

ECAS 2013

5th European Conference on African Studies (Lisbon)

June
27-29



African Dynamics in a Multipolar World

ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute

ECAS 2013

5th European Conference on African Studies

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ISBN: 978-989-732-364-5

AIDS, POWER AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN THE NORTHERN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Cynthia Bailly

Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques

massissia@yahoo.fr

Kouamé Yao Severin

Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques Côte
d'Ivoire

Didier Péclard

Swisspeace

Akindes Francis

Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques Côte
d'Ivoire

Abstract

This research looks at the governance in the fight against AIDS in the Northern Coast as a political field where state, and non-state actors struggle for legitimacy and positioning. In the governance of public policies, the socio-political crisis in September 2002 Contributed to Reduced functional capacity of state structures due to the closure of some structures and the departure of much of the State staff on one hand. On the other hand, the crisis led to multiple opportunities, because of the increasing funding and other resources, and encourages the emergence of non-state actors interacting with each other. The research looks at the local governance in the fight against AIDS in the Northern Côte d'Ivoire as a political field where state and non-state actors struggle for power, legitimacy and positioning. The purpose of this paper is to present the different stakeholders interacting in the arena of fight against AIDS, and analyze the power relationship existing between them.

Introduction

1.1. Background and Rationale

The Organization of the fight against AIDS in Côte d'Ivoire suffered before the socio-political crisis in September 2002 many changes. Since 1985, the State had a great responsibility for mobilization of resources, and for the coordination of fight against hiv/Aids public action (Gruénais 1999) through the Programme National de Lutte contre le Sida (PNLS). On the other hand, the fight against AIDS in Côte d'Ivoire has influenced International actors, specifically through the WHO Global Program on Aids which brought him financial support (Delaunay 1999).

Then in 1996, the creation of UNAIDS has introduced changes in the National device fight against AIDS. This initiative came in a general context of empowering care facilities and retreat of the state in participation in the financing of the health system, because since 1994 the Ivory Coast was engaged in a deliberate process of disengagement of the state, including those in the health sector by the implementation of policy covering the costs of medical procedures (Delaunay 1999). The objective of UNAIDS initiative was to help countries by implementing multisectoral approaches and interventions that affect all the ramifications of the pandemic, and to make available multi therapies. And the fight against AIDS in Cote d'Ivoire then was organized beyond the treatment of opportunistic infections, prevention, awareness and psychosocial care. The initiative UNAIDS has declared for a wide opening to the voluntary sector should now play a more important role in control programs against AIDS (Gruénais 1996).

In this context of civil society participation in the public action of fight against Aids, the socio-political crisis occurred in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002. This crisis led to the partition of the country into two zones, the Northern part where the state has lost its authority on one hand. And the other hand, the center and southern part of the country which remained under control of government forces. The socio-political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire in September 2002 and the installation of the rebellion in the Northern part of the country had some consequences such as impoverishment, the sluggish economy and the suspension of external support were among other consequences, stagnant state intervention in the fight against HIV / Aids.

In the health sector, the departure of the State from the northern area leads to several consequences. It was initially noted the departure of more than 85% of qualified personnel, the closure of at least 70% of health infrastructure. Military-political crisis has also led to difficulties in the supply of drugs, disruption of health facilities and an increase in infectious diseases, and malaria. On the health system, the crisis induced structural dysfunctions at the level of coordination between the structures of the Ministry of Health, that at the operational level due to the closure of programs such as programs to fight against malaria leprosy, polio (WHO 2003). The health situation was deteriorated in the Northern region of the country compared to other regions of the country.)

In front of these difficulties due to the socio-political crisis and the closing-State structures, some measures have been taken at local level to mitigate the consequences of the crisis on the expansion of the HIV pandemic. Many non-state actors were invested in the fight against HIV/Aids , and early interventions were made in a context of crisis and serious emergency.

1.2. Objectives

The objective of this paper is to identify and understand the interaction existing between non-State stakeholders in field of public action against AIDS at the local level. It also aims to understand how, in the lack of state structures, civil society is reorganized to produce a local governance policy. It will be discussed by identifying the organizational structures of the fight against AIDS at the local level and by showing interactions and power games they mobilize in their interaction.

1.3. Assumptions

Based on observation of dynamic constants in the local field of public action against AIDS, this study is proposed to analyze the interactions between the different actors in the fight against AIDS in Northern area and resources deployed to implement these strategies. In this way, it is to highlight the manifestations of the state through social struggles around the institutionalization of different forms of power (Hagmann and Péclard 2010). Based on this idea, we made several assumptions that form the basis of our analysis :

- Negotiation of statehood, 'Negotiating Statehood' refers to the dynamic process of building the indeterminate state. This will to explore the interactions constant within the process of state formation (Hagmann and Péclard 2010).
- The nature of the state is the product of many conflicting interactions. Therefore, several differences can feed this process.

2. Materials and Methods

The study was based on qualitative data. These data were on one hand, the result of qualitative interviews, and on the second hand. The first type consists of secondary data documenting the implementation of public action against AIDS during the crisis period (2002-2010). Essentially bibliographic this was constituted by statistics, progress reports and monitoring report of non-State actors. At the analysis of these data were used to illustrate the mapping of non-State actors invested in the fight against AIDS in NOC area, and also allowed us to understand the organization and operation of the fight against AIDS at the local level.

The second type of data collected consists of primary data (Sardan 2008) (Jean-Pierre Chauveau, 2001 # 244) collected from persons belonging to different groups of stakeholders invested in the fight against AIDS in the CNO area. Collected through interviews, these views were structured around the following issues :

- The Power games developed by Non-State actors in the fight against AIDS in the CNO area.
- The Logics of their action
- The interactions between the different actors.

3. Results

3.1. Categories of Non-State actors invested in local public action of fight against HIV/Aids.

3.1.1. The National Ngos

The National Non-Governmental Organizations as non-state actors are characterized by their presence in several cities of the National territory. Indeed, they are based in a city of the country (Bouake and / or Korhogo) and decentralize some of their activities in other surrounding towns so General. The purpose of the creation of these organizations may vary from one organization to another, but they are aiming for the most part, the promotion of people's health in general. The number of these National Ngos was multiplied by more than 5 during the socio-political crisis from 2002 to 2010¹.

As many others non state actors invested in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Northern area, National Ngos maintain these relationships competition. To prevent the outbreak of tensions between them, a reorganization of the fight against AIDS at the local level is done by them through the distribution of targets.

The first level of distribution of targets is the geographical level. Because of the fact that the look for space to perform activities, each organization seeks to have the biggest geographical space and the largest targeted population. In this objective, many partnerships are established with various health actors, to make themselves representatives in front of local donors. Some organizations have for this purpose, established partnerships with all health centers . Even in the absence of activities or performances, territorial marking is estway of preparation for any

1 . The COVALBSI (The local coordination of National Ngos invested in fight against hiv/Aids) showed an increasing number of the Ngos during the crisis. in 2010 counted 52 involved in the fight against AIDS in the city of Bouaké: from 5 to 52 in 8 years

Aids, power and local governance in the Northern Côte D'ivoire activities by tacit agreements with the leaders of structures, or community leaders. This strategy responds to the accumulation of human and spatial resources tend to be scarce goal. Thus, the surrounding cities are also covered by the National NGO.

3.1.2. The International Ngos

These International NGOs are organizations with representation in several countries and are invested in the field of the fight against AIDS in Côte d'Ivoire. In Bouake and Korhogo, the International Non-Governmental Organizations which are invested in the fight against Aids are : Care Côte d'Ivoire, the ICRC, EGPAF, AVSI, HAI, HKI Alliance. The investment of these international organizations are generally areas within the technical and financial support of the implementation of humanitarian activities in general, particularly in the fight against AIDS partners. Before the socio-political crisis of September 2002, International Organizations, although providing technical and financial support to the National Ngos were not installed in the cities of Bouaké and Korhogo through the opening of their sub-offices

The particularity of the investment of international organizations in the fight against AIDS is to rely on the '*existing*' that is to say, the National Ngos present locally. In collaboration with the National Ngos, they '*fit*' the activities against AIDS whose implementation requires from them, the proposal of protocols such as technical and operational tools, the patient records, writing reports. In addition, International Ngos conduct regular monitoring of site activities. Quarterly and refunds are made to identify the limits to the execution of the activities and propose a resolution of the problems.

3.1.3. United Nations Agencies

Côte d'Ivoire in general, and especially in the Northern zone , the presence of United Nations agencies is justified by the war situation that has prevailed since September 19, 2002. Thus from 2003, several United Nations agencies have settled in the cities of Bouaké and Korhogo in the first to contribute to peacekeeping goal. The fight against AIDS has been for these agencies, a field for positioning, and for realising the objectives assigned to their local presence.

UNICEF Organization is the United Nations agency to give priority to achieving the inherent rights of the child to a quality of life the basic rights that the leaders of the international community have specified in the Convention on the Rights of the child . In Bouake and Korhogo, UNICEF works with nonprofit organizations and religious associations, youth organizations and many other partners to organize an education into account gender differences and based on prevention and campaigns advice and services specifically focused on adolescents. UNICEF also supports, through advocacy programs focused on the community, families and communities to help children whose parents have died of HIV / AIDS. In addition, UNICEF also supports programs that help fight the spread of HIV / AIDS from mother to child and increase the number and proportion of women and children who receive antiretroviral drugs, in North Central area and West, WFP helped provide food support to people living with AIDS and vulnerable to AIDS.

In general, the mission of OCHA is to mobilize and coordinate the collective efforts of the humanitarian community, especially the United Nations, and to meet the needs of victims of natural disasters and complex emergencies.

3.1.4. Rebel Forces

The internal political organization of rebel forces was supported by the social and political forces of their supporting environment. The General Secretariat of the FN, as an administrative entity, was led by young people. The General Secretariat also pressed the "civil office" in charge of relations with civil society and political (Fofana 2011). The civilian cabinet Forces New Regent civil space in the occupied areas, with the support of a constellation of organizations, claiming civil society, for the most part openly sided for rebellion. The firm is involved in the coordination of humanitarian action, particularly in the health field by organizing access to beneficiaries of emergency programs. Thus the Civil Cabinet is the faction of the Forces Nouvelles, which is invested in the fight against AIDS through the establishment of a national secretarial responsible for the coordination of the fight against AIDS. This investment by the Civil Cabinet through the National Secretariat has resulted in the co-ordination of the fight against AIDS.

3.2. Competition and dependencies within a public space.

3.2.1. Dependence vis-à-vis the technical and financial support of International actors

The implementation of activities against AIDS at local level depends essentially on the financing of International Non-State actors in his view International Ngos and UN agencies. Indeed for many: *'Without funding, we can't do nothing ... There are even those who had to close'* Indeed, t ery few NGOs such as the National Centre SAS have a source of internal

financing and a. guaranteed autonomy and sustainable funding. Lacking 'Operating budget' own, Ngos use some financial support for the activities to manage their operating expenses (rental fees at the expense of host communication centers, through the maintenance costs of hardware or vehicles). On the other hand, lending for short periods forcing National Ngos remain more dependent on the financial support to the extent that they spend much of their time in the development of projects and looking for funding at the expense of the performance of their activities on the ground.

The technical support provided by the International Non-State Actors can transfer skills to national non-governmental organizations as it helps them to acquérir new knowledge and améliorer practices. But despite frequent workshops impact remains insufficient because usually a strong social mobility to higher paying jobs, and lack of follow through appropriés courses, refresher courses, practical assessments. In Bouake under a prevention project, several non-governmental organizations have received training in administrative and financial management. But the assessment of knowledge and skills of some national Ngos bénéficiaires technical support revealed gaps importantes such as the *absence of annual budget* ', *the lack of control over the computer tool* ', *lack of expertise* 'in the reporting of meeting s.

Another factor that increases the dependence of National Ngos vis-à-vis the technical support of international non-State actors is that control strategies against AIDS systematically incorporate the thematic North the concepts used are actually defined by the UN Expert Kingdom century or the World Bank and is carried by Northern NGOs.

3.2.1.1. The National NGO's : The 'Mal nécessaire' or dependence vis-à-vis the community expertise

By their knowledge of the specifics of the local socio-cultural context, the National Ngos remain a key element of the implementation of projects to fight against AIDS. They also help to develop strategies best suited to the reality of the social environment. These NGOs have a mastery of the field, 'Master their language', 'master culture'. Their expertise in the community, and cultural identity contributes to a better understanding by the public awareness messages. In Korhogo, he explained to us by a representative of an international NGO the indispensability of National Ngos. It is difficult to *'foreign'* to discuss issues of diseases as important as AIDS. Insofar as to achieve its objectives the sensitizer must be convincing by its original ', and by using the local language what the Senufo. He must also know the *'taboo'*, the *'words we do not say in public'* in order to avoid shock or alienate people by his message. The inability of the International Ngos established locally to meet not this mastery of the cultural space of the addictive National Ngos, which are now qualified local level *'necessary evil'*

3.2.1.2. Instrumentalization of dependence vis-à-vis the community expertise

Because of the dependence of International Partners vis-à-vis the community expertise of National NGOs, these mobilise a number of directories to enhance their re positioning of actors performing activities against the AIDS at the local level.

3.2.1.2.1. Identity Claim

The question of identity positioning of National NGOs at the local level that arises in some cases the inadequacy with the objectives of the fight against AIDS. Indeed, cultural or religious a National NGO can be an obstacle to the achievement of the fight against AIDS identity. Witness the case of NGOs present in Bouake and Korhogo. As part of the project activities, it is the remit of the National NGO to run a number of tasks including awareness. Among the advocacy, awareness appears to other methods of prevention within which there is a demonstration of condom use and distribution. This activity is difficult in some cases impossible to perform for the National NGO. Condom use is contrary to religious ethics, promoting its use is discouraged or considered as '*Aram*' or *sin*.

This willingness to respect the religious ethos poses problems and obstacles to the achievement of indicators and therefore creates tension in the relationship with the partner, which in turn *is evaluated on this point*. ' On the other hand the question of ethical investment slows religious actors in the fight against AIDS. And in the activities of the fight against AIDS in the city of Korhogo KT part of a National NGO established outlets condoms he said " *worked fine. You could sell 15-20 cartons per day* ". But because of respect for his religion, KT had to close its outlets to the extent he received a warning from its religious leaders.

3.2.1.2.2. Rehabilitation of operational tools

Compliance with the technical and operational framework is a requirement in the context of the implementation of activities to fight against AIDS. Indeed, as part of a partnership

between two actors, technical and operational framework of implementation of activities is provided by the

proponent to partner's execution that is to say, the National Ngos. This framework provides guidance and tools methodological and organizational point of view that are important to the achievement of objectives and / or indicators. Using the tools provided by the partner is both a requirement of the project and is also a protection for the players. Indeed, if targets were not met, the respect of the technical and operational framework is questioned, so the players are striving to meet the technical framework and use the tools available so that bad results are not attributed to them. Therefore justifying the use of a service offered by one of their partner in the execution of a project control tool against AIDS, MSJ part of an international NGO says this *"We are in a process, so we want to do everything so that there is no problem on our If ... there is a problem we can all blame ourselves, but we say that it is on this basis we went "*

However, in some cases, rehabilitation offered by the partner to the realities on the ground tools is a strategy used by actors in order to achieve their goals. Thus, in the context of a business combination Katiola peer educators for the implementation of an income-generating activity, members of the National NGOs have bypassed the directive grouping gender parity and have opted for a cultural affinity grouping. The reason given to justify the use of this strategy is *the 'field experience'* which allowed them to make the failure of the first groups performed according to the technical and operational framework proposed by the partner. Such recovery technical tools operational and proposed technical and financial partner to national Ngos created tension between the actors.

3.2.2. The necessary local coordination of public action against AIDS

Coordination of interventions against AIDS sets policy and strategic orientations at national level, validate the national plan for the fight against HIV / AIDS, mobilize the necessary resources to the fight against AIDS, assess the results of the fight against AIDS and validate the potential political and policy changes. Therefore, the coordination of the fight against remains important at the local level to allow for shifts at the national level. Even though the state has remained absent from 2002 to 2007 in the coordination of the fight against AIDS, the United Nations through OCHA and the '*Forces Nouvelles*' have assumed this responsibility. Because of the above mentioned issues of coordination, Non State actors at local level have worked with these entities in charge of coordination through report writing, participation in coordination meetings.

3.2.3. Competition

This section reveals competition relationships existing between Non State actors invested in the fight against AIDS. Indeed, their multiplicity Record new induces their local competitive bidding. These relationships are visible on the one hand through funding research, coordination and secondly in search of spaces conducive 'to the implementation of activities.

3.2.3.1. Funding Research

Because of the limited resources available, the National Ngos come into competitive relations in order to receive funding from the '*local donors*. " These relationships are manifested in competition to claim an expert and community legitimacy. Indeed, each of these will

constitute Ngos t ue indeed leaders and pioneers of local awareness and demands recognition of other actors and international Non State Actors who qualifies in this area of '*essential elements*' and of '*Necessary evil*'. Indeed, the conduct of sensitization by the National Ngos builds on previously acquired knowledge, and can thus promote a local basis in relation to other actors through their presence in certain neighborhoods, or their insertion in certain social groups. A Bouaké, the RSB Ong claims leadership regarding the '*mastery of thematic awareness at the location of Homosexual people and sex workers*'. This claim is the experience gained over the years by conducting business with these people on the one hand, and secondly by setting. implement a local strategy can 'seduce' the others non state actors. In Korhogo, the SAS center on its part claims *responsibility for social care for Orphans and Vulnerable Children* 'in the city because of the structure have infrastructure.

3.2.3.2. The quest for spaces for the implementation of activities

From 2002 to 2007, due to the withdrawal of the state, the National Ngos seus were the actors responsible for the implementation of activities to fight against AIDS in the CNO area. The absence of 'competition' has propelled the National Ngos the position of key players in the fight against AIDS. Indeed, the National Ngos have maintained in this context of multiple partnerships with International players .. The strategy of non-State actors International is relying on the '*existing*' in this case the National Ngos to integrate activities against AIDS, they are important to the positioning of the International Non-State actors at local level. The National Ngos are in this context become subject to competition between these actors International

These relationships existing international actors competition result in the establishment of a strategy for territorial marking regarding the National Ngos, through the implementation of a partnership with them. Indeed, without integration of activities, it is difficult ur International can be positioned at the local level to the extent that the National Ngos actors to ensure the implementation of field activities. That is why even not being physically present at the local level, international NGOs still trying to keep their position at the local level by entrusting the management of their activities to the National Non-Governmental organizations. In this context, the aim is to establish the maximum number of partnerships with the National Ngos. In a competitive environment, the claim of the right to property is important to achieve the implementation of a partnership with the National Ngos issue. This claim of the right to property is reflected in the implementation of a strategy of visibility through the display of the logo in all aspects of the fight, reports, equipment donations, rehabilitation. . Indeed ' *Copyright* "Is an important element of the implementation of the strategy of visibility at the local level, so that it creates tension between the actors.

4. Discussion.

4.1 Provision. Utilities, negotiating space for statehood

Forster (Forster and Koechlin 2011) negotiations between various non-State actors and the interactions that take place through the daily practices lead to an understanding of what the state should or should not be. This conclusion is also observed in Chapter I of the results of our study . There is clear from the implementation of local governance to fight against AIDS is the product

of relationships of interdependence, mutual complementarity and competition between players. Raeymaekers (Raeymaekers 2007) has also come to similar conclusions in the case of Congo. Indeed, he mentions in his analysis that the provision of security for businessmen and people in areas controlled by the rebel movement MLC (Non State Actor armed) is now under new arrangements between non-State armed forces and the people. provision of this public service has proven e now be during the takeover of the area by the rebel movement, nor the responsibility of the national army, but the responsibility of the movement. In addition to providing security, the rebel movement has also invested in the implementation of government activités through the provision of public services such as electricity supply, maintenance of roads and market protection premises. Yéré and Menkhaus (Menkhaus and Yéré 2008) describe such arrangements between different actors in the provision of public services of the *State negotiated* '. This kind of state negotiated emerging areas where the state is absent, and where governance becomes the place of different arrangements that provide varying levels of security to people through policy innovations hybrids, which rely on a range local actors.

4.2. Persistent-State practices m Even in the absence of it

The results of our study we also have to reconsider the notion of state status. we have indeed found that the concept of State does not only refer to the Weberian vision (Weber 1964), that is to say, as an entity with a monopoly of violence, but also refers to a set of practices and images (Migdal 2001). Indeed, although the state entity was absent from the NOC area during the period 2002-2010, the State Actors practices continued to exist by the actions of other Non-State actors who supported the provision of public services , specifically those referring to the

local government to fight against AIDS. This persistence of-State practice in the absence of the latter was also highlighted by Forster (Forster 2007). It explained that Ivory Coast, the absence of-State Armed Forces CNO zone has not hampered practices relating to the provision of security. Insofar as the Armed Forces of the rebel movement " *Forces News* "And the Association of Traditional hunters 'Dozo' contributed to the restoration of security in the absence of the police and gendarmerie in the CNW zones. In Korhogo (Forster and Koechlin 2011). The 'Dozo' have supervised the internal parts of the city including the main market, the business and administrative center. In addition, they ensured the provision of security by erecting checkpoints on main roads linking the main cities of the country as well as Mali and Burkina Faso. Ken Menkhaus (Menkhaus 2006) from experience Somalia has highlighted the implementation by local communities, a series of mechanisms of local and regional governance. In fact, communities with the lack of an effective state system have forged a governing authority to provide modest levels of security and the rule of law.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to develop a mapping of actors in the fight against AIDS in the cities of Bouaké and Korhogo. This mapping consists of a share in the identification of non-State investment in the fight against AIDS actors. On the other hand, the mapping has to disclose the nature of the relationship that non-State actors have with each other in the context of local governance of this public policy, as well as different sets of power mobilized within these relationships .

It shows that, from 2002 to 2007, the Non-State actors of various kinds have invested in the fight against AIDS in the cities of Bouaké and Korhogo. These players are divided into four main groups : The National NGOs, International NGOs, UN agencies and the Forces Nouvelles. Each of these actors involved in a specific sector in the fight against AIDS. The National NGOs are generally implementing partners projects to fight against AIDS. INGOs and UN agencies provide material, technical and financial support to the National NGO responsible for implementing the projects. UN agencies in addition to providing technical, material and financial also ensured coordination of the fight, a task which was also assumed by the New Forces who were involved in the fight.

Despite the division of the existing work in the fight against AIDS, we note the existence of relations between Non-State actors. These relationships are twofold On the one hand these actors maintain these relations of mutual dependence. Indeed, National NGOs are dependent on funding and technical support from International actors such as the United Nations and international NGOs. These international Non State actors have their need for community expertise of National NGO level without which the implementation of projects and the achievement of objectives in the fight against AIDS would be impossible. The activities of all the Non-State actors (National or International) require coordination at the local level to the extent that it allows a political and strategic reorientation at the National level and the mobilization of resources for the implementation of activities fight against AIDS. Because of this mutual dependence that actors have with each other, they mobilize power games to strengthen their position in the local public action against AIDS, including the exploitation of these dependency relationships.

On the other hand, the players maintain relationships with each competition. In the case of National Ngos this competition is reflected in the demand for expert and community legitimacy in public policy with a view to seeking funding. In the area of coordination, the existence of multiple local coordination establishes a competition between players in relation to the management of mobilized after advocacy resources. The International actors also maintain relations competition in the search spaces for the integration of their activities.

The identification of relationships between actors in the fight against AIDS has enabled us to meet the public spaces as places of power production and spaces of interaction between actors.

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[1] Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques Côte d'Ivoire

[2] Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques Côte d'Ivoire

[3] Swisspeace.

[4] Université Alassane Ouattara Côte d'Ivoire / Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques Côte d'Ivoire.