ivoire: Mythe ou réalité?” Afrobarometer, 2020.
https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Documents%20de%20politiques/ab_r8_policypaper64_democratie_en_cotedivoire_mythe_ou_realite.pdf

⁹¹ In-kind support was typically comprised of training and communication tools, as well as logistical assistance and support.

by parties. Taken together, these data suggest that women are particularly affected by, or at least particularly aware of, this uneven apportionment of financial resources.

The principal reason cited for this uneven distribution of resources across candidates was the size, population, and political importance of the electoral division for which a candidate runs. Other reasons included which candidates are most liked by party leaders and the existing capacity of the candidates. Although outright discrimination or preferential treatment were infrequently cited, an allocation based on the size, population, and political importance of an electoral division could still be disadvantageous to women candidates. For example, women may be on average more likely to dare to run and to be allowed to run for smaller, less politically important territories, and therefore receive less support. In addition, women and men candidates likely do not start from the same level in terms of existing resources and networks of potential donors.

Within the political parties, the views of the participants interviewed combined with the document review show a notorious lack of training for members or candidates on women's issues and/or gender sensitivity. Participants' comments suggest that the training of women within political parties to increase their participation in political life is not a priority among political parties and movements.

"I can say that we receive training. The training we receive is with our CSO; the party rarely organizes trainings. Even when there is training organized by the party, the leaders invite only people with whom they have affinity. Politics arena is a closed circle." (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

This suggests the need for mechanisms or party policies that promote transparent reporting on party financing and in-kind support for men and women candidates, possibly supported by incentives (such as increased public financing) for parties that provide equal support to men and women candidates.

Men politicians overestimate their party's efforts to advance WPPL but politicians of both genders support measures to increase women's leadership.

Previous sections of this report have pointed to a gender gap in how men and women politicians perceive their parties' efforts to advance women's political leadership, with men's views being consistently more positive. This includes a gender gap ranging from 27 to 35 percent on the effectiveness of women's wings in weighing in on party programs, suggesting candidates, and influencing party decisions; as well as a gender gap ranging from 17 to 23 percent on whether politicians reported that their party offered candidates in-kind and financial support.

Adding to this trend are the politician survey responses on the number of women in each party's executive committee, with politicians of the same party reporting widely different numbers.⁹² A telling result that was uncovered when examining this question is that men politicians in all three of the country's main political parties tended to report higher numbers than their women colleagues. For example, the median number reported by male politicians with the PPA-CI was six women on the committee, whereas the median number reported by their women colleagues was just two. The positions that women held in executive committees were quite consistent across the three parties. They included various secretary roles (e.g., executive committee, finance, communications); vice president; and lead on social, cultural, and women's affairs.

⁹² The range for the PDCI-RDA was zero through 11 women, one through 20 women for the PPA-CI, and three through 14 women for the RHDP.

Taken together, these trends suggest the need to raise more awareness about the disparities in WPPL investments by political parties and outcomes, including by collecting, publishing, and promoting data on party financing for women candidates, the number of women candidates and share of elected women at the local and national levels by party, and the number of women politicians in leadership and management roles.

While men's and women's understanding of the *extent* of the problem may vary, both the qualitative and quantitative data collected for this study suggest that politicians and party representatives recognized that they need to promote more women to leadership and decision-making positions. Moreover, the politician survey found that measures to increase the number of women elected—including the application of the quota law, creating women's wings and sections, providing trainings, allocating funding to women candidates, and nominating women to high-level positions within their parties—were overwhelmingly supported by politicians of both genders (93 percent among women politicians and 96.7 percent among their men counterparts) and systematically across all parties.

Overall, politicians were hopeful in their assessment of how women's political leadership will evolve in the next three years. Most, regardless of sex, anticipate an increase in the participation of women in politics and the responsibilities they are granted, as well as increased weight being given to their voices. However, these views were often expressed as a function of significant political and institutional changes that may or may not materialize. Some tie their expectation for an improvement to a change in government and an improvement in the democracy of Côte d'Ivoire, or to changes to the justice system or laws and regulations. A minority is more pessimistic or foresees a tough fight ahead for things to improve.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Political violence has a chilling effect on women candidates, politicians, and leaders and also undermines their ability to perform their duties once in office.

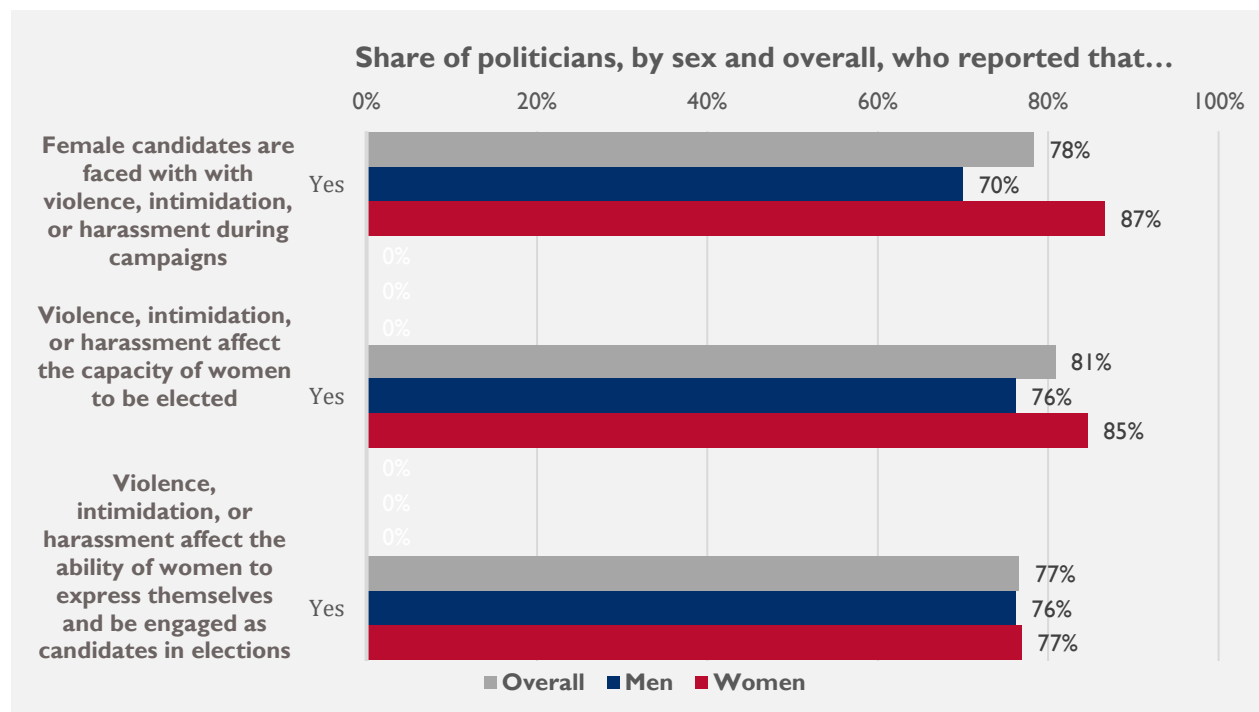
One of the major barriers to women's political leadership appears to be a culture of violence, intimidation, and harassment within the political parties. This phenomenon emerged in FGDs, the politician survey, and the broader literature.⁹³ However, there is limited data to reliably assess the prevalence of violence in Côte d'Ivoire because political parties may lack the will, the structures, and the resources to monitor incidents of violence, while CSOs do not have the resources.

FGD participants discussed how pervasive instances of political violence are within parties. They mentioned that “intimidation and harassment of women exists in all political parties and is stronger in the big political parties than in the small parties that have no elected representatives.” Women who are politically committed and ambitious and who aspire to be elected representatives or to occupy senior positions are the most frequent victims of this type of violence.

The WPPL politician survey supports these qualitative findings. The first panel of Figure 4 shows that 87 percent of the women politicians surveyed reported that women candidates faced violence, intimidation, or harassment during their campaigns. Their male colleagues widely recognized this problem as well, although a 17-percentage point gender gap remains.

⁹³ See, for example, the 2021 Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) brief on sexism, harassment, and violence against women in African parliaments. Eighty percent of surveyed women parliamentarians have experienced psychological violence over the course of their mandate, and 39 percent have experienced sexual violence. <https://www.ipu.org/file/12951/download>

Figure 4. Violence Against Women Candidates



Source: WPPL politician survey data, 2023

According to the politicians surveyed, women candidates are principally subject to threats and intimidation, as well as verbal violence. Physical and psychological violence were also occasionally mentioned, with social exclusion mentioned rarely. Politician survey respondents overwhelmingly pointed to the opposition party or parties, particularly their militant members, as the perpetrators of this violence. Men, either in general or in affiliation with opposition parties, are another group of perpetrators that respondents identified.

The types of violence reported align well with those identified in a 2021 study conducted by NDI. This study included women and men from seven political parties (RHDP, PDCI, *Ensemble pour la démocratie et la souveraineté* and PPA-CI, Union for Democracy and Peace in Côte d'Ivoire, FPI, Liberté et Démocratie pour la République, and URD) and investigated 16 forms of violence experienced by women within political parties. In order of highest reported frequency, the seven most common acts of violence women in political parties experience are false accusations, threats, defamation and slander, aggressive assault, hate speech, insults equating women's political participation with immoral practices, and sexual harassment.⁹⁴ However, the politicians surveyed in the assessment appear to underplay the degree to which political violence is perpetrated by members of their own parties, which was an important finding of the NDI study. In addition, qualitative data for the assessment also suggests that sexual harassment is commonplace in political parties:

"Men named the harassment and sexual abuse of women within the political parties: 'implanter le parti (setting up the party).' This expression means having sexual relations with women with political ambitions in order to belittle and blackmail them. It also means

⁹⁴ NDI. La violence contre les femmes dans les partis politiques ; analyse de la situation en Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan: NDI, 2021.

shaming female party members to show your masculinity.” (KII, woman in civil society, Abidjan)

These forms of violence, or the perceived risk that one might fall victim to them, are widely seen as affecting the ability of women to be elected. As shown in the second panel of Figure 4, four out of five politicians who reported that women candidates are subject to these forms of violence also felt that they affect the capacity of women to be elected. Although a gender gap remains in responses, it is relatively small and does not change the overall picture.

Qualitative data support this chilling effect on aspiring women politicians who want to access leadership and exercise power in leadership. One particularly striking example is the case of a young woman who had become involved in politics. Because of her political involvement, she was seen as a threat to the primacy of a former minister in the region. The young woman received death threats from the ex-minister's staff. She was forced to leave her native region for several months to save her life:

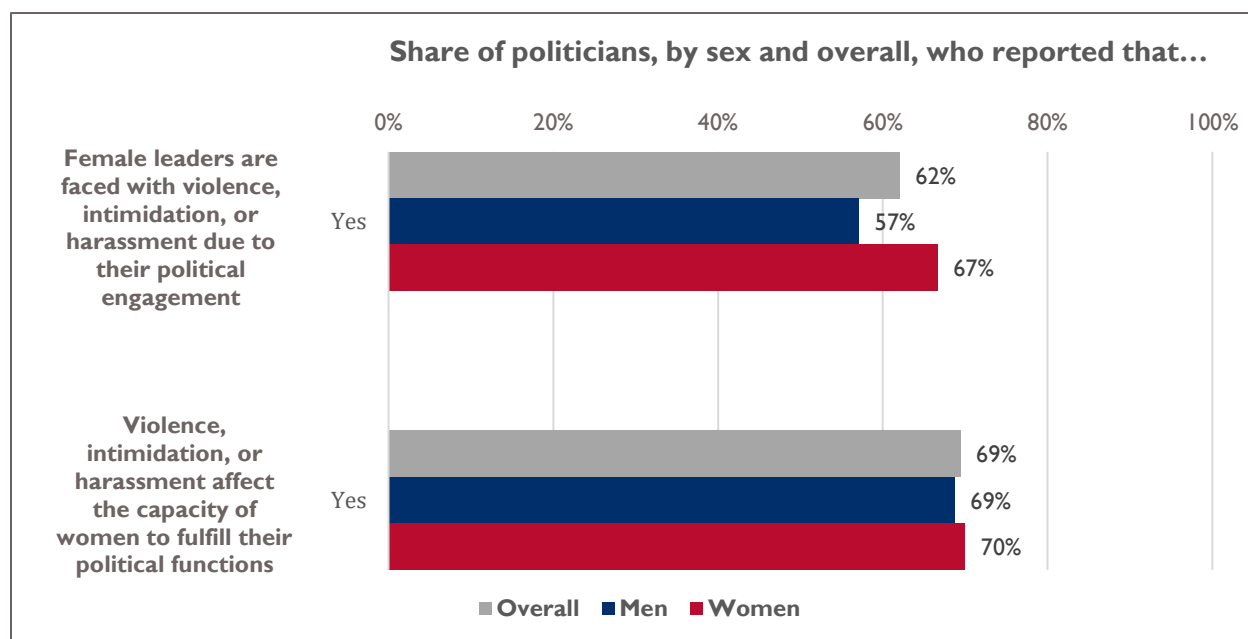
“As a result of this situation, my parents and I decided to leave the political arena, because my children are still small and I'm not going to risk my life to that extent.” (FGD with women in civil society)

As to whether the different forms of violence affect the ability of women candidates to express themselves and be engaged in elections, the last panel of Figure 4 shows that over three out of four men and women politicians thought so. This was echoed by FGD participants, who noted that women are particularly intimidated when expressing their own point of view:

“We were at a political meeting and a lady gave a contradictory statement to the one given by one guy. The man suddenly replied that ‘a woman doesn't talk to me like that. Men have to decide, and women implement.’” (FGD with men in civil society, Abidjan)

One could hope that, once elected or appointed to leadership positions, women would be in a better position vis-à-vis political violence. For example, they may benefit from certain additional protections from the State and might be taken more seriously when they report these problems. However, the results from the politician survey suggest that the situation of elected women is only marginally better. As shown in the first panel of Figure 5, nearly two out of three politicians (62 percent) believe women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment due to their political engagement.

Figure 5. Violence Against Women Leaders



Source: WPPL politician survey data, 2023

Qualitative data also supported this survey finding. For example, an elected woman shared that she is frequently insulted by the supporters of her adversaries and has been subjected to sexist violence on social networks. Rumors and misinformation also play a key role in Ivorian politics. False stories and rumors are mostly spread about a woman politician’s married life on social networks and “word of mouth.” As one elected woman stated:

“To discourage you or harm you, they stick you with a false story...you're morally damaged...if you're not strong enough, your leadership is undermined forever.” (KII, elected woman)

These different forms of violence not only undermine the ability of women to be elected but also their ability to do the work once they are elected. As shown in the second panel of Figure 5, almost 70 percent of both men and women politicians believe these attacks affect women leaders’ capacity to fulfill their political functions. The perpetrators and the types of violence reported are broadly similar to those affecting women candidates, but the forms of violence reported also include some new forms, such as harassment of their family and economic implications.

In addition to discouraging aspiring women politicians,⁹⁵ this situation has implications for the re-election of women politicians or their willingness to remain in the political arena. Women subject to these hostile conditions may not have the same degree of freedom and opportunities to deliver on the promises they made and respond to the needs of those who elected them, compared to their male colleagues. Several women reported leaving the political space due to violence they experienced. Through tears, one woman interviewed recounted her story:

“A few years ago, I expressed my desire to take part in the legislative elections. As soon as I declared my candidacy, I started receiving anonymous threatening phone calls. A few

⁹⁵ KII with a woman former presidential elections candidate.

weeks before the official start of the campaign, I was sexually assaulted in front of my crew...This humiliation orchestrated by my opponents made me give up my political ambitions. I feel devastated and destroyed today.” (KII, former woman politician)

Lower levels of educational attainment and training “on the art of politics” limit women’s political leadership potential.

Women's lower levels of education and lack of training also pose major individual-level obstacles to their promotion within political parties. According to NDI, many women do not reach positions of responsibility and decision-making because of their lower level of education.⁹⁶ The principal mechanisms through which low levels of education affect women’s political leadership include an insufficient understanding (according to parties) of development and day-to-day topics that hinders women’s ability to diagnose policy problems and propose relevant solutions, as well as challenges navigating the Ivoirian political system due to a limited understanding of its inner workings. These points were echoed by a gender expert interviewed for this assessment:

“Parties need women capable of dealing with political and social issues. But a large proportion of women involved in politics do not have sufficient understanding of these subjects and cannot make applicable proposals.” (KII, male WPPL expert)

The NDI report also noted that women, according to party leaders, are poorly trained in the “art of politics.” Relatedly, speaking in public and running a successful meeting remain concerns for some women politicians, especially those who have little experience in community and political life.

Women’s lack of self-confidence in their ability to successfully run for elected office surfaced as a common theme in the quantitative and qualitative data collection.

Both men and women respondents in the politician survey frequently cited a lack of self-confidence among women as one of the reasons there are fewer women in elected political positions in Côte d’Ivoire. When asked about the challenges women face in getting elected, politicians of both sexes again cited women’s lack of self-confidence, as well as fear. However, new themes also emerged as well, including family constraints, lack of means, and lack of engagement by women.

Women’s lack of self-confidence and motivation were raised in the FGDs as well. Women in the north of the country were particularly keen to tie these traits to the Senufo culture, noting that Senufo women operate in a culture that makes them shy and fearful. Fear, in this case, relates to being ashamed of what may happen if one fails. They might ask themselves “How will voters react, and what may happen to that woman in her community?” Women in CSOs who joined an FGD in Korhogo noted that the training that they have received has contributed significantly to giving them the confidence to leave the home and become involved.

Women politicians are often disadvantaged by a lack of personal financial means, networks, and financial support from their party.

Even for those women whose level of education and literacy allow them to participate in politics, lack of means is a major barrier. It was repeatedly stated by respondents in most FGDs that women do not have enough financial resources compared to men to be successful in politics. They identified three sources of funding for election campaigns. The first is personal funds, which are challenging for women because most are economically disadvantaged compared to men. According to the United Nations Development

⁹⁶ NDI. “La Violence Contre les Femmes Dans Les Partis Politiques : Analyse de la situation en Côte d’Ivoire.” November 9, 2017. <https://www.ndi.org/node/24940>

Programme (UNDP, 2007), the cause of this funding disparity is that men earn significantly more than women, and women hold a disproportionate number of low-paid, unprotected jobs, including in the informal sector and within immigrant labor.⁹⁷ Other factors are also at play in this funding disparity. As noted earlier, women also typically do not have control over household or family assets and investments that could be used to help fund a campaign, and commonly need approval from their husbands or other male relatives to make significant financial decisions. They are also disadvantaged when it comes to inheritance, including land. Although a modification of the law related to inheritance in Côte d'Ivoire in 2019 established requirements for how inheritance is divided, the SIGI survey found that 35 percent of widows did not receive any inheritance.

The second is the financial support of friends who share the candidate's priorities and vision for society. Here again, the situation is unfavorable for women because they may not have social networks as extensive as those of men. Most likely, however, is that their social network may not include as many well-off, connected, and/or powerful nodes as those of men, making fundraising more difficult.

The quote below reflects the challenges women face in terms of their own resources and the ability to bring them to bear for a campaign, as well as the challenges they face regarding networks.

“Most of the time, the means of production, such as land, are managed by men. Women politicians don't have the means to bribe and motivate their supporters and they don't have a strong network of friends that could match the ones of their male adversaries.” (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

Women interviewed and surveyed for this assessment reported financing their campaigns through fundraising in their private and professional networks, loans, gifts, and savings negotiated with their husbands. However, it is also challenging for women because financial support for campaigns may be tied to expectations of sexual favors, as one elected woman reported. Financing is such a concern that some women's organizations participating in FGDs for this study have proposed that the costs of running for political office be lowered, suggesting that financial support be provided to women candidates.

And finally, there is party funding, which is distributed according to the electoral stakes. Parties are particularly likely to put men up for election in their geographic strongholds, as compared with areas traditionally recognized as less favorable to the given party. This trend affects the odds that women candidates have of winning, and as noted earlier, is also intertwined with how political parties distribute their support, be it financial or in-kind, to candidates.

A person involved in political media noted that social media can be a powerful tool to promote women candidates who are limited in terms of means, but noted that these platforms are a double-edged sword:

“There is a problem there. As much as social media networks can be tools to promote the candidacy of women politicians, facilitating the question of how to communicate with voters and reducing the costs of communication, as much as our inability to control what is broadcasted can contribute to promoting discourses that are sexist, misogynous, and of hate against women.” (KII, media worker, Abidjan)

⁹⁷ UNDP. “Le financement électoral pour promouvoir la participation politique des femmes : un guide de soutien du PNUD.” 2007.
https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/publications/Electoral%20Financing%20to%20Advance%20Women%E2%80%99s%20Political%20Participation_2007_French.pdf

A candidate's family, whether from a political history, wealth, or notoriety perspective, is another individual factor uncovered during interviews, although this affects both men and women candidates. A family's name recognition and political history can be important to attract the attention of voters and the media early on and can bring a certain comfort and confidence among voters as the elections take place. Family wealth and resources can grant a candidate access to resources to fund a campaign. A specific case discussed during an FGD demonstrates just how powerful these family attributes can be. A woman candidate was selected, more or less secretly, by a party because she was from the "right" family and from the "right" area but ultimately, she was not sufficiently interested to run, according to the women who shared this story. Family can therefore override other factors critical to success, such as the ability and willingness to commit to a campaign.

There are challenges to being in politics while having a family in Côte d'Ivoire for both sexes, but especially for women.

Another potential barrier related to women politicians' marital status was uncovered through the politician survey. Merely half of the politicians in our sample were married or in a partnership, despite having a median age of 41.⁹⁸ Women politicians were even more likely to be single (never married, divorced, or widowed) than men (56.6 percent for women versus 43.3 percent for men). These data, contrasted against national statistics, with 61.5 percent of reproductive-aged women and 49.7 percent of comparably aged men currently married,⁹⁹ suggest the existence of challenges to being in politics while having a family in Côte d'Ivoire for both sexes, but especially for women. The tension between having a family or being married and becoming involved in politics is not unique to Côte d'Ivoire, as it was also noted in WPPL assessments in Guinea and Nepal.

As discussed in relation to women's political participation earlier in this section, socio-cultural norms around power dynamics within marriages in Côte d'Ivoire, expectations around women's domestic responsibilities and socially acceptable behavior, and their freedom of movement particularly affect married women. It is therefore unsurprising that a large share of the women who do manage to enter politics are unmarried.

That said, some participants in group discussions felt that unmarried women are at a disadvantage and might receive additional scrutiny. Ivoirians also seem to think that women running for elected office are not likely to face problems with their families. In the latest Afrobarometer survey (2022/2023), more than 70 percent of respondents felt that a woman in this scenario was very unlikely or somewhat unlikely to face problems with her family.¹⁰⁰ These results showed nearly no gap between sexes.

Prominent women politicians' success is often attributed to personality traits, such as tenacity.

Some personal traits and ways to approach running for political office were frequently pointed out as instrumental in being a successful woman candidate. A woman in civil society in Man noted that women all too often do not clearly lay out their objectives and principles, which she views as critical for success in politics. Another is being resourceful and enterprising to counter the limited resources women have and find creative ways to overcome challenges. Being driven and tenacious was maybe the most frequently identified element, even if it was not always labeled as such. The idea is that these two traits enable one

⁹⁸ For reference, the mean age at first marriage in Côte d'Ivoire was 23 for women and 29.2 years old for men.

⁹⁹ The 2021 Côte d'Ivoire Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the most recent data available, includes marriage prevalence for women aged 15-49 only (61.5 percent). For men, the value for the 15-49 age group is 49.7 percent, whereas for all men, it is 53.3 percent. <https://www.statcompiler.com/en/>

¹⁰⁰ Afrobarometer. "Côte d'Ivoire Round 9 Data." 2023. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/survey-resource/cote-divoire-round-9-data-2023/>

to continue their political combat despite defeats and challenges. A woman in civil society in Bouaké brought these points together well:

“There are women who fight. There are women who are ready for anything. With their limited means, they’re ready to go meet with the population because they have a chance to convince electors and see the work they’ve done. And these people then won’t hesitate to go out and vote. Yes, we have seen cases like that. Women who started from nothing, who had only a primary school education, but who became members of parliament, beating doctors and academics.” (FGD with women in civil society, Bouaké)

A focus group with women in the media noted several examples of women who fight and overcome the many obstacles they face. In the same FGD, it was noted that tenacity can also attract voters. The example given was Yasmina Ouégnin, who faced sexist attacks and disinformation but saw people rallying behind her as a result. That said, Yasmina Ouégnin also benefited and continues to benefit from important advantages that likely facilitated and continue to facilitate her political arc. These advantages include an existing political career, higher education, an established business career and associated wealth, coming from a political family, and running in a wealthy and potentially more progressive area of Côte d’Ivoire. This same candidate is currently running as an independent, after her party, PDCI-RDA, proposed a male candidate for the position she sought. The advantages she has likely enable this independent run, which is notoriously more difficult, as noted above.

Role models constitute an opportunity raised in discussions. Role models are not only important for encouraging women to consider greater political participation, but also as agents of change in broader society, demonstrating to the population that women are electable and capable of leading politically. As the quote below suggests, some role models have already started to pave the way for women, but this approach could continue to maintain momentum and extend to contexts where role models remain less common, such as leadership in political parties.

“You have women who are more and more motivated, who really want to bring their competencies and experiences, but that is because there have been role models. There have been women before them who proved it is possible and that they can be effective, even at the level of raising awareness among the population, so that the population starts to have more and more confidence in women, and possibly more confidence in women than men.” (KII, academic expert on governance, Abidjan)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

This section presents recommendations for action, stemming from the WPPL assessment findings discussed in the previous sections of this report. Recommendations are discussed in relation to how they address the socio-cultural, institutional, and individual-level barriers to WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire, and leverage any relevant opportunities and recommendations presented by stakeholders in the course of the research for this assessment.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Patriarchal norms are one of the major socio-cultural barriers to women's political participation in Côte d'Ivoire. This assessment found that patriarchal norms related to men as decision-makers and women as care providers are reflected in the masculinization of the political sphere. These norms also restrict women's movement and undermine their ability to participate in political events and party meetings. Marital status also has an important impact on women's freedom of political choice, with early marriage being particularly harmful. The assessment also found that intimidation, threats, and violence (and fear of violence) affect women's political activity, particularly their ability to vote.

- **Tactic 1: Support gender transformative education programs that include WPPL issues, both within schools and more broadly.** Donors should work with local CSOs in partnership with the Ministry of Family, Women, and Children to develop educational materials on civic education and WPPL. They should advocate for the inclusion of these materials in primary and secondary school curricula, as well as civic education efforts beyond schools. These materials should include adapted behavior-change components focused on gender norms and attitudes, rooted in and reflecting Ivorian cultural values, if politically possible. It is important to design these materials within the Ivorian cultural context; when framed this way, WPPL interventions stand a greater chance of being accepted as indigenous rather than externally imposed.
- These gender education materials should also focus on encouraging men and women involved in education (i.e., teachers, school directors, etc.) to support the development of girls' access to decision-making opportunities within the school's governance structures, such as school councils and elections.
- **Tactic 2: Mobilize influential men and women to advocate for an evolution of gender norms and women's political participation.** Donors and partners (including CSOs and women's organizations) should identify and mobilize influential men and women at the national level—such as athletes, actors, musicians, media personalities, and customary and religious leaders—as champions to transform gender norms and women's roles in political life. These champions could make targeted statements in the media about gender norms based on news and current events and about the important role of women in politics. They could also advocate for women to run for elections and support their candidacies. Finally, these champions could encourage women to register to vote and promote voting among Ivorians in national and local elections, given the limited voter participation figures observed.
- **Tactic 3: Encourage parents—both fathers and mothers—to cultivate a culture of equality between boys and girls.** Donors should work with civil society partners to design programs aimed at empowering parents to reshape gender roles within their families and communities. A component of this program could be a media program that aims to train and sensitize fathers and husbands on issues related to gender equality and socio-cultural barriers to WPPL. Through this program, fathers should also be encouraged to set equal standards for boys

and girls within the family—such as including both in the household decision-making process. This will prepare girls as well as boys to develop leadership skills.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The assessment identified several institutional factors that affect women’s political participation. This includes gaps in the enforcement capacity of CEI and in the legal code to address violence against women in politics, both as participants and leaders. Women are also excluded from peace and reconciliation processes, particularly at the national level. Additionally, socio-cultural barriers that limit their movement and political activity are further compounded by logistical challenges to participation, such as evening and weekend meetings that conflict with household responsibilities and expectations.

- **Tactic 1: Strengthen the CEI, including its gender unit.** The importance of bolstering CEI’s independence and authority, for example to more fully enforce the 2019 gender law, was frequently cited by assessment participants. Given CEI’s lack of budget to fulfill its mandate, providing financial as well as technical support will be key. In-kind contributions, such as assistance in recruiting women poll workers and providing capacity-building on elections monitoring can also help strengthen CEI’s capacity. UN Women may be a strong partner in this endeavor, as they already have programming that includes a gender strategy for the CEI.¹⁰¹ It will also be important to ensure coordination with existing platforms for gender-inclusive election monitoring, such as the Women and Youth Observation Platform, POECI, and PEACE-CI.
- **Tactic 2: Work with political parties to reduce logistical barriers to women’s participation.** This could include working with parties’ women’s wings to advocate for party meetings and political events to take place during the day or at more conducive venues, or advocating for women-led meetings to decrease any potential social stigma around women’s participation.
- **Tactic 3: Expand women’s involvement in local-level decision-making authorities.** Donors should work with CSOs and the government of Côte d’Ivoire to encourage women’s political participation at the local level. For example, this could include setting and promoting guidelines for women’s quotas in decision-making bodies such as various village or commune-level committees (e.g., parent-teacher committees and those in charge of development planning, land, and health) and working through the ONEG to monitor progress and compliance. It could also include encouraging and funding for communes, villages, and sous-prefectures to regularly hold women-specific community events so women have a more direct and less intimidating mechanism to air grievances and discuss their priorities.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

In combination, lower levels of education among women in Côte d’Ivoire and socio-cultural factors are impacting women’s agency and rates of political participation. Lower rates of political participation among women are also explained by the lack of awareness of opportunities to participate and the fear of experiencing violence at events like demonstrations and marches. However, efforts by donors, international NGOs, government agencies, and civil society to build women’s confidence as political participants were acknowledged and deemed valuable by many consulted for this assessment.

- **Tactic 1: Support actions that foster solidarity among women.** Donors should work with CSOs, the media, and other stakeholders such as organized labor to organize activities that

¹⁰¹ For more information, please see: <https://africa.unwomen.org/fr/gouvernance-participation-politique-et-leadership-des-femmes#:~:text=Actions%20de%20l'ONU%20Femmes%20en%20C%C3%B4te%20d'Ivoire%20En,de%20la%20Plateforme%20d'E2%80%99Action%20de%20Beijing%2028Beijing%202B25%29%3B>.

promote solidarity among women, with a particular focus on cultivating cross-ethnic bonds (given Côte d'Ivoire's legacy of conflict and the composition of women's groups currently as largely mono-ethnic). Activities may include promoting and supporting women's networks and collaborative efforts; encouraging and supporting the media to promote women's solidarity; facilitating dialogues and collaborations between women in communities, women candidates, and women in leadership positions; and creating spaces at the local level for women to discuss problems they face (e.g., family, youth, gender relations, WPPL, security).

- **Tactic 2: Promote women's civic education.** Donors should work with the Ministry of Education, the CEI, CSOs, and other stakeholders to develop and deploy civic education materials targeting women to bolster their knowledge of and confidence to participate in civic and political life. Materials should be developed acknowledging current literacy rates and focusing on engaging women through existing safe and known spaces for convening.
- **Tactic 3: Improve literacy and education rates for girls and women.** Donors should work with the Ministry of Education to develop outreach plans to families to address attrition rates of girls compared to their male counterparts, particularly among secondary and high school ages and in rural areas. School administrators and teachers should be actively engaged in the design of this outreach and corresponding metrics to evaluate progress each school year.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

As with women's political participation, patriarchal norms are one of the major socio-cultural barriers to women's political leadership in Côte d'Ivoire. These norms and attitudes shape perceptions of women as political leaders and influence their ability and willingness to run for elected office. The assessment also found that the context of political violence has a chilling effect on women candidates, politicians, and leaders and undermines their ability to perform their duties once in office.

- **Tactic 1: Recognize women leaders as role models.** Donors should work with CSOs, political parties, and the media to develop communications campaigns to recognize and celebrate women who have achieved success in decision-making roles in different fields and particularly women in political positions. Public recognition of the contribution and abilities of girls and women could reduce negative gender stereotypes and influence public opinion on the role of women in public life. The media could play an important role in this process; for example, by having segments about women leaders on national television or radio programs, or in social media platforms to target youth.
- **Tactics 1 through 3 above addressing socio-cultural factors under women's political participation, including:**
 - Support gender transformative education programs that include WPPL issues, both within schools and more broadly.
 - Mobilize influential men and women to advocate for an evolution of gender norms and women's political participation.
 - Encourage parents—both fathers and mothers—to cultivate a culture of equality between boys and girls.

These three tactics also target the principal barriers to women's leadership by facilitating women's consideration for and access to political leadership and by promoting greater political participation of women, including voting and openness to women candidates. These are therefore tactics that should also be considered for promoting women's political leadership as well.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

This assessment identified several institutional factors affecting women’s political leadership, including the slow implementation of the 2019 quota law and CEI’s autonomy and resources, including its low capacity to sanction non-compliant political parties. Moreover, Côte d’Ivoire’s existing laws on violence against women do not cover political violence specifically, and while most politicians report that their party is taking measures to address violence within their party, views on their effectiveness diverge along gender lines. In addition, parties’ candidate selection processes are opaque and favor men, as does their provision of both financial and in-kind support to candidates. On a positive note, this assessment found that both men and women politicians overwhelmingly support a wide array of measures to increase the number of women elected.

- **Tactic 1: Strengthen the CEI’s capacity to enforce the 2019 quota law.** The CEI has the authority to reject candidate lists that do not meet the 30 percent women candidate threshold or alternating genders; however, it has previously been reluctant to do so (although, as discussed earlier in the report, the 2023 local elections indicate the 30 percent women list quotas were met, signifying an important milestone in the implementation of the 2019 quota law). Further strengthening the authority and independence of the CEI to fully enforce the 2019 quota law across all levels of legislative elections, will, in turn, improve women’s representation among political candidates and ultimately as elected officials. UNDP may be an important partner in engagement with CEI, given their gender and democracy programming in Côte d’Ivoire, including work with CEI and women candidates.
- Additionally, consider amending the law to incorporate a provision targeting the number of women-headed candidate lists. This is not currently mandated by the 2019 quota law, and the percentages of women-headed party lists in the 2023 elections were low (ten percent or less).
- **Tactic 2: Incentivize parties’ voluntary compliance with the 2019 quota law.** Partner with civil society and media stakeholders to design a communications and advocacy campaign that publicizes the gender balance (or lack thereof) among parties’ current representatives in elected office and on candidate lists for upcoming elections, as a means of holding parties accountable for gender inclusion and highlighting those that are making progress. This “carrot and stick approach” may reap better results than a strict sanction-based approach. In addition, work with parties, their women’s wings, FEMPACI, and CEI to highlight existing provisions in the 2019 quota law that offer parties additional public funding for having at least 50 percent women candidates on their party lists.
- **Tactic 3: Implement a complementary quota law targeting the executive and/or judicial branches.** Candidate lists for legislative elections are only one component of bolstering women’s political leadership, albeit an important one. Donors should work with the government to implement a parallel quota law targeting the executive and judicial branches, as well as greater representation of women as heads of government bodies such as the Supreme Court, the National Assembly, the Senate, etc. As discussed earlier in the report, women’s representation remains low for non-elected appointments, with women representing just eight out of 41 Ministers (17.39 percent); six out of 48 Chiefs of Staff (12.5 percent); and 12 out of 52 magistrates (23.07 percent). Additional legal reforms could include expanding on the 30 percent legislative quota with other reforms mandating at least 30 percent women in executive and judicial branch positions, or changes to rules of procedure of parliament and committee leadership, etc.
- **Tactic 4: Implement legislation to address political violence and its chilling effect on women’s political leadership.** Similar to how addressing gender equality as a whole will help break down barriers that impede women’s access to politics, combating political violence and specifically violence against women in politics is essential. Donors should work with CSOs, political parties, and the government to push for specific legislation aimed at reducing instances of

violence against women in politics. For example, initiatives could focus on eliminating impunity for perpetrators and providing support for survivors. In parallel, it is important to bolster monitoring efforts of both offline and online violence against women in politics in order to best design and implement legislation and programming to address it.

- **Tactic 5: Promote measures to increase women’s leadership within party structures, not just as candidates.** As a foundation, engage male leadership within parties to understand their own privilege and power within party structures, and their responsibility to promote equality through institutional change and advocacy for WPPL. Promote party renewal processes as a maturation process for established and newer political parties that highlights opportunities to increase women’s participation in elected/appointed party structures and contributes to policy and message formation—moving women beyond the role of mobilizers.
- **Tactic 6: Improve data and reporting on parties’ inclusion of and support for women candidates.** At a minimum, this would include collecting and publishing accessible statistics on women’s nomination and candidacy rates on party lists, the number of elected and non-elected women in leadership positions by party, and the number of women in appointed positions.¹⁰² Ideally, it would also include information on levels of funding, training, measures to address discrimination within the party, and other support for men and women candidates. Collecting, publishing, and building communications around these data would help to build consensus around the scale of the disparities in these areas and possibly incentivize parties to show better efforts and results to achieve better gender representation. CEI and the National Human Rights Commission already collect and calculate some of these statistics and would be important partners in this effort. In addition, NDI; FEMPACI; Gender, Parity, and Women’s Leadership; and Leadafricaines—all of whom already work to promote women’s equal political leadership—may be helpful partners in collecting and disseminating these data.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Several individual factors affect women’s ability to enter politics and advance to leadership positions. Many consulted for this study cited lower levels of educational attainment and training on the “art of politics” as limiting women’s political leadership potential. In addition, women politicians are often disadvantaged by a lack of personal financial means, networks, and financial support from their party. This assessment also found challenges to being in politics while having a family for both sexes, but especially for women. Lastly, when asked about drivers of women’s political success, many attributed the success of prominent women politicians to personality traits such as tenacity.

- **Tactic 1: Develop a comprehensive plan to improve women’s earnings and wealth equality.** Donors should work with CSOs, the government of Côte d’Ivoire, and political parties (especially their women’s wings) to develop a plan comprising actionable approaches to reduce the gender earnings and wealth gap. This plan should ideally be crafted and validated through extensive local consultations and the use of locally-led development practices to ensure the salience of its content and maximize buy-in. The plan should detail a strategy to mobilize key societal groups (“*forces vives*”) around its goals and implementation, as well as provisions to ensure that the plan’s implementation is monitored. Some key areas of focus of this plan include:
 - Implementing income-generating activities targeting women, coupled with civic education and literacy programs.
 - Monitoring and increasing compliance with existing laws to improve the situation of women, including those on inheritance and early marriage, as well as advocating for the

¹⁰² Note that many of these statistics were presented in this report. However, they were often difficult to find, fragmented across different sources, not available for the most recent elections, or not available for all parties.

amendment of the labor code to allow women to participate in all professions.

- Increasing the participation of women in the formal economic sectors and incentivizing the formalization of certain sectors (which could also have tax collection benefits for the State).
 - Strengthening organized labor and cooperatives with an eye on sectors in which women are clustered (e.g., retail, bulk commerce, and agriculture) and encouraging joint efforts and coordination across sectors.
 - Improving the educational achievement of girls and young women through approaches such as school fee grants and small payments or other incentives to households who commit to educating their girls instead of involving them in child labor.
- **Tactic 2: Continue and expand programs to improve the capacity of women candidates and elected officials to succeed in politics.** Donors and partners such as CSOs, international NGOs, and women wings of political parties should continue, expand, and refine political education and training programs with the goal of creating a pipeline of competitive women candidates, who have the necessary resources to participate safely and in line with democratic values. The recent training conducted for candidates in the September 2023 local elections provides one very timely example.¹⁰³ These programs could include topics such as the electoral process, political communication, leadership skills, and mapping specific threats (digital, psychological, physical, etc.) to their candidacy, among others. They should be hands-on and provide participants with the opportunity to practice and refine the skills they learn through small group activities and in other controlled environments. Women should also be guided through a process of identifying specific barriers to their candidacy—financial, familial, security, etc. and build a plan of support to anticipate and mitigate these risks. Some areas of support to include in this planning process are training on digital literacy and social media hygiene, managing difficult conversations with family members, and negotiating autonomy over personal and campaign financial resources.

Additionally, once elected, continued training, mentorship, and networking opportunities could aid women elected officials' longer-term success. Capacity-building and mentoring for women elected officials, as well as for women candidates, will help them both attain elected positions as well as succeed once in office.

- **Tactic 3: Develop a mentorship program for potential women political candidates as well as elected officials.** Donors should work with CSOs, international NGOs, and political parties (and potentially with the government of Côte d'Ivoire) to create a formal, at-scale program matching women in leadership positions with women interested in running for office and leadership positions within political parties. Specific cohorts of women—such as women in higher education or law programs—could be targeted as a potential new generation of women politicians. Targeted women could also be those who completed the training program noted above. Men in leadership positions who sincerely share the vision of greater WPPL in Côte d'Ivoire could also be included as mentors when possible. Mentorship should focus on both how to navigate the political process, and tactics to clear away barriers (including how to anticipate and mitigate harm of VAWP). In addition, mentorship programs between, for example, more senior and more junior elected officials—*after* election—could help ensure newly elected officials' success while in office and beyond.

¹⁰³ In an effort to increase women's representation in elected assemblies, the Ministry of Women, Families and Children, supported by several bilateral and international donor organizations, organized a June 2023 leadership training for 105 women candidates running in the September local elections. The training modules included leadership, political strategy, personal branding, gender and development, public speaking, emotional intelligence, political skill, communication skill, and team mobilization. https://www.gouv.ci/_actualite-article.php?recordID=15311

ANNEX A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

DESK REVIEW SOURCES

Afrobarometer. “Côte D'Ivoire Round 9 Data.” 2023. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/survey-resource/cote-divoire-round-9-data-2023/>

Ageron, Charles-Robert. “Les chemins de la décolonisation de l’empire colonial français, 1936-1956 : Colloque organisé par l’IHTP les 4 et 5 octobre 1984 Paris.” *CNRS Éditions*, 2001 (re-published 2023).

Annisa, M., Budi Setiyono, Yuwanto Yuwanto, Nur Hidayat Sardini. “The Effect Of Social Capital On Women’s Political Participation.” *Palarch’s Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology*. 17(6).2604. December 1, 2020.

Assemblée Nationale. “Bureau de l’Assemblée nationale.” n.d. <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?bureau-de-l-assemblee-nationale>.

Bathily, Naye. “Africa Takes Historic Lead in Female Parliamentary Speakers.” World Bank Blogs, February 13, 2020. <https://blogs.worldbank.org/nasiliza/africa-takes-historic-lead-female-parliamentary-speakers>.

BBC. “Ivory Coast: Battle for Abidjan intensifies.” *BBC News*, April 3, 2011. <https://web.archive.org/web/20171213074214/http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12946018>

BBC. “Ivory Coast poll overturned: Gbagbo declared winner.” *BBC News*, December 3, 2010. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11913832>

Brou, Gnangon Georgette. “Etat des lieux de la représentation des femmes au sein de six grands partis politiques en Côte d’Ivoire.” *Groupe d’organisations de femmes pour l’égalité des femmes et des hommes and Regards de Femmes*, July 2022.

Burnonville, Francine. “Les femmes sont-elles allées trop loin? De la citoyenneté au pouvoir politique. *Le Jour*, 1992.

Canudo, Maria Arnal and Ali, Fatuma Ahmed. “Exploring feminine political leadership attributes and women’s campaigns during the 2017 general election in Kenya.” *Africae Studies*, p. 116–138, 2018.

Carpenna, Fenella and Jensenius, Francesca R. 2021. “Age of Marriage and Women’s Political Engagement: Evidence from India,” *Journal of Politics*, 83(4). <https://doi.org/10.1086/712141>

CARE. “Intersectional Gender Analysis Women's Voice and Leadership Côte d'Ivoire.” 2012.

CEI. “Commission Électorale Indépendante.” <https://www.cei.ci/>

CEI. “EDAN 2021” 2021. <https://www.cei.ci>

CEI. “Participation rate by region of the different Elections of the electoral cycle.” Independent Electoral Commission. 2021. <https://www.cei.ci>

CEI. “Rapport de Mission Internationale d’Observation Electorale pour les élections législatives du 06 mars 2021 en Côte d’Ivoire.” Independent Electoral Commission. 2021. <https://www.cei.ci>

Cessou, Sabine. "Pourquoi la guerre reprend en Côte d'Ivoire." *SlateAfrique*, August 19, 2012. <http://www.slateafrique.com/93037/pourquoi-la-guerre-reprend-en-cote-divoire-ouattara-gbagbo>.

Chourouba, Marie Madeleine Farma. "Participation politiques des citoyens et des citoyennes, le cas des femmes de Côte d'Ivoire." *University of Laval*, 2001.

CIA. "Côte d'Ivoire" CIA World Factbook. <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/cote-divoire/#people-and-society> CNDH. "Communiqué." May 8, 2023.

Ciyow, Yassin. "En Côte d'Ivoire, les chefs traditionnels, plus convaincants que les fonctionnaires." *Le Monde Afrique*, April 2, 2020. https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2020/04/02/en-cote-d-ivoire-les-chefs-traditionnels-plus-convaincants-que-les-fonctionnaires_6035304_3212.html.

Compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire. "Côte d'Ivoire: la violence freine les femmes et les jeunes dans les débats politiques (étude)." Compendium des compétences féminines de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d. http://www.compencesfeminines.gouv.ci/detail_actu.php?num=76&lang=

Constitute Project. "Côte d'Ivoire's Constitution of 2016." April 27, 2022. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cote_DIvoire_2016.pdf?lang=en

Diabaté, Henriette, "Mémorial de la Côte d'Ivoire, volume I, époque précoloniale." AMI, 1987. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editions-cnrs.430>.

Dim, E. E., and J.Y. Asamoah. "Socio-Demographic Predictors of Political Participation among Women in Nigeria: Insights from Afrobarometer 2015 Data." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 20(2), 91–105. 2019.

Doost, H Khelghat, and S. Sibly. "The Impact of Patriarchy on Women's Political Participation." *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 10(3), 396–409, p.405. 2020.

Dougan, Salia. "Femmes et Participation Politique En Côte D'Ivoire Impact Des Organisations Feministes." *Academia*, January 30, 2020.

Embassy of Canada in Ivory Coast. "Participation of women in the decision-making round table; peace and security in Ivory Coast." 2019. <https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/stories-histoires/2019/cotedivoire-peace-paix.aspx?lang=fra>

European Union. "Côte d'Ivoire : Rapport final : Election présidentielle 31 octobre – 28 novembre 2010." EU Elections Observation Mission, December 3, 2010 Feigenberg, B., M. E. Field and R. Pande. "Building social capital through microfinance." *National Bureau of Economic Research*. 2010.

Falb, K.L., Annan J., King E, Hopkins J, Kpebo D, Gupta J. "Gender norms, poverty and armed conflict in Côte D'Ivoire: engaging men in women's social and economic empowerment programming." *Health Education Research*, 29(6):1015–27. December 2014.

FIDH. "11 ans après la crise post-électorale en Côte d'Ivoire : des victimes oubliées, une justice sacrifiée." Fédération Internationale pour les Droits Humains, August 7, 2022. <https://www.fidh.org/fr/regions/afrique/cote-d-ivoire/cote-ivoire-victimes-justice-crimes-guerre#:~:text=Au%20cours%20des%20cinq%20mois,affiliations%20politique%2C%20ethnique%20ou%20religieuse>.

Flan, Wohi Innocent, Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé, and Joseph Koné. "Chefferie traditionnelle en Côte d'Ivoire: Quel bilan après l'institutionnalisation?" Afrobarometer, August 26, 2021.

https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/pp75-chefferie_traditionnelle_en_cote_divoire-afrobarometer-26aout21.pdf.

Fratmat.Info. "Direction ExéCutive Du Rhdp : Gilbert Koné Kafana Aux Commandes." March 1, 2022. <https://www.fratmat.info/article/218895/politique/rhdp/direction-executive-du-rhdp-gilbert-kone-kafana-aux-commandes>.

Gbadi, K. Brighth. "La Violence Contre les Femmes Dans Les Partis Politiques Analyse de la situation en Côte d'Ivoire Consultante" *National Democratic Institute*. 2017.

Genovese, M.A. "Women as National leaders" SAGE Publications, p. 225. 1993.

Georges, K. "Enquête: La religion, un frein à la participation politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Ce que disent des femmes et des religieux." *Institut Panos Afrique de l'Ouest*, n.d.

<http://www.panosmedia.org/fr/femmes-occupez-les-medias/articles/enquete-la-religion-un-frein-la-participation-politique-des-femmes-en-cote-divoire-ce-que-disent-des>.

Gorée Institute "Plaidoyer en Côte d'Ivoire sur le thème « Les femmes dans le processus de réconciliation et la consolidation de la crise en Côte d'Ivoire." July 24, 2014.

<https://goreeinstitut.org/plaidoyer-en-cote-d-ivoire-sur-le-theme-les-femmes-dans-le-processus-de-reconciliation-et-la-consolidation-de-la-crise-en-cote-d-ivoire/>

Government of Canada. "Women at the table: Peace and security in Côte d'Ivoire." July 6, 2022.

<https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/stories-histoires/2019/cotedivoire-peace-paix.aspx?lang=fr>.

Guiraud, Pacôme Cyrille. "Participation sociale et promotion de la femme en Côte d'Ivoire: une lecture des organisations féminines." n.d. https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/31520-doc-participation_sociale_et_promotion_de_la_femme_en_cote_divoire_une_lecture_des_organisations_feminines_pacome_cyrille_guiraud.pdf

Hekman, S.J. "The future of differences: Truths and methods in feminist theory." Oxford: Polity Press. 1993.

Ibrahim, Diarra. "Analyse de La Durabilité Des Accords de Paix En Afrique de l'Ouest." *Centre Ivoirien De Recherches Economiques Et Sociales*, December 2015. <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/55839/IDL-55839.pdf>.

IDEA International. "Sur la participation et représentation des femmes: Le rôle des partis politiques." 2021. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/the-role-of-political-parties-on-womens-participation%20FR.pdf>

Institut électoral pour une démocratie durable en Afrique. "Mission internationale d'observation électorale (MIOE)." *The Carter Center*, 2020.

https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/cote-divoire-prelim-110220-fr.pdf.

International Election Observation Mission (IEOM) in Côte d'Ivoire. "Post-electoral report - analysis of the results of the presidential election (3–12 November 2020)." 2020.

Interpeace. “L'étranger ne peut pas venir se cacher derrière une termitière et vouloir que sa tête la dépasse’ : Analyse locale des risques et opportunités pour la cohésion sociale à l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire.” Indigo Côte d'Ivoire and Interpeace, 2018. http://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/2018-Cote_dIvoire-DEVCO-Fr-Web-single.pdf.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Règlement du caucus des femmes parlementaires de Côte D'ivoire." 2013. http://w3.ipu.org/uploads/documents/REGLEMENT_ADOPTE_DU_CAUCUS_DES_FEMMES_PARLEME_NTAIRES_DE_C%C3%94TE_DIVOIRE.pdf.

IPU Parline. “Côte d'Ivoire.” Inter-Parliamentary Union, n.d. https://data.ipu.org/node/41/data-on-women?chamber_id=13373.

Jackson, R. M. “Disputed Ideals: Ideologies of Domesticity and Feminist Rebellion. Working Draft.” *New York University*, 199, 2007.

Kone, Joseph and Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé. “Ivoiriens sont divisés sur le caractère privé ou pénal de la violence conjugale.” Afrobarometer, 2022. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/AD568-Ivoiriens-sont-divise%CC%81s-sur-le-caracte%CC%80re-prive%CC%81-ou-pe%CC%81nal-de-la-violence-conjugale-Afrobarometer-27oct22.pdf>

Krook, Mona Lena. “Women’s Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework.” NORC at the University of Chicago, United States Agency for International Development, 2003. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZSBV.pdf.

Kumar, N. K. Raghunathan, A. Arrieta, A. Jilani., S. Chakrabarti, P. Menon, & A. R. Quisumbing, “Social Networks, Mobility, and Political Participation: The Potential for Women’s Self-Help Groups to Improve Access and Use of Public Entitlement Schemes in India.” *World Development*, 114, 28–41. 2019.

Latif, Usman, A., Kataria, J. R., & Abdullah, M. “Female Political Participation in South Asia: a Case Study of Pakistan.” *South Asian Studies*, 30(2), 201–213. 2015.

L'Assemblée Nationale de la Côte d'Ivoire. “Liste des groupes parlementaires.” Assemblée Nationale, République de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d. <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?liste-des-groupes-parlementaires>.

L'Infodrome. "PDCI : Bédié nommé de nouvelles personnalités au sein du secrétariat exécutif, Maurice Kacou Guikahué Indéboulonnable." May 12, 2021. <https://www.linfordrome.com/politique/67156-pdci-bedié-nomme-de-nouvelles-personnalites-au-sein-du-secretariat-executif-maurice-kacou-guikahue-indeboulonnable>

Lynch, Colum and William Branigin. “Ivory Coast strongman arrested after French forces intervene.” *The Washington Post*, April 11, 2011. https://web.archive.org/web/20110413014353/http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/ivory-coast-strongman-arrested-after-french-forces-intervene/2011/04/11/AFOBaeKD_story.html.

Malagardis, Maria “En Côte d'Ivoire la violence fait partie intégrante de la culture politique.” *Libération Online*, October 31, 2020. https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2020/10/31/en-côte-d-ivoire-la-violence-fait-partie-de-la-culture-politique_1804018/

Marshall, H. A. “Countering Astronomy Misconceptions in High School Students.” *University of Texas at Dallas*, 1–14. 2003.

Ministre de la Femme, de la Famille et de l'Enfant. "Déclaration du gouvernement anniversaire de la résolution 1325 sur les femmes, la paix et la sécurité du conseil de sécurité de l'ONU,," November 9, 2020. <https://www.gouv.ci/doc/I605022291anniversaire-de-la-resolution-1325-sur-les-femmes-la-paix-et-la-securite-du-conseil-de-securite-de-l-onu.pdf>

Ministère de la famille, de la Femme et de l'Enfant, "Apport d'évaluation de la mise en œuvre de la déclaration et du programme d'actions de Beijing + 25 Côte d'Ivoire." *UN Women*. N.d.

Minority Rights Group. "Côte d'Ivoire." <https://minorityrights.org/country/cote-divoire/>

Muhr, Sarah L. "Caught in the gendered machine: On the masculine and feminine in cyborg leadership." *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18, 337–357, 2011.

National Democratic Institute. "Gagner avec les Femmes." NDI, n.d.

National Democratic Institute. "La Violence Contre les Femmes dans les Partis Politiques." NDI. 2017. <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/A%20IMPRIMER%20-%20Version%20finale%20-%204%20%20Novembre%20-%20Rapport%20Etude%20VCF-P%20CORRIGE2.pdf>

National Democratic Institute. *La violence contre les femmes dans les partis politiques ; analyse de la situation en Côte d'Ivoire*. Abidjan: NDI, 2021.

National Democratic Institute. "No Party to Violence Compendium Report: Analyzing Violence Against Women in Political Parties in Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, and Tunisia." NDI, n.d. <https://www.ndi.org/publications/no-party-violence-compendium-report-analyzing-violence-against-women-political-parties>.

National Observatory for Equity and Gender. "Report on progress in gender equality in Côte d'Ivoire 2011-2020." 2020.

Nossiter, Adam. "Ivory Coast." *New York Times*, April 14, 2011. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110720223637/http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/ivorycoast/index.html>

Observatoire Nationale de l'Équité et du Genre. "Rapport : les avancées de l'égalité de Genre en Côte d'Ivoire. (2011-2020)." ONEG, 2021.

OECD. "Institutions sociales et égalité femmes-hommes en Côte d'Ivoire." June 30, 2022. <https://www.oecd.org/fr/dev/institutions-sociales-et-egalite-femmes-hommes-en-cote-d-ivoire-c798990a-fr.htm>

Petrarca, V. "Un prophète noir en Côte d'Ivoire." *KARTHALA Éditions*, 2008.

Political Transition and Inclusion Program. "Final Performance Evaluation, The Learning, Evaluation, and Research Activity II (LER II)." *USAID, Côte d'Ivoire*, 2021.

République de Côte d'Ivoire. "Loi n° 2019-870 du 14 octobre 2019: Favorisant la représentation de la femme dans les assemblées élues." October 14, 2019. <https://www.famille.gouv.ci/public/documents/I9838507.pdf>

Reuters. "Election-linked clashes have killed 85 in Ivory Coast, government says." November 11, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/ivorycoast-election-idAFL8N2HX5Y0>

RFI. "At least two killed, dozens injured in Côte d'Ivoire election violence." *RFI*, January 11, 2020. <https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20201101-at-least-two-killed-in-cote-d-ivoire-election-violence-alassane-ouattara-third-term-violence-protests-opposition-boycott>.

Richard, Florence "Côte d'Ivoire: Women underrepresented in parliament despite 2019 law." *The Africa Report*, February 16, 2021. <https://www.theafricareport.com/65880/cote-divoire-women-underrepresented-in-parliament-despite-2019-law/>.

Rosaldo, M. Z. "Women, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview." *Women, Culture, and Society*. Stanford University Press. 1974.

Search for Common Ground. "Burundi Key Findings from 2006 'Women and Governance' Project Evaluation." 2014. <https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/womengovkey.pdf>.

Smith, David. "Death squads attacking Ivory Coast opposition, claims spokesman." *The Guardian*, December 21, 2010. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130920225733/http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/21/ivory-coast-gbagbo-death-squads-claim>.

Shouldice, J. "Speech at the opening of the round table on the implementation of Resolution 1325, organized by the Canadian Embassy in Côte d'Ivoire." Côte d'Ivoire. September 2019.

Shumaila, Umer, Othman Zaheruddin, and Hassan Kalthum Bt Haji. "Socio-Cultural Obstacles to Women's Participation in Politics, in Rural Areas of Balochistan, Pakistan." October 10, 2016. https://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_7_No_10_October_2016/15.pdf.

The Cloudburst Group. "What works for women's political participation and leadership." https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00ZVWP.pdf

UN Women. "Côte d'Ivoire." 2020. <https://data.unwomen.org/country/cote-divoire>.

UNDP. "Le financement électoral pour promouvoir la participation politique des femmes : un guide de soutien du PNUD." 2007. https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/publications/Electoral%20Financing%20to%20Advance%20Women%E2%80%99s%20Political%20Participation_2007_French.pdf

UNICEF. "Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys" 2016. <https://mics.unicef.org/surveys>

United States Department of State. "2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Côte d'Ivoire." 2021. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/cote-divoire/>.

USAID. "Informal Strategic Plan Gender Analysis Report." USAID Côte d'Ivoire, 2021.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L. and Brady, H. E. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Wells, Matt. "‘They Killed Them Like it Was Nothing:’ The Need for Justice for Côte d'Ivoire's Post-Election Crimes." *Human Rights Watch*, October 5, 2011. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/10/05/they-killed-them-it-was-nothing/need-justice-cote-divoires-post-election-crimes>

Yai, Constance. 2023. "Press Conference Representing the Coalition on behalf of the Association Ivoirienne pour la Défense des Droits des Femmes." Coalition of Civil Society Organizations for Women's Political Rights. Palm Club Hotel, Cocody, Abidjan, June 1, 2023.

YECLO. "Côte d'Ivoire : Voici les nouveaux membres du secrétariat exécutif du PDCI." May 12, 2021. <https://www.yeclo.com/les-nouveaux-membres-du-secretariat-executif-du-pdci>;

Yéo, Arnaud, Kaphalo Ségorbah Silwé, and Joseph Koné. "Démocratie en Côte d'Ivoire: Mythe ou réalité?" Afrobarometer, 2020. https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Documents%20de%20politiques/ab_r8_policypa_per64_democratie_en_cotedivoire_mythe_ou_realite.pdf

Zere Infos. "Avant-projet de loi sur le quota : Le 2C2PF félicite le Gouvernement et l'encourage à poursuivre ses efforts pour la parité Homme et Femme." WordPress. March 11, 2019. <https://zereinfos.wordpress.com/2019/03/11/avant-projet-de-loi-sur-le-quota-le-comite-felicite-le-gouvernement-et-lencourage-a-poursuivre-ses-efforts-pour-la-parite-homme-et-femme/>

2C2PF. "PDCI RDA où sont les femmes ?" Comité De Coordination Pour La Participation Politique Des Femmes, May 11, 2021. <https://doi.org/783972509154742>

POLITICIAN SURVEY

The politician survey involved a closed-ended survey of 60 women and men politicians (please see Annex B for the survey instruments). The assessment team mobilized the leadership of three main political party groups with representation in Parliament (RHDP, PDCI and PPA-CI). They were invited to designate 20 members of their party (10 women and 10 men) to take part in the survey at their headquarters or at any other location agreed upon with the team. All participants completed the survey at the same time where they gathered. Members of the assessment team were present to explain the questions if necessary.

Table 6. Politicians Surveyed

POLITICAL PARTY	NO. OF SURVEYS
RHDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10 women politicians ● 10 men politicians
PDCI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10 women politicians ● 10 men politicians
PPA-CI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10 women politicians ● 10 men politicians

In addition to the three main parties represented in the National Assembly, the MGC, and the URD, two political parties chaired by women, were also contacted for the politician survey but only took part in the KIs.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The assessment team members conducted 19 KIIs with individuals at institutional and community level. These interviews were structured around themes related to the assessment objectives. The assessment team used a purposive sampling method to construct the sample for KIIs consisting of women politicians (2); political party leaders (2); electoral officials (2); WPPL experts (academics and government) (3); journalists (1); representatives of women’s civil society (5); religious leaders (1); and donors and implementing partners (3). The table below presents these categories of participants in the KIIs (names, titles, and organization names have been removed to protect participant confidentiality).

Table 7. Categories of Key Informants Interviewed

STAKEHOLDER CATEGORY	NO. OF KIIS
Women Politicians	2
Political Party Leaders	2
Electoral Officials	2
WPPL Experts	3
Donors & Implementing Partners	3
Representatives of Women’s Civil Society	5
Religious Leaders	1
Media	1

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The assessment team conducted a total of 29 FGDs with 255 participants, 37 women and 118 men, in Abidjan, Bouaké, Man, Korhogo, Abengourou, and Gagnoa. They conducted FGDs with women in political parties and locally elected women, men in political parties and locally elected men, media workers, members of civil society, and staff at USAID and the U.S. Embassy. Each FGD was organized with a maximum of 10 people to facilitate discussions better. The assessment team explained the objective of the assessment at the beginning of each FGD and requested each participant to provide consent to participate in the FGD. The conversations during the FGD were only recorded upon the consent of all participants. During the discussions, each participant was given an identification number. The participants and the FGD facilitator referred to the participants by their identification number so their identity was protected. Each FGD lasted approximately an hour and a half. The table below gives the breakdown of the FGDs by location and type of groups.

Table 8. Focus Group Discussions

LOCATION	GROUP DESCRIPTION	NO. OF FGDS
Abidjan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women in Political Parties and Locally Elected Women (RHDP) Women in Political Parties and Locally Elected Women (PPA-CI) 	11

LOCATION	GROUP DESCRIPTION	NO. OF FGDS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in Political Parties and Locally Elected Women (PDCI-RDA) ● Men in Political Parties and Locally Elected Men (RHDP) ● Men in Political Parties and Locally Elected Men (PPA-CI) ● Men in Political Parties and Locally Elected Men (PDCI-RDA) ● Women Media Workers ● Men Media Workers ● Women in Civil Society ● Men in Civil Society ● USAID and Embassy 	
Bouaké	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in Civil Society ● Men in Civil Society 	2
Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in Civil Society (2) ● Men in Civil Society (2) 	4
Korhogo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in Civil Society (2) ● Women In Political Parties and Locally Elected ● Men in Civil Society 	4
Abengourou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in Civil Society (2) ● Men in Civil Society (2) ● Media Worker 	5
Gagnoa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Men in Civil Society ● Women in Civil Society ● Media Worker 	3

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND LIMITATIONS

The assessment team contacted participants of the politician survey, KIIs, and FGDs with letters of authorization signed by USAID. Politicians based outside Abidjan, notably in Bouaké, Korhogo, Man, Gagnoa, and Abengourou, were contacted by letter and email through their party headquarters, the department administrative officers, or the team’s networks. The team conducted the fieldwork with two rented vehicles and held daily debriefing meetings between team members to share information and find mitigation measures for any challenges encountered. In carrying out this assessment, the team was careful to respect the rights and confidentiality of the participants.

DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

For the quantitative data (survey of politicians), after initial analysis conducted by the assessment team, NORC researchers conducted further tabulation and cross-tabulation of the data using the statistical software STATA. The assessment team transcribed and analyzed the qualitative data from the KIIs and FGDs using a content analysis method based on a predefined grid or analysis rubric. The team then triangulated the findings across different sources, including documentary analyses, surveys, KIIs, and FGDs.

FIELDWORK TIMELINE

Table 9. Fieldwork Timeline

ACTIVITY	DATE(S)
Schedule KIs	25 March–24 May 2023
Schedule FGDs	25 March–10 May 2023
In-brief meeting with USAID	24 April
Conduct KIs	25 April–24 May
Conduct FGDs	25 April–24 May
Politician Survey Administration/Data Collection	22–23 May 2023
Out-brief presentation to USAID	6 May

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND MITIGATION STRATEGIES

The major challenge of this assessment was the timing of the municipal and regional elections (September 2023) and the diversity of the interventions studied. The main difficulties encountered by the assessment team are outlined in the table below.

Table 10. Limitations and Mitigation Strategies

LIMITATIONS	MITIGATION STRATEGIES
The unavailability of certain participants , including some of the political leaders and the institutions (the CEI), due to the schedule of and preparations for the local elections in September 2023.	Some meetings were rescheduled or canceled.
The expansion of the target and survey areas. To identify all the significant aspects of the assessment, USAID suggested extending the interviews to other actors (e.g., religious leaders, focus on male civil society) and localities (like Gagnoa).	The fieldwork period was extended to accommodate additional interviews and localities.

ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

POLITICIAN SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

WOMEN POLITICIAN SURVEY

CONSENTEMENT

L'Agence des États-Unis pour le développement international (USAID) envisage renforcer son appui à la promotion de la participation et du leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Elle a pour ce faire, mandaté le Centre National de Recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago de conduire une évaluation sur cette problématique. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Par conséquent, ses agents sont tenus à observer cette neutralité politique. Nous ne sommes donc pas des représentants du gouvernement ou d'un parti politique.

Les résultats de ce présent sondage serviront à informer les interventions de l'USAID sur la participation et leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Objectif de l'étude

Le présent sondage vise à recueillir des informations sur les expériences des élus et des hommes politiques de Côte d'Ivoire, ainsi que sur leurs opinions concernant la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

Description des procédures du sondage

Si vous acceptez de participer à ce sondage, vous devrez répondre à des questions sur votre expérience, votre situation matrimoniale, votre engagement politique, et d'autres sujets. Il vous faudra environ 30 minutes pour répondre aux questions de ce sondage [AU STYLO ET AU PAPIER OU EN LIGNE].

Risques et inconvénients liés à la participation à cette étude

Votre participation à cette étude ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Il se peut que vous ne soyez pas à l'aise avec certaines questions et certains sujets que nous aborderons. Si vous êtes mal à l'aise, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de passer à la question suivante.

Avantages de la participation à l'étude

Votre participation est importante pour nous aider, ainsi que l'USAID, à en savoir plus sur les opportunités et les obstacles à la participation et au leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire.

Confidentialité

Vos réponses à cette enquête resteront strictement confidentielles. Tous les résultats seront présentés sous forme de données statistiques. Nous ne partagerons jamais d'informations qui pourraient être utilisées pour vous identifier en dehors de l'équipe de recherche. Ainsi, personne ne saura si vous avez participé à l'enquête ou quelles réponses sont les vôtres. Étant donné que personne ne saura quelles réponses sont les vôtres, nous vous demandons de répondre honnêtement à toutes les questions.

Droit de refus ou de retrait

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Vous pouvez refuser de participer à l'étude à tout moment. Vous avez le droit de ne répondre à aucune question et de vous retirer complètement de l'étude à n'importe quel moment du processus; en outre, vous avez le droit de demander à l'équipe de recherche de supprimer vos réponses. Aucune sanction n'est prévue en cas de refus ou de retrait.

Droit de poser des questions et de faire part de ses préoccupations

Vous avez le droit de poser des questions sur ce sondage et d'obtenir une réponse à ces questions avant, pendant ou après l'étude. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au 002250759804319 ou 004915730487142 (WhatsApp). Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, Senior Institutional Review Board Manager du NORC, à l'adresse irb@norc.org.

Consentement. Acceptez-vous de participer à cette enquête?

1. Oui
2. Non

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
SONDAGE SUR LES POLITICIENS : VERSION FÉMININE	CONTEXTE/ BIODONNÉES	1. Quel est votre parti politique?	
		2. Quelle est votre position politique actuelle?	
		3. Avez-vous changé de parti politique ces trois dernières années? Pourquoi?	
		4. Quel est votre âge?	
		5. Quel est votre statut matrimonial?	
		1. Mariée <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Divorcée <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Concubinage <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Célibataire <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Autre (à préciser).....	
		6. Quelle est votre religion?	
		1. Christianisme <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Islam <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Traditionnelle <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Autre (à	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		préciser).....	
		7. Vous êtes de quelle région de la Côte d'Ivoire?	
	L'EXPÉRIENCE POLITIQUE	4. Depuis combien d'années êtes-vous actif en politique?	
		5. Avez-vous déjà présenté votre candidature à l'une des élections (présidentielles, législatives, municipales) dans votre pays? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, à quels postes politiques vous êtes-vous présenté?	
		6. Avez-vous déjà occupé un poste de direction au sein de votre parti? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, quels postes de responsabilités politiques avez-vous occupés?	
		7. Quelles sont les raisons qui ont motivé votre engagement dans la politique de votre pays?	
		8. Votre parti apporte-t-il un soutien financier à ses candidats aux différentes élections? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, quelle est la nature de ce soutien? Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si ce n'est pas le cas, quels sont les facteurs déterminants du soutien du parti à certains candidats aux élections dans votre pays?	
		9. Votre parti aide-t-il les candidats dans leur campagne par d'autres moyens? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, quelle est la nature de ces soutiens que le parti offre aux candidats? 1. Formations <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Outils de communication <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Autres (à préciser).....	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>..... </p> <p>Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Dans le cas contraire, quels sont les déterminants du soutien des partis à certains candidats?</p>	
		<p>10. De façon globale, à quels défis les acteurs (Homme & femme) des partis politiques comme le vôtre sont -ils confrontés? Pourquoi?</p>	
	<p>OPPORTUNITÉS DE LEADERSHIP POUR LES FEMMES</p>	<p>10. On constate qu'en Côte d'Ivoire les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à occuper des postes politiques élus. Selon vous, quelles en sont les principales raisons?</p> <p>Quels sont les défis/obstacles qui entravent l'élection des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	
		<p>11. Votre parti a-t-il mis en place des mesures pour recruter des femmes comme candidates?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quelles sont ces mesures?</p> <p>Ces mesures ont-elles conduit à une augmentation du nombre de femmes candidates?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>12. Êtes-vous favorable à de telles mesures visant à augmenter le nombre de femmes à des postes élus?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>13. Les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire ou ministres?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles en sont les principales raisons, à votre avis?</p>	
		<p>14. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de poste</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>dont elles ont la responsabilité?</p> <p>15. Existe-t-il une section féminine dans votre parti politique?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quel est le rôle principal de cette section?</p> <p>La section féminine peut-elle donner son avis sur le programme du parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>La section féminine peut-elle suggérer des candidats politiques lors des élections?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>La section féminine est-elle capable d'influencer une décision de votre parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
	VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>16. Les femmes sont-elles représentées au sein du comité exécutif du parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quels types de postes occupent-elles?</p> <p>Et quel est le nombre de femme au sein du comité exécutif de votre parti?</p>	
<p>17. Quelle est votre appréciation sur le leadership des femmes de votre parti politique?</p>			
<p>18. Les électrices sont-elles victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement lorsqu'elles cherchent à voter?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quelle est la nature de ces violences faites aux femmes qui cherchent à voter?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces violences affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à voter?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>			
<p>19. Les femmes candidates sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pendant la campagne électorale dans votre pays?</p>			

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si non pourquoi?</p> <p>Si oui, quelle est la nature, les causes de ces violences, intimidations ou au harcèlement faites aux femmes pendant les campagnes?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux acteurs de ces violences, intimidations ou harcèlement faites aux femmes pendant les campagnes?</p> <p>Ces violences affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Ces violences affectent-elles le pouvoir des femmes à s'exprimer et à s'engager en tant que candidates aux élections?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>20. Les femmes leaders sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur engagement politique?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>21. Les lois existantes sont-elles suffisantes pour lutter contre cette violence, cette intimidation et ce harcèlement?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Votre parti a-t-il mis en place une politique pour faire face à ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, cette politique est-elle appliquée (expliquez)?</p>	
		<p>22. D'autres mesures sont-elles nécessaires pour traiter ce problème?</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, qui devrait être chargé de mettre fin à ces actes et de tenir les auteurs responsables?</p>	
	IMPACT DES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>23. En Côte d'Ivoire, est-ce qu'on peut dire que les hommes et les femmes ont la même voix et la même influence dans les débats politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui pourquoi?</p> <p>Si non quelles en sont les raisons?</p>	
		<p>24. Dans le même ordre d'idée, est ce qu'on peut dire que les hommes et les femmes sont aussi efficaces en tant que leaders politiques? Oui <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Pourquoi?</p>	
		<p>21. Les femmes dirigeantes sont-elles victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>22. Les Lois existantes sont-elles suffisantes pour lutter contre cette violence, cette intimidation et ce harcèlement?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Votre parti a-t-il mis en place une politique pour faire face à ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, cette politique est-elle appliquée?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>23. D'autres mesures sont-elles nécessaires pour traiter ce problème?</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, qui devrait être chargé de mettre fin à ces actes et de demander des comptes aux auteurs?	
	IMPACT DES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	24. Les hommes et les femmes ont-ils la même voix et la même influence dans les débats politiques en Côte d'Ivoire? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/>	
		25. Les hommes et les femmes sont-ils aussi efficaces en tant que leaders en Côte d'Ivoire? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/>	
		26. Si non pourquoi? Et Comment les lois, politique et réglementation de votre pays traitent-ils cette question?	
		27. Comment entrevoyez-vous l'évolution de cette situation dans l'avenir (3 ans)?	

MEN POLITICIAN SURVEY

CONSENTEMENT

L'Agence des États-Unis pour le développement international (USAID) envisage renforcer son appui à la promotion de la participation et du leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Elle a pour ce faire, mandaté le Centre National de Recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago de conduire une évaluation sur cette problématique. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Par conséquent, ses agents sont tenus à observer cette neutralité politique. Nous ne sommes donc pas des représentants du gouvernement ou d'un parti politique.

Les résultats de ce présent sondage serviront à informer les interventions de l'USAID sur la participation et leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Objectif de l'étude

Le présent sondage vise à recueillir des informations sur les expériences des élus et des hommes politiques de Côte d'Ivoire, ainsi que sur leurs opinions concernant la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

Description des procédures du sondage

Si vous acceptez de participer à ce sondage, vous devrez répondre à des questions sur votre expérience, votre situation matrimoniale, votre engagement politique, et d'autres sujets. Il vous faudra environ 30 minutes pour répondre aux questions de ce sondage [AU STYLO ET AU PAPIER OU EN LIGNE].

Risques et inconvénients liés à la participation à cette étude

Votre participation à cette étude ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Il se peut que vous ne soyez pas à l'aise avec certaines questions et certains sujets que nous aborderons. Si vous êtes mal à l'aise, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de passer à la question suivante.

Avantages de la participation à l'étude

Votre participation est importante pour nous aider, ainsi que l'USAID, à en savoir plus sur les opportunités et les obstacles à la participation et au leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire.

Confidentialité

Vos réponses à cette enquête resteront strictement confidentielles. Tous les résultats seront présentés sous forme de données statistiques. Nous ne partagerons jamais d'informations qui pourraient être utilisées pour vous identifier en dehors de l'équipe de recherche. Ainsi, personne ne saura si vous avez participé à l'enquête ou quelles réponses sont les vôtres. Étant donné que personne ne saura quelles réponses sont les vôtres, nous vous demandons de répondre honnêtement à toutes les questions.

Droit de refus ou de retrait

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Vous pouvez refuser de participer à l'étude à tout moment. Vous avez le droit de ne répondre à aucune question et de vous retirer complètement de l'étude à n'importe quel moment du processus; en outre, vous avez le droit de demander à l'équipe de recherche de supprimer vos réponses. Aucune sanction n'est prévue en cas de refus ou de retrait.

Droit de poser des questions et de faire part de ses préoccupations

Vous avez le droit de poser des questions sur ce sondage et d'obtenir une réponse à ces questions avant, pendant ou après l'étude. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au 002250759804319 ou 004915730487142 (WhatsApp). Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, Senior Institutional Review Board Manager du NORC, à l'adresse irb@norc.org.

Consentement. Acceptez-vous de participer à cette enquête?

1. Oui
2. Non

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
SONDAGE SUR LES POLITICIENS : VERSION HOMME	CONTEXTE/ BIODONNÉES	1. Quel est votre parti politique?	
		2. Quelle est votre position politique actuelle?	
		3. Avez-vous changé de parti politique ces trois dernières années? Pourquoi?	
		4. Quel est votre âge?	
		5. Quel est votre statut matrimonial?	
		1. Marié <input type="checkbox"/>	
	2. Divorcé <input type="checkbox"/>		
3. Concubinage <input type="checkbox"/>			
4. Célibataire <input type="checkbox"/>			
5. Autre (à préciser).....			
6. Quelle est votre religion?			
1. Christianisme <input type="checkbox"/>			
2. Islam <input type="checkbox"/>			
3. Traditionnelle <input type="checkbox"/>			
4. Autre (à préciser).....			
7. Vous êtes de quelle région de la Côte d'Ivoire?			
L'EXPÉRIENCE POLITIQUE		4. Depuis combien d'années êtes-vous actif en politique?	
		5. Avez-vous déjà présenté votre candidature à l'une des élections (présidentielles, législatives, municipales) dans votre pays?	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		candidats? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> non <input type="checkbox"/> Dans le cas contraire, quels sont les déterminants du soutien des partis à certains candidats?	
		10. De façon globale, à quels défis les acteurs (Homme & femme) des partis politiques comme le vôtre sont -ils confrontés? Pourquoi?	
	OPPORTUNITÉS DE LEADERSHIP POUR LES FEMMES	10. On constate qu'en Côte d'Ivoire les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à occuper des postes politiques élus. Selon vous, quelles en sont les principales raisons? Quels sont les défis/obstacles qui entravent l'élection des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire?	
		11. Votre parti a-t-il mis en place des mesures pour recruter des femmes comme candidates? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, quelles sont ces mesures? Ces mesures ont-elles conduit à une augmentation du nombre de femmes candidates? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/>	
		12. Êtes-vous favorable à de telles mesures visant à augmenter le nombre de femmes à des postes élus? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/>	
		13. Les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire ou ministres? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/> Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles en sont les principales raisons, à votre avis?	
		14. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de poste dont elles ont la responsabilité?	
		15. Existe-t-il une section féminine dans votre parti politique? Oui <input type="checkbox"/> non <input type="checkbox"/> Si oui, quel est le rôle principal de cette section?	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>La section féminine peut-elle donner son avis sur le programme du parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>La section féminine peut-elle suggérer des candidats politiques lors des élections?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>La section féminine est-elle capable d'influencer une décision de votre parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>16. Les femmes sont-elles représentées au sein du comité exécutif du parti?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quels types de postes occupent-elles? et quel est le nombre de femme au sein du comité exécutif de votre parti?</p>	
		<p>17. Selon vous, quelle est votre appréciation sur le leadership des femmes de votre parti politique?</p>	
	<p>VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE</p>	<p>18. Les électrices sont-elles victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement lorsqu'elles cherchent à voter?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, quelle est la nature de ces violences faites aux femmes qui cherchent à voter?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces violences affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à voter?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>19. Les femmes candidates sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pendant la campagne électorale dans votre pays?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si non pourquoi?</p> <p>Si oui, quelle est la nature, les causes de ces violences, intimidations ou harcèlements faites aux femmes pendant les campagnes?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux acteurs de ces violences, intimidations ou harcèlement faites aux femmes pendant les campagnes?</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>Ces violences affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Ces violences affectent-elles le pouvoir des femmes à s'exprimer et à s'engager en tant que candidates aux élections?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>20. Les femmes leaders sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur engagement politique?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>21. Les lois existantes sont-elles suffisantes pour lutter contre cette violence, cette intimidation et ce harcèlement?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Votre parti a-t-il mis en place une politique pour faire face à ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, cette politique est-elle appliquée (expliquez)?</p>	
		<p>22. D'autres mesures sont-elles nécessaires pour traiter ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, qui devrait être chargé de mettre fin à ces actes et de tenir les auteurs responsables?</p>	
	IMPACT DES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>23. En Côte d'Ivoire, est-ce qu'on peut dire que les hommes et les femmes ont-ils la même voix et la même influence dans les débats politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui pourquoi?</p> <p>Si non quelles en sont les raisons?</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>24. Dans le même ordre d'idée, est ce qu'on peut dire que les hommes et les femmes sont aussi efficaces en tant que leaders politiques? Oui <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Pourquoi?</p>	
		<p>21. Les femmes dirigeantes sont-elles victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques?</p> <p>Qui en sont les principaux auteurs?</p> <p>Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>22. Les Lois existantes sont-elles suffisantes pour lutter contre cette violence, cette intimidation et ce harcèlement?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Votre parti a-t-il mis en place une politique pour faire face à ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, cette politique est-elle appliquée?</p>	
		<p>23. D'autres mesures sont-elles nécessaires pour traiter ce problème?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Si oui, qui devrait être chargé de mettre fin à ces actes et de demander des comptes aux auteurs?</p>	
	IMPACT DES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>24. Les hommes et les femmes ont-ils la même voix et la même influence dans les débats politiques en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <p>Oui <input type="checkbox"/> Non <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
		<p>25. Les hommes et les femmes sont-ils aussi efficaces en tant que dirigeants en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <p>Oui Non</p>	
		<p>26. Si non pourquoi? Et Comment les lois, politique et réglementation de votre pays traitent-</p>	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		elles cette question?	
		27. Comment entrevoyez-vous l'évolution de cette situation dans l'avenir (3 ans)	

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : FEMMES POLITIQUES

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Nous travaillons pour l'équipe d'évaluation NORC Côte d'Ivoire qui mène une évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Nous avons été chargées par l'USAID de mener une évaluation de la participation politique et du leadership en Côte d'Ivoire.

L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique. Le Centre national de recherche d'opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago est un organisme de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons; nous sommes simplement là pour connaître vos expériences.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 60 minutes, mais si votre temps est plus limité, je peux classer mes questions par ordre de priorité [exemples de questions prioritaires marquées en gras]. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même après le début de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE, assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au 0759804319. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEU RS CLÉS :	CONTEXTE	1. A quel parti politique vous identifiez-vous?	
		2. Quel poste occupez-vous dans votre parti politique	
		3. Depuis combien d'années êtes-vous actif en	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
FEMMES POLITIQUES		politique?	
		3. Avez-vous changé de parti politique ces trois dernières années? Pourquoi?	
	EXPÉRIENCE POLITIQUE	4. Avez-vous déjà été candidat à une élection en Côte d'Ivoire? Si oui, à quel type d'élection vous vous êtes présentées? Quelqu'un vous a-t-il particulièrement encouragé à vous porter candidat? Quelqu'un vous a-t-il particulièrement découragé de vous porter candidat?	
		5. Avez-vous déjà occupé un poste de direction officiel en politique? Si oui, quels postes de direction avez-vous occupés? Avez-vous été confrontée à des difficultés liées à votre leadership, du fait que vous êtes une femme?	
		6. Quelle a été votre motivation pour vous engager en politique?	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS : LES FEMMES CANDIDATES	7. De nombreux pays dans le monde ont introduit des quotas promouvant la candidature des femmes aux élections. Quel impact ces quotas ont-ils eu sur le nombre de femmes candidates aux élections en Côte d'Ivoire? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ces quotas ont-ils joué un rôle dans votre propre nomination? ○ Êtes-vous favorables aux quotas comme mesure de promotion des femmes en politique? ○ Quelles catégories de femmes ont tendance à bénéficier des quotas en Côte d'Ivoire? 	
8. Votre parti apporte-t-il un soutien financier à ses candidats? Si non à quel défi les femmes des partis politiques comme le vôtre sont-elles confrontées pour obtenir un soutien financier lors des candidatures aux élections? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quelle est la nature de ce soutien? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats? ○ Si non, quels sont les facteurs déterminants du soutien du parti à 			

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		certains candidats?	
		<p>9. Avez-vous dû réunir des fonds personnels pour votre campagne politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel est le niveau de vos fonds personnels utilisés comparé au financement reçu de votre parti? ○ Quels types d'acteurs ont contribué financièrement à votre campagne? ○ Pensez-vous qu'en général, il est plus difficile pour les femmes que pour les hommes de trouver des fonds pour leur campagne? 	
		<p>10. Votre parti aide-t-il les candidats dans leur campagne par d'autres moyens?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel soutien le parti offre-t-il? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats? ○ Si ce n'est pas le cas, quels sont les facteurs déterminants du soutien du parti à certains candidats? 	
		11. Quel est l'environnement médiatique pour les femmes candidates?	
		12. Les femmes candidates bénéficient-elles du même niveau de couverture médiatique que les hommes candidats?	
		13. Les femmes candidates sont-elles traitées différemment des hommes en termes de contenu de la couverture médiatique?	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS: FEMMES LEADERS	14. En général, les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à occuper des postes électifs. Selon vous, quelles en sont les principales raisons?	
		<p>15. Après avoir été élues, les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire ou ministres?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si non, selon vous, quelles en sont les raisons et les normes sociales qui constituent cet état de fait? 	
		16. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de questions dont elles sont chargées?	
		17. En Côte d'Ivoire, existe-t-il des formes de soutien institutionnel ou de mentorat pour les	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>femmes après leur élection (Par exemple la formation, le mentorat ou autres formes de renforcement de capacités)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dans l'affirmative, comment fonctionne ces formes de soutien institutionnel et sont-elles différentes de celles dont bénéficient les hommes? ○ Sont-elles fournies par des canaux formels, comme les parlements, le Sénat ou au sein des partis politiques, ou simplement de manière informelle? 	
		<p>18. Existe-t-il un groupe de femmes au parlement de la Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel est son rôle principal? ○ Avez-vous participé à ses activités? ○ Dans quelle mesure a-t-il été efficace pour faire progresser l'égalité des sexes? 	
		<p>19. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certains types de femmes ont-ils plus de chances que d'autres d'être pris au sérieux? 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
	LA VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>18. Avez-vous déjà fait l'expérience de l'un des comportements suivants en essayant de participer à la vie politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Quelqu'un a essayé de vous tuer ● Quelqu'un vous a frappé ou battu ou vous a agressé physiquement d'une autre manière. ● Quelqu'un vous a empêché de quitter la maison ● Quelqu'un a proféré des menaces contre vous et/ou votre famille ● Quelqu'un a essayé de vous violer ● Quelqu'un vous a fait des avances sexuelles non désirées ● Quelqu'un a tenté de détruire vos biens ● Quelqu'un a tenté de détruire votre gagne-pain ● Quelqu'un vous a harcelé en ligne ● Quelqu'un a piraté vos comptes de messagerie ou de médias sociaux ● Quelqu'un a diffusé des "fake news" à votre sujet, de nature sexuelle. ● Quelqu'un a diffusé des "fausses nouvelles" à votre sujet, de nature sexiste. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, qui étaient les principaux auteurs de ces actes? ○ Comment l'expérience de ces actes a-t-elle affectée votre volonté de participer à la vie politique? 	
		<p>19. Avez-vous déjà vu d'autres femmes être ciblées pour avoir essayé de participer à la vie politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Quelqu'un a essayé de la tuer ● Quelqu'un l'a frappée ou battue ou l'a agressée physiquement d'une autre manière. ● Quelqu'un l'a empêchée de quitter la maison ● Quelqu'un a proféré des menaces contre elle et/ou sa famille ● Quelqu'un a essayé de la violer ● Quelqu'un lui a fait des avances sexuelles non désirées 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quelqu'un a tenté de détruire ses biens • Quelqu'un a tenté de détruire son gagne-pain. • Quelqu'un l'a harcelée en ligne • Quelqu'un a piraté ses comptes de messagerie ou de médias sociaux • Quelqu'un a diffusé des "fausses nouvelles" de nature sexuelle à son sujet. • Quelqu'un a diffusé des "fausses nouvelles" à son sujet, de nature sexiste. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, qui étaient les principaux auteurs de ces actes? ○ Comment l'expérience de ces actes a-t-elle affecté leur volonté de participer à la vie politique? 	
		<p>20. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il courant que les femmes candidates soient confrontées à la violence, à d'intimidation ou au harcèlement pendant la campagne?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces violences? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
		<p>21. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il courant que les femmes dirigeantes soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
	RECOMMANDATI ONS	22. Quels types de politiques ou de stratégies sont, selon vous, nécessaires pour faire progresser la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Il peut s'agir des mesures prises par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple.	

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : HOMMES POLITIQUES

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEUR S CLÉS : HOMMES POLITIQUES	CONTEXTE	1. Quelle est vos responsabilité politique actuelle?	
		2. Quel est votre parti politique?	
		3. Depuis combien d'années êtes-vous actif en politique?	
		4. Avez-vous changé de parti politique ces trois dernières années? Pourquoi?	
		4. De nombreux pays dans le monde ont	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS : LES FEMMES CANDIDATES	<p>introduit des quotas promouvant la candidature des femmes aux élections. Quel impact ces quotas ont-ils eu sur le nombre de femmes candidates aux élections en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ces quotas ont-ils joué un rôle dans votre propre nomination? ○ Êtes-vous favorables aux quotas comme mesure de promotion des femmes en politique? <p>Quelles catégories de femmes ont tendance à bénéficier des quotas en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	
		<p>5. Comment les candidats financent-ils leurs campagnes en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Votre parti apporte-il un soutien financier aux candidats présentés sous sa bannière? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti de manière équitable entre les candidats? ○ Les candidats doivent-ils mobiliser des fonds pour leur campagne? ○ Pensez-vous qu'en général, il est plus difficile pour les femmes que pour les hommes de trouver des fonds pour leur campagne? 	
		<p>6. Quel est l'environnement médiatique pour les femmes candidates?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les femmes candidates bénéficient-elles du même niveau de couverture médiatique que les hommes candidats? ○ Les femmes candidates sont-elles traitées différemment des hommes en termes de contenu de la couverture médiatique? 	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS: FEMMES LEADERS	<p>7. En général, il y a moins de femmes que d'hommes à des postes politiques élus. Selon vous, quelles en sont les principales raisons?</p>	
		<p>8. Après leur élection, les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire, Sénat ou ministres?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles en sont les principales raisons, à votre avis? 	
		<p>9. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de questions dont elles sont chargées?</p>	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>10. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes ont-elles plus de chances que d'autres d'être prises au sérieux? 	
	<p>LA VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE</p>	<p>11. D'après vos observations, est-il fréquent que les femmes candidates soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pendant la campagne?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues? ○ Pensez-vous que certaines catégories de femmes sont plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
	<p>12. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les femmes dirigeantes soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques? ○ Pensez-vous que certaines catégories de femmes sont plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 		
<p>RECOMMANDATIONS</p>	<p>13. Selon vous, quels types de politiques ou de stratégies sont nécessaires pour faire progresser la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? (Il peut s'agir de mesures prises par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple)</p>		

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : DIRIGEANTS DE PARTIS POLITIQUES

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrerons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au 0759804319. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : DIRIGEANTS DE PARTIS POLITIQUES	CONTEXTE	1. Quelles sont vos responsabilités politiques actuelles?	
		2. Quelle position occupez-vous au sein du parti?	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS: LES FEMMES MEMBRES DU PARTI	3. En général, les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à adhérer à un parti politique. Selon vous, quelles en sont les principales raisons?	
		4. Votre parti a-t-il pris des initiatives ou mis en place des mécanismes particuliers pour attirer les	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>femmes?</p> <p>Si oui, ces initiatives en quoi ces initiatives diffèrent-elles de celles déployées pour attirer les hommes?</p>	
		<p>5. Quelles sont les logiques qui sous-tendent ces stratégies et mécanismes d'attraction des femmes dans les partis politiques comme le vôtre?</p>	
		<p>6. Les femmes et les hommes ont-ils les mêmes chances d'accès aux réunions du parti?</p>	
		<p>7. Existe-t-il des cadres ou des réunions du parti auxquelles les femmes n'ont pas accès? Pourquoi? À quels moments de la journée les réunions du parti sont-elles habituellement prévues? Le parti offre-t-il des services de garde d'enfants aux membres pendant ses réunions?</p>	
		<p>8. Existe-t-il une composante féminine dans votre parti politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel est le rôle principal de cette composante féminine? ○ Le parti fournit-il un soutien financier ou d'autres ressources à la composante féminine? ○ La composante féminine peut-elle contribuer à l'élaboration du programme du parti? ○ La composante féminine peut-elle suggérer des candidats aux élections auxquelles le parti participe? 	
		<p>9. Les femmes sont-elles représentées au sein du comité exécutif du parti?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quels types de postes occupent-elles? ○ Le parti a-t-il des politiques ou stratégies visant à garantir la participation des femmes à la direction du parti? 	
	<p>OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS: FEMMES CANDIDATES</p>	<p>10. De nombreux pays dans le monde ont introduit des quotas promouvant la candidature des femmes aux élections. Quel impact ces quotas ont-ils eu sur le nombre de femmes candidates aux élections en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ces quotas ont-ils joué un rôle dans votre propre nomination? ○ Êtes-vous favorables aux quotas comme mesure de promotion des femmes en politique? 	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quelles catégories de femmes ont tendance à bénéficier des quotas en Côte d'Ivoire? 	
		<p>11. Votre parti apporte-t-il un soutien financier à ses candidats?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quelle est la nature de ce soutien? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats? ○ Si ce n'est pas le cas, quels sont les facteurs déterminants du soutien du parti à certains candidats? 	
		<p>12. Votre parti aide-t-il les candidats dans leur campagne par d'autres moyens?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel soutien le parti offre-t-il? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti uniformément entre les candidats? ○ Si non, quels sont les déterminants du soutien du parti à certains candidats? 	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS : LES FEMMES DIRIGEANTES	<p>12. En général, les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à occuper des postes politiques élus. Selon vous, quelles sont les principales raisons de cette situation?</p>	
		<p>13. Après avoir été élues, les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire, Sénat ou ministres?</p> <p>Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles en sont les principales raisons, à votre avis?</p>	
		<p>14. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de questions dont elles sont responsables?</p>	
		<p>15. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes ont-elles plus de chances que d'autres d'être prises au sérieux? 	
	LA VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>16. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les femmes candidates soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pendant les campagnes électorales?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? 	

ACTEURS /CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
		<p>17. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les femmes dirigeantes soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
	RECOMMANDATIONS	<p>17. Quels types de politiques ou de stratégies sont, selon vous, nécessaires pour améliorer la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? (Il peut s'agir de mesures prises par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple).</p>	

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : FONCTIONNAIRES ÉLECTORAUX

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrerons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : FONCTIONNAIRES ÉLECTORAUX	CONTEXTE	1. Depuis quand travaillez -vous pour la commission électorale indépendante (CEI)?	
		2. Quel est votre rôle dans le processus électoral?	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS :	3. Les femmes s'inscrivent-elles sur les listes électorales au même rythme que les hommes? Si non, quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles les femmes sont moins susceptibles de s'inscrire	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
	FEMMES QUI VOTENT	<p>sur les listes électorales?</p> <p>4. Les femmes votent-elles dans les mêmes proportions que les hommes? Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles les femmes sont moins susceptibles de voter?</p> <p>5. Les bureaux de vote sont-ils également accessibles aux femmes et aux hommes lors des processus de vote? Les bureaux de vote sont-ils séparés par sexe? Existe-t-il des mesures pour améliorer l'accessibilité des femmes?</p> <p>6. Les femmes sont-elles en mesure d'exprimer leur vote de manière libre, secrète et sûre? Si non, quels sont les principaux obstacles qui empêchent les femmes d'exercer pleinement leur droit de vote?</p>	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS : LES FEMMES CANDIDATES	<p>7. De nombreux pays dans le monde ont introduit dans leurs législations des quotas de genre pour les candidatures aux élections. Quel impact les quotas ont-ils eu sur le nombre de femmes candidates en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Selon vous, les partis politiques respectent-ils les quotas? ● Existe-t-il un organe mis en place chargé de faire respecter ce quota dans votre pays? Si oui lequel? ● Que fait donc la CEI pour garantir le respect des quotas? ● D'après ce que vous avez observé, quelles catégories de femmes ont tendance à bénéficier des quotas en Côte d'Ivoire? <p>8. En général, il y a moins de femmes que d'hommes élus aux postes politiques. Selon vous, quelles sont les principales raisons de cette situation?</p>	
	LA VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	<p>9. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les électrices soient confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pendant la campagne électorale?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces violences? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs et quelle est leur logique? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>des femmes à être élues?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
		<p>10. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les candidates soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pendant la campagne?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
		<p>11. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il courant que les agents femmes de la CEI soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces violences? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à faciliter et/ou à observer le processus électoral? 	
		<p>12. La Commission Électorale Indépendante (CEI) surveille-t-il et/ou répond-il aux incidents de violence sexiste pendant les élections?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quels sont les détails de ces interventions? ○ Quel est l'impact, le cas échéant, de ces interventions? 	
	RECOMMANDATIONS	<p>13. Selon vous, quels types de politiques ou de stratégies sont nécessaires pour l'amélioration de la participation politique et le leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Il peut s'agir d'actions menées par le gouvernement, les partis politiques, l'organisme de gestion des élections (la CEI) ou la société civile, par exemple.</p>	

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : EXPERTS DU WPPL, Y COMPRIS LES FEMMES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrerons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEU RS CLÉS : EXPERTS DU WPPL, Y COMPRIS LES	CONTEXTE	1. Comment êtes-vous impliqué(e)s dans les questions liées à la participation et au leadership politiques des femmes en politique?	
		2. Depuis combien d'années êtes-vous actifs (actives) dans ce domaine?	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS :	3. De nombreux pays dans le monde ont introduit des quotas pour la promotion des candidatures de femmes. Quel impact les quotas ont-ils eu sur le nombre de femmes candidates	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
FEMMES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE	FEMMES CANDIDATES	en Côte d'Ivoire? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Êtes-vous favorable aux quotas comme mesure de promotion des femmes en politique? ○ Quelles catégories de femmes ont tendance à bénéficier des quotas en Côte d'Ivoire? 	
		4. Quel type de soutien financier, le cas échéant, les femmes reçoivent-elles pour leurs campagnes? Les partis apportent-ils un soutien financier à leurs candidats? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti de manière égale entre les femmes et les hommes? ○ Les femmes doivent-elles collecter leurs propres fonds pour leur campagne politique? ○ Pensez-vous qu'en général, il est plus difficile pour les femmes que pour les hommes de trouver des fonds pour leur campagne? 	
		5. Les partis aident-ils les femmes candidates dans leur campagne d'une autre manière? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel soutien le parti offre-t-il? ○ Ce soutien est-il réparti de manière égale entre les femmes et les hommes? 	
		6. Quel est l'environnement médiatique pour les femmes candidates? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les femmes candidates bénéficient-elles de la même couverture médiatique que les hommes candidats? ○ Les femmes candidates sont-elles traitées différemment des hommes en termes de contenu de la couverture médiatique? 	
		7. Les organisations de la société civile fournissent-elles des ressources ou un soutien aux femmes candidates? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quelle est la nature de ces organisations? ○ Quels types de ressources ou de soutien fournissent-elles? 	
		OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS : FEMMES DIRIGEANTES	8. En général, les femmes sont moins nombreuses que les hommes à occuper des postes politiques élus. Selon vous, quelles sont les principales raisons de cette situation?
9. Après avoir été élues, les femmes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'occuper des postes de direction politique - par exemple, en tant que chefs de parti, présidentes de commission parlementaire ou ministres? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si ce n'est pas le cas, quelles en sont les 			

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		principales raisons, à votre avis?	
		10. Lorsque les femmes sont nommées à des postes de direction, quels sont les types de questions dont elles sont responsables?	
		11. Existe-t-il des formes de soutien institutionnel pour les femmes après leur élection (formation, mentorat)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si tel est le cas, ces formes de soutien institutionnel sont-elles différentes de celles dont bénéficient les hommes? ○ Sont-elles fournies par des canaux formels, comme les parlements ou les partis politiques, ou simplement de manière informelle? 	
		12. Existe-t-il un groupe de femmes au parlement? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, quel est son rôle principal? ○ Dans quelle mesure a-t-il été efficace pour faire progresser l'égalité des sexes? 	
		13. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes ont-elles plus de chances que d'autres d'être prises au sérieux? 	
	OBSTACLES ET OPPORTUNITÉS: LES FEMMES DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE	14. Dans de nombreux pays, les femmes participent très activement à la société civile. Selon vous, est-ce également le cas en Côte d'Ivoire? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quels sont les principaux obstacles à la participation des femmes à la société civile? ○ Les organisations de la société civile font-elles participer des femmes d'horizons divers? 	
		15. Existe-t-il des organisations de femmes puissantes dans la société civile en Côte d'Ivoire? Dans l'affirmative, quels sont leurs domaines d'intérêt particulier? Ont-ils réussi à faire entendre la Voix des femmes? Quels types d'obstacles rencontrent-ils pour faire entendre la Voix des femmes?	
		16. Les femmes sont-elles à la tête des organisations de la société civile qui ne sont pas spécifiquement axées sur les questions de genre? Si oui, quels types d'organisations dirigent-elles? Ont-elles réussi à faire entendre la Voix des	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		femmes?	
		17. Existe-t-il des organisations officielles de femmes liées au gouvernement? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, ont-elles réussi à faire entendre la voix des femmes? 	
		18. Si l'on considère les femmes dans la société civile de manière plus générale, existe-t-il des opportunités pour les femmes de la société civile d'informer le gouvernement de ses décisions? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, existe-t-il des canaux officiels pour communiquer avec le gouvernement et influencer son travail? ○ Dans quelle mesure ces canaux sont-ils efficaces pour refléter les voix des femmes de la société civile? 	
		19. Existe-t-il des organisations de la société civile qui cherchent activement à faire progresser les droits civiques et politiques des femmes? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, ces organisations se concentrent-elles principalement sur les femmes en tant qu'électrices, candidates ou dirigeantes? ○ Quels types d'activités mènent-elles pour promouvoir la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes? ○ Quel impact, le cas échéant, ces activités ont-elles eu sur la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? 	
		20. Existe-t-il des organisations de la société civile qui cherchent activement à réprimer les droits civiques et politiques des femmes? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, de quels types d'organisations s'agit-il? ○ Dans quelle mesure leurs efforts pour restreindre la liberté de parole des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire sont-ils perceptibles et efficaces? 	
	VIOLENCE CONTRE LES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE	21. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il courant que les femmes candidates soient confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pendant la campagne? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à être élues? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
		22. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les femmes dirigeantes soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		harcèlement pour leur travail politique? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à exercer leurs fonctions politiques? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
		23. D'après ce que vous avez observé, est-il fréquent que les femmes de la société civile - y compris les défenseuses des droits humains - soient victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leur travail politique? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	RECOMMANDATIONS	24. Quels types de politiques ou de stratégies sont, selon vous, nécessaires pour faire progresser la participation politique et le leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? <i>Il peut s'agir de mesures prises par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple.</i>	

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : DONATEURS ET PARTENAIRES DE MISE EN ŒUVRE

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrerons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEUR S CLÉS : DONATEURS ET PARTENAIRES	CONTEXTE	1. Comment votre organisation est-elle impliquée dans les questions liées à la participation politique et au leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire?	
		2. Quel est votre rôle au sein de l'organisation?	
	ACTIVITÉS DES DONATEURS ET DES PARTENAIRES	3. Quels types de programmes liés à la participation et au leadership politiques des femmes votre organisation a-t-elle soutenus en Côte d'Ivoire?	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
DE MISE EN ŒUVRE		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pourquoi l'organisation a-t-elle choisi ces domaines prioritaires particuliers? ○ Quelle a été l'efficacité de cet appui en termes de conception et d'impact? 	
		<p>4. Dans le cadre de votre travail sur la participation et le leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire, avez-vous déjà travaillé directement avec [BAILLEUR/PARTENAIRE]?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous fournir quelques détails sur ces activités? ○ Dans quelle mesure cette programmation a-t-elle été efficace en termes de conception et d'impact? 	
		<p>5. Si vous n'avez pas travaillé directement avec [Bailleur/PARTENAIRE], avez-vous déjà rencontré ou entendu parler de leurs activités liées à la participation et au leadership politiques des femmes en Côte d'I?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous fournir quelques détails sur ces activités? ○ Quelle a été votre impression de ce programme en termes de conception et d'impact? 	
		<p>6. Existe-t-il des activités menées par d'autres bailleurs de fonds ou exécutants qui, selon vous, ont été efficaces pour faire progresser le programme PPLF en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous fournir quelques détails sur ces activités? ○ Quelle a été votre impression de ce programme en termes de conception et d'impact? 	
ANALYSE DES PARTIES PRENANTES		<p>7. En Côte d'Ivoire, quels sont les principaux acteurs, parties prenantes ou institutions intéressés par la promotion de la PPLF?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quelles sont les stratégies qu'ils privilégient pour faire progresser PLFP? ○ Travaillent-ils ensemble pour faire progresser la PPLF? ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous donner quelques exemples d'activités conjointes? 	
		<p>8. En Côte d'Ivoire, quels sont les principaux acteurs, parties prenantes ou institutions qui s'opposent à l'avancement de la PPLF?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quelles sont leurs raisons? ○ Quelles stratégies utilisent-ils pour 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À EVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		s'opposer à l'avancement de la PPLF?	
	LEÇONS APPRISES ET RECOMMANDATIONS	<p>9. Sur la base de vos expériences, quels sont les principaux obstacles à la promotion de la PPLF en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les bailleurs/partenaires se sont-ils penchés de manière adéquate sur ces obstacles? ○ Selon vous, quelles interventions ont été les plus efficaces? ○ Selon vous, quelles sont les interventions qui ont été les moins efficaces? 	
		<p>10. Sur la base de vos expériences, que pourraient faire de plus [BAILLEURS/PARTENAIRE] et d'autres bailleurs/partenaires dans ce domaine?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Selon vous, quelles sont les opportunités d'actions prometteuses? 	
		<p>11. En général, quels types de politiques ou de stratégies pensez-vous être nécessaires pour faire progresser la participation politique et le leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Il peut s'agir d'actions menées par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple.</p>	

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : PERSONNEL DE L'USAID

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue _____ [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la participation politique et leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire financé par l'USAID, ma collègue et moi avons été mandatés par le Centre national de recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago, pour mener cette initiative. L'objectif de notre discussion d'aujourd'hui est de connaître vos expériences et vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les opportunités pour les femmes en politique en Côte d'Ivoire. NORC est un centre de recherche apolitique. Nous ne sommes liés à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Nous sommes totalement neutres sur toutes les questions que nous aborderons.

Notre discussion devrait durer environ 30 minutes. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans fournir de raison.

Votre vie privée sera protégée. Nous n'utilisons que des prénoms aujourd'hui et nous n'incluons pas votre nom ou toute autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous enregistrons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE au assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche et que les enquêteurs n'y ont pas répondu, vous pouvez contacter April Baker, gestionnaire principale du comité d'examen institutionnel du NORC, à l'adresse suivante : irb@norc.org.

[LANCER L'ENREGISTREMENT POUR OBTENIR LE CONSENTEMENT VERBAL]

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[SI LES PERSONNES INTERROGÉES RÉPONDENT "OUI", POURSUIVRE LA DISCUSSION]

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN AVEC LES INFORMATEURS CLÉS : PERSONNEL DE L'USAID	CONTEXTE	1. Quel est votre rôle à l'USAID?	
		2. Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous à l'USAID et ailleurs sur des questions liées à la PPLF?	
	ACTIVITÉS DES DONATEURS ET DES PARTENAIRES	3. Quels types de programmes PPLF l'USAID a-t-elle soutenus en Côte d'Ivoire? <ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Pourquoi l'organisation a-t-elle choisi ces domaines prioritaires particuliers?○ Pouvez-vous fournir quelques détails	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<p>sur des activités spécifiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dans quelle mesure cette programmation a-t-elle été efficace en termes de conception et d'impact? ○ La Mission a-t-elle prévu d'autres programmes liés à la PPLF? 	
		<p>4. Y a-t-il des activités menées par d'autres donateurs ou partenaires de mise en œuvre qui, selon vous, ont été efficaces pour faire progresser la PPLF en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous fournir quelques détails sur ces activités? ○ Quelle a été votre impression de ce programme en termes de conception et d'impact? 	
	ANALYSE DES PARTIES PRENANTES	<p>5. En Côte d'Ivoire, qui sont les principaux acteurs, parties prenantes ou institutions intéressés par l'avancement de la PPLF?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quelles sont les stratégies qu'ils privilégient pour faire avancer le programme PPLF? ○ Travaillent-ils ensemble pour faire progresser la PPLF? ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous donner quelques exemples d'activités conjointes? 	
		<p>6. En Côte d'Ivoire, quels sont les principaux acteurs, parties prenantes ou institutions qui s'opposent à la promotion de la PPLF?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Quelles stratégies utilisent-ils pour s'opposer à l'avancement de la PPLF? 	
	LEÇONS APPRISES ET RECOMMANDATIONS	<p>7. Sur la base de votre expérience, quels sont les principaux obstacles à la promotion de la PPLF en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les bailleurs/partenaires se sont-ils penchés de manière adéquate sur ces obstacles? ○ Selon vous, quelles interventions ont été les plus efficaces? ○ Selon vous, quelles sont les interventions qui ont été les moins efficaces? 	
		<p>8. Sur la base de vos expériences, qu'est-ce que l'USAID pourrait faire de plus dans ce domaine?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A votre avis, quelles sont les opportunités d'action prometteuses? 	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	INDICATEURS À ÉVALUER	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Y a-t-il des partenariats qui, selon vous, seraient particulièrement engagés pour faire avancer la cause de la PPLF? 	
		<p>9. En général, quels types de politiques ou de stratégies pensez-vous être nécessaires pour faire progresser la participation politique et le leadership des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire? Il peut s'agir d'actions menées par le gouvernement, les partis politiques ou la société civile, par exemple.</p>	

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

CONSENTEMENT

Merci beaucoup de nous rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle [NOM DU MODÉRATEUR] et voici ma collègue [NOM DE L'ASSISTANTE] qui prendra des notes tout au long de notre discussion. Nous travaillons pour l'équipe d'évaluation du Centre National de Recherche d'Opinion (NORC) de l'Université de Chicago. NORC est un organisme de recherche apolitique. Ces agents que nous sommes, sommes tenus à cette neutralité politique.

NORC a été mandaté par l'Agence Américaine pour le Développement International (USAID) pour mener une évaluation de la participation et leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. L'USAID est une agence gouvernementale américaine qui fournit une assistance aux pays en développement.

Cette discussion de groupe d'une durée de 60 minutes cherche à recueillir vos points de vue sur les obstacles et les possibilités de participation et de leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire. Votre participation ne comporte pas de risques autres que ceux que vous rencontrez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à une question ou de quitter la discussion à tout moment sans avoir à justifier votre départ.

Afin de protéger la vie privée de chacun, nous ne mentionnerons ni votre nom ni aucune autre information permettant de vous identifier dans nos rapports. Nous vous demandons également de ne pas divulguer ce qui a été discuté au cours de notre discussion de groupe.

Nous enregistrerons cette session afin de pouvoir rédiger un rapport précis de ce qui a été dit. Nous vous demandons de ne pas mentionner votre nom complet, votre adresse ou le nom de votre communauté, afin que vos réponses restent confidentielles.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez les poser maintenant ou plus tard, même au cours de la discussion. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter Dr Philippe ASSALE à l'adresse assalep@gmail.com ou par téléphone au **0759804319**.

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette discussion aujourd'hui? Oui Non

Acceptez-vous d'être enregistré pour l'entretien d'aujourd'hui? Oui Non

[Commencer l'enregistrement si tous les participants ont accepté l'enregistrement]

INTRODUCTION

Avant de commencer, nous souhaitons partager quelques règles de base :

- N'hésitez pas à lever la main lorsque vous voulez intervenir.
- Parlez un par un.
- Notre objectif est d'avoir un "temps de parole" égal - afin de permettre à tout le monde de s'exprimer.
- Dites ce que vous pensez, même si ce n'est pas ce que tout le monde pense. Il n'y a pas de mauvaises réponses, juste des opinions différentes, et nous voulons toutes les entendre.

Questions Du Groupe De Discussion

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : LES FEMMES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE	<p>1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour de table et partageons brièvement les rôles en tant qu'acteurs de la société civile que vous avez joués en lien avec la participation et le leadership politique des femmes en Côte d'Ivoire (- par exemple, militant d'un mouvement social, candidat à une élection, membre d'un parti, etc. Ne mentionnez pas le nom de votre organisation ou de votre parti. Il s'agit simplement de se faire une idée des perspectives dans la salle).</p>	
	<p>2. Dans quelle mesure les femmes sont-elles actives dans la société civile en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participent-elles principalement à des organisations de femmes, ou sont-elles actives dans des organisations et des mouvements qui ne sont pas spécifiquement axés sur les questions relatives à la problématique du genre? ● Les femmes sont-elles à la tête de grandes organisations de la société civile? ● Dans quelle mesure les organisations de la société civile sont-elles représentatives de la diversité des femmes dans la population? ● Où les groupes de femmes ont-ils tendance à obtenir leur financement? 	
	<p>3. Les femmes ivoiriennes ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'exprimer leurs opinions politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Y a-t-il des acteurs qui cherchent activement à réprimer les droits civiques et politiques des femmes? ● Dans quelle mesure sont-ils efficaces pour atteindre ces objectifs? <p>4. Existe-t-il des moyens pour les femmes de la société civile d'influencer les décisions du gouvernement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Existe-t-il des canaux spécifiques pour communiquer avec les acteurs gouvernementaux et les influencer? ● Le gouvernement écoute-t-il les groupes de femmes, ou les ignore-t-il fondamentalement? 	
	<p>5. Les femmes de la société civile - y compris les défenseurs des droits humains - sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur engagement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ● Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ● Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ● Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
	<p>6. Selon vous, quelles politiques ou stratégies sont nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux se faire entendre dans la société</p>	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : LES FEMMES DANS LES PARTIS POLITIQUES	civile - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?	
	1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour du cercle et partageons brièvement les rôles politiques que nous avons joués – (<i>par exemple, militant d'un mouvement social, candidat à une élection, membre d'un parti, etc.</i>).	
	2. Dans quelle mesure les femmes sont-elles actives dans les partis politiques en Côte d'Ivoire? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Quelle est l'importance des sections féminines des partis politiques? ● Quel est leur objectif principal? ● Quel type de soutien, le cas échéant, reçoivent-elles du parti? ● Les sections féminines jouent-elles un rôle dans la sélection des candidats? ● Les sections féminines ont-elles une influence sur le programme du parti? 	
	3. Les réunions du parti sont-elles également accessibles aux femmes et aux hommes? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dans quels types d'endroits les réunions du parti sont-elles organisées? ○ A quels moments de la journée les réunions du parti sont-elles habituellement programmées? ○ Le parti offre-t-il un service de garde d'enfants aux membres pendant ses réunions? 	
	4. Quel soutien votre parti apporte-t-il aux femmes candidates? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Encourage-t-il les femmes à se présenter aux élections? ○ Fournit-il un financement ou une formation aux femmes candidates? ○ Place-t-il des femmes dans des circonscriptions ou des listes électorales? 	
	5. Les femmes des partis politiques sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur engagement politique? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la vie politique? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
	6. Selon vous, quelles politiques ou stratégies sont nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux se faire entendre dans les partis politiques - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?	
	1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour du cercle et partageons brièvement les rôles politiques que nous avons joués - par exemple,	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : LES FEMMES ÉLUES LOCALES : (Facultatif)	militant d'un mouvement social, candidat à une élection, membre d'un parti, etc. <i>(Ne mentionnez pas le nom de votre organisation ou de votre parti. Ne mentionnez pas le nom de votre organisation ou de votre parti. Il s'agit simplement de se faire une idée des perspectives dans la salle).</i>	
	<p>2. Dans quelle mesure les femmes sont-elles actives dans la politique locale en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pourquoi avez-vous décidé de vous présenter comme candidate aux élections locales? ○ Quelqu'un vous a-t-il particulièrement encouragée à vous présenter comme candidate? ○ Quelqu'un vous a-t-il particulièrement découragée de vous porter candidate? ○ Quelle est l'importance de la politique locale comme point d'entrée pour les femmes dirigeantes, par rapport aux hommes? 	
	<p>3. Quel soutien, le cas échéant, votre parti apporte-t-il aux femmes candidates?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Encouragent-ils les femmes à se présenter aux élections? ○ Fournissent-ils un financement ou une formation aux femmes candidates? ○ Les partis ont-ils tendance à soutenir certains types de femmes candidates plutôt que d'autres? 	
	<p>4. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que dirigeantes locales?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certains types de femmes ont-ils plus de chances que d'autres d'être pris au sérieux? ○ Les femmes ont-elles les mêmes chances que les hommes d'être élues maires? 	
	<p>5. Les femmes dans la politique locale sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	<p>6. Quelles politiques ou stratégies sont, selon vous, nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux se faire entendre dans la politique locale - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	
	1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour de table et partageons	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : FEMMES TRAVAILLANT DANS LES MÉDIAS	brièvement le rôle que vous avez joué dans la couverture des activités politiques des hommes comme des femmes	
	<p>2. Quel est l'environnement médiatique pour les candidates et les femmes leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les femmes en politique bénéficient-elles du même niveau de couverture médiatique de leurs activités que les hommes en politique? ○ Les femmes politiques sont-elles traitées différemment des hommes en termes de couverture de leurs activités politiques? 	
	<p>3. Dans quelle mesure existe-t-il une désinformation et/ou un discours de haine contre les femmes en politique, que ce soit dans les médias traditionnels ou sur les plateformes de médias sociaux?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous en donner quelques exemples? ○ Quel est l'impact de ce discours de haine et de cette désinformation? 	
	<p>4. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes ont-elles plus de chances que d'autres d'être prises au sérieux? 	
	<p>5. Les femmes en politique sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	<p>6. Les femmes journalistes sont-elles confrontées à la violence, l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour la couverture des activités politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à couvrir les activités politiques? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	<p>6. Quelles politiques ou stratégies sont, selon vous, nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux s'exprimer dans le journalisme politique - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	
	I. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour de table et	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : LES HOMMES DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE	partageons brièvement le rôle que vous avez joué dans la couverture des activités politiques des hommes comme des femmes	
	<p>2. Dans quelle mesure les femmes sont-elles aussi actives que les hommes dans la société civile en Côte d'Ivoire?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participent-elles principalement à des organisations de femmes, ou sont-elles actives dans des organisations et des mouvements qui ne sont pas spécifiquement axés sur les questions relatives à la problématique du genre? ○ Les femmes sont-elles à la tête de grandes organisations de la société civile? ○ Dans quelle mesure les organisations de la société civile sont-elles représentatives de la diversité des femmes dans la population? ○ Où les groupes de la société civile du pays ont-ils tendance à obtenir leur financement? 	
	<p>3. Les femmes en Côte d'Ivoire ont-elles les mêmes possibilités que les hommes d'exprimer leurs opinions politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Existe-t-il des acteurs qui cherchent activement à réprimer les droits civiques et politiques des femmes? ○ Dans quelle mesure sont-ils efficaces pour atteindre ces objectifs? 	
	<p>4. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes ont-elles plus de chances que d'autres d'être prises au sérieux? 	
	<p>5. Les femmes de la société civile - y compris les défenseuses des droits humains - sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur engagement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	<p>6. Selon vous, quelles politiques ou stratégies sont nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux se faire entendre dans la société civile - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : HOMMES	1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour du cercle et partageons brièvement les rôles politiques que nous avons joués (<i>par exemple, militant d'un mouvement social, candidat à une élection, membre d'un parti, etc.</i> Ne mentionnez pas le nom de votre organisation ou de votre parti. Ne mentionnez pas le nom de votre organisation ou de votre parti.	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
TRAVAILLANT DANS LES MÉDIAS	<i>Il s'agit simplement de se faire une idée des perspectives dans la salle).</i>	
	2. Quel est l'environnement médiatique pour les candidates et les dirigeantes? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Les femmes en politique bénéficient-elles du même niveau de couverture médiatique que les hommes en politique? ○ Les femmes politiciennes sont-elles traitées différemment des hommes en termes de contenu de la couverture médiatique? 	
	3. Dans quelle mesure existe-t-il une désinformation et/ou un discours de haine contre les femmes en politique, que ce soit dans les médias traditionnels ou sur les plateformes de médias sociaux? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, pouvez-vous en donner quelques exemples? ○ Quel est l'impact de ce discours de haine et de cette désinformation? 	
	4. D'après ce que vous avez observé, les femmes sont-elles prises au sérieux en tant que leaders politiques? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comment leurs expériences se comparent-elles à celles des hommes? ○ Certains types de femmes ont-ils plus de chances que d'autres d'être pris au sérieux? 	
	5. Les femmes politiciennes sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur travail politique? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
	5. Les femmes journalistes sont-elles victimes de violence, d'intimidation ou de harcèlement pour leurs reportages politiques? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la société civile? ○ Certains types de femmes sont-ils plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblés? 	
GUIDE DES GROUPE DE DISCUSSION : LES	1. Sans sacrifier l'anonymat, faisons le tour du cercle et partageons brièvement les rôles politiques que nous avons joués – (<i>par exemple, candidat à une élection, membre d'un parti, etc. Il s'agit simplement de se faire une idée des perspectives dans la salle).</i>	

ACTEURS/ CIBLES	QUESTIONS D'ÉVALUATION	RÉPONSE
HOMMES DANS LES PARTIS POLITIQUES	<p>2. Dans quelle mesure les femmes sont-elles actives dans votre parti politique Quelle est l'importance de la section féminine de votre parti?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quel est leur objectif principal? • Quel type de soutien, le cas échéant, reçoivent-elles du parti? • Les sections féminines jouent-elles un rôle dans la sélection des candidats? • Les sections féminines ont-elles une influence sur le programme du parti? 	
	<p>3. Les réunions du parti sont-elles également accessibles aux femmes et aux hommes?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dans quels types d'endroits les réunions du parti sont-elles organisées? ○ A quels moments de la journée les réunions du parti sont-elles habituellement programmées? ○ Le parti offre-t-il un service de garde d'enfants aux membres pendant ses réunions? 	
	<p>4. Quel soutien, le cas échéant, votre parti apporte-t-il aux femmes candidates?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Encourage-t-il les femmes à se présenter aux élections? ○ Fournit-il un financement ou une formation aux femmes candidates? ○ Place-t-il des femmes dans des circonscriptions ou des listes électorales? 	
	<p>5. Les femmes des partis politiques sont-elles confrontées à la violence, à l'intimidation ou au harcèlement pour leur travail politique?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Si oui, à quoi ressemblent ces attaques? ○ Qui en sont les principaux auteurs? ○ Ces attaques affectent-elles la capacité des femmes à participer à la vie politique? ○ Certaines catégories de femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles que d'autres d'être ciblées? 	
	<p>6. Selon vous, quelles politiques ou stratégies sont nécessaires pour permettre aux femmes de mieux se faire entendre dans les partis politiques - et dans la politique en général - en Côte d'Ivoire?</p>	