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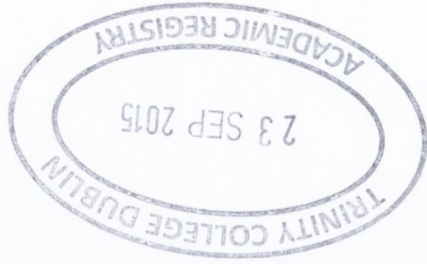
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PhD in Social Sciences
& Philosophy



Identity Categorisation, Citizenship and the ‘Peace Process’ in Côte d’Ivoire

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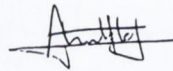
A dissertation submitted to the Department of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin, in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor in Philosophy

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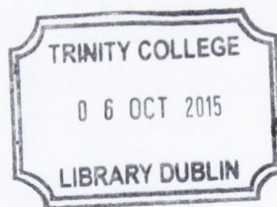
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Abstract

This thesis explores the practice of categorization of identities and determination of citizenship within the context of the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. It is based on interviews with government officials, actors from non-government organisations, and long-term immigrants, as well as ethnographic observation work of birth registration systems. These field works took place in the regions of Moyen Cavally between 2009 and 2013. Drawing on this ethnographic observation in the field, along with interviews I carried out, I describe and examine in detail the everyday practice of the provision of citizenship documents, a major aspect of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement implementation.

I use Foucauldian methodology to demonstrate how the peace process has not succeeded in its stated aim of opening up citizenship to previously excluded groups and that, discriminatory or exclusionary practices, that were said to be the cause of the conflict, still persist. Long-term immigrants and other marginalised ethnic groups remain excluded from citizenship. The peace process interventions have been undermined by legal and administrative procedures to grant citizenship documents. The 'peace process' replicated existing system of identity documentation, norms and reproduced discrimination practices, which obstructed access to citizenship. The implementation of the peace agreement continued to rely on the perception and presumed identities in already divided society. Indeed, the state designation of individuals based on their ethnic, religious and lineage served as the criteria in order to classify individuals as either citizens or noncitizens. This study, thus, critically analyse the politicisation of identities and provide an ethnographic description of the post-agreement procedurals and practical elements of categorization and denial of citizenship.

Critically, I discuss how these micro-practices relating to the post-peace agreement have undermined the peace process. The findings suggest a failure or limitations of the liberal interventions of the peace process models of 'good governance and state building' that tend to focus on the macro-level of the functioning of the state institutions in implementing peace agreements. I argue that the 'liberal interventions' of the peace process' often overlooks in-depth contextual analysis of socio-cultural and power relations issues on a micro-level. It neglects micro-processes of modern bureaucratic institutions and procedures that are thought to be 'neutral'. I argue that these bureaucratic institutions and associated mundane practices subsume and reproduce existing identities and local practices in the peace process. As a consequence, discriminatory and exclusionary continued in the mundane bureaucratic practices and played a significant role in subverting to the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire, in that, long-term immigrants and marginalised groups remained excluded from citizenship

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCI	Centre de Commandement Intégré - Integrated Command Centre
CEI	Commission Electorale Indépendante – Independent Electoral Commission
CES	Conseil Économique Sociale - Social Economic Council
CFA	Communauté Financière d’Afrique – Financial Community of Africa
CNSI	Commission Nationale de Supervision de l’Identification – National Commission on the Identification Supervision
CURDIPHE	Cellule Universitaire de Recherche et de Diffusion des Idées et des Actions du Président Bédié - University Cell Research and Diffusion of Ideas and Actions of President Bédié
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
EU	European Union
FN	Forces Nouvelles: the name groups three ex rebel movements from northern Côte d’Ivoire: MPCI, MJP, and MPIGO (below)
FPI	Front Populaire Ivoirien – Ivorian Popular Front, with former President Laurent Gbagbo as the party leader
GoC	Government of Côte d’Ivoire
GoF	Government of France
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INS	Institut National de la Statistique – National Institute of Statistics
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LMA	Linah-Marcussis Accords: this peace agreement signed in 2003 was the first agreement to be reached between the government and rebel groups following the conflict in 2002.
MECCI	Modernisation de l’Etat Civil en Côte d’Ivoire - Modernisation of the Civil Registry in Côte d’Ivoire
MJDH	Ministère de la Justice et des Droits de l’Homme - Ministry of Justice

	and Human Rights
MJP	Mouvement de pour la Justice et la Paix - Movement for Justice and Peace: this group receiving support from Liberia's former president Charles Taylor, was part of the emerging rebel groups in November 2002 and was involved in the signing of the Linas Marcoussis Peace agreement in 2003
MOE-EU	Mission d'Observation Electorale de l'Union Européenne - European Union Election Observation Mission
MPCI	Mouvement Patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire - Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire, formed in September 2002; it was the first group to be formed in the Ivoirian conflict
MPIGO	Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest – Ivorian People's Movement of the Far West; it was created in November 2003 as a second rebel group from the western part of Côte d'Ivoire
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
ONI	Office National d'Identification – National Office of Identification
OPA ¹	Ouagadougou Peace Agreement
OSF	Open Society Foundation
PDCI	Partie Democratique de la Côte d'Ivoire – Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire. It formed one party system during the rule of the President Hougouet-Boigny from 1960 to 1993
PRSI	Personal Registration Serial Identification
RDA	Rassemblement Democratique Africain. Established during the colonial period in Bamako, Mali in 1945, it represented Francophone Africa and was involved in the decolonization process and abolishing forced labour. Felix Houghouet-Boigny headed the Ivorian RDA section, the PDCI that formed a single political party after independence
RDR	Rassemblement des Republicains – Assembly of Republicans. This is a major opposition party, which is led by Alassane Ouattara, the current president of Côte d'Ivoire from 2011 to present

¹ In some documents, such the UN Security Council, OPA stands for Ouagadougou Political Agreement.

RGPH	Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat - General Census of Population and Housing
RHDP	Rassemblement des Houphouetistes et la Paix - Assembly of Houphouetist for Democracy and Peace. A coalition of opposition parties formed in May 2005 during Laurent Gbagbo reign
UDPCI	Union pour la Democratie et pour la Paix en Côte d'Ivoire - Union for Democracy and Peace in Côte d'Ivoire
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissions for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire. This was also a peacekeeping operation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council Resolution

Introduction

In 2007, after a period of eight years of civil unrest following a coup d'état in 1999, tense presidential elections in 2000 and a military rebellion in 2002, the Government of Côte d'Ivoire, the leader of the rebel group, the President of Burkina Faso, and the Chairman of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) at the time signed the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA)².

My research starts during the implementation of the OPA until 2013. Given the significance attributed to citizenship as part of resolving the Ivorian crisis in the implementation of the OPA, my initial idea was to focus on the district courts. I had planned to conduct an ethnographic observation of the issuance of various identity documents. The peace agreement assigned the role of issuing identification documents as set out in the national legislation relating to civil registration. Under the law, these district courts are responsible for issuing substitute birth certificates and certificates of nationality. As a result of inadequate national civil registry, the post-conflict 'peace process' recognised that the modernisation of the national civil registry and reconstitution of the destroyed registries was needed.

The OPA was to give a unique opportunity to implement a lasting reform regarding citizenship. It was also anticipated that a proper functioning of the civil registry could be used to update electoral lists regularly for the future, and planning of the population growth. Most importantly, the modernised civil registry would allow identification of citizens from non-citizens. Thus, the mass mobile district court hearings were presented as able to resolve the problem of citizenship through the provision of a unique piece of identity documentation in the form of a birth certificate. This, it was thought, would resolve the problem of a lack of citizenship documents (LMA, 2003; UNSC, 2003; OPA, 2007; UNSC, 2007).

Context of provision of identity document under the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement

Under the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA) three main integrated operations were planned, the first of which was the identification and census for electoral process. This

² The various signatory to the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement were, the former President Laurent Gbagbo (currently in custody of the International Criminal Court), the Secretary General of the *Forces Nouvelles* (or New Forces), Guillaume Kigbavori Soro, former President of Burkina Faso Blaise Compaoré and the Chairman of ECOWAS at the time who was a facilitator of the negotiation.

process that started in 2007 consisted of several steps including the mobile court hearings, the reconstitution of civil registers and biometric registration. The mobile court hearings corresponded to outdoor hearings that judges have held in the Côte d'Ivoire villages to deliver to citizens the birth or substitute of birth certificates with the aim of electoral registration. The project of reconstruction of missing or destroyed civil registers allowed the authorities to proceed in reconstructing a series of 250,000 missing or destroyed civil registers during the conflict and allowed the authorities to establish copies of birth certificates that were necessary for electoral enrolment (MOE-EU, 2010: 13-14). In parallel, the launch of the biometric registration phase, which was carried out by a company Private French law, *Sagem Sécurité* in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI), the National Institute of Statistics (INS), National Office of Identification (NOI) and the National Commission of Supervision of Identification (CNSI).

This was technically very complex and crystallized the profound lack of trust between political parties. The voter registration phase extended beyond the six weeks initially planned and lasted ten months from September 2008 to June 2009. Sagem registered over 6.5 million people. However, because of persistent obstacles from some political parties who questioned the quality of the process, the database thus obtained was crossed with a plurality of said 'historical' files, (which included the 2000 electoral list, merger of list of foreign and Ivorian nationals) to determine if it did not include foreigners (MOE-EU, 2010: 14). In November 2009, following these verifications of files, the Independent Electoral Commission published two lists: a 'white' list that included over 5.2 million people (about 83%) of voters and the other 'grey' list with over 1.1 million people called 'contentious'; (about 16% of the electorate). More than one million applicants were among the contentious cases. They included people rejected by the electronic system during data processing. These rejections included invalid forms as a result of missing names, invalid year of birth, missing nationality and technical rejections because of unusable forms and pictures, biometric duplicates, and people who appeared as if they have registered several times (GoC, 2009).

This period of litigation was characterised by several interruptions of the registration and lack of information to the population on its progress. As a result, less than half of the population on the 'grey' list submitted a claim to the authorities. The request by the presidential camp for *radiation* (or disbar) the entire white list caused violence around the country (MOE-EU, 2010: 11-14). After negotiation that led to a number of different procedures and defined on the basis of political agreements, a provisional electoral list was

adopted in July 2010. To conform to the presidential camp, it was decided to conduct a further verification, first electronically, then manually of the contentious list. This led to the withdrawal of more than fifty five thousand people from the provisional list, along with a promise to resolve these cases after presidential elections. These people were, however, not informed of the withdrawal of their names on the list (MOE - EU, 2010: 14). A final list of just under 6 million people, about 85 percent of people who had participated in the process of registration received national identity cards. The final electoral list was never officially recognised by all political parties. Most importantly, many citizens were deprived of an effective remedy, including the right to complain against the withdrawal of their name and, lack of transparent information on who and why they were being removed from the list.³

These above mentioned problems resulted in about 400,000 not being duly notified that they were on the 'grey' list, as it would have required other district court hearings. Furthermore, because of internal migration that Côte d'Ivoire has experienced of people moving from central regions to centre west of the country, combined with customary law that prohibits the sale of the rural land, non-native migrants are excluded from land ownership in the new area of settlement. During the process of identification of population, those who internally migrated to the west were the subject of threats of expulsion, death or retaliation through looting and burning of their homes. The autochthones used intimidation and repression of liberty to prevent *allochthons* (internal migrants) from participating in the process of registration to obtain identity documents or electoral enrolment (Banégas, 2006). This retaliation from mainly Presidential camps (Laurent Gbagbo) was based on a variety of reasons following the belief that many people may have tried to re-register their birth even though they were already registered on the civil registry. The incentives for participating could have been to avoid going back to their place of birth, to have a second identity or birth certificate with certainty, or simply to avoid applying for a certificate of nationality. The latter document could have appeared to be less significant since citizenship would be mentioned on birth certificates delivered during the mobile court hearing. It was understood that the mention of citizenship in a birth certificate would be sufficient proof of citizenship or at least guarantee future application of a certificate of nationality. The principle of testimony by the local notable to establish whether an applicant was indeed born in a given locality became divisive. The standard of testimony 'forced' individuals to find a lenient

³ The list emerged from three prominent political leaders (Laurent Gbagbo, President and head of Ivorian Patriotic Front party, Henri Konan Bédié, president of PDCI and Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President of RDR) (see Chapter two).

local chief to support their cases. Perhaps, to clarify this complex mechanism of the provision of identity documents during the post-peace agreement; in the section I turn to the process of birth registration and what led to my interest in this study by focusing on birth registration.

I will explore the peace agreement activities related to the state practices of providing citizenship documents and the related categorisation of identity categories. In particular, I will examine how these practices inform who is included or excluded from Ivorian citizenship. I will investigate the 'conditions' that have given rise to and shaped the contemporary problematisation of citizenship and identity categories of migrant-descendants, ethnic and religious identities, such as being Muslim, as well as other groups based on lineage and place of birth. Hence, I seek to draw out the complexity and possibility of relationships, which have contributed to the denial of citizenship to much of the country's population. Citizenship access has been at the centre of the conflict in the Côte d'Ivoire from 2002 to 2010. Among the root causes of this political crisis were lack of access to citizenship documents and related discrimination practices against populations from the northern regions, Muslims and migrant-descendants.⁴

Successive peace agreements⁵ have sought to address the issue of identity

⁴ Migrant descendants (literal translation of local use of *les descendants des immigrés*) commonly refers to two categories of long-term immigrants, mainly from neighbouring countries of Côte d'Ivoire (i.e., Burkina, Faso, Mali, Guinea, Benin etc.). In everyday usage, the term refers to the children and grandchildren of migrants whose parents immigrated to Côte d'Ivoire through forced labour schemes of the French colonial administration after the Second World War. In this thesis, migrant-descendant also refers to immigrants born between 1960, the year of Côte d'Ivoire's independence and 1972. In 1972, the state amended Ivorian citizenship and place of birth in Côte d'Ivoire was no longer applicable as a sufficient condition to guarantee citizenship. Having one or both parents (*jus sanguinis*) who are citizens of Côte d'Ivoire provided citizenship. Under the citizenship law established in 1961, all these migrants and their descendants were entitled to Ivorian citizenship based on *jus soli* or right of the soil, which is the right of anyone born in the territory of the state to citizenship. Adult migrants living in the country at the time of independence could be granted citizenship through a procedure of declaration of intent to become Ivorian. Thus, the category of migrant-descendants in this thesis specifically includes all long term immigrants and their children born in Côte d'Ivoire before or after independence in August 1960.

⁵ Lack of citizenship and discrimination practices were central to all peace agreements signed during Côte d'Ivoire's crisis period between 2002 and 2010. The Linas - Marcoussis Accord (LMA) signed on 23 January 2003 by FPI, MFA, MJP, MPC, MPIGO, PDCI-RDA, RDR and UDPCI established the Government of National Reconciliation and organised an electoral timetable. The parties subsequently agreed to commit to the principles and plan of the supplementary agreements of the Accra II and III agreements. The Pretoria Agreement was signed on 6 April, 2005 by President Laurent Gbagbo, the Government of National Reconciliation, the *Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire* (PDCI), the *Rassemblement de Republicains* (RDR) and the New Forces to implement the Linas-Marcoussis and Accra II and III Agreements. The Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA) of 4 March 2007 was signed in Ouagadougou, in Burkina Faso by President Laurent Gbagbo, the Secretary General of the *Forces Nouvelles* Guillaume Soro and the President of Burkina Faso, putting

documentation, but met with little success until March 2007 when the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement was signed by then-President Laurent Gbagbo (from 2000 to 2011) and the leader of the rebel groups coalition *Force Nouvelle* (New Force) (FN) Guillaume Soro.

In spite of the relative political stability that followed the post-peace agreement period,⁶ the tension regarding citizenship access remains prevalent. The difficulties surrounding who is an Ivorian citizen continue to loom in public debates, as does any law or procedure concerned with the application of Ivorian citizenship. The tense discussions leading to the parliamentary ratification of the new law on citizenship in Abidjan in August 2013 illustrates a pattern of struggle for access to citizenship and hindrance involved in recognising groups such as northern ethnic groups, Muslims and long-term immigrant populations as Ivorian nationals. The incumbent President, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who came to power in 2011, recently remarked that he wished the dispute of citizenship was settled and repeated that the law explicitly states who an Ivorian is. The president reported 'there is no doubt that being an Ivorian is a person born to an Ivorian parent. Beyond that, nationality⁷ is paper; it is a concept.'⁸ [*My translation*]

However, the lack of clarity and contention remain regarding the definition of Ivorian itself. This narrative continues to be characteristic of how Ivorian citizenship is framed in reaction to a protracted caseload of individuals who have not been able to access citizenship documents despite the 'completion' of specific activities of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement implementation. The peace process sought to issue citizenship and identity documents to an estimated four million undocumented people in the country. These included nationals and long-term residents, migrants and their descendants.

It is the simmering tensions about who is or is not Ivorian, reminiscent of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire that prompted my interest in examining the post-peace agreement that sought to resolve access to citizenship. My initial orientation was to study the process of the provision of citizenship documents during the peace process. The Ouagadougou Peace

an end to the war in Côte d'Ivoire (LMA, 2003).

⁶ The post agreement period culminated into post-presidential elections violence - after many attempts to create lasting peace agreements - in which former President Laurent Gbagbo was defeated. The ensuing political crisis led to violence against civilians and eventually led to Gbagbo's indictment for crimes against humanity and his imprisonment in The Hague by the International Criminal Court (ICC).

⁷ In this thesis I use citizenship instead of nationality. In Côte d'Ivoire, citizenship is always referred to as nationality.

⁸ Interview granted to a local newspaper, *Le Patriote* on 8 August 2013. The context of this statement is based on the Presidential address to the nation following the official ceremony of the 53rd anniversary of Côte d'Ivoire Independence Day, on August 7, 2013. See <http://news.abidjan.net/h/467517.htm>

Agreement (OPA) of March 2007 had identified a lack of identity documents and access to citizenship as the source of the conflict. Nevertheless, this aspect of the peace process seems to have remained unresolved. The obstacles appear to lie at the level of implementation. These matters continue to lead to heated debates and are being subverted by practices of the modern state's institutions and structures. For example, the peace agreement was based on the idea that the issuance of identity and citizenship documents was critical to finding a solution to the conflict. The linked mundane and seemingly insignificant decisions made by the bureaucrats to issue these documents appeared to be the least important concern of the peace process. A significant point was to enable undocumented people to be given identity cards confirming their identity as citizens or noncitizens. However, questions about the decision-making criteria to determine whether a person was a citizen seem to have been ignored. The bureaucratic procedures relating to these practices were taken lightly or viewed as neutral to political influence. What appeared to be important was the issuance of identity documents, in particular birth certificate that specified individual's status as citizen or foreigner. This thesis is critical of the oversight of the process of designating individual status as citizen or noncitizen, and inability to link the issuance of birth certificate to the overall peace agreement implementation. In this thesis, I argue that the process of issuing birth certificates and other identity documents in general, which according to the peace agreement was seen as the basis for resolving the issue of citizenship exclusion was mainly ignored by political leaders. As a result of negligence of the process of issuing birth certificates, exclusion from citizenship persisted and same groups who were supposed to be included remained excluded as a result of bureaucratic practices.

The issue of accessibility to services of registration, including distance, the many round trips that people need to make to be able to obtain birth certificates and annoyances inflicted by birth registry agents have been associated with large numbers of adults and infants who are not registered, thus lack a legal status of citizens. For instance birth registration rates are estimated between 40 and 79 percent in rural and urban areas respectively (GoC et al., 2013; GoC & UNICEF, 2012; NRC, 2010, 2013).⁹ Even during the

⁹ Also previous reports highlighted a larger number of people from northern regions of Côte d'Ivoire who were unlikely to be registered than the rest of the country (GoC & UNICEF, 2013; NRC, 2010, 2013)

period of implementation of the peace agreement to make identity documents accessible, many people were not able to access the services.

The findings suggest neglect, messiness and confusion regarding the issuance of birth certificates and the related practices of discrimination that appeared to be subverting to the 'peace process', in that it undermined access to citizenship documents that the OPA had sought to resolve.

My interest in citizenship issues relating to peace agreement in Côte d'Ivoire

I had a long-standing relationship with Côte d'Ivoire in a professional capacity. Between 2002 and 2009, I worked for United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in areas of protection of human rights, particularly internal displacements, refugees and citizenship, documentation and statelessness. My final position was particularly interesting in that it coincided with the signing of the OPA and its implementation. In this position, I had to liaise directly with the government on various issues and advocate the provision of direct legal and information assistance to affected individuals. My primary responsibilities could be grouped into two categories. Firstly, I was tasked with designing training modules for government officials (magistrates and civil registrars) directly involved in the provision of citizenship documents. Secondly, I was to evaluate and 'develop a snapshot' of potential categories of the population who were or could potentially become stateless. These people included 'migrant-descendants' who, under the law, were not considered to be citizens either by the Ivorian state or the country of their ancestors. Others were people of Ivorian origin who were unable to access citizenship or who for reasons of discrimination, were not recognised or were denied access to citizenship.

My work on citizenship-related issues in Côte d'Ivoire brought me close to the issues involving the administrative and legal procedures of government and how they affected the peace process. Through professional ties, I became comfortable discussing subject matters that appeared to be sensitive from the point of view of government officials, such as petty annoyances and discriminatory practices suffered by community members applying for citizenship. I was disturbed by the testimony of people who had been denied citizenship through the implementation of the peace process, although, under the law and criteria set out in the agreement, were entitled to citizenship. I thought that the protracted violence

associated with the implementation of the peace agreement would affect if not the content, the procedural portion of the discussion of citizenship application. I was curious about how these questions would be tackled at micro level, especially how local and national identities are translated in the context of the post-peace agreement. My professional experience in the country is inseparably linked to my interest in the field of post-conflict peace processes, and how I, as a researcher came to appreciate the complex interventions and somewhat the limitations of the peace agreement implementation. As a humanitarian actor in the area of human rights, I had an insight into some of the questions that appeared to have been overlooked during the peace process design and implementation.

My thesis ideas came from an interest in critically analysing the state's mundane bureaucratic activities of providing administrative documents (i.e., certificates of birth and citizenship). These documents were the focus of the peace agreement implementation for two reasons. On the one hand, these documents would supposedly resolve the issue of access to citizenship and documenting the undocumented population. On the other hand, they would also allow the organisation of presidential elections, which had been delayed for ten years because of the lack of a 'credible' process for providing identity documentation to the population.

What emerged from my experience in a surprising way was a modern state in which the mundane practices of collecting information through birth registration was more than merely a function of determining people's legal status. The interventions of the peace agreement became a form of exercising power, 'a way in which certain actions modify other' (Foucault, 1982: 799) actions. The determination of citizenship as a form of exercising power was a process of elaboration, transformation, organisation and adjustment to the situation (Foucault, 1982: 792). From these practices emerged a rationale or a form of 'power-knowledge' that became a mechanism to deny citizenship to particular individuals. The complex relationship between the exercise of power and knowledge produced a type of knowledge that seems to collate information on people's activities and their existence (Foucault, 2007). This power-knowledge appears to enable the state to differentiate between citizens and non-citizens. In Côte d'Ivoire, however, citizenship as a legal status does not always correspond to the physical existence and presence of a person in a given locality. This meant that people who themselves lived, or whose ancestors had lived, in the areas known as Côte d'Ivoire today could be denied the status of citizen.

This state power to negate citizenship to its 'obvious' nationals led me to a set of directives laid out by the peace agreement to issue citizenship documents. In particular, I

was interested in the tensions resulting from the everyday experiences and practices surrounding all activities related to the provision of identity and citizenship documents in the country. A significant part of the tension seemed to reside in how the state classifies long-term residents of immigrant descendants and people from the northern regions. The same practices appeared to have persisted during the peace process. Thus, the practices of government to provide citizenship documents applied in the context of the peace process, mark out the argument within which this thesis is situated.

I argue that the bureaucratic practices of birth registration and the attribution of citizenship and related problems of the categorisation of identities have undermined the peace agreement indicated goal to include those previously denied citizenship. I introduce this practice of birth registration to highlight the ways in which power works at a micro level, and highlight the effects of these micro-practices to the 'peace process. It could be argued that birth registration became the target of 'a point of power's application' (Scott, 2005: 25) whereby information about people's identity categories were instrumentalised. Birth registration as a governmental practice seeks to suggest a way of bringing into conceptual view the problem of the classification of identity categories through this mundane practice. I seek to critically interrogate the 'practical rationality' that governed the practices of the peace process project. Particularly, I describe the practices of the categorisation of identities and the ensuing exclusion from citizenship. Birth registration is derived from civil registration, the state process that records vital events about a person's existence in order for that person to be recognised or provided a legal status. Birth registration was constructed as a state apparatus that could 'fix' the problem of Ivorian citizenship. The provision of citizenship documents, including birth certificates and other citizenship document (e.g., certificate of nationality) which had previously been accepted without question, had become a problem, inciting adverse reactions to previously silent practices and institutional norms. I sought to highlight more forcefully the ways in which birth certificates and related everyday practices were pivotal for obtaining citizenship. Hence, I am interested in emerging birth registration practices and techniques of classifying the social and cultural identities during the peace process. For individuals, birth registration 'is the only means of establishing and protecting identities, citizenship and property rights' (Szreter, 2007: 4, UNICEF, 2013). Birth registration, for example, works by retaining the primary meaning of an individual's category that allows complete incommensurate attributes to be used to identify or determine an individual's citizenship. Both conceptual and material practices of birth registration exemplify the two sides of this process of analysis. At a

glance, birth registration appears to be a simple and straightforward function of the state by which details of the information about a person's birth or existence are recorded and that person is bestowed a legal status. The current concept of birth registration is a concrete device that evolved in the early-modern state to control the status of property ownership and enable tax collection (Dow, 1998). At the same time, the practices of birth registration are now constitutively and materially 'the embodiment of extended power' (Scott, 2006: 256). Documenting population as technology of government to account and catalogue the population through individual identity as part of a larger infrastructure of citizenship meant to identify members of the polity from the state (Sadiq, 2009: 102). Birth registration systems have the authority to enact and establish individuals' identities, and thus, to establish or appoint membership to a nation-state. As Hull (2012) argues that 'documents are not only instruments of bureaucratic organizations, rather they are constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjects, objects, outcomes, and even the organization themselves' (p. 25).

In this thesis, I argue that the birth certificate is a document used to categorise individuals into different social and cultural categories based on their names, region of birth and lineage. This practice has an impact on whether parents seek to register the births of their children, as well as whether the child being registered is recognised as a citizen in Côte d'Ivoire. As Hull (2012) argues, birth certificates have long mediated between the schemes of classification and particular people, places and things. Information obtained from birth records provide the state with the means to 'produce particular type of subjects' (Brenneis, 1994; Coutin, Maurer & Yngvesson, 2002; Kelly, 2006: 92). This thesis illustrates how the Ivorian birth registry assigned identity categories based on 'cultural' attributes rather than the official criteria spelled out in successive peace agreements. These characteristics in turn have become 'objects of manipulation for political advantage' (Elyachar, 2012; Sharma & Gupta, 2009). Information derived from birth registration records, such as numbers and 'cultural' categories are problematised and homogenised, and controversial policies are adopted to justify the questionable practices of attribution of citizenship. The practices of attribution of citizenship documents deriving from the peace agreement formed a starting point for the analysis of different forms of power to bring to light the power relationship between citizenship, categorisation and the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, this thesis aims to examine the techniques and procedures used to include or exclude individuals from citizenship.

The study does not focus on analysing the power relationship between the

perspectives of opposing groups' policies and strategies. Rather, the purpose of this study is to investigate the practices and procedures of exclusion and inclusion, rather than to simply define who is and is not included in citizenship. I describe what is happening in the field of citizenship applications in the context of a peace agreement and divided society. I argue that how citizenship is determined, who is not considered a citizen and how this decision is made possible is, in itself, an instrument of the state bureaucracy aimed at defining its subjects. Foucault (1982) writes that 'the state's power (and that's one of the reasons for its strength) is both an individualizing and a totalizing form of power. Never, I think, in the history of human societies -even in the old Chinese society-has there been such a tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and of totalisation procedures' (p. 782).

Certainly, the system of birth registration provided the Ivorian state the ability to know who to exclude. Practices of provision of birth certificates, provide a privileged knowledge that allows the state to differentiate between citizens and noncitizens, not only at the individual level but also to construct a macro-level of representation of different groups forming the nation-state. As a consequence, while there are benefits associated with birth registration in the modern state, there are also risks bound up with lacking legal status. The absence of 'proper' birth registration is one example, which suggests a general neglect of this service that has left many undocumented and inability to prove their citizenship.

Identity documents are what establish the membership to the nation-state. Today, it is difficult to envisage a state without a system that authenticates this membership; however, 'most people in Africa and Asia are born and die without leaving a trace in any legal record', and consequently are unable to attain the right to a recorded name and nationality (Setel et al., 2007: 2). The basic foundational assumption is that many, if not all, identity documents derive from the civil registration of birth. I argue that birth registration acts as the basis for all resultant concepts of identity documents and documents of citizenship. For example, a birth certificate as a document connects any related concepts of identification cards or documents (i.e., national identity cards, passports, drivers' licenses, PRSI, and voters' cards). For this reason, I argue that the peace process shortcomings in Côte d'Ivoire derive from the lack of attention to micro-practices of birth registration, a key activity of the peace agreement aimed at simplifying the procedures of identity documentation, and naturalisation processes. The idea of making Ivorian citizenship accessible to all through provision of identity documents was weakened by the bureaucratic practices.

Methodological orientation

Crucially, I attempt to explore the links of these practices with methodological innovations developed from Michel Foucault's concept of biopolitics in relation to the anthropology of modernity (Inda, 2005). Biopolitics is concerned with a particular way of administering populations that encompasses the techniques and procedures conceived to govern the conduct of both individuals and the population at the administrative and political level (Foucault, 1990). The analysis of these practices has helped to shed light on issues, which Inda (2005) calls the 'anthropology of modernity concerned with governmentality or practices of modern government as the substance of ethnographic investigation in empirical settings' (pp. 2 & 12). Insight is drawn from Foucault's (2000) biopolitics, which emphasise the techniques and micro practices of power and its links to exclusion and discrimination. As mentioned earlier, this thesis focuses on the concept of the provision of identity and citizenship documents, indicated in the peace agreement, as an essential element in achieving peace. The OPA had some legal and political commitments for the implementation of the peace agreement. However, the 'boundary between political and legal mechanisms' of the agreement were blurred in overtly politicised transition contexts' (Bell, 2006: 406). In order to continue the peace process, reform of birth registration system functions aimed at 'making it easy' or simplifying the process to obtain birth certificate as an evidence of some of the procedures. Making accessible birth certificate was understood as a measure to ensure success of achieving peace, in that it allowed inclusion of all branches of the societies to participate in the political process. In this thesis, I focus on relevant micro-practices of birth registration and the related practices of categorisation and exclusion in Côte d'Ivoire. Provision of citizenship documents including birth certificates and certificates of nationality were the main practices that sought to address the lack of identity documents and citizenship. I am interested in how the peace agreement produced practices and critical analysis of emerging mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion during the implementation.

The conceptualisation of this thesis draws from Foucault's (2000) theory of governmentality, which for the purposes of this thesis involves modern government and the techniques and strategies it uses to manage people and things toward a specific objective (p. 211). Governmentality applies to deliberate and methodical ways of thinking and acting that are designed to shape, regulate, or manage the conduct of individuals and populations

towards specific goals (Rose, 1996; Dean, 1999). According to Rose (1999) these include techniques for notations, numerations, calculations and routines for the timing and spacing of activities in specific locations, presentational forms such as tables and graphs (census, enrolment rate), standardised tactics for the training and implementation of habits, and professional vocabularies such as survey reports. Statistical methodologies, pamphlets, manuals, written reports, bureaucratic rules, guidelines, and so on represent events and phenomena such as information, data and knowledge (Latour, 1986). As Inda (2005) argues, these humble technical devices make objects 'visible' and make it possible for thought to act upon reality (pp. 6-7).

However, based on Foucault's analysis of the emergence of the modern state, Inda (2005) notes that the management of individuals and goods became the object of political practices that gave rise to the representation of the population through statistical forms (p.4), as well as the technology of power (p. 5). In his concepts of biopolitics, Foucault (1980) refers to this formulation of power as diffuse and focused on the techniques and micro practices of power available to the state to regulate the population (p. 143). These techniques of government are explored through theoretical and ethnographic lenses concerned with practical mechanisms such as policies and programmatic interventions and instruments. As Inda (2005) argues, the authorities use these devices to shape and regulate the conduct of individuals, which give rise to the population's identities that in turn inform governmental activities (Inda, 2005: 2). Hence, I draw on the Foucauldian approaches of biopolitics and governmentality, which focus on minor practices; thus allowing for an ethnographic understanding of the state and microphysics of power (Inda 2005, Sharma & Gupta, 2009).

The focus is an ethnographic project aimed at analysing the empirical manifestations of the modern government in very specific practices (Inda, 2005: 11). While I describe identity groups in Côte d'Ivoire for the purpose of conceptualising the study, the aim of this thesis is not to search for meaning or investigate culture or identity. Rather, this thesis aims to examine the legal and administrative procedures and bureaucratic practices of various authorities involved in the mechanisms of providing identity papers and the attribution of citizenship. These are micro-practices of power of the peace agreement implementation.

Within the concept of governmentality, Foucault 'preferred historical inquiries into 'minor' practice for governing people and spaces used by state as well as by non-state institutions' (Valverde, 2007: 160). In this study, the theoretical orientation of governmentality and biopolitics indeed emphasises the micro-process of state practices to

provide insight into the post-peace agreement context that seek to define identity categories for inclusion and exclusion from citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire. I attempt to provide insight of state and non-state actors, including migrant-descendants' experiences, in order to highlight the ingrained status quo in the practices of categorising identities.

This methodological perspective in interpreting and evaluating governmental practices provides the possibility of drawing on John Gledhill's (2001) illuminating interpretation of Foucault's (2000) modern form of power ascending to endlessly far-reaching social structures, which are ultimately played out on a wide-ranging institutional state and as politically as possible (p. 348). This approach allowed me to depict the micro-processes of power strategies and tactics of birth registration that were subverting the peace process, the bureaucratic apparatus of the state that is usually taken for granted. Thus, birth registration during the post-peace agreement can be perceived as what Lemke (2008) calls 'another usual governmental practice of representation whereby the exercise of power is rationalised, and processes of subjectification took place' (p.191).

This is not to suggest, however, that epistemologically, governmentality and biopolitics can (or does in this particular study) describe everything or anything related to the peace agreement implementation in Côte d'Ivoire. The thesis is thus concerned with the problem of government that questions the status of individuals. These are effects of power described by Foucault (1982) as being 'linked to privilege knowledge, competence, and qualification and oppose secrecy, deformation, and mystifying representations imposed on people' and which should investigate administrative procedures that determine who one is (p. 781). According to Foucault (1982), the purpose of studying these struggles (i.e., ethnic, social, and religious domination, exploitation, etc.) is to critically analyse them as a form of power, rather than focus on the agent or institution of power (i.e., the elite or other classes) (ibid). As Foucault (1982) writes:

'This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individuals, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power, which makes individuals subjects' (p. 781).

The everyday practices, such as birth registration and identity documentation of population in 'post-conflict situation, although, they become significant features of the peace agreement implementation and 'post-conflict' situations, they tend to be ignored or

overlooked in the broader scheme of the 'peace process'. However, these 'minor practices' have direct consequences to everyday life of people and involve strategies or approaches to navigate the complex situation of 'post-conflict' in divided societies (Mac Ginty, 2011). This thesis focuses on these everyday practices that involve the exercise of power, and that tend to be overlooked in the studies of peace processes. Investigating mundane practices associated with the 'peace process' reveals different angles to the workings of power strategies, tactics, and the use of knowledge to deny citizenship.

This study diverts from the familiar analytical tendencies of peace processes toward explanations of whether a peace agreement has been successful (i.e., power sharing, mediation, political representation or focus on elites, etc.). This study instead aims to draw attention to the heterogeneous strategies, devices, and ends sought by bureaucrats representing the state authorities. It describes the confusion between techniques and procedures of inclusion and exclusion and how they have shaped the implementation of 'technically' complex activities deriving from the peace agreement and its effects on everyday experiences. In doing so, it describes the OPA activities relating to the provision of citizenship documents and its problematisation in the realm of everyday practices of birth registration in Côte d'Ivoire. Acknowledgments are only made in relation to the key legislation of identity and citizenship documents (birth registration and attribution of citizenship).

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into five chapters as follows:

Chapter one is concerned with the historical background relating to 'the politics of identities'. It engages in the conceptualising techniques and methods that developed into identity politics. In this chapter, I briefly examine the discursive languages and traces left during the colonial and decolonisation periods to interrogate the narrative of identities in post-conflict Côte d'Ivoire. Specifically, I review the processes of contemporary issues of identity categorisation and exclusion from citizenship within the peace process. This chapter also discusses how identities created in the colonial period were expanded into political identities by the post-independence state. I lay out how the processes to create a 'new' independent nation-state through nationalism by the political elite who created a common citizenship on the basis of national sovereignty (Mamdani, 2012a: 85). I situate the 'peace processes' as an intervention resulting from state practices of discrimination and

exclusion from citizenship, which led to civil war. I review the categorisation of ethnic identities during the colonial period and how it 'inspired' the elite to develop a sense of national identity. I illustrate how this categorisation came to be defined based on ethnic groups, language or religious designation. I link this question of social and cultural arrangement by the state to the theory of categorisation as an administrative entity of the state (Mamdani, 2012b). I present Mahmood Mamdani and Benedict Anderson's theories of categorisation as the main theory of emerging practices of classification in Côte d'Ivoire.

Chapter two relates to biopolitics and the categorisation of identities and is divided into two main sections. The first section engages with the relocation of governmentality and biopolitics, highlighting the case of Côte d'Ivoire after the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement. I consider Foucault's concepts of biopolitics and governmentality in detail and introduce them as tools to probe my analyses of the minor practices of the racial state of Côte d'Ivoire. The second section of this chapter explores Goldberg's (2002) racial state theory, which allows me to conceptualise the Ivorian state as a racial state. I argue that the xenophobic reaction to immigrants and marginalised groups in 'post-conflict' Côte d'Ivoire can be understood from Goldberg's (2002) theorisation of racial states. Goldberg argues that the racial state is always configured in racial terms emerging from the formation of the modern nation-state and its ongoing management (p.8). Building on Chapter one's problem of applying citizenship in 'post-peace agreement Côte d'Ivoire, I develop a methodological framework within which these problems can be understood. The framework derives from Foucault's analysis of state practices and population management.

I explore a theoretical orientation and a literature review concerning mechanisms of categorisation and attribution of citizenship relating to modern government. The first section on assumptions and theoretical orientations outlines the premise surrounding the concept of governmentality and biopolitics to emphasise what is being studied; it also clarifies the scope of this thesis. Foucault's notions of governmentality (1979) and biopolitics (2010) provided both methodological and theoretical approaches to explaining concepts of the racial state and categorisation practices and techniques within the Ivorian context of the post-conflict peace process. These theories facilitated my understanding and helped me to explore the 'political' workings of the 'distorted' rationale of the state. In this thesis, I build on how colonial state practices of the categorisation of ethnic identities have been used and reproduced to create political identities in the post-colonial period, specifically during the post-conflict peace process.

In addition to Foucault's concepts of governmentality and biopolitics, the second

section of chapter two begins an analysis that draws on three theoretical orientations formulated around the theories of categorisation: Goldberg's (2002) racial states theory; Anderson's (1991) concept of the classification of ethnic identities, and Mamdani's (2012a) notion of managing differences. I propose to connect a set of activities emerging from the 'peace process' interventions and the state practices of racial/ethnic discrimination and exclusion from citizenship. Racism and discriminatory practices in Côte d'Ivoire's 'peace process' are used to illustrate an interdependent relationship among several theoretical approaches. First is Inda's (2005) 'anthropology of modernity', which refers to governmentality or practices of modern government as the substance of ethnographic investigation in empirical settings (pp. 2&12). Insight is drawn from Foucault's biopower/biopolitics, which emphasises techniques and micro practices of power and its links to exclusion and discrimination. A second theoretical approach is Goldberg's (2002) conceptualisation of racial states and the practice of normalising racial exclusion based on laws whose application led to discrimination; Goldberg also explores inherent identity formation and struggles between groups (pp. 141-237). I introduce Goldberg's (2002: 2) theory of the modern state configured in racial terms as a primary theory of this thesis to discuss state practices of the provision of identity and citizenship documents. In particular, as mentioned earlier, this chapter focuses on how these state devices come to have the purpose of categorising social and cultural identities with a view of nurturing exclusion from citizenship. I argue that this combination of theories of the anthropology of modernity, categorisation, and the racial state, offer a way of understanding how the 'peace process' interventions are state governmental practices that contribute to biased identities.

In Chapter three, I present the methodological background relating to sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork. I describe my fieldwork within government entities (civil registry) that provide identity documents and my interviews with government and non-government officials, including people applying for identity documents and citizenship. The initial motivation for conducting ethnographic observations was to attend to the practices of how citizenship is granted through the provision of identity documents, rather than studying the institution of citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire. I was interested in the rationale behind the practices of the 'peace process' of applying for citizenship and the 'identification of the population', understood as an act of identifying or providing identity documents or administrative papers. The fieldwork opened a different way of thinking about the practices of identity documentation and attribution of citizenship as part of a broader state apparatus to manage the population, and I observed government officials in the everyday mundane

activity of determining how to categorise citizens and non-citizens. I recount the time spent in the field following government officials and how these trips prompted me to pay attention to 'minor practices'. Civil registration and its instrumental relationship with inclusion or exclusion practices from Ivorian citizenship are often taken for granted. I provide detailed information on the interviewed participants and sites of ethnographic observation, such as information and legal centres and a civil registration office, and reflect on how birth registration is interconnected with the issue of national policy and power. To do so, I refer to governmental documentary sources associated with the peace process.

In Chapter four, I discuss the issue of denial of citizenship in the Ivorian context. While the lack of citizenship documents is identified as a key cause of the conflict, these questions are understood in the Foucauldian sense of 'analysing a regime of practices' to grant citizenship and identity documents. In this sense, practices are 'understood as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reason given, the planned and the taken for granted, meet and interconnect' (Foucault, 1991: 75). According to this interpretation, discrimination and ethnocentrism are the perversions of the modern politics that have come to affect post-conflict Côte d'Ivoire. In this chapter, I have critically examined discrimination and the denial of citizenship by drawing on the peace process. I argue that the implementation of the peace process, which was intended to resolve the Ivorian crisis by allowing all citizens equal access to citizenship, seems to have been inadequate. While the procedures set out in the peace agreement to issue identity documents were highly politicised, the confusion surrounding the implementation of the peace agreement allowed for discriminatory and exclusionary practices to take root.

Significantly, there was no attempt in the implementation of the peace agreement to resolve regulatory issues and normative institutional practices. Individuals continued to be excluded or denied citizenship based on their religious identities, lineage, and regions of origin. All peace agreements reiterated that the cause of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire was the mismanagement of the application of citizenship laws. In addition, the agreement emphasised that the state's practices of providing citizenship documents and its security apparatus to some extent, perpetuated petty annoyances. I argue that in practice, however, the 'peace process' failed to reform and often disregarded the legal and administrative practices it was supposed to change to make the process more inclusive. Obstructive practices in governmental processes of naturalisation and identity documentation served as a pretence to deny citizenship. Thus, the legal and administrative practices seemed to replicate and expand to accelerate the issuance of identity and citizenship documents, rather

than 'removing' the pre-existing practices of discrimination and exclusion of marginalised groups. Within this context, it becomes possible to envision how the everyday practices of bureaucracy can significantly affect the prospect of inclusion or exclusion from citizenship. The consequences of the politicisation of the 'peace process' contributed to disagreements on the number of people who participated in the elections.

Chapter five is divided into two sections and describes and discusses ethnographic observation details of practices of citizenship documentation. The first part describes the institutional and administrative mechanisms and 'power-knowledge' structure within the civil birth registration process. I argue that birth records seem to enhance and maintain the exercise of power insofar as they allow the state to deny citizenship. I argue that this becomes possible because birth records are ultimately designed to determine individual citizenship; thus, their goal appears to be first and foremost the assignment of cultural identities. The consequent representation of ethnic and cultural identities leads to obstacles in accessing Ivorian citizenship for some individuals and groups. In this section, I describe how the failure to adhere to the state institutions of birth registration can render a person non-existent and thus not deserving of any rights associated with citizenship. The second section of chapter five highlights the practical effects of the daily tasks of birth registration, including the abuse of power, ignorance, corruption, indifference, errors and indecision, all of which create different problems and prevent people from accessing citizenship. The state agents of birth registration are understood to relate to the state in terms of institutional roles in providing identity documents or determining citizenship based on regulated administrative and legal norms. The experience of birth registration presents forms of exclusion. These manifest in institutional rules arising from state officials maliciously or deliberately perverting the bureaucratic process and not justifying the underlying birth registration laws. This reflects the discussions of the practices highlighted in chapters four and five. I draw on the experiences of participants interviewed or ethnographic observation field notes, to argue that discriminatory and the denial of citizenship practices are based on the question of the socio-cultural identity categorisation.

In the concluding chapter of the thesis, I summarise the argument and provide concluding remarks. I stress how the 'peace process' appears to be another governance mechanism that is tactical, strategic and adapted to its use of categorising identities. I argue that this practice is discriminatory and seeks to exclude certain groups based on their ethnic, religious and lineage affiliation to deny them access to citizenship. These groups were mainly Muslims, northerners, and migrant-descendants. The dominant groups that occupied

and represented the interests of the state were mainly from the south and Christians, and contended that they sought to 'control' immigration levels. However, with the use of the state apparatus of citizenship documentation, however, both migrant-descendants and people of Ivorian origin were excluded from citizenship. In this thesis, I argue that the practices of exclusion and discrimination based on ethnicity discrimination were prevalent throughout the post-conflict peace processes. This suggests that the 'peace process' as a governing mechanism operates in racial/ethnic terms. Thus, the emerging state following the 'peace process' was nothing less than a 'racial state' that remains deeply configured in ethnic terms. Using governmentality as a methodology and the theory of biopolitics, I demonstrate the operationalisation of Côte d'Ivoire as a racial state through the 'peace process' activities of citizenship documentation.



Figure 1: Map of unification of Côte d'Ivoire¹⁰

The orange colour shows the route taken by the military group loyal to President Alassane D. Ouattara who was elected, but was not allowed to take office by supporters of former President Laurent Gbagbo.

¹⁰ This map was produced in March 2011 after the unification of Ivorian territories following the presidential elections in November 2010. See <http://www.polgeonow.com/2011/04/news-ivory-coast-reunited-after.html>. Accessed November 12 2013

Chapter One

Historical perspectives on the politics of identities in Côte d'Ivoire

Brief overview

Pre-colonial period

Prior to its colonization by France, the territory that became Côte d'Ivoire consisted of multi-plural societies (see Figure: 1 below) with no centralised state (Akindès, 2004).

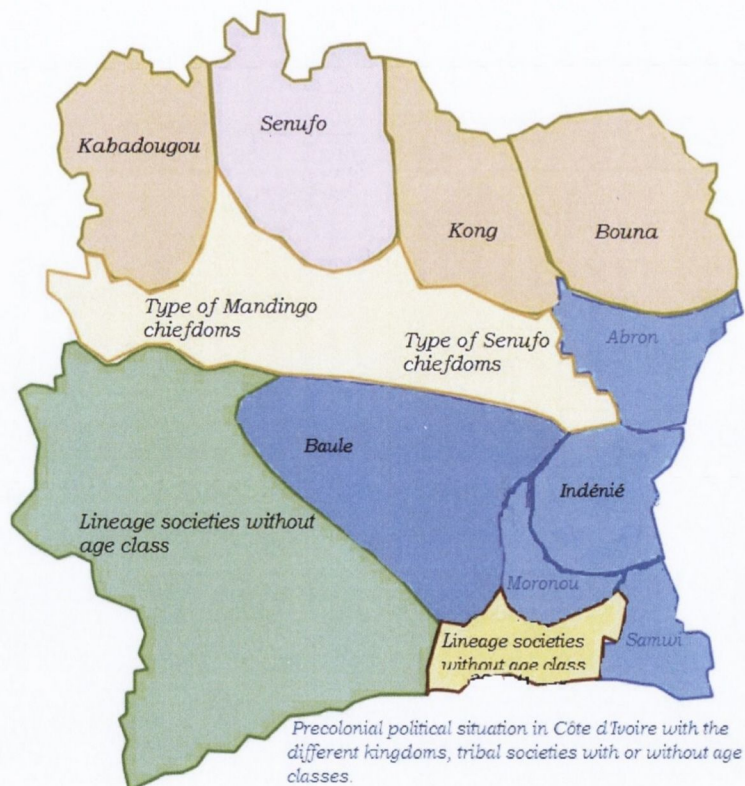


Figure 2: Pre-colonial societies of Côte d'Ivoire

In the pre-European exploration, five important states flourished in Côte d'Ivoire (Senufo, Kong, Mandingo, Abron, and lineage societies without age class (see Figure 1

above). The two main pre-colonial states were on the one hand, the Kong Empire (1710-1898) and a Muslim Empire, or by the name of its founder Wattara/Ouattara Empire and was founded by traders; immigrants from the declining Mali Empire (Otayek, 2001). Established by the Jula in the 18th century in the north-central region inhabited by the Senufo, who left the Mali Empire and went into exile fleeing Islamisation (Şaul, 1998). The Islamic period was first recorded by North African (Berber) traders, who, from the early Roman Empire period conducted a caravan trade of commodities (i.e., salt, slaves, gold and so on) across the Sahara desert (ibid. p. 16). The Trans-Saharan trade route is believed to have reached far south of the edge of the desert to the rain forest that developed around colonial centres, embraced Islam and spread south into the northern area of modern territory of Côte d'Ivoire (Handloff, 1988). The Kong Empire was a widely decentralised commercial empire, and its institutions were supported by merchant houses protecting trade routes throughout the region (Cornevin, 1986: 252-253). This pre-colonial African Muslim state was situated in north-eastern Côte d'Ivoire (see Figure: 1 above), and encompassed much of the present-day Burkina Faso (ibid.).

According to Loucou (1984) the Kong Empire's commercial and economic activities (i.e.; agriculture, trade and crafts) and ethnic and religious make up which slowly contributed to its collapse, as well as the colonization of West Africa by the French, which is understood to have ended 'the last great pre-colonial empire in West Africa' that was built by Samory Alamy Touré between 1870s and 1890s (McGovern 2012: 31; Benjamin, 1968).

The second major pre-colonial state was of Abron Kingdom of Gyaaman¹¹ in the southeast. In the 17th century, Gyaaman, an Abron Kingdom, also spelled jamang (1450-1898), a medieval African state of the Akan people, was established in what is now Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire (Muhammad, 1977). The Anyi sub-category of the Akan in blue coloured areas of the map, see above)¹², consisted of three clans: nobles, freemen and slaves before and during the colonial period.

¹¹ See Figure 2, page 32

¹² See page 32

Precolonial period's immigration

While little is known about the origins of the people of Côte d'Ivoire, historians believe that they were all displaced or absorbed by the ancestors of the present inhabitants (Handloff, 1988). The chronicle of migration in northern Côte d'Ivoire has been recorded dating back in the prehistory to between 15,000 and 16,000 BC (Rougerie, 1978; Yiodé Guédé, 1995: 246). Migration marked Côte d'Ivoire's prehistoric period through trade, Islamic teaching and transhumance lifestyle (Bosworth, Van Donzel, Lewis, & Pellat, 1986), or nomadism, a practice of moving livestock from one grazing ground to another in a seasonal cycle, typically to lowlands in winter and highlands in summer.

According to historians, indigenous inhabitants migrated south into the area as far back as the 16th century (Kipré, 1992: 15-16).

The name Côte d'Ivoire derives from exploration in the 15th and 16th centuries by Portuguese and French merchants who divided the west coast of Africa to reflect its local economies and export of Ivory (Vennetier, 1983).

In 1637, prior to the military conquest by the French colonial authority, religious orders set up missions in the Gold Coast near the border between what is now Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire (Bahl, 2004). The French colonial explorers named the coast Côte d'Ivoire and the Portuguese called it the Costa do Marfim, both, literally, being 'Ivory Coast' (Duckett, 1853: 594; Lipski, 2005: 39; Plée, 1868: 146; Thornton, 1996: 53-56). Although many names were used for the country, Côte d'Ivoire was widely used from the 19th century and colonial period (Chisholm, 1911: 100).

The post-independence government concerned with the various literal translations of Côte d'Ivoire in other languages (David, 2000:7), particularly in its diplomatic or international dealings beyond Francophone sphere, declared in April 1986 that the official name would be the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (Auzias & Labourdette, 2008: 9; Lea & Rowe, 2001: 127).¹³

¹³ Despite the government request, to use Côte d'Ivoire as an official version in all languages, the English Ivory Coast and Costa de Marfim are still often used in English and Portuguese respectively.

Colonial period's immigration

Côte d'Ivoire became a French colony in 1893. Its borders with Ghana were not clearly defined, and only became established by the treaties concluded between 'traditional kings and French military officer Laplein 1887 and 1889' (see Figure 2). Borders between Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana were finally fixed in 1905. While the coastal zones of Côte d'Ivoire came under French rule in the 1880s, much of the area that is now known as Côte d'Ivoire was placed under French colonial rule in 1843-1844 (Handloff, 1988) after the French admiral, Bouet-Willaumez signed treaties with the kings of the southern regions and made these territories French protectorate (Handloff, 1988).

The influx of migrants intensified and took on a systematic quality during the expansion of the French colonial conquest in Côte d'Ivoire from 1895 to 1960s. Between 1933 and 1947, the colonial state significantly modified the administrative map of Côte d'Ivoire to facilitate transfer and divert labour migrants from the neighbouring British Colony of Gold Coast, present-day Ghana (Arango, 2004). The area annexed Côte d'Ivoire was approximately two-thirds of its own area. The September 1947 law restored Upper Volta (present-day Burkina Faso). Côte d'Ivoire discovered its northeast border of 1932, which remains today (IOM, 2009). These flows derived from prevalent forced migrant labour of the 1930s and 1940s, established by the colonial administrators and invited guest workers in the post-independence during the 1960s to 1980s (Akindès, 2004). After independence in 1960, the newly formed government of Côte d'Ivoire signed a convention with Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) on the recruitment and use of voltaic workers. However, migration continued because of an old and long tradition of north-south migration within parts of territories that once formed the French Sudan (Mali), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and Côte d'Ivoire (Bouquet, 2003: 124).

As with many other places, the country was visited by ethnographers, merchants, missionaries and colonial administrators and was perceived as an unchanging world in which culture was ahistorical and in need of improvement from the culture of savagery to social development (Wright, 1998: 8). The following section discusses how pre-colonial ethnic identities emerged and what they became in post-colonial period.

Colonial classification of cultural identities

In the early 20th century, French colonial administrators undertook an intensive process of cataloguing characteristics of populations who inhabited the regions under its control in West Africa. In 1917, the colonial administrators set up an historic and scientific commission for Africa (*Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique of 1917*) of ethnographers and administrators to map indigenous groups and tribes (GoF- France, 1917). Reports emanating from these commissions became the 'blueprint' for knowledge about indigenous populations. Colonial officials on the ground were instructed to read reports and published works of ethnographers as their handbook to understanding indigenous community (GoF, 1935).

As Laura Dudley Jenkins noted, these ethnographers became a political mechanism of the colonial ruler, not only driven by the desire to contribute to scientific progress, but also by the imperative to monitor and control a diverse land (Jenkins, 2012: 44). This inventory of indigenous groups coincided with the earlier-imposed head tax in 1900. This inventory allowed the colonial state to records identity category ascribed to individuals and groups according to their religion or right to property such as land etc. This colonial state strategy was aimed at designating which category is to be considered native in order to assess or have an idea of households that will have to pay taxes and which one will have to provide labour. For instance, the colonial administrator had imposed a system of forced labour that required each adult Ivorian male to commit ten days a year of work without compensation as part of his duty to the state.

However, because of the limited number of labourers that could be found locally, a large number of migrant workers were recruited from Upper Volta (present-day Burkina Faso) to work in Côte d'Ivoire. For instance, the annexation of wide regions of the Upper Volta to Côte d'Ivoire between 1932 and 1947 sought to meet the high demand of economic activities in Côte d'Ivoire. This strategy of administrating the area as a single colony was seen as more efficient in that it suppressed the paperwork involved in moving migrants from one colony to another (Dozon, 2000). Theoretically this change of border allowed the colonial state authorities to move people around as belonging to one country or society, but simultaneously keeping the categories of native and immigrant.

The Ivorian indigenous population were not happy with the new tax imposition.

They criticised French colonial authority and considered the tax to be a breach of the terms of the protectorate treaties. For the population, tax collection was a 'form of humiliation and submission', as they thought that the French should be paying them for occupying and extracting resources from the territory, rather than demanding them to pay tax (Loucou, 1984).

As a consequence of tax records and forced movement of population the French authority was able to record different vital events about the population such as group tribes, ethnicity, number of individuals, age, as well as the gender of those living in the household. Through this enumeration, classification of ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire became possible and the collection of this data provided the authority with the knowledge about household and community holdings such as possession of land, livestock and related trading incomes. Most importantly, inventory of the population and classification of groups on ethnic lines gave the authorities an idea about the type of preferred activity per groups, the types of crops they grew and so on.

The colonial administrator treated the indigenous 'culture' as 'small scale bounded entity organized through economic, social and political institutions which interacted as self-contained' (Wright, 1998: 8). The classification of tribes and ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire was inspired in part by the need to 'civilise' the native population and allowed the colonial master to select and impose local chiefs that were *obedient* (Chauveau & Dozon, 1987; Pinxten, Doom, Dozon, & Geschiere, 2004).

Contemporary social-cultural identities

Côte d'Ivoire is composed of ethnic diversity of more than sixty ethnic groups, regrouped into four linguistic families. In the north from the East to the West Voltaic (also known as the Gur) and Mandé. In the south from East to West, the Kru/Kwa and Akan/Agni). None of these major ethnic identities are confined within the border of Côte d'Ivoire (Kohler, 2003). The border divided all these major ethnic groups (see Figure 2 below). Akan/Agni groups were divided in the southwest between Côte d'Ivoire/Ghana, and Voltaic in the northwest Côte d'Ivoire/Burkina Faso divided the Lobi and Kulango subgroups (McGovern, 2011: 8).

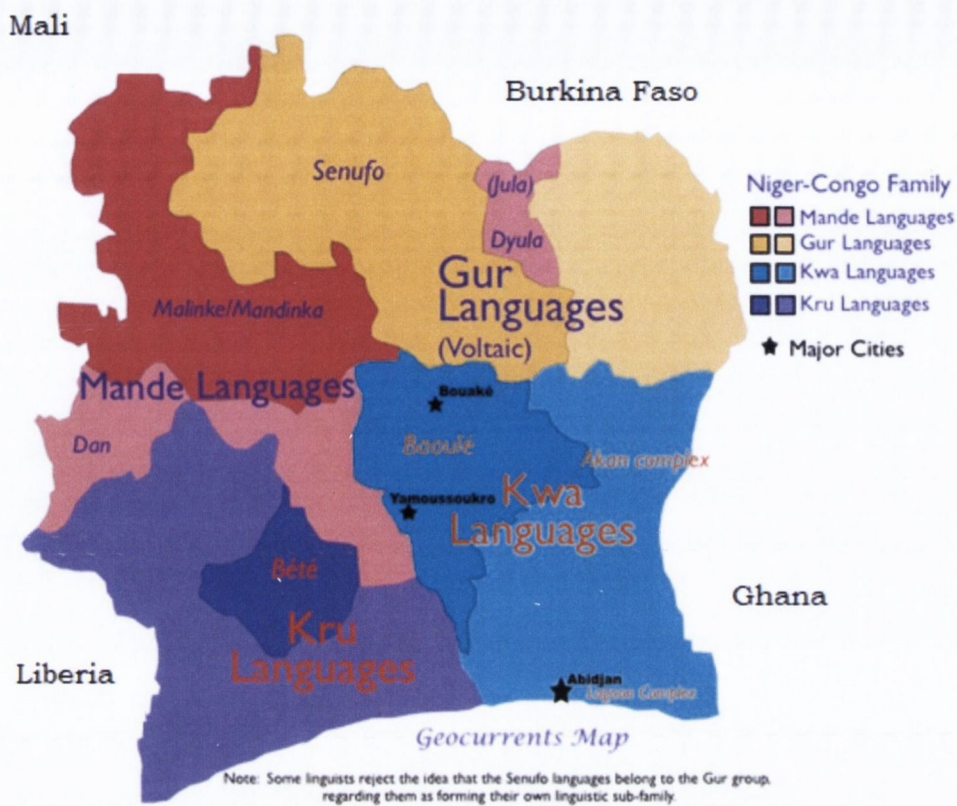


Figure 3: Ethnic/Linguistic Groups of Côte d'Ivoire

On one hand, northern ethnic groups' practices of transhumance, nomadic pastoralism, trading and family ties persist today and contribute to the movements across international borders in search of grazing terrain or trade. As in many African countries, movements across borders are often informal and beyond the control and regulation in many African countries (Adepoju, 2007).

The management of ethnic diversity by both colonial and 'post-colonial' state has been characterized by politico-economic governing system, which involved buying the loyalty of the most active representatives of the four main different ethnic group close to one another. This practice is illustrated by a policy of dual citizenship to all West Africans who immigrated to Côte d'Ivoire and were seen as aiding the country development (Akindès, 2009: 34). At the same time, the state excluded and disqualified from power, the 'Jula', a generic name for people from the north (either Mandé, or Gur but always Muslim), as they were seen as constituting a danger to the nation because of their cultural incompatibility and are potential propagator of Islam (ibid.).

The decline of a vibrant economy from the independence until 1993, and the rise of an idea conceptualized by some intellectuals and political elites in Côte d'Ivoire from the 1990s in the notion of *Ivoirité* or Ivoirianess (discussed in detail below)¹⁴ revealed the hidden fractious relations that existed between so-called *étrangers* (foreigners) typically of Burkina Faso and Malian heritage, and those of 'pure-blooded' Ivoirians (Akindès, 2003; 2004: 20)¹⁵. The analysis of the Ivorian conflict reveals that the war is about on one hand, political, economic, educational, cultural, matrimonial, concerning property rights that are conferred by possession of a national identity document and conception of citizenship and a political ideology of autochthony and exclusion on the other hand (Banégas, 2006: 536-537). The political elites' analysis and reflection on national identity and conceptualization of citizenship consisted of problematising the northern ethnic groups (Mande and Voltaic) as 'strangers'. This conceptualisation of groups' categories that formed Ivorian societies provided a way to deny citizenship to a segment of the population.

These are blurred identity categories that have become even more confusing when analysis of the subcategories of the meaning of strangers, migrants and native groups. The terms and form of the construction of indigenous groups are varied but are not exclusive and may overlap depending on the local dynamics of power relations and depending on such key issues as access and control of local resources, local citizenship and local political power (Gnabéli, 2008).

With the mosaic of multiple ethnicities, there is a process of categorisation aimed at homogenising population groups that may share some common features. Language and religion provided 'essential meanings' irrespective of economic and social changes of communities studied (Amselle & Sibeud, 1998; Barth, 1969, 1998; Zobel, 1998). The cultural features were used to impose discourses of classification of social and cultural identities that produced historical circumstances of colonization that once authenticated by science took on a life of their own (Amselle & Sibeud, 1998; Barth, 1998; Zobel, 1998). The complexities of religion and ethnicity were simplified to a northern Muslim versus southern animist [and later Christian] dichotomy in the colonial era. Politicians and elites

¹⁴ See discussion on *Ivoirité* and the construction of exclusionary national identity, pages 45-46.

¹⁵ The 1998 census accounts for 30 percent of the total population being of foreign origins of which some 3 million are foreigners and another 2 million are descendants of foreigners (Akindès, 2009: 5). The vast majority of 'foreigners' sometimes referred to as *Nordistes*, identify themselves as followers of Islam (Kirwin, 2006: 45).

have endorsed the notion of 'authentic culture' of colonial dominant ideologies that created patterns of discriminatory and exclusionary practices in decolonization and recent peace processes. For example, inhabitants of the northern regions were assigned the same cultural identity category despite regional and cultural differences and belief practices. This exclusion from citizenship was enabled by the state's ritualisation of practices exercised through a complex form of power of identity categorisation and citizenship institutions. In other word, the exclusion could not have been possible without the state's institution.

Development projects created inequalities between territories and inhabitants. Migration has continued with the migrants indifferent to porous borders and migration control. Seasonal migration often transforms into long-term migration, and is based on shared ethnic and linguistic identities that seem to transcend delimitation of borders. For instance, Mandé of Côte d'Ivoire is closer to Mandé of Mali and Guinea. Mandé entered northwest of Côte d'Ivoire and those of the eastern or southern Guinea Mali. It is the same between the Senufo of Côte d'Ivoire and those of Mali; or between Abron Côte d'Ivoire and those of Ghana. Migration seems to promote a process of deconstruction of borders inherited from colonization, structured around commercial networks, for example, Jula and Akan groups to the north and east of the Côte d'Ivoire.

The main current feature of the category of Jula derives from the colonial system of classification and homogenisation of population groups that shared the religious background of Islam. Such ethnic groups as Mandé, Senufo and the nomadic population lived in the north. Some were not Muslim and 'believed in magical fetishes.' For instance, the colonial administrator designated them as Jula, Muslim and nomad¹⁶. This defined lifestyle characteristic prevented these groups from being assigned a category of autochthon (son of the soil) category, except a small group of Jula who had a sedentary lifestyle with an aspect of itinerancy (LeBlanc, 2000; Nebout, 1906).

The understanding of local cultural identities derives from the distinction between 'cultural artefacts and lifestyle' and most importantly the underlying system of material possession in terms of land-ownership and mode of economic production as in the metropolis. The Mandé/Malinke ethnic group, commonly referred to as Jula from North Savannah territory involved in commercial activities were understood to be better organised, as having nothing in common with the autochthonous, but were not designated as an

¹⁶Studies were commissioned by the French colonial administrator to establish and classify different ethnic groups. See *Les Noirs de l'Afrique* (the Black of Africa), Maurice Delafosse (1941),

indigenous group because they were rootless (Villamur & Delafosse, 1904: 3). Their Islamic background was viewed by the coloniser as being a useful instrument to fight against animism that dominated customs of inhabitants of the forest region of the south (Dozon, 2000: 287).

On the other hand and in contrast to southern ethnic groups, namely the Kru & Akan/Any, the state granted them the status of the indigenous population because of their sedentary way of life (Chauveau & Dozon, 1987) and access to productive land. The Kru in the southwest were thought of as anarchic, primitive, with wild and dangerous practices of sacrifice and fetishism (Dozon, 2000: 787), whilst the Akan/Anyi ethnic group in the South/Centre/East were perceived as able entrepreneur and planter (of cocoa and coffee) with a propensity to contribute to the economy of their contact with European trade in Gulf of Guinea (Cutolo, 2010: 536). This analysis of the local cultural identities involved a host of 'invisible biases.' This apparent assumption is based on the possession of material background and 'stability' in the context of ethnic classification based on 'response of groups to environmental condition and their historical development' (Stocking, 1974: cited in Wright, 1998). As Wright (1998) remarks,

'The romantic idea that nations, groups within nations and peoples at different periods have distinctive cultures with the enlightenment idea that each of these cultures was at a different state of the evolution of civilization or in a progression towards European rationality' (p.8).

The Savannah north is dry, its principal cash crop is cotton and the land was not considered to be as fertile as the forest areas located mostly in the south. Voltaic population such as Senufo populated the north partially suitable for coffee. The colonial administrator viewed this group as natural docile and included to agricultural work. They were better organised and were forced to migrate to the South as they were considered to be excellent labour for the fertile land (Chauveau & Dozon, 1987). The Senufo counterpart in the northwest is the Mande's speaking group. This group have strong commercial traditions as the Jula traders of pre-colonial West Africa who had converted to Islam (Cutolo, 2010). Economically, French colonial planters were exploited through agricultural production of cocoa and coffee in the forested areas of the south (McGovern, 2011: 9).

In the pre-colonial period, this forested area produced kola nuts as a commercial commodity in the region during the pre-colonial period. But, today, these forested areas are cocoa and coffee plantations (McGovern 2011: 9) and as in the case of northerners,

southerners spoke different languages. In the southwest, Kru is the spoken language among Kruman. In the southeast, Akan/Anyi group and the third largest ethnic group in the Côte d'Ivoire speak Akan or Kwa language. Under the Akan, the Baule sub group had a centralised system of government as opposed to the Kru ethnic groups (i.e., Beté, Dan and so forth).¹⁷ The colonial system of classification constructed the current social order of 'essential meanings' of cultural identities based on four principal language groups and connected the country to its neighbours (In the east Ghana and Liberia to the West, with Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso in the north). The Mande language is widely spoken by groups such as the Jula / Malinke, Gur and Dan. These groups presence is found 'in the northwest quadrant' of the country and they speak Mande, a language spoken by people from neighbouring countries such as Mali, Guinea and North-eastern Liberia (McGovern, 2011, Akindès, 2004). The Voltaic-speaking groups including the Senufo live in the north-western part of Côte d'Ivoire; the voltaic language they speak is the same as in southern Mali and Burkina Faso (ibid.).

The colonial state conceived and legitimized a strategy of differential regional development (Chauveau & Dozon, 1987), which was reinforced by the post-independent state (Akindès, 2000, 2008). The Islamic background of the north-eastern groups (Mande, Jula, and Senufo) was considered a good instrument to fight against animism that dominated customs of inhabitants of the forest region in the south (Dozon, 2000: 287). The history of Islam in Côte d'Ivoire provides an example of this complex relationship between the meaning of religion and ethnicity and the formation of the Jula identity (Gingiss, 1972; Lewis, 1971; Perinbam, 1988; Person, 1968; Toungara, 2001). Furthermore, it highlights processes of simplification and homogenisation of ethnic groups.

The north is still associated with Islam and Jula, a group that continues to be found in Côte d'Ivoire and also throughout West Africa from Senegal, Guinea Conakry and Mali (Zouande, 2011). Presently, around twenty-three percent of people in Côte d'Ivoire are Muslim, mainly Mande and Gur ethnic groups (namely the Jula). Muslims are also found in rural areas as intermarriage between Christians and Muslims is common among the educated in the urban setting and the south (Miran, 2006: 2). As McGovern (2011: 2) rightly observes, not all northern ethnic groups (e.g., Mande and Dar) speak '*Jula*'. The latter means 'trader' in Malinke.¹⁸ However, these northern ethnic groups tend to be

¹⁷ See Figure 3 that shows the main ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire, page 38.

¹⁸ The language of Jula as such does not exist, but it is a mix of northern languages and Bambara from Mali and Guinea spoken by all Mande tribes and now is associated with traders and Muslims.

indiscriminately grouped together by the same groups from another part of the country or neighbouring countries (McGovern, 2011:12).

Citizenship introduction and ambiguous practices

Through the French philosophy of 'assimilation', all Africans in Côte d'Ivoire were officially French subjects, although without rights to citizenship or representation. The first attempt to define Ivorian citizenship can be located in the controlling borders of conquest by the empire. Between 1887 and 1944-1947, citizenship practices were emulated by the French colonial administration through enacted *Code d'Indigénat* (Indigenoussness Code). From 1904 to 1958, Côte d'Ivoire as well as the rest of French West Africa federation that endured from 1895 until 1960 and encompassed eight territories in Africa (Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), French Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast], Upper Volta [now Burkina Faso], Dahomey [now Benin] and Niger) was a constituency of the French West Africa Federation governed from Paris (Aldrich, 1996; Conklin, 1998; Manning, 1998). The Indigenouss Code was a series of laws that in practice, created an inferior legal status for native populations in the French Colonies'. The native populations were not granted full French citizenship. Some French citizens were of metropolitan origin and indigenous people from the colonies had French subjects status. With this limited access to the French citizenship, indigenous population could be granted French citizenship if they successfully went through a series of 'cultural' behaviour and manner changes. In the 19th and 20th centuries, an ideology of assimilation was introduced, which was aimed at teaching the French subjects that by adopting French language and culture, they could eventually become French (Betts, 2005: 8; Lambert, 1993: 241). The French colonial officials had argued for a distinct French rule of a centralised government that sought to assimilate colonial subjects into French polity (Betts, 2005 [1961]; Bosworth et al., 1986; Crowder, 1964; Diouf, 1998; Mangeon, 2003). The desired product of assimilation was the ability to speak French, follow the French law, occupy white-collar jobs (though rarely higher than clerks), be treated as an elite and evolve beyond tribal traditions (Lewis, 1962: 134-135; MacLean, 2002: 125; Harris, 2009).

The period following World War II was a turning point in that more rights (in theory) were provided to indigenous groups. In 1946, reform led to granting voting rights and the transfer of limited powers to indigenous elected officials, with a governor appointed

from Paris. Following a referendum in 1958, Côte d'Ivoire became an autonomous Republic within the Federation of French West Africa. The very first Ivorian citizenship legislation was enacted in 1961. Prior to the country's independence, there was no such thing as Ivorian nationality. But the adoption of the Ivorian citizenship legislation after the country independence in 1960 by the newly elected parliament was subject to heavy debates in the Parliament regarding who in the country at the time was eligible and under what conditions, to citizenship. Such eligibility conditions required that those living in Côte d'Ivoire prior to its independence make a 'simple' declaration to state authorities that they wanted to avail of Ivorian citizenship.

This requirement put limitations on the aspect of citizenship access. The state institutional structures and practices were either not logistically available in all areas to take such a declaration or, the population had no information about this process of obtaining the legal citizenship status. An example of the consequence of these procedures is that not only migrants, but also Ivorian people by origin became undocumented and, as a result, were left without the possibility of acquiring the proof of citizenship. Not only was an immigrant's category created, but it also contributed to making some native groups suspects of not being Ivorian because of their shared ethnic groups with immigrants who were brought in the country by the colonial authority from mainly Burkina Faso¹⁹. Hence, the category of 'immigrant' is understood to include not just migrants but anyone who is, for whatever reason, undocumented. The category 'immigrant' [what is the local term] is designed to exclude from citizenship rights.

Introduced administrative practices to provide Ivorian citizenship following the country's independence from France became an obstruction and were used by the state authorities to deny citizenship to many the native population who shared the same ethnic background with migrant descendants. The state identified ethnic groups from northern regions (Mande, Senufo, Malinke etc.) as foreign nationals.

This raises questions about, not only on what grounds was a person granted or denied Ivorian citizenship at independence, but also how ethnic identity was included or excluded from citizenship thus, categorised as Ivorian or foreigners. The citizenship law of 1961 portrayed inclusive of various identities, the mode of access to citizenship (citizenship by origin, naturalisation, marriage, and specific provisions for migrants living in the country

¹⁹ The French authorities brought in immigrants from other West African countries such as Benin, Senegal and Mali. However, the larger number of migrants were from Burkina Faso (See Bassett, 2006).

prior to independence). The grounds on which anyone was given or denied Ivorian citizenship remain unclear. However, the amendment made in 1972 became more restrictive and combined some elements of *jus sanguinis*, the principle that relied on blood-based descent regime and citizenship based *on jus soli* or birth place (OSF, 2009).

From 1972, birth no longer determined citizenship within Ivorian territory (*jus soli*). Rather, citizenship was determined by the country of citizenship of parents (*jus sanguinis*) or transmitted by blood. This change in the eligibility criteria produced a category of 'invisible' people who lack a formal or citizenship status. These included the undocumented national population, but also migrants who stayed in the country after independence in the 1960s and their children. Their residency provided migrants with informal membership at the community level but could not guarantee a legal recognition. On accession to independence in 1960, the population of Côte d'Ivoire was estimated at 3.7 million inhabitants of which, 13 per cent or about 480,000 were 'immigrants.'²⁰ Although, in 1966, President Houphouët-Boigny²¹ proposed a dual citizenship to all nationals of West Africa; his proposal was not passed by the parliament (Akindès, 2009: 44; Dozon, 2000: 793). However, this president philosophy was introduced to all West Africans who aided in the development and a dream of collective wealth in national space (Akindès, 2009: 44). President Houphouët-Boigny stance was aimed at attracting migrants to work in the development of cacao plantations. With abundant land availability, migrants were encouraged to come and occupy land and use them to produce commercial crops. Those migrants who worked the land and produced, were understood to be Ivorian as they hard working contributed to the wealth of the country.

***Ivoirité* and the construction of exclusionary national identity**

The concept of '*ivoirité*' as a political identity (i.e., being of 'pure' Ivorian descent), was first introduced by Henri Konan Bédié, then-president of the national assembly who took power following the death of Côte d'Ivoire's first president Houphouët-Boigny in 1993. Bédié became president as prescribed in constitutional procedures (Toungara, 2001: 66). Bédié was favoured by the former president to succeed him and lead his party, (*Parti*

²⁰ Cited in Plan of Action 2010 for the Ministry of State Administration, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights Plan of Action on Identification, prevention and reduction of statelessness, 2010).

²¹ Houphouët-Boigny was the first president of Côte d'Ivoire from 1960 to 1993.

Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire - PDCI) (the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire) and shared the same Baule ethnic group (Araoye, 2012: 4; Bah, 2010: 601). Under the leadership of Bédié, PDCI became divided, and a new party, (*Rassemblement de Republicans* - RDR) (Republican Party) was created with Alassane Ouattara and a presidential candidate (ibid.). The split highlighted the division along ethnic lines in which the new break away party was constituted by northern Muslims as opposed to Baule's, Christian domination from central and southern Eastern regions. During this flourishing period of political parties in Côte d'Ivoire, another party emerged, (*Front Populaire Ivoirien* - FPI) (Ivorian Popular Front) whose leader, Laurent Gbagbo came from another southern ethnic group Beté (subgroup of Kru from south-western regions). Gbagbo's motto was that his party was the one to represent autochthones and accused the government of preferential treatment of migrants over autochthones understood to be citizens (Dunn, 2009: 114; Mitchell, 2012: 276).

The contentious politics of identities in Côte d'Ivoire today derives from the country's ethno-linguistic distinction and elision (McGovern, 2011: 11). From independence until 1993, the dynamic economy of Côte d'Ivoire enabled the concealing, to some degree, of the 'fractious relations' that existed between so-called *étrangers* (foreigners), which comprised of people with Burkina Faso and Malian heritage and those of 'pure-blooded' Ivorian (Kirwin, 2006) heritage. However, an analysis of political and historical contexts highlights deeper divisions, which had systematically developed among class and cultural heritage in the past century (Kirwin, 2006: 44). The literature on the civil war of 2002 to 2010, highlighted the underlying issues such as immigration (Touré, 2000; Arango, 2004; Akindès, 2004; Bouquet, 2003, 2007; Le Pape & Vidal, 2002; Nhema & Zeleza, 2008), identity construction and polarisation (Nordas, 2007; Arnaut, 2008; Dembélé, 2002), as well as the refusal to grant citizenship to some population groups (Adejumobi, 2001: 156; Akokpari, 2008; Dorman, Hammett, & Nugent, 2007).

The process of decolonization and most importantly of the 'peace process' reveals an 'ideological' struggle in constructing Ivorian identity from the 1970s. The challenge was over the power to define criteria for inclusion and exclusion for created terms of membership after independence. The changing political and economic situation of post-independence continued the expansion into new areas of categorization of social and cultural identities. State explicit practices and rules were designed to exclude a segment of the population by drawing the contested 'meaning of key terms and concepts' (Wright, 1998: 9). These practices retain many of the problems of classification of its colonial predecessor that seek to make use of power-knowledge, with the caveat of subjectivity embedded in a

postcolonial state, the process of inclusion and exclusion from citizenship or membership to the nation-state (Werbner, 2002; Beissinger & Young, 2002). The process of decolonization and state formation after independence suggests a continuing system espousing ethnic categories bestowed by colonialism (Young, 2007, 2012; Young, 1989). The 'new' post-independent state embraced the legality of colonial identities and embarked on even further projects of constructing a national identity through creation of the concept of *Ivoirité* or Ivorianess.

To build support in the lead up to the presidential elections, Bédié saw the need to divide the opposition in order to increase support (Toungara, 2001: 67). In his attempt to reunite the southerners/Christian constituency, Bédié re-invented a persuasion technique by recycling the concept of *Ivoirité*, but this time with the intent to create political identities (Bah, 2010: 602). Bédié, and other political leaders' promotion of a politicised *Ivoirité* was accused by those who felt targeted -mostly migrant descendants, ethnic groups from northern regions and Muslims of (i) being a hindrance to the integration of certain people to the nation; (ii) containing insidious projects of categorization of Ivoirians; (iii) promoting exclusion, rejection of others, especially the Muslims who essentially came from the North; and (iv) constituting a narrative technique of political power to only benefit Akan ethnic groups that had created its political version (Boa, 2009: 78). Bédié used this concept to prevent his political opponent, Alassane Ouattara, from standing for elections on the basis of his alleged foreign nationality while, at the same time, denying citizenship rights to a large number of persons. According to the 1998 population census, 26 per cent of the Ivorian population (i.e.; approximately 4 million of a total population of 16 million) were classified as 'foreign' (see Smith, 2011, RPGH, 1998), although many had resided in the country for two or more generations. Many of these 'foreigners' from Burkina Faso, Niger, Guinea and Mali had been invited to work in the agricultural expansion of the coffee and cocoa plantations by the then-President Houphouët-Boigny (in office from 1960-1993). A stagnating economy combined with a growing population gave rise to increased tensions between local' and 'foreign' communities over land while politicians continued to exploit xenophobia for partisan political purposes.

The concept of *Ivoirité*, or an original way of being Ivorian, resulted from a 'synthesis' of the country's history and cultures (Touré, 1996: 12). Initially, Niangoran Porquet, (1974: 14) created the word '*Ivoirité*' during periods of cultural turmoil of Marxism and Pan- Africanism movement during the time of negritude philosophy of Senegal, authenticity of Mobutu in Democratic Republic of Congo, High Life of Ghana and cultural

values of Bembeya Jazz from Guinea Sékou Touré were being introduced in the process of post-independence nation-building. During this unique period for the construction of African Unity at the time of emerging cultural 'enthusiasm', *Ivoirité* was an element of constructing an Ivorian cultural identity (Boa, 2009: 76). *Ivoirité* was an essential 'cultural' element specific to Ivorian, which is composed of multicultural identities of Africa and was to be integrated into cultural Africa (Boa, 2009: 75-76). Furthermore, *Ivoirité* was a 'culturalist' and 'anti-imperialist' concept aimed at uniting and distinguishing '*homme de terrain*' or 'man of the soil' (Arnaut, 2008) by simultaneously revalorising autochthony (Geschiere, 2009).

However, Arnaut (2008, 2008a) observes, the artistic and academic project of Niangoran-Porquet (1977) that stretched Ivorian post-colonial history and began with inclusive nation-building in the early 1970s ended with divisive exclusionary tactics in the course of the 1990s (p. 69). In the 1990s, the Ivorian elites, mainly southerners who were members of the University Cell for the Diffusion of Ideas (CURDIPHE, 1996) of President Henri Konan Bédié, used this concept of *Ivoirité* to differentiate between native Ivoirians and Ivoirians of migrant descent. The aim was to limit access to citizenship entitlements in the context of a declining economy that marked the country (Toungara, 2001). Contrary to the original *Ivoirité* based on cultural attributes, this time, political policy became the base of *Ivoirité* where culture is thought of as a means of transformation of mentalities by integrating it to a political project (Touré, 1996: 12).

This political version of *Ivoirité* is much the same way as French colonialist attempted to promote a French citizenship subject. In this case, *Ivoirité* was as much based on behaviour changes to be considered as an Ivorian.

President Bédié wrote:

'What we want to achieve is obviously the affirmation of our cultural identity, development of Ivorian citizen in what make him specific, what one may call his *Ivoirité*' [*my translation*] Bédié, 1995: 38).

Afterwards to clarify his ideas he contended that:

'*Ivoirité* concerns primarily people with roots in Côte d'Ivoire but also those who live there and share our values. *Ivoirité* is the cultural synthesis among ethnic inhabitants of Côte d'Ivoire' [*my translation*] (Bédié, 1999: 44).

Contrary to public concern, particularly those who were being discriminated against,

Bédié's former cabinet director made the matter worse by arguing that the emergence of *Ivoirité* was justified by primarily high rates of immigration and the number of foreigners living in Côte d'Ivoire with their dominant hegemonic place in the Ivorian economy. Bédié argued that the presence of 'foreigners' in Côte d'Ivoire threatened to destroy the socio-economic development and brought anxiety of how to be Ivorian. Bédié referring to the quest for a national cultural identity, argued on how being Ivorian can be translated into a political demand for membership in Ivorian polity [...]. Bédié writes:

'Ivoirité is, we believe, a demand of sovereignty, identity and creativity. The Ivorian people must first assert its sovereignty, its authority to threats of dispossession and subjugation from either immigration or economic and political power. We must then be distinguished from 'Them' [...] and we must succeed in distinguishing Us/Them in a way that is compatible with pluralism citizenship' (Bédié, 1999: 44).

The introduction of national identification cards in 1995 by Bede's government was designed to prove the Ivorian locality of birth of the applicant (Bah, 2010: 603; Cutolo, 2010: 527). Thus, this identity documentation emerged within the political concept of *Ivoirité* that sought to disenfranchise, discourage mobilisation of northerners/Muslims, and required any presidential candidate to prove he/she is 'truly' Ivorian by both birth and descent (Toungara, 2001: 67). During the Bédié presidency, the 1998 Land law aimed at stripping immigrants of land and property ownership they had enjoyed during his predecessors time (Woods, 2003: 650; Bøås, 2009: 31; Mitchell, 2012: 275). Thus, the ability to prove autochthon became the benchmark for access to citizenship rights such as land ownership, political participation, public services and so on. For example, in 1995, the discussion about Alassane Ouattara citizenship led to his eventual disqualification, banning him from running for presidency (Akindès, 2004: 20; Bah, 2010; Bøås, 2009: 32). Furthermore, the electoral process divided pro- Bédié/Baule ethnic supporters and Gbagbo/Beté supporters and led to violence (Araoye, 2012: 5).

These tensions and the subsequent harassment and arrest of pro Ouattara and northern Muslims by the police who questioned their citizenship (Akindès, 2004: 19; Toungara, 2001: 67) eventually led to the coup d'état on 24 December 1999 by General Geui which toppled Bédié. Geui contended that he would reunite the country and lifted the ban on Ouattara from becoming a presidential candidate, a move that he kept for a short period, leading to a referendum which enacted a new constitution banning Ouattara from running (Akindès, 2004: 21; Bah, 201: 603) for presidency.

Gbagbo won the elections in 2000 and further reinforced the policy of a national identity card by creating a specific National Office of Identification (ONI) in 2001 which required that a person applying for an identity document must prove his or her citizenship by obtaining a statement of origin issued by a village committee from the person's locality of origin (Bah, 2010: 603; Geschiere, 2009: 98). For northerners, the introduction of identification cards was seen as a way of excluding them from citizenship and the removal of national identity cards (Geschiere, 2009: 99; Mitchell, 2012: 13). Gbagbo's promotion of nationalism increasingly became the state xenophobic policy and its law enforcement marginalized, targeted and harassed individuals perceived to be of Muslim, Jula ethnic group, northerner, migrants descendants and foreigners identities (Adejumobi, 2001; Akokpari, 2008; Arango, 2004; Banégas, 2006; Banégas & Losch, 2002; Marshall-Fratani, 2006; Miran, 2006a; Nhema & Zeleza, 2008; Nordas, 2007).

Hence, the concept of *Ivoirité* challenged the level of citizenship as formally arranged in different national legislations. This is highlighted by a court case brought against Côte d'Ivoire by the civil society in the Africa Côte of Human rights, which observed that,

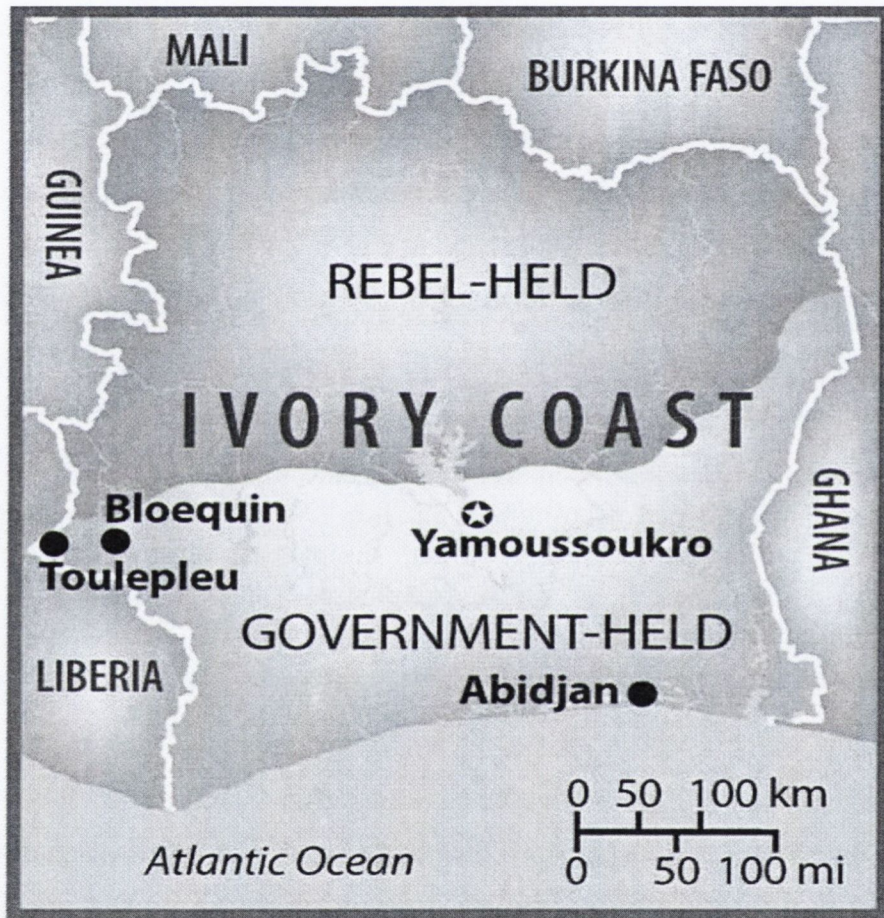
'Although Ivorian Constitution in July 2000 required presidential candidates to be 'Ivoirian by origin', the phrasing '*ivoirien d'origine*' could be perceived as simple paraphrase of the nationality code's reference to 'nationality by origin', as opposed to 'nationality by acquisition' (by marriage, naturalisation, etc.), the provision effectively created a new constitutional concept of '*ivoirité*' (OSF, 2009).

This designation of Ivorian of origin or autochthone among others set the foundation for polarization between groups, in particular, its implementation in the provision of identity and citizenship documents. These practices became embroiled in the exclusionary 'ideology' related to 'national identity' namely '*Ivoirité*' which guided the state policies of designating ethnic identities into citizens and noncitizens.²²

²² Discussed in detail in chapter five.

Civil war and peace process

The simmering tensions that grew since the 1990s resulted in a civil war in September 2002. The rebel attempt to topple Gbagbo failed, but effectively split the country in two with Gbagbo's government controlling the south and the north controlled by the rebel group united under New Front led by Guillaume Soro (see Figure 4 below).



RICH CLABAUGH/STAFF

Figure 4: Côte d'Ivoire being divided unofficially during the conflict from 2002 to 2010.

Following the civil war in late 2002, Côte d'Ivoire became unofficially divided into two: the north controlled by the rebel forces and the south by a transitional government between 2003 and 2010. The main grievance expressed by the rebel forces to justify their actions was the discriminatory treatment of the population from the north and migrants who had lived in the country for generations (Akindès, 2004: 15) as second-class citizens.

In January 2003, the Linas-Marcoussis agreement was the first agreement to be signed by the parties to the conflict. Gbagbo and Soro agreed to remove the controversial

(article 35) in the constitution that barred Alassane Ouattara (current president of Côte d'Ivoire) from two presidential elections allegedly for one of his parents not being of Ivorian descent. Another significant point of this agreement was the abolishment of the disputed role of 'village committees' responsible for issuing statements of origin to people or proof of citizenship based on local notable affidavit that the applicant of identity and citizenship documents was indeed born in a given locality (Banégas, 2006; Bovcon, 2009). United Nations Security Council Resolution 1464 adopted on 4 February 2003 legitimized the Linas-Marcoussis Accord (LMA) as well as the interventions of international forces to serve as interposition between the established *zone de confiance* or a buffer zone.²³

Despite its eventual breakdown the Linas-Marcoussis accords constituted, until the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA) signed on 4 March, 2007, the foundation of the Ivorian peace process, and later accords as the 2004 Accra Accord as well as UN resolutions are based on it. The OPA set out a roadmap for implementing the peace process. In the OPA parties to the conflicts agreed to the 'dismantling of the militia groups and the disarmament; demobilization and reintegration (DDR) program of the Linas-Marcoussis accord; suppression of the buffer zone or reunification of the country; establishment of mixed forces composed of the rebel troops and the Ivorian National Army soldiers to replace the UN forces and French troops. Most importantly, parties to the agreement agreed to re-launch the identification of population interrupted in 2006'.

The Ouagadougou Peace Agreement signed on 7 March 2007 by President Gbagbo, and former New Forces rebel leader Guillaume Soro resulted in a coalition government in which Soro joined Gbagbo's government as prime minister. These two rivals agreed to the reunification of the country, which saw the dismantling of the buffer zone, integration of the rebel forces into the national armed forces and holding elections. Most importantly, this agreement acted as a 'roadmap' to finding practical solutions for the divisive aspect of identity and citizenship that led to the civil war. An operation of identification of population was organised between 2007 and 2009, which issued identity and citizenship documents to all people born in the Côte d'Ivoire.

In November 2010, Gbagbo lost the presidential elections and refused a peaceful transition with his opponent Alassane Ouattara. This situation resulted in a five-month stand-off, characterised by widespread violence, which engulfed the country again (Banégas,

²³ See UNSC (2003) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1464. The situation in Côte d'Ivoire. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/235/84/PDF/N0323584.pdf?OpenElement>.

2011). In April 2011, supporters of Ouattara forced Gbagbo out of office with the military support of the UN and French troops. Since then, Gbagbo has been sent to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague pending his trial for crimes against humanity.

Conclusion

The process set out by the post-independent state to create a 'new' nation through nationalism had its foundation in the political elite that created a common citizenship on the basis of national sovereignty (Mamdani, 2012a: 85). However, practices of discrimination and exclusion from citizenship led to civil war. The arrangement of native and non-native categories based on the French colonial setting of managing colonial subjects was reproduced in the development of a national identity through *Ivoirité*. The Ivoirian post-independence governing state seemed to be focused on 'conquered elites rather than the mass of the colonised' (Mamdani, 2012a: 1). Mamdani (2012b) argued that the decolonization and subsequent policy of cultural and political assimilation sought to erase differences but were later changed to acknowledge and shape differences (ibid.). The differentiation of tribe and ethnicity played a significant role in re-shaping these identities and became the 'essence of governance' of the population (ibid).

Ivoirité emerged as a new postcolonial state idea of developing a sense of national identity. In this sense *Ivoirité* in Côte d'Ivoire could be understood as a post-independence project to enforce differences reflected in nationalistic projects that sought to reverse not only categorization of identities, but also set the boundary for inclusion and exclusion from citizenship (Mamdani, 2012a: 3). Consequently, the people came to be defined along existing culture markers such as ethnic groups, language or religious denomination (Sokoloff, 2004: 4). While, these markers are likely to always exist, their instrumentalisation by the state is what made possible exclusion from membership and related human rights to many individuals who under the law would be entitled to Ivoirian citizenship. While *Ivoirité* was a language of culture used to create membership in the nation-state or citizenship, it became politicised and set boundaries for inclusion and exclusion along ethnic and religious lines. The politicisation of group membership/ethnicity category impacted the substance of citizenship. It is through *Ivoirité* and politicisation of social and cultural identities (i.e.; religion, ethnicity and lineage and kinship, and area of place) that the denial of citizenship of a segment of the population became possible. Perhaps, the challenge of designating population between citizens and noncitizens in Côte

d'Ivoire is more fundamentally related to the existing conceptualisations of social identities consistent with the essence of its social and cultural identities and their institutionalization in the practice of identity and citizenship documentation. This process has been exacerbated by the linking of Ivorian citizenship to the normative language of national identity and its politicization that sought to exclude migrants-descendants and other groups such as Muslims from citizenship.

The state practice of documenting the population through the 'peace process' have become embroiled in the exclusionary politicised ideology of *Ivoirité* that sought to create an Ivorian national identity of 'real Ivorian' and has guided the state policies of the application of citizenship. Consequently, membership in the nation state became characterised by the inclusion and exclusion of some ethnic and religious identities, although this implementation was also challenged by migration history and the diversification of national identities that are similar to those of neighbouring countries.

The new decolonized elite subjects played a significant role in evolving political identities based on nativism principle and the conceptualization of Ivorian citizenship. The latter has interacted with the constructed identities of natives and non-natives in colonial, decolonization and post-conflict peace processes. Population groups who had been ascribed the category of the non-native were discriminated against and excluded from citizenship. Meanwhile, the influx of immigrants and internal mobility from rural to urban areas, which occurred during colonial and post-independent era, has complicated the way these categories are treated or understood. Hence, *Ivoirité* incited the sentiment of autochthony, particularly among Christian and southern ethnic groups set the foundation for citizenship boundaries that excluded anyone perceived as 'strangers', any foreign person from the locality of origin. In other words, the northern ethnic groups and population of Muslim backgrounds, as well as migrant descent were denied the native category, thus citizenship rights. According to Gnabéli (2008), the terms and forms of production of indigenous groups were varied but were not exclusive and might overlap, depending on the local dynamics of power relations and depending on the key issues such as access and control of local resources, local citizenship and local political power. Indeed, the rise of *Ivoirité* in Côte d'Ivoire in the seventies was an attempt of the elite and post-independent state to create a national identity and 'revalorize' the native category. The challenge after independence, as Mamdani (2012) argues was to 'reform the state and to rewrite the historiography that undergirded the colonial political project, and in the process, to historicise 'tradition' so as to reclaim it' (p. 4).

Chapter Two

Biopolitics and the categorisation of identities

Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical orientation and foundation of my argument that the application of citizenship in post-peace agreement Côte d'Ivoire (after 2007) is problematic. The argument is developed from Foucault's analytic of power expounded in three of his published lectures at the College de France on government and biopolitics: (1) *'Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975–1976'*, (2) *'Security, Territory, and Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977–1978'*, and (3) *'The Birth of Biopolitics and Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1978–1979'*. Foucault's focus in these lectures is on issues of state power and forms of government, state formation, and the political reasoning that guides the liberal government.

The analysis in this thesis centres on the 'anthropology of modernity'. Modernity is treated as a tangible ethnographic object by analysing its concrete manifestations through people's experience (Inda, 2005: 1). The anthropology and ethnography of the state is understood as they relate to Foucault's emphasis on power as dispersed and his focus on the techniques and micro-practices of power. This chapter elaborates the theoretical orientation underpinning that analysis. It builds on the notion of governmentality that contributes to an anthropological perspective that views the concepts that have improved the quality of the analytical work of our modernity as opposed to a study of governmentality in relation to the theory and practices of anthropology (Inda, 2005).

Inda (2005) explained the ways that governmentality implies a conceptual innovation that undertakes the study of the present and its genealogical roots (pp. 1–8). As Valverde (2007) argued, governmentality, as a methodological innovation to study minor practices, requires detailed ethnographic descriptions of the context and local particularities of a group to demonstrate the ways that governmental rationalities emerge, take shape and become distorted (p.160). From this perspective, governmentality supports the anthropological approach by considering concrete techniques and micro-practices of provision of identity and citizenship documents that are associated with the bureaucratic management of

populations in the dynamic context of a peace process. Thus, I consider the apparent micro-practices and varied power relations in the 'peace process' and I examine these practices on the basis of emerging governmental practices with respect to the provision of citizenship documents.

As Schrover and Schinkel (2013) note: 'Politicians emphasised normality and standing procedures and actions were normal and legitimate. By using consensus strategy of agreeing that there is a problem, they stress 'normality of the policies in combination with the abnormality of circumstances and the seriousness of the threat' (p.1128). Following the signing of the peace agreement 'the legal and bureaucratic practices seem to have been implemented to show the control and legitimacy' (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). Thus, the post-peace agreement project 'contributed to the bureaucratisation of the discourse and legitimisation of the problems through the institutionalisation and made it difficult to think or talk outside dominant frame' (ibid.).

There is a shared characteristic of the academic literature categorisation and autochthony theory regarding Côte d'Ivoire. The empirical example of the Ivorian case emphasises the distinction predominantly based on whether groups were seen as 'people of the land' or 'ruling groups' (Geschiere; 2013: 110; Ceuppeens & Geschiere, 2005; Bayart, Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 2001; Cutolo, 2010). This turn to the autochthony emerged in the colonial undertaking of territorial exploitation and agricultural production based on criteria of regional functionality and ethnic specialisation (Cutolo, 2010: 536). The sedentary group in the south were given the status of native groups because they were people with fertile land (Geschiere, 2013: 110). This status of indigenusness or autochthony had a condescending intension (ibid.). However, not all of the southerners were farmers and had been involved in trading gold before colonisation (Zaborowski, 1901). The re-valorisation of autochthony developed with anti-colonial movements (Dozon, 2000) and expanded in post-independence state formation.

In contrast, the colonial administrator had viewed northerners, Muslims and migrant categories with nomadic lifestyles and a vast empire as more civilized compared to their southern counterparts, who were farmers and hunters and considered an allochthonous category or non-native (Dozon, 2000). Over time, the categories of autochthons and allochthonous were cemented, provided the seed for discord (Conklin, 1998a), and provided the basis for inclusion and exclusion from citizenship. In the place of this exclusionary view of membership was a reinforcing mechanism of these categories by the post-independence state.

Although citizenship is one of the important techniques and micro-practices of power, some scholars have drawn particular attention to the importance of another type of categorisation. Accordingly, this thesis pays particular attention to Anderson's (1991) work on imagined communities, Goldberg's (2002) *The Racial State*, and Mamdani's (2012a).

Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity.

The implementation of the post-peace agreement that sought to provide citizenship documents to the population can be understood from the perspective of governmentality. The latter is Foucault's works that seek to answer the questions of the history and innovation of exploring the nature of governmentality, defined as the 'art of government', and the tactics and strategies that are used to control the conduct of individuals and to regulate the population (Foucault, 1991). In this study, these political reasons relate to the articulation of the 'problem of government' (Scott, 2005: 34) that is about the attribution of citizenship to the population. The identification of an Ivorian citizen is the result of social construction by expert state authorities and validation by official regulations and administrative procedures that detail the criteria of citizenship. This interpretation of reality legitimizes a specific set of problem-solving techniques and assumes the identity of what is real, based on a certain set of characteristics. These types of descriptions of the world or reality are enacted by authorities that may end up reading their own accounts and experience from narrative held in relation to the truth about who is or is not a citizen. This is the criteria of citizenship socially constructed through governmental practices.

Therefore, that which is perceived to be reality depends on a combination of critical events and historical contexts. The question of political reasons, or truth, is subject to specific circumstances and specific historical contexts that shape specific types of emerging problems and specific devices that are strategies intended to address the problems that shift through time and space. Because of this, the ethnographic method of studying the modern forms of government can be a way of exploring the problem of government, technologies of government, and, therefore, the purpose of governmentality.

Similar to previous research on governmentality, this chapter presents contributions to this methodological innovation in the realm of everyday practices of the provision of citizenship within the context of the 'peace process' in Côte d'Ivoire. To do so, the chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section discusses the study of the anthropology of modernity as informed by Foucault's works on governmentality and biopolitics. These

two concepts, governmentality and biopolitics, seek to explain the history of modernity. They are used to analyse problems in the social sciences and the potential of these concepts is in improving empirical research. The term 'governmentality' is defined as an 'art of government', tactics and strategies used for the conduct of individuals, and regulation of the population. The term 'biopolitics' is defined as an exercise of power in modern society that is dispersed at different levels of governmental practices (Foucault, 1982). Thus, this section discusses the anthropology of modernity as an approach to the study of practices, processes, and institutions of citizenship application in a post-peace agreement context. Drawing on studies of the theory of the anthropology of modernity, I situate my analysis in the state practices and institutions of the 'peace process' relevant to citizenship documentation. The final section of the chapter outlines theoretical premises for the analysis of citizenship practices in a specific social or cultural context. In contrast, this chapter explores institutional types of modern states and addresses questions about the ways that the state uses them to shape identities and citizenship.

From the framework of the anthropology of modernity, I seek to develop a theoretical framework that explains state practices and their relationship to the procedures of the categorisation of identities and citizenship determination in the context of a peace process. I propose a connection between a set of activities emerging from the implementation of the post-peace agreement and the state practices of racial/ethnic discrimination and exclusion from citizenship. I argue that the xenophobic reaction to immigrants and marginalized groups relied on ethno-racial concepts formed in the emergence of the modern nation state and its management (Goldberg, 2002).

Racism and discriminatory practices in the post conflict peace-building process in Côte d'Ivoire illustrate an interdependent relationship between the theoretical approaches to the anthropology of modernity of the racial state, biopolitics, and the denial of citizenship. I argue that a combination of theories of governmentality relating to the scholarship on the anthropology of modernity and racial states offers a way to understand how the 'peace process' interventions became governmental technologies that contributed to biased identities. These biased identities ultimately led to denial of citizenship to migrant-descendants and ethnic and religious groups that were associated with Islam and the northern regions of Côte d'Ivoire. In this section, citizenship and categorisation practices are discussed, and the 'peace process' as a framework in which these practices are analysed, is presented. I argue that the state practices led to the institutionalisation of norms relating to structures that prevent certain population groups from attaining citizenship rights. The

patterns identified through the examination of state practices include discrimination and bureaucratic procedures, which are exclusionary obstacles to citizenship that have negative impacts on people's daily lives.

The conceptualisation of governmentality and biopolitics

Governmentality

The concept of governmentality was developed by Foucault in his *Lectures at the College de France* in 1978 and 1979 and was further elaborated by scholars such as Rose and Miller (1992) Dean (1999), and Lemke (2001, 2011). Foucault (2000) broadly defined governmentality as 'the art government' (p. 34), comprised of a series of actions and practices that seek in a complex way to direct individuals and populations (Foucault, 2007: 122). Foucault's (2000) investigation into the concept of government introduced a new dimension to the analysis of power (2000). The concept of governmentality is an attempt to 'critique the common conception of power' (Bröckling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011: 1). Studies of governmentality are concerned with the way of thinking about the concrete processes of governmental practices and how they are enmeshed with forms of knowledge that make 'truth claims about governmental objects' (Inda, 2005: 8). Scholars have identified three main orientations for the analysis of governmentality that are connected to forms of power: (1) rationality or reasons, (2) techniques of government, and (3) subjects (Brockling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011; Inda, 2005).

First, the rationality of government also known as political rationalities, has been elaborated by Rose and Miller (1992) as

'The changing discursive fields within which the exercise of power is conceptualised, the moral justifications or particular ways of exercising power by diverse authorities, notions of the appropriate forms, objects and limits of politics, and conceptions of the proper distribution of such tasks among secular, spiritual, military and familial sectors.'(p. 175)

Therefore, rationality of government is concerned with the reasons that are used in governmental practices and the systems of government that consist of interpretation and representation (Brockling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011). In other words, as Inda (2005) remarks, rationality in governmental practices consists of 'the forms of political reasoning

ensconced in governmental discourse, the language and vocabulary of political rule, the constitution of manageable fields and objects, and the variable forms of truth, knowledge, and expertise that authorize governmental practice' (p. 7).

Specific types of rationality are deployed in governmental practices in which the problem of government allows systematic analysis of the relationship 'between techniques of power and forms of knowledge' (Brockling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011: 8). Two types of political rationalities are established as, on one hand, variable types of truth, knowledge and expertise that authorise governmental practice (Inda, 2005). This type of political rationality is concerned with the multiplicity of endeavours that rationalize the nature, mechanisms, aims, and parameters of governmental authority. Scholars who are interested in these political rationalities have focused their attention on understanding the objectives of governmental practices with respect to 'the poor, the vagrant, the economy, civil society, etc.' (Inda, 2005: 8). Thus, political rationality is concerned with the ways that governmental practices are intertwined with specific regimes of truth and the roles of various experts and authorities (ibid.).

Political rationality is concerned with the problem oriented nature of government (Rose & Miller, 1992; Dean, 1999) that relates to modern practices of government that makes problems visible and thinkable, necessitating programs to resolve them (Rose & Miller, 1992: 175). Experts and government authorities conceive some objects as problems and continue to classify experience as problematic (Inda, 2005: 8). These governmental problems have included 'human beings as citizens, objects of knowledge, living entities and targets of regulations' (Inda, 2005: 11 & 12).

Scholars interested in this type of political rationality have traced the expression of problematisation in relation to the population's health or wellbeing and the security and sovereignty of nation-states. This type of examination is useful in two ways. On one hand it is helpful for bringing into focus the systems of thoughts that various authorities have used to pose and specify the problem of migration and how to identify citizens from noncitizens. On the other hand, the governmental practices of problematisation brings into focus the system of action used to give effect to the government's management of the population. As Rose and Miller (1992) argued, the problematic of government should be analysed both in terms of their political rationalities and in terms of their governmental technologies. The latter are 'the complex of mundane program calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions' (Rose & Miller, 1992: 175).

In Senellart's (1995, 2007) explanation of Foucault's lectures on *Security, Territory, and Population*, given at the *College de France* in 1977 through 1978, different meanings of the concept of government were used in the 18th century. Foucault (2007) highlighted two types of government: 'political government' and 'the problematic of government' (p. 89). Bröckling et al. (2011) argued that the problematic of government refers to leadership in a broad sense (e.g., self-government, head of family, childbearing, governing of community) (p. 2). From that perspective, Rose and Miller (1992) further elaborated specific types of rationalities that include the problem of government in the relationship of techniques of power with types of knowledge (p. 147). According to Rose and Miller (1992) the rationalities of government, relates to ways in which 'the exercise of power is conceptualised, the moral justification for particular ways of exercising power by diverse authorities, the notions of appropriate forms, objects and limits of politics...' (p. 175). In this sense, governmentality is about the investigation of social problems, their application by state authorities, and their legitimisation. The understanding of reality is, according to Inda (2005) based on the scientific acknowledgement of reality that legitimises a particular way of addressing technical problems and selecting which truths constitute reality (p. 8). In other words, as Rose and Miller (1999) argue, the analysis of governmentality is concerned with 'what counts as truth, how truth is created, by which authorities and how it is circulated' (pp. 147–150). Governmentality studies seek to establish a 'problem oriented nature of political reasons' (Rose & Miller, 1992; Dean, 1999); that is, the ways that the administrative authorities formulate the object of government as a problem and the ways to address the problems in a specific historical context and circumstance (Inda, 2002: 8). This means that governmental rationality is a logical process of thinking about 'the nature of the practice of government' that renders activities of interventions thinkable and feasible (Bröckling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011). In this sense, reality is conceived as manageable and is open to calculation and changes (Foucault, 1980).

The second analytical theme of governmentality studies consists of governmental practices that generate technologies or techniques of government (Inda, 2005). In Foucault's work, *The History of Sexuality* (1978), the analysis of governmentality is about the progress or development of the world that is presumed by groups who may read their own history and experiences from a constructed narrative as true. Inda (2005) writes 'that all government positively depends on the elaboration of specific languages that represent and analyze reality in a manner that renders it amenable to political programming' (p. 8). According to Inda's (2005) interpretation of governmental technologies is drawn from the definition, which

consists of enacted governmental practices. These governmental techniques consist of 'mechanisms, devices, calculations, procedures, apparatuses and documents used' (Inda, 2005: 9) by authorities and aimed at normalising and instrumentalising 'the conduct, thoughts, decisions, and aspirations of others' to achieve a specific goal (Miller & Rose, 1990: 8; Rose, 1996; Dean, 1999).

The third analytical theme of governmentality is the subject; that is, it is about types of identities that emerge from individual actors and that inform governmental activities (Inda, 2005: 10). Foucault (2007) was able to identify the 'genealogy of the modern state' (p. 353), which is interested in the rise of the modern state extending over a long time and the process of subjectivity (Lemke, 2011; Gordon, 1991). As Lemke (2011) argues, the analysis of the subjects of government is concerned with the use of governmental practices about individuals and arising identities (p.10). Moreover, the subjects of governmental practices are aimed at cultivating certain types of individual and collective identities, agency, and subjectivity (ibid.). However, as Lemke (2011) remarks the government's subjects are concerned with individuals' self-development and the cultivation of their own identities.

Biopolitics

Foucault's analytic of power was developed in his lectures on biopolitics and governmentality that were presented at the *College de France* between 1975 and 1979. Foucault variously referred to the technology of power that emerged in the 18th century as 'biopower', 'state biopolitics', or 'anatomy-politics' (Foucault, 1980). Anatomy-politics is about disciplinary power that seeks to manage a population within historical territorial boundaries. In other words, anatomy-politics refers to technologies of power that control individuals to discipline them by normalising their behaviours and the goal is to achieve state security and capital accumulation (Foucault, 1980). Foucault (1998) defined 'biopower' as a technology of power regarding state practices that seek to manage the entire population through the emergence of the modern nation-state and economic system (p. 140). Foucault first used this term in his lectures at the College de France published as *Society must be Defended* (2003) and subsequently in *The History of Sexuality Volume One* (1998). The defining characteristic of political technology is its ability to enable the state to control the whole population. Foucault (2007) related biopower to 'an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of

population' (p. 140). In subsequent writing, Foucault elaborated on the concept of biopower (*Security, Territory, Population* delivered at the *Collège de France* in 1978). Foucault (2007) stated:

'By this I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the 18th century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. This is roughly what I have called biopower.'(p.1)

Foucault (2003) stated that the 'disciplines of the body and the regulation of the population constituted the two poles around which the organisation of power was deployed' with the aim 'to invest life through and through' (p. 81). Biopower, or biopolitics, was impelled by the need to govern modern life and the term refers to knowledge and strategies of power that aim to govern the life of the population (Foucault, 1990). Biopower involves the institutionalisation of regulations, apparatuses, and strategies of control and surveillance. It includes the empowerment of expert authorities to act inside and outside the state in institutions such as hospitals, prisons, and schools. Foucault (2007) further stressed the correlation between *juridico* (as the legally defined as law) and legal mechanisms such that discipline and security become complex techniques in which change is the dominant characteristic. By discipline, Foucault (2007) meant techniques that are deployed by the state to enforce individual behaviour toward greater efficiency and productivity in their labours. Regulatory controls implemented to create a disciplined society were termed the 'biopolitics of the population' (Foucault, 2007: 378–397). Foucault (2007) explained:

'What I mean is the acquisition of power over man insofar as a man is living being, that the biological came under State control, that there was at least a certain tendency that leads to what might be termed State control of the biological' (pp. 239–240).

To summarise, Foucault (2010) understands biopower or biopolitics as the 'art of government' that shapes and controls individuals' conduct (p. 1). In his lecture on *The Birth of Biopolitics*, presented in 1979, Foucault (2008) stated, 'biopolitics, by which I mean the attempt, starting from the 18th century, to rationalize the problems posed to governmental practice by phenomena characteristic of a set of living being[s] forming a population: health, hygiene, birth rate, life expectancy, race...' (p. 317). Foucault (2003) proposed that a non-disciplinary power, that is, a technology of power, exists that is concerned with 'the level of

mechanisms, techniques', such as devices and organisations used to separate individual bodies, their alignment, serialisation, and surveillance, and as a field of visibility (p. 242).

The biopolitical distinctions between the meanings of life and population are subjects for scholarly debates beyond the scope of this thesis. This thesis, in reliance on Dean (1999), is concerned 'with [the] long process by which the juridical and administrative apparatus of the state come[s] to integrate various areas of rule concerned with the management of the population' (pp. 19-20) or the biopolitics of the state. The concept of biopolitics is derived from the broadening problematisation of biology to include the moral and political identities of individuals and populations (Lemke, 2011). For Lemke (2011), biopolitics cannot be separated from the political rationality of governing individuals and population. Lemke (2011) pointed out that the liberal government has developed specific knowledge, new disciplines (e.g., statistics and demography), and has knowledge of life processes at the population level (e.g., fertility, mortality, and migration). According to Lemke (2011), the liberal government consequently consists of governing 'individuals through techniques of collecting, excluding, normalising, disciplining, and therapeutically treating individuals' (p. 173). The discovery of population parameters through gathering information on birth rates, morbidity rates, and mortality rates is a precondition for the possibility of liberal governmentality and deliberate action. To support his argument, Lemke (2011) drew on Foucault's (2010: 317) remarks as cited in Lemke (2011) that

'from the framework of political rationality within which they appeared and took on their intensity. This means 'liberalism', since it was in relation to liberalism that assumed the form of a challenge. How can the phenomena of 'population', with its specific effects and problems, be taken into account in the system concerned about respect for legal subjects and individual free enterprise? In the name of what and according to what rules can it be managed?' (pp. 175-176)

Thus, the political power of the biological is not limited to the technologies of individual bodies; it is a technology of the population, or social, body. Thus, the central object and referent of government is not limited to biological life; it encompasses the regulation of the population as a whole and as sub-groups of individuals. Biopolitics is thereby understood in a broad, theoretical framework (Lemke, 2011:176).

Assumptions and theoretical approaches

Scholars have argued that governmentality analyses consist of identifying a 'distinct style of thought', the 'conditions of formation' of practices, and 'contestations and allegiances with other arts of governing' (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006: 84). From this perspective, governmentality analysis requires the specification of assumptions and theoretical approaches.

Lemke (2011) proposed that governmentality scholarship 'conceives of the state as an instrument and effect of political strategies that define the external borders between the public and the private and the state and civil society' (p. 1). Foucault (2007) explained that governmentality is also about issues 'outside the institution and replace it with the overall point of view of the technology of power' (p. 117). In other words, whereas the functions of the institution are of interest, the main analysis explores 'the practical dispositions of power, the characteristic networks, currents, relays, points of support, and differences of forms of power, which are, I think, constitutive of, precisely both the individual and the group' (Foucault, 2007, ft. 7: 131). Hence, governments question the realities that are taken for granted (e.g., sexuality and mental illness) (ibid.). Individuals are identified as consisting of social relations in a specific context.

Governmentality recognises convergences and divergences across the centres and operations of power and influence and attends to the fundamental contingency and complexity of social configurations (Rose, O' Malley, & Valverde, 2006). Governmentality considers the social fields of the state, the economy, and the population as diverse social spaces that function in multiple systems of power, networks of control, and strategies of resistance (Nadesan, 2010: 10). Foucault (1977) explained the ways that governmental practices are dispersed in the micro-practices of the social field (e.g. economy) and everyday practices (e.g., hospitals, schools). Thus, governmentality analysis does not attempt to encompass all experiences or practices in a given setting but, instead, emphasises governmental systems.

Valverde (2007) interpreted Foucault's (1978) concept of governmentality as useful and as implicit methodology. This undertaking diverges from other contemporary theorists of the state, such as Althusser (2009), Poulantzas (2000), and later Foucauldians, who outlined abstract schemes of shifting epochs. According to Valverde (2007), interpretation of governmental practices is not 'the epochs or generalized modes of 'power-knowledge' but

is a 'methodological revolution' (p. 160). Foucault's ideas are brought into constellation with sociologists such as Goffman who 'demonstrated that social power relations do not leap from structural economic relations, but are instead made and re-made every day in the encounters among individuals and groups that make up institutions' (ibid.). This chapter examines the development of the Côte d'Ivoire 'peace process' using the Foucauldian approach to power and government that Foucault termed 'governmentality'.

Richmond's (2011) thinking on peacebuilding efforts focus on peacebuilding state institutions that have paid little attention to exploring issues of culture and 'strong social welfare' and 'provision of service based on local demand' (p. 47). For that reason, Richmond (2011) stresses the significance of understanding the local context to resolve conflict and write that,

'...local, the everyday, from the bottom up, and be wary of any problem solving metanarratives relating to power, security, sovereignty, status or territory, or even emancipation, which involve the claims to know on behalf of others, to govern on behalf of others, to secure others, or to defer agency and self-determination, without an acknowledgement of the acute sensitivities of such claims (p.122).

However there are limitations of these local institutions and their representatives. While this analysis of liberal peace is extremely insightful and important, 'representing of grassroots civil society organisations as the 'authentic' brokers of 'the peoples' can be problematic, in that what accounts for genuine popular demand need itself to be explored and problematised (Zanotti, 2013: 644). Indeed, Zanotti (2013) is critical of Richmond's (2011) analysis of an idealised conceptualisation of peacebuilding practices and contexts where it is understood that conversation and reason can resolve political disagreement.

Mac Ginty's (2011) analytic of hybrid peacebuilding and engagement by local societies is useful in that it questions the ways in which account of 'the locals' is romanticised. Mac Ginty defines hybridity as 'the composite forms of social thinking and practice that emerge as the result of the interaction of different groups, practices and worldviews (p. 8). Mac Ginty (2011) argues the way in which the notion of 'authenticity' is used with regards to forms of local life or identities is likely to be unsuccessful and recommend that emphasis should be put on assessment's criteria. His detailed analytical tool instead seeks to investigate all levels of society and question frameworks of fragmented levels of analysis. According to Mac Ginty (2011) the 'peace process' narrative, should, thus, avoid focusing on belligerent narratives or few actors or characteristics of conflict.

Mac Ginty (2011) argues that a conceptualisation of liberal peace is understood as a set of 'norms, actors, and intervention programmes' rather than as an authoritative and standardised practice. (p. 75). Mac Ginty's (2011) analytical model encourages us to investigate the liberal peace ability to incentivise for agreement or the 'alternative provided by local actors and their ability to 'resist, ignore, subvert and adapt liberal peace interventions' (p. 75). Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013) have indicated, often the 'liberal peace system' has failed to assess 'the consequences of power' in emerging state system, 'colonial history' and 'global political economy (p. 768). These scholars argue that current peacebuilding practices carry ontological and epistemological and ideological biases that presuppose executive power. Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013) observe that the practices of peacebuilding fail to question the problematic 'exercise of intervention', in which, 'everyday issues raised in the conflict' are deliberately ignored (p. 768). Such, peacebuilding practices 'implicitly, naturalise existing hierarchies of power, ideologies and interests, as well as more subtle factors such as race and epistemology' (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 768).

From this methodological perspective for interpreting and evaluating governmental practices arises the possibility of drawing on Gledhill's (2001) illuminating interpretation of the Foucauldian forms of modern power structures as ascending to far-reaching social structures that are ultimately enacted on a wide-ranging institutional stage and as politically as possible (p. 348). Following Foucault's lead, Gledhill (2001) presented the notion of biopower and demonstrates the ways that the movement toward political modernisation of Eastern Europe attempts to imitate the West in the construction of a nation-states that define national people as akin to a large family, one that is bounded by blood and cultural ties. Gledhill (2001) convincingly argued that

'Biopower is an intervening variable that informed the shape of the 'national idea' that developed during the German Enlightenment and Romantic period. Ethnic reading of the nation that emerged was biologically based and was opposed to civic conception that had been shaped earlier in France and Britain.'(p. 348).

Crucially, Gledhill (2001) emphasised the concept of ethnicity that continued to be propagated and manipulated by political elites across Eastern Europe throughout the 19th century (p. 348). This thesis draws on Ina's (2005) theory of the anthropology of modernity that has, as its reference point, the empirical ethnography of modernity that is about the descriptions of sites. These descriptions demonstrate the emergence of political rationalities and the ways that these political reasons are transformed and altered in specific

localities. The political rationality understood in two ways provides the guiding principles of the discussion. On the one hand is the related conceptualisation of the problematic of government (specifically, attribution of citizenship and the related practices of categorisation of identities). On the other hand, I explore governmental technologies (for example, the provision of citizenship documents, peace agreement regulation to issue identity documents, and related procedures and apparatuses) providing the guiding principles of the discussion.

Accordingly, this thesis explores the ways that modern power (specifically, biopolitics) uses the population as its object for intervention. It discusses the state's uses of 'technologies of government', strategies, regulations, procedures, and mechanisms to articulate the concept of a 'national identity'. Further, it argues that the national identity is linked to the identity that was developed by colonial authorities because the colonial identity was taken up by the state in post-agreement to identify who is and who is not a citizen. The concept of ethnic categorisation and how those categories are linked to the 'peace process' is discussed and issues of power and types of government are explored in the post-agreement period (2007–2013). I argue that the processes that relate to identity categories that were carved out and legitimised by the state's fields informed the problem of attribution of citizenship and that this categorisation has consequences for individuals' access to citizenship documents. The following section explores the concept of the racial state and biopolitical power in relation to thematic points. These thematic points consider social changes and theoretical discussions of the racial state in relation to practices of ethnic/racial categorisation.

The racial state, biopolitics, and managing differences

The concept of the modern state as a racial state: introduction

Goldberg's (2002) conceptualisation of the modern state as a racial state stressed the relationship of race and state from the state's goal to construct homogeneity by assigning racial differences to individual characteristics and institutionalising related policies aimed at managing racial/ethnic diversity. From Goldberg's (2002) perspective, racial states are states of power that 'fashion, modify and reify the terms of racial expression as well as racist exclusion' (p. 4). The modern state, through its systems of apparatuses and technologies of governmentality, such as bureaucracy, citizenship law, enumeration, and categorisation, has constructed new historical, traditional, and cultural ideas and beliefs. The state has the power to define the terms under which groups are racially and hierarchically categorised. The modern state is foremost aimed at excluding the people it has racialised by ascribing racial identities to people who did not so identify themselves, enacting laws that bar immigrants and local groups based on ethnic and religious identities or regions of birth.

Goldberg (2002) considered two outcomes of the racial state. First, racial exclusion may become increasingly normative, which was the outcome in European societies and societies that were under European control during the time of colonial rule and expansion of slavery, segregation, and immigration (p. 5). The articulation of the racial so-called 'other' accommodates the modern state's economic need for a labour force and it becomes part of the developmental progress of the colony, which forwards its imitation of the metropolis (pp. 94–96). Race thus becomes an aspect of policies and the social fabric and the processes of 'assimilation' and 'association' as pathways towards higher civilisation and the abandonment of 'savage' conditions (pp. 94–96). Goldberg (2002) stated that

'In the states that are racially conceived, ordered, administered, and regulated, the racial state could be said to be everywhere. And simultaneously seen nowhere. It (invisibly) defines almost every relation, shapes all but every interaction, and contours, virtually all intercourse. It fashions not just the said and the sayable, the done and doable, possibilities and impermissibilities, but penetrates equally the scope and quality, content and character of social silences and presumptions.' (p. 235)

Race-based laws are found in the technology of racial discrimination, and they also

are central to the formation of the modern state (Goldberg, 2002: 141). These laws intend to further advance ethnic and racial classifications, identifications, immigration, and citizenship rights (pp. 141&147). Racism and exclusivity underlie all of the processes of the modern state (pp. 92–93). The racial state connects people to governance and produces racism (p. 236) using the state's institutions and practices of government. This process suggests that the racial state is internally inconsistent because it and its functions are one. The inconsistency is apparent in, for example, the state's racist policies and the policy of making the institutions that appear to weaken the state or contract its policies in the implementation. The result suggests that a state's institutions may be significant beyond its policies because its institutions can be used to suit any purpose of the dominant group. Goldberg (2002) argued that it is the state's function as an organiser of institutions between the state and the political making of a set of institutions of the state. The racial state becomes the focal point around which identity is formed and the struggle in all social relations is infused (p. 237). Goldberg's (2002) theoretical approach advances our understanding of the ethnographic analysis of the practices and institutions of the modern state (Sharma & Gupta, 2009, Inda, 2005). In this thesis, I link the institution of citizenship and 'peace process' to the state 'policy of defining and managing the differences' (Mamdani, 2012a). It could be argued that all mundane practices relating to the management of the population are linked to modern state formation, in a specific context, and provide a way to think about types of biopolitics and their relation to the racial state.

Although, Foucault's (2007) analysis of biopolitics did not elaborate on the theoretical framework of race as an object of government, he refers to race as a target of biopolitical power. For instance, Foucault (2003) locates the 'state racism' phenomena in the 19th century (p. 239) and traces the history of race during the French Revolution, when the notion of 'biological transcription' appeared and gave birth to a historical and biological theory of races (p. 60). From this perspective, race is not dependent on physical characteristics and, instead of dividing people based on biology, it points to a divided historical and political situation in which the history of two groups have different (and conflicting) languages and religions (Foucault, 2003: 77). Foucault (2003) referred to the excesses of sovereign rights, in which racism emerged and was inscribed into the mechanisms of the state (p. 254).

To link the theory of the racial state to the concept of biopolitics in the processes of modernity, I conclude this section by referring to Foucault's (2007) convincing argument that the 'interest of the population', whatever the individual interests and aspirations of those

who comprise the population become, creates 'the ambiguous fundamental target, tactics, techniques, and instruments of the government of the populations' (pp. 105–106). In the following section, I attempt to highlight those technologies of power by linking the practices of granting citizenship and categorisation of identities within the context of the peace process. Biopolitics studies highlight ways in which concepts are described, the target of the problem established and justification provided to address the problem (Lemke, 2001). However, the construction of these concepts and the legal and administrative procedure to apply them to certain categories of groups are not neutral. The following section presents a different perspective on the categorisation of identities and the ways that they relate to citizenship documents in the process of exclusion that results from governmental practices and procedures.

Citizenship practices

In this section, I examine the process of citizenship application as a state practice that is in the interest of the anthropology of the state. In this process, the theoretical framework of the biopolitics of the population and the racial state provides insight into the processes of categorisation and exclusion as they relate to the peace process. From the anthropological perspective on the state, Gupta et al., (2006) referred to state institutions that contribute to a 'cultural construct' of the state (p. 173). Abrahams (1988: 82) investigated the discursive language of domination through the unrestricted imagination of state practices. Historical and anthropological perspectives have been applied to the study of state institutions of ideologies and scientific bureaucratic requirements (Navaro-Yashi, 2002). These institutions have historically shaped social identities through the states' classification systems developed by officials to monitor the population (Anderson, 1991, 2006; Bowker & Star, 1999; Caplan & Torpey, 2002; Desrosières, 2000; Dirks & Cohn, 1996; Hirsch, 2005; Szreter, Sholkamy, & Dharmalingam, 2004; Torpey, 2001).

Scholars who have studied citizenship from the anthropological perspective on the state have focused on the procedures by which individuals may obtain legal citizenship (Joseph, 2000; Nguyen, 2005; Ong, 1999). Ong's (1999) work examined the relationship between globalisation and the accommodation of political, ethnic, and personal identities and how these identities affect citizenship (pp. 2–3). However, a large body of citizenship literature ignores anthropological perspectives on the state. In this section, I provide a

theoretical context of citizenship that is closely related to the ways in which ethnicity is interpreted and the ways that generations of immigrants have become ethnicised by descent and by citizenship links to some groups in neighbouring countries (Bauböck, Perchinig, & Sievers, 2009).

As Bauböck, Perchinig, & Sievers (2009) have pointed out, new countries in Europe, Africa, and elsewhere must 'resolve the puzzling problems of initial collective citizenship determination for large populations in the context of state formation, with geographical relocation of national borders' (p. 17). Furthermore, anthropological and social science studies have contributed to the theoretical debates on the processes of state formation with respect to issues of nationalism (Alonso, 1994; de L'Estoile, Neiburg, & Sigaud, 2005; Anderson, 1991; Ernest, 2005). Citizenship and law have also formed conceptual and empirical perspectives on the nation-state in the era of globalisation (Collier & Ong, 2005; Joseph, 2000; Nguyen, 2005; Ong, 1999; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2008; Latour, 2010; Merry, 1992; Durrenberger, 2001; Eriksen, 2002; Inda, 2008; Rosaldo, 1997).

Indeed, studies on the problem of determining citizenship reveals biased practices and procedures for determining citizenship. As Bauböck, Perchinig, and Sievers (2009) argued, the determination of citizenship in the 'new' states leads to 'the return of ethnic roots' and 'exclusion of long term residents and their children for political reasons' which restricted access to citizenship (p. 17).

Scholarship on citizenship converges on the idea of citizenship that is easier from a simpler time in classical Greece and Rome than today's citizenship actually is in the rapidly changing global relationship of the individual with the state (Burchell, 2002; Isin & Turner, 2002; Smith, 2002). Central to definitions of citizenship is the idea of the status of a person as a full member of the community (Marshall, 1950; Rawls, 1993). This is the liberal concept of citizenship that is associated with a set of rights and that corresponds to obligations and benefits equally enjoyed by everyone with that status (Miller, 2000). As Bosniak (2008) pointed out, legal citizenship status is perceived as an ideal state with attached freedoms and legal rights.

However, although the concept of citizenship was widely studied, it became a theoretical problem during the last decade of the 20th century (Beiner, 1995; Coutin, 2013). A variety of theories and debates surround the conceptualisations of the state, citizenship, and democracy (Hoffman, 2004; Weil, 2010). The competing interpretations of the meaning of citizenship among the theories involve normative interpretations and the implications of citizenship that are continually shifting in their application in the global context (Hébert,

2002).

Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas (2012) recently pointed out the problematic in the analysis of citizenship's political institution. Citizenship is seen as instrumental to 'subordinated inclusion of migrants under the stigma of illegality' (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012: 253). For these scholars, the problem is that this illegality emerges from a category of 'subcitizens rather than absolute noncitizens' and their existence is legally and bureaucratically recognised by the state and societies. Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas (2012) argue that legal and illegal 'elements of citizenship can be subject to contradictory symbolic framings' (p. 253) and that citizenship is 'a major site of contention in which social and symbolic struggles over the meaning of civic inequality can be waged, won, or lost' (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012: 253).

The state's way of determining citizenship is understood as a process of categorising individuals as citizens or non-citizens using practices that are saturated with prejudice, discrimination, and racism (Ahmed, Nicolson, & Spencer, 2000; Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; Brown, 2000; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Utsey, Ponterotto, & Porter, 2008). In this approach to citizenship, some ethnographers have studied the everyday practices of the nation-state as it deals with migration and citizenship in the era of globalisation (Durrenberger, 2001; Eriksen, 2003; Inda & Rosaldo, 2008). States are seeking new prioritisations for the ways that they distribute national citizenship in response to their changing relationships with foreign residents and the extent of transparency in their governance (Feldblum, 2000: 476). The application of the liberal theory of citizenship has produced a substantial body of scholarly work on citizenship practices (Bauböck, 1994; Bosniak, 2008; Brinker-Gabler & Smith, 1997; Brubaker, 2010; Castles, 2005; Favell, 1997, 2001; Klusmeyer & Aleinikoff, 2000; Kymlicka, 1995; Lazar, 2013; Soysal, 1994).

Most of the discourse in contemporary social science debates about citizenship relies on Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship as a starting point. The two primary debates take either the universalistic or the nation-state perspective (Bosniak, 2008). Critics of the liberal theory argue that comparative analyses of citizenship wrongfully exclude those social processes that undermine the citizenship experience (Bulmer & Rees, 1996). However, as Urry (2012) points out, citizenship theory is more complicated than the dual perspectives of nation-state/statist and universalistic suggest. The dual perspectives do not recognise variation among societies in either the traditional approach to citizenship or whether citizenship is an individual or a collective property. Studies of the legal and administrative

processes of determining identity and citizenship are standard in both legal and non-legal academic literatures, which include the nature of classification and the array of rights that are formally provided to non-citizens (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2002; Engbersen, Guiraudon, & Joppke, 2001; Hollifield, 2004; Sassen, 1996; Soysal, 1994).

As a legal strategy, citizenship apparently leads to speculation about people's identities. In this sense, and as Mujkic (2007) asserted, citizenship is an exclusionary policy intended to vest power in a centralised state administration apparently in contradiction to community membership that confers informal citizenship. In many post-independence African states, citizenship has taken on a new meaning based on individuals belonging to a specific group, not the overarching state. For example, Mujkic (2007) argued that 'ethnopolitics, at least in the Bosnian case, is a political set-up in which a person's citizenship is predetermined by her or his kinship, by her or his belonging to this or that group of imagined common origin' (p. 117).

Significantly, post-conflict peace processes have been founded on the construction of privileged cultural categories (Finlay, *forthcoming*). Citizenship is understood as 'a bond that connects a person with the state and gives people universal identities as legal members of a specific nation' (Gross, 1999: 4). However, access to citizenship as a legal status provided through legal and administrative procedures continued to elude many people. Mujkic (2007) stressed that recognition as a citizen by the state may rest upon the state's recognition of a person's informal status as a community member (p.203). In multi-ethnic societies such as Côte d'Ivoire, the state's management of the population is one way that it seeks to avoid violent conflicts. However, the state's mechanism to achieve that goal by controlling citizenship is an ambiguous process that increases confusion about who may become a citizen. Bosniak's (2008) analysis reveals the core issues in the investigation and study of citizenship and he states, 'certainly, citizenship is an overworked term, and its ubiquity inevitably leads to confusion. However, the trouble goes deeper; the divided nature of citizenship as an idea also implicates core issues of political and social theory' (p. 1).

Some people may not be citizens because they do not understand their responsibilities and the legal and administrative procedures that are required to obtain citizenship. Alternatively, they may be discriminated against by state practices that place citizenship out of their reach (Siklova & Miklusakova, 1998; van Waas, 2009). The technical complexity of the legal regulations and procedures of citizenship invariably seem to weigh most heavily on socially marginalised groups whose members often are unaware that the laws even exist (Siklova & Miklusakova, 1998). In Côte d'Ivoire, as in other newly

formed states (such as in the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia), little effort has been made to explain to people the benefits that they would derive from obtaining citizenship (Siklova & Miklusakova, 1998).

Citizenship laws and related provisions in relatively new states are being formulated to create citizens. However, possibly unforeseen bureaucratic obstacles, such as late birth registration, destruction of civil registries, acquisition of identity documentation, and/or discrimination may erect significant obstacles to citizenship for some non-migrant population groups (Manly, 2012). Relatively new states' processes of constructing their new national identities and qualifications for citizenship suggest that they have inadequately analysed their inclusionary and exclusionary practices with respect to the citizenship of undocumented portions of the population, immigrants, and the stateless through processes of de-indigenisation. Numerous academic studies of citizenship refer to the ways that legal infrastructures introduced by postcolonial states have sought to distinguish citizens from foreigners (Beissinger & Young, 2002; Sadiq, 2008; Young, 2007). The following section turns to a discussion and theoretical analysis from the perspective of the politics of identity categorisations that are highlighted in the process of citizenship application.

Categorisation and exclusion

This section examines the political representation of social and cultural identities. It explores the idea that politics of cultural difference (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992) have been reproduced and deployed by the state's mechanisms of identity categorisation and the documentation of post-conflict citizenship. It builds on the analytic of the anthropology of modernity that focuses on indigenous and non-Western technologies of power and techniques, which are procedures and mechanisms of the modern state (Inda, 2005). I critique the state interventions that have shaped cultural identities and citizenship and the wider practices that are related to state formation and citizenship within a 'peace process' context. The section closely examines the institutions of the modern state in light of these factors and particularly considers the categorisation of individuals' identities through the bureaucratic practices of documentation and citizenship.

Some of the scholarly debates on the exclusionary dimension of citizenship are about the idea of citizenship as universally inclusive yet intertwined with the repression and

marginalisation of groups such as immigrants, the stateless, so-called foreigners, and minors (Bigo, 2007; R. Brubaker, 2009; Burchell, 2002; De Genova, 2005; Guiraudon & Joppke, 2001; Le Cour Grandmaison, Lhuilier, & Valluy, 2007; Rajaram & Grundy-Warr, 2004; Schinkel, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Some studies have found that some illegal immigrants have found ways to enjoy citizenship rights without obtaining legal citizenship (Chauvin & Gracés-Mascareñas, 2012: 242). Legal citizenship is the outcome of a system of continual classification into racial/ethnic hierarchies that simultaneously differentiate between citizens and non-citizens (Brubaker, 1989; Ngai, 2014; Noriel, 2005; Sassen, 2006; Wacquant, 2005). This process entails the exclusion of some groups designated of not meeting the criteria established by a given nation-state.

In studies about biopolitics, it is understood that 'it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them' (Lemke, 2001: 191). In this thesis, that statement means that categorisation happens through a processes of 'delineation of concepts, the specification of objects and borders' (Lemke, 2001: 191) of citizenship. Citizenship provides an argument of who should be included or excluded from citizenship. Hence, access to citizenship has conceptualised a problem that needs to be solved and which categorisation has become a part of the strategy. As Lemke (2001) argues through 'the provision of arguments and justification, the government enables a problem to be addressed and offers certain strategies for solving the problem' (p. 191). This form of categorisation is seldom unbiased and it includes procedures, institutions, and legal forms that are aimed towards governing the subjects.

In this study, I expand upon Chauvin and Gracés-Mascareñas's (2012) notion of the political institutionalisation of 'citizenship that contributes to the subordinated inclusion of migrants under the stigma of illegality' (p. 253). As such, I seek to examine the practices of categorisation and the problematisation of immigrants (legal or illegal) and stateless persons in relation to the constructed homogeneity of national, ethnic identities and exclusion from citizenship. I argue that systems of ethnic classification target illegal immigrants and nationals or indigenous populations.

Contemporary studies about the construction of identities includes research about states' histories of racial categorisation and the ways that censuses, as political processes, shape what individuals experience and the meanings they give to citizenship (Nobles, 2000; Uvin, 2002). The classification of social and cultural identities is also associated with processes of self-identification (Jenkins, 2012; Jenkins, 1994, 2008). This thesis centres on

state practices that construct cultural and social identities. From this perspective, the categorisation of cultural identities is institutionalised into essential ethnic and cultural groupings (Anderson, 2006; Ferguson, 1997; Mahapatra et al., 2007; Noriel, 2005; Scott, 1998, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005). The present notion of cultural essentialism (Balibar 2007, Etiene, & Wallestein, 1991) is associated with previously-held, 19th century interpretations of ethnicity that have, in some instances, taken an essential, almost biological, condition that depicted culture as physical inheritance (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). However, the application of an ethnic or cultural essentialisation (i.e., a reduction of people to their essential features) as a method for 'identification' has tended to 'neglect the omnipresence of ascription [and discrimination] as the determination of social identities' (Calhoun, 2004: 250). In other words, the everyday practices of assigning identity categories are arbitrary and based on irrational hostility toward a given group on the basis of racial, ethnic, or national origin.

In his insightful study, Anderson (1991) presented a theory of imagined communities. Anderson (1991) proposed a relationship between nationalism and its genealogy to the

'... imaginings of the colonial states and colonial ideologies and policies that deployed lineage through the grammar were institutions of power and used devices such as the census, the map, and the museum, to shape the way in which the colonial states were imagined, the population was ruled, the geography and the legitimacy of its ancestry.' (p. 1)

Scholars have noted that social engineering in the colonial state was instrumental for manipulating, creating, and imposing the identities that structurally persist in the postcolonial states. The reproduction of categories through census identification and other forms of identification has been found to be superficial and arbitrary because categories are continuously modified by the ruling class to fit their current political interpretations of social and cultural identities (Perez & Hirschman, 2009). There is a sense that the state's powers seek to ensure that the assigned category determines the extent of access to rights such as political participation, citizenship, and resources. Furthermore, states create reality through their use of ordinary governmental records and they authoritatively establish or institutionalise a structured worldview built of categories by making them widely recognisable (Bourdieu, 1991: 105; Kertzer & Arel, 2002: 21).

For example, in many countries, the conventions that are used to label indigenous peoples were and continue to be difficult to adapt to national systems that require

unequivocal unique individual identifiers to be allocated (Scott, Tehranian, & Mathias, 2002). Thus, state institutions have constructed the meaning of citizenship in significant ways (Bosniak, 2008). Projects are designed that allow officials to supposedly define the majority of citizens unambiguously and thereby create a distinguishable people that convey important social knowledge (Scott, Tehranian, & Mathias, 2002). Many post-independence states in Africa and Asia have citizenship laws, which were introduced to differentiate citizens from foreigners (Sadiq, 2008; Young, 2007). Mamdani (2001) emphasised that these identities become the state's instruments for creating certain exclusivist identities that are based on ethnicity or race. These identities include national or religious categories that 'have taken on a life of their own in the process' of states' formation and threaten to widen societal conflicts (Amin-Khan, 2012). Official identification systems of civil registration have enabled people to access citizenship rights (Szreter, 2007: 83). However, the identities that they embrace originated in the dominant institutions. Individuals use these categories to self-identify and relate to others (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 2012). Official counting and categorising exercises have been abused for political purposes (Uvin, 2002) and the politics of categorisation have been applied to ethnic groups to implicitly reinforce a contested terrain of contrary claims to citizenship (Omi, 1994; Omi & Winant, 2004). For example, in Côte d'Ivoire, theories and practices of autochthony have redefined who is a citizen by excluding those non-natives that are classified as foreigners (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005; Dorman, Hammett, & Nugent, 2007; Geschiere & Jackson, 2006). The meaning of the 'native' and 'foreigner' categories in Côte d'Ivoire emerged from the racial categorisation of the colonial period, led to new forms of social and cultural classification, and, ultimately, became the government's tool for the rationalisation of political intervention. Some ethnic identities were used to define the cultural components of the identities that were used to construct the character of a citizen and, thus, of citizenship. As a result, some of the country's ethnic groups were defined as more 'native', or more 'Ivoirian' than others.

Goldberg (2002) posited that homogeneity is and needs to be perceived as a denial of heterogeneity. The idea of homogeneity relates to issues of race and state and as Goldberg (2002) pointed out, 'the modern state formation has been racially fashioned, with the ways in which modern states have predicated themselves on racial differentiation, and on state promoted and prompted racist exclusion and exploitation' (p. 16). The differentiation among social and cultural categories is about state formation (or nationalism) and the institutional power that makes it possible to differentiate citizens from non-citizens. While there is evidence that the mechanistic practices of inclusivity in the supposed homogeneous

state have constructed unambiguous mechanisms for excluding undocumented and illegal immigrants, these practices also have constructed ambiguous mechanisms of inclusivity (Bosniak, 2008; Engbersen, Guiraudon, & Joppke, 2001). As several significant empirical studies have demonstrated, the practice of categorisation is indeed present in Western states and it is implicated in state practices that include illegal and undocumented immigrants in the formal institutions of citizenship (Bommes & Sciortino, 2011; Coutin, Maurer, & Yngvesson, 2002; Jounin, Palomares, & Rabaud, 2008; Sadiq, 2008; Varsanyi, 2008). Accordingly, I examine the practices of categorisation and problematisation of immigrants (legal or illegal) and stateless persons in relation to the constructed homogeneity of national, ethnic identities and exclusion from citizenship in post-conflict situations.

The state reproduced and exaggerated racial/ethnic differences by exploiting shared histories and collective memories and language (Calhoun, 1997; De Saussure, 1985; Geertz, 1973; Smith, 1986). For example, during the colonial period, the European colonial powers of France, Britain, and Belgium rejected cultural categorisations in their national censuses because they were incompatible with the imagined identities of their nation-states. However, they did not have any reservations when faced with the daunting task of counting their colonial subjects (Appadurai, 1993). Categorisation had consequences for the vast majority of the former colonies because the state's construction was restricted to a small number of colonial settlers (Anderson, 1987). In postcolonial theory, the practice of classifying people emerged from historical conditions in which colonizers aimed to rule people (Gupta, 1998; Inda, 2005). Thus, political identities developed that reinforced the dominant diversity of the modern period (Mamdani, 2005). For example, in Africa, postcolonial states used their legal systems to explicitly define identities and places (Rathbone, 2002).

The states used censuses, maps, and museums to classify the peoples (Anderson, 1991, 2006) of Africa and Asian communities, which were influenced by the racial ideologies that were prevalent in Europe in late 19th century (Hirschheim, Klein, & Newman, 1987). These ideologies continue to influence the ways that racial categories are defined for natives and immigrants and, thus, to influence who has an entitlement to citizenship (Mamdani, 2005). The non-citizen category includes long-term resident immigrants who are classified as non-citizens or stateless persons who are not recognised as citizens by the state because they lack official documents (Sadiq, 2008; Sassen, 2009).

In Africa, the classification of people by colonial administrations from the late 19th century has resulted in the reformulation of identities based on three factors: (1) race (as

African), (2) territoriality (based on the units of colonial partitions), and (3) tribe (as an ethnic category) (Young, 2007). At present, these three factors have given rise to a trio of salient identities through a complex vernacular of social construction, colonial imposition, and the subjective agency of pan-Africanism, territorial nationalism, and contemporary ethnicity (Young, 2007: 247). With the state's ineluctable disposition to codify to rule (Scott, 1998) and within the multiculturalism of postcolonial Africa, primordialism seems to have offered considerable attributes to the categorisation of different groups within states. Moreover, primordialism led to the tendency to classify ethnic groups for the purpose of identifying them as citizens or non-citizens (Young, 2007). The operationalisation of ethnic groups has been unreliable and confusing because it tends to be based on group members' subjective beliefs about themselves, such as physical characteristics, customs, or some combination of both. These groups have shared historical memories and oral histories of colonisation and migration that also are used to construct identity (Weber, 1996; Weber, Roth, & Wittich, 1978). Ethnic categorisations are difficult to apply in other cultures because they are culturally specific and, thus, are arbitrary and often inaccurately imposed (Mamdani, 1996, 2012a). It is beyond the scope of this study to resolve whether ethnic categorisation is a useful or appropriate practice. Rather, this study seeks to examine the impact of ethnic classification on the micro-processes of imposing identities and constructing citizenship. I argue that, in the case of Côte d'Ivoire, classifying the population by ethnicity or race matters to citizenship rights. In the following section, I explore the emerging practices of classification of identities in the 'peace process' as state practices that operate from local cultural perspectives.

The peace process, biopolitics, and categorisation of identities

The 'peace process' is a social structure in which governmental practices that determine citizenship and identity categorisations occur. They are governmental technologies aimed at managing the population. Following Mamdani (2012a), I draw attention to the political processes of the peace process, the techniques of the state that make categorisation of identities authoritative, and the relationship of the modern state to bureaucratic practices.

According to the United Nations report, *An Agenda for Peace* (1992)²⁴, peace processes can be understood as a range of activities related to a long-term process of capacity building and societal transformation. Peacebuilding is the phase of state relations that follows the cessation of hostilities (Ball, 2001). This thesis focuses on the narrow use of the term 'peacebuilding' to refer to the activities of the 'peace process' that deal with the causes of the conflict and that have consequences with respect to institutional reforms, particularly citizenship and identity categorisation.

Discussing 'peace process' procedures, Haugerudbraaten (1998) referred to the absence of physical and structural violence and the elimination of description and xenophobia as an essential feature of peace. Thus, as Lederach (1997) argued, the 'peace process' aims to solve the central problem and change the patterns of relations among the parties, and the techniques designed to address the conflict (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). The long-term perspective on peace processes involves articulating structural systems that are equitable, meet human needs, and improve communal relations (Lederach, 1997: 77). The parties are expected to reform or create institutions that were at the foundation of the conflict to address the underlying problems with different techniques and strategies. There are also structural dimensions in the root causes of the conflict. The social, economic, and political aspects have been associated with the conditions that created the violent conflict (Haugerudbraaten, 2000). The social conditions that foster violence are complex and include lack of citizenship, land and property ownership, and unequal political representation. Thus, a complex solution is required (ibid.).

A related dimension of the 'peace process' is the supposed improvement brought by the peace agreement and its implementation by facilitating information exchange about the

²⁴ See Boutros-Gali, B. (1992). Report of the UN Secretary General: 'An Agenda for Peace'. United Nations, A/47/277-S/24111.

process to reduce misunderstanding (Lederach, 1997: 82). Information awareness is understood to improve the reputation of the parties (Reychler & Paffenholz, 2001: 13) and for the groups involved in the conflict to overcome mistrust and fear and to provide a sense of security (Lund, 2003: 18). Hence, as Maiese (2003) noted, the 'peace process' central component is a shared vision of a common future (p. 37) that addresses the harms done by the conflict (Lederach, 1997; Zehr, 1990).

Indeed, post-conflict societies tend to sort people according to ethnic and political identities and the redress of the conflict is often viewed as reducing discrimination and exclusion by the unbiased treatment of all identities. In reality, when we consider the foundation of the state's formation as racial, it is unclear how the peace process, which is a governmental practice with procedures and techniques of power, can overcome a biased mentality.

Critical theories about the use of identities in the 'peace process' have emerged that point to the prescriptive use and Eurocentric origin of identities (Brewer, 2010; Finlay, 2010). These critics have observed that, although 'peace process' interventions are not opposed to the Western idea of good governance, they are critical of the governance approach to the peace process, which ignores contextual social and cultural issues. However, these authors diverge on issues relating to the analytic of the link between conflict and identities. On one hand, Brewer (2010) characterised conflict as the product of identity politics that have been distorted and, thus, conflict can be resolved at that level. Brewer (2010) posited that the root causes of these conflicts, emerging from biased identity politics caused by forms of domination of one group over others, are easily reproduced through continuation of culture. On the other hand, Finlay (*forthcoming*) argued that the 'good governance approaches of the 'peace process' have tended to fail because they are not informed by indigenous practices in responding to communal identities involved in the conflict' (p. 5). 'Good governance interventions' is perceived as problematic (Avruch, 2007, as cited in Finlay, *forthcoming*) because it assesses these identities as individual markers instead of as a group experience. Finlay (*forthcoming*) argued that the present forms of conflict resolution appear as good governance and they replicate liberal democracy based on a rarely analysed structure of power in the modern state. For Finlay (*forthcoming*), understanding 'communal conflict' in the 'peace process' (p.15), should be carefully based on investigating the 'development of communal designation mechanisms. Finlay (*forthcoming*) argues that 'a Foucauldian emphasis on technique and procedures of inclusion and exclusion rather than on who or what is included or excluded, helps us to better

understand the significance of communal designation in the emerging peace process' (p. 24).

The cultural reproduction of identities and its representation, which is recurrent and informs the application of citizenship in the peace process, is the focus of this thesis. The state's everyday practices include surveillance of the population through identity documents (Lyon, 2008; Maguire, 2009). To determine a person's identity category, the state relies on names, places of residence and birth, and 'physical appearance, expression and manner, style of dress and speech idiom to provide the clues that will enable the correct categorisation to be made' (Harris, 1972, as cited in Finlay, 2001: 148). Procedures such as birth registration and citizenship documentation are institutional norms of modern states' technologies of power. They entail forms of normalisation that is part of the state's bureaucratic practices.

Citizenship documentation provides a framework for understanding the micro-practices of categorisation, often taken for granted, and for the norms that must be obeyed to obtain a legal status in the modern state. Individuals without a legal status are punished in that they are denied access to basic citizenship rights, health, food, property, and other resources afforded to citizens. Hence, these micro-practice procedures are part of modern bureaucratic practices that shape the foundation of the racial state in which discriminatory, exclusionary practices are enacted. These procedures are termed by Rose (1999) as normalisation that is a form of the technology of power in the technology of norms that are used to measure populations and that appear in social theory (p. 76).²⁵ In other words, the use of the phrase, 'normalisation of disciplinary power', is about an ensemble of tactics for exercising the maximum 'social control with the minimum of use of force' (Rose, 1999: 73).

Studies of these social practices relating to the everyday practices of bureaucracy have used documents, certifications, permits issued by the authorities, reception rooms, clinics, schools, migration offices, corruption and bribery, structural violence, symbolic representations, spectacles, rituals, and celebrations (De Sardan, 2013; Graeber, 2006, 2012; Gupta, 2012; Herzfeld, 1992; Hull, 2012; Mbembe, 1992). They suggest that these bureaucratic practices become violent (Arendt, 1970). Indeed, subtle mundane bureaucratic practices have been associated with structural violence (Gupta, 2012; Graeber, 2012). Galtung (1969) referred to the institutionalised norms of structural violence as 'an avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs' (p. 167) that uses cultural or ethnic identity categories to deny citizenship.

²⁵ Foucault (1990) referred to normalisation in his work, *Discipline and Punish*, as the construction of an idealized norm of conduct, which involves rewarding and punishing individuals for conforming to or deviating from the set ideal.

According to Galtung (1990), structural violence is a type of 'cultural violence' that is not about mass violence, such as extermination or genocide or exploitation. Instead, it is concerned with using social structures to prevent a targeted group from attaining its basic needs. Cultural violence, thus defined, may include institutionalised norms of ethnocentrism, xenophobia, discrimination, corruption, the abuse of power, and state indecision about individuals' or groups' citizenship statuses, all of which contribute to preventable disparities between people's potential abilities to fulfil their basic needs and the actual fulfilment of those needs (Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac, & Keshavjee, 2006; Galtung, 1990; Ho, 2007). Structural violence theorists, such as Farmer, et al. (2004) and Ho (2007), have proposed that the distribution of power moves through social structures, whether that is termed exploitation or termed violence, to enhance the agency of some people and groups at the expense of others' freedom of agency (Farmer et al., 2004; Ho, 2007). Graeber (2012) theorised about structural violence, which he defined as 'material processes, in which violence, and the threat of violence, play a crucial, constitutive role' (p. 113), and emphasised the mechanical layout involved in bureaucratic knowledge. According to Graeber (2012) bureaucratic procedures whether they are 'matter of forms, rules, statistics, or questionnaires [they] are always a matter of simplification' (p. 119).

From this perspective, the practices of categorisation and determination of citizenship are formulated as the problem by the state. These practices are based on the process of normalisation, such as the mundane compulsory activities of identification and citizenship documentation (e.g., birth registration). The micro-practices, such as birth registration, are techniques used by the state for the categorisation and exclusion of people from citizenship. The legal and administrative procedures of birth registration and citizenship are applied through bureaucratic rules that require specific use of languages and terms (what constitute a family name).

Foucault (2007) reoriented the analysis of power from the analysis of institutions to the analysis of practices. The micro-mechanistic perspective on power redirects the analytical focus from functions to actions, tactics, and strategies and from 'natural' objects to their problematisation (p. 116). Foucault was critical of unchallenged sets of practices, habits, and institutions (Foucault & Pearson, 2001; Koopman, 2013). Ideas about governmentality as 'the rationality immanent to the micro-powers' (Senellart, 2007: 389) and types of biopolitics as the processes by which individuals or populations become a 'bio-sociological process' (Dean, 1999: 100), become new ways to analyse systems of power. Hence, the 'peace process' is analysed from the perspective of the biopolitics or analytic of

power in developed legal and administrative procedures for the implementation of the peace agreement.

Conclusion

In this chapter on theories of biopolitics and identity categorisation, I argued that the concept of governmentality as a methodology provided means to critically analyse perspectives of categorisation practices in order to control. The dispersed power, or the official capacity to exercise control of how people get categorised, is related to the practices and procedures of identity and citizenship documentation that construct identity. The system of power and strategies used in everyday practices of provision of identity documents have consequence on who get included or excluded from citizenship. But the rigid interpretation of categories of citizens and noncitizen is confronted with the multiplicity of diverse ethnic groups that are found beyond porous border of the state. Hence, errors and discriminatory practices are used to exclude individuals who are deemed 'unwelcomed' members of the state.

Significantly, what the exercise of power through the peace agreement implementation entails for our understanding is the role of the bureaucratic processes in the provision of identity and citizenship documents to different collective identity groups that are sources of contradictions.

This chapter discussed issues concerning governmentality, defined as governmental practices and biopolitics that are techniques of power. The theoretical orientation of this thesis was explored in the analysis of issues of modernity with a focus on the management of difference. The management of difference is about the practices of providing citizenship documents and the related practices of categorisation of ethnic identities that determine who can and who cannot obtain citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire. Foucault's (2003) concept of governmentality helped to explain the complex relationships among the techniques of the state, such as regulations, everyday practices, procedures of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement regarding issuance of citizenship documents, and the knowledge that these activities produced, which allow the state to determine individuals' citizenship. I argued that post-agreement activities related to the provision of citizenship documents were in the state's regime of power to construct its citizens and non-citizens (Foucault, 1982). I illustrated the ways that the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and biopolitics widen

the understanding of the minor practices related to the provision of citizenship documents and the related practices of categorisation.

To assess these issues, I drew on the anthropology of modernity, in which the concept of governmentality improved the quality of the analytical work by forming an interrelated theory of the racial state and biopolitics. In this case, the practices of citizenship were rooted in the ways that identity categories had been designated and transformed prior to the peace agreement. In this chapter, I argued that the use of the anthropology of modernity provides a set of practices that can analytically focus on the process of problematisation of the state to control access to citizenship in the local institutions of the state practices and bureaucracy. Furthermore, the chapter pointed out the specific interventions of the 'peace process', in the categorisation of social and cultural identities and citizenship application.

Combining the theories of biopolitics, racial state, and the anthropology of modernity compels an evaluation of peace processes interventions, activities, and associated programs as a continuation of the state's usual business. Hence, this theoretical approach suggests a different angle for exploring issues regarding states' practices that have a Western bias that apparently does not apply to emerging states in the post-modern global context. Indeed, by analysing citizenship determination, I highlighted the problem of citizenship application in the context of non-Western and, in particular, peace-building societies. I argued that there seems to be a Western bias in states' use of citizenship that does not fully apply to emerging states in the post-modern global context. The post-conflict 'peace process' a post-modern global is dominated by cultural properties without its capacity to function in a linear or autonomous condition from the progressive perspective of modernity (Jameson, 1991: 27).

Citizenship primarily relies on the ways in which ethnicity is interpreted and the transfer to descendants is linked with immigrants' countries of origins when those countries are neighbouring countries (Bauböck, Perchinig, & Sievers, 2009). In this multi-ethnic context that blurs and divides ethnic affiliations and crosses contemporary porous borders that have changed since the colonial period, there seems to be a crucial puzzling problem regarding determining citizenship in many countries, including Côte d'Ivoire. I argued that the enactment of citizenship laws and procedures appeared to be part of the process of the modern state's formation and of post-modern social conditions related to rigid practices and regulations that do not accommodate local realities.

I also described peace-building interventions that seek to address citizenship as a state practice that relies on Western ideas of good governance and that ignores anthropological analyses of complex groups' identities. The state institutions and procedures assume that

the construction of identities is neutral. Nevertheless, these institutions play a major role in the contemporary conception of the politics of citizenship in many post-independence and post-conflict societies, such as Côte d'Ivoire. However, categorisation and citizenship practices are conceived as a rational functioning system of managing the differences within the population.

On another level, I considered the governmental practices relating to the 'peace process' and how they contribute to distinct forms of structural violence (such as discrimination, exclusion, and deliberate prevention of citizenship), which have consequences in people's daily lives.

Hence, the analytical framework of this thesis is grounded in Foucauldian methodological approach to study governmental practices dispersed in the micro-practices, in this cases mundane practices of birth registration assigned through the context of the implementation of the peace agreement. The everyday practices of the provision of identity documents became a significant intervention of the peace process.

In this study, I used the concept of biopolitics to highlights the ways in which, mundane practices of governments underpin – rightly or wrongly -, the 'culture' of the local institution and people their represent. Furthermore, these bureaucratic practices relating to the provision of identity document and citizenship application are often neglected. A part of the peace process these interventions are regarded as non-political, thus requiring a bureaucratic, technical expertise. Nevertheless, these micro-practices (within the peace process) are linked to social to social structures; they affect who get included or excluded from citizenship.

What this analytical framework of biopolitics, peace process and bureaucratic practices enables us to demonstrate and explain how tactics for excising power appears in everyday practices of otherwise subtle mundane bureaucratic practices. These practices are used to exclude and discriminate from citizenship. Most importantly, as they are often ignored in broader operationalisation of the 'peace process', they also undermine the overall success of the peace process.

These conceptual pillars for this study, namely governmentality, biopolitics, bureaucratic practices and peace process used complementarily provide an analytical framework to practically explain and demonstrate, the micro-process of power and how there to deny of citizenship during the peace agreement implement.

I argued that the current academic approach is limited and that a different approach is necessary. One reason for a new approach is that the current concept of citizenship relies on

countries that are artificially constructed, where ethnic affiliations are blurred and bleed across borders (Inda, 2008; Rosaldo, 1999). Hence, as migration renders national boundaries obsolete, state practices and institutions seem to be increasingly imaginative in their creation of confusion about who is or is not a member of the state.

In this chapter, I demonstrate the ways that the theory of the anthropology of modernity, which is dependent on the biopolitical practices of race or ethnic management, could be crucial for providing insights in empirical studies of the state as the racial state in post-conflict societies. I reiterate that the 'peace process' relies on standard defined, constructed, and classified identity categories. Legitimation of political membership, and categorisation reflect the demand and ideologies of those in power which is highlighted by the complexity of conditions in which institutions operate in many 'post-colonial state in Africa. As Mbembe (2006) observes:

'The post-colony is a critical and dramatic site in which are played out the wider problems of subjection and its corollary, indiscipline, by its characteristic of a distinctive art of improvisation, by a tendency to excess and disproportion as well as by distinctive ways in which identities are multiplied, transformed, and put into circulation. It is likewise made up of series of corporate institutions, and apparatuses which, once they are deployed constitute a distinctive regime of violence' (p. 383).

As such, the peace-building activities that govern identities produce identity categories that become distorted in cultural and political terms (Finlay, 2010; Brewer, 2010). However, the anthropological project of these theories remains heavily focused on governmental practices in peaceful nation-states' practices. Thus, my suggestion is for additional work in the area of the anthropology of the state and about the related biopolitical management of populations through the lens of the racial state.

Chapter Three

An ethnographic method to investigate the state practices

Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the methodological and theoretical development during the course of my research and how this guided data collection and analysis. The change affected the site and focus of the study. This study uses ethnographic methods to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon (Giorgi, 1997) of provision of identity documents in the context of implementation of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA). I use ethnographic observation methods aimed at presenting descriptive patterns (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006) of the state's practices of providing identity documents or the 'identification of the population'. The central phenomenon turns 'towards the ways in which ordinary members of society attend to their everyday lives' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000: 488-489). Thus, this study is concerned with lived experiences of the people (Holloway 1997, 2009; Steinar 1996; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Robinson & Reed, 1998) in the provision of identity documents.

I was interested in the activity of issuing identity documents (birth certificates and other identity documents attesting citizenship). Mobile district courts were established, and I had planned to follow this event in Moyon Cavally, a north-western region of Côte d'Ivoire. This location, as one of the many in which there were a large number of undocumented people and accessible for my research, provided the ideal setting for exploring the topic, talking and observing officials in their duties in order to understand the perceptions and narrated experiences of the implementation of the peace process. I was interested in the micro-process of the state practices in the provision of these documents in post-conflict Côte d'Ivoire.

Regrettably, unpredictable interruptions of this process and violence forced me to revise the area of research.²⁶ Furthermore, the government had decided that this activity will be time bound to allow the organisation of the presidential elections. For example, only people aged thirteen or over were allowed to participate. It was understood that separate

²⁶ United Nations Security Council, 2009, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/sc9645.doc.htm>; United Nations.

operations would be organised through the regular process of birth registration when the administration will be fully re-established around the country. As a result, I changed the area in which the research will be conducted.

It seemed interesting and productive to attempt to trace the ways in which the state denial of citizenship was being presented within and through emerging practices of government, in particular during the peace process. The Ivorian crisis and 'peace process' have had a significant role in political, economic, and anthropological scholarships with regards to the correlation between the cause of the war and difficulties arising from its implementation. Discussions were mainly framed as a crisis of discrimination and a crisis of governance and immigration management, and the debate evolved around root causes as a consequence of exclusion from citizenship of certain ethnic groups (Akindès, 2000, 2004; Banégas, 2006; Nordas, 2007; Dorman, Harmmett & Nugent, 2007; Marshall-Fratani, 2006, Cutolo, 2010). However, few studies were conducted on the actual practices and procedures of exclusion and inclusion.

The OPA also referred to a denial of citizenship of a segment of the population as the main cause of the crisis. However, there has been no study describing the micro-processes of the state and citizenship in post-conflict 'peace process' in Côte d'Ivoire. I was interested in understanding the mundane practices of determining who is or is not a citizen as part of the peace process, how government officials were making decisions and what the consequences were for the people applying for documents of citizenship and identity. These practices are examined from the perspective of the 'minor practices' and relate to what (Sharma & Gupta, 2009) call 'anthropology of the state' or Inda's anthropology of modernity (2006), and as Kluge (2000) argues, these are 'ascetic dimensions of the phenomenal structure of the government and provide the theoretical framework required for an empirical construction of typologies' (p.5).

Thus, the aim of this research is the examination of the micro-process of the state practices to give an insight into their consequences on the peace process. I will examine the issue involving citizenship, legal procedures and bureaucratic practices of various authorities involved and the mechanisms of providing identity papers and attribution of citizenship as a technology of the peace process. This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first section is concerned with my personal involvement in citizenship and identity documentation in Côte d'Ivoire and its relation to the methodological considerations. The second section focuses on ethnographic observation and practical issues related to data collection and analysis. The third section discusses the ethnographic method used together

with governmentality as research methodology to explain a phenomenon inherent in the classification of ethnic identities as citizens or noncitizens and the legitimisation of these categories.

Conversion from a professional capacity to a research design

As a former professional in the area of protection of human rights, I had access to some of the participants through a professional role. I had to be conscious of ethical issues and lay aside my prevailing understanding of the phenomena in the context of my organisation and revisit my previous experience in the same place so that new meanings could emerge (Gray, 2004:59). Also, I had to clarify my new role by informing participants in the study that I was no longer working for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Rather, I was a Ph.D. student conducting independent research on state's practices of provision of identity documents following the signing of the OPA. I informed the participants in the study that confidentiality will be guaranteed, including information (names, address, and any other information that could make them identifiable) about people who provided me with contents of records. My interaction with participants took into consideration the question of harm to participants. Operating within a politically tense situation, I had to be 'sensitive and reflexive about my position as a practitioner in the study' (Twine & Warren, 2000; Gunaratnam, 2003). As I was given full access to personal records and access to premises, data collected was treated with appropriate confidentiality and anonymity. As a result, participants were forthcoming with their opinions and beliefs about their practices and decisions.

The ethical issues had to be clearly established to obtain an informed consent (verbal and written statement). This process was particularly important as, during the pilot phase from 8th May to 26th September 2009, I conducted my field research as a practitioner-researcher within my own professional context. I explained to all participants the aim of the research and that I would personally conduct the interviews and observation. I also shared who would be asked to participate, the kind of information that would be sought and how much of the participant's time would be required. Participation and responding to all questions was voluntary. I also informed participants of who would have access to the data once it was collected and how respondents' anonymity would be preserved unless otherwise stated.

After the pilot research, additional field visits took place. This time, I had left my job and was no longer acting as a practitioner-researcher, rather as a researcher to avoid confusion. As I kept in contact with the participants through the years, 'unstructured' conversations on the subject took place via telephone and Skype and information sharing such as institutional documents. Some of the topics listed for interviews were:

- What is the government doing about the identification of the population?
- What are the processes of identifying stateless people?
- What are the procedures for obtaining Ivorian citizenship?
- What happens to individuals who apply for a birth certificate? Or is every resident in Côte d'Ivoire entitled to a birth certificate?

A reference to mutual experiences between the participant and myself, as the researcher is taken into account when assessing the impact of the research and on the information collected. We have both initiated and advocated the projects, and this gave the interview a natural feel. To minimise potential bias from the responses obtained, I requested institutional documents related to the project to confirm the reliability of the participant narrative.

Research design: merging ethnographic and phenomenology methods

The study uses combined ethnography and phenomenology methods. Ethnographic observation and phenomenological data is gathered as a qualitative methodology (Bradley, 1996 cited in Maggs-Rapport, 2000: 223). It also used triangulation of more than one methods to study a single research problem (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). As Maggs-Rapport (2006: 224) argues, there is potential for combining ethnography and phenomenology methods as the researcher may come closer to understanding both her/his own personal interpretation of the research phenomenon and the experiences of research participants.

As data collection instruments, these approaches are both exploratory and emphasise the need to take a self-conscious approach to research while using interviews to look for meaning in the narrative analyses. The combined qualitative phenomenological and ethnographic methods design allowed me to explore and understand government officials' perceptions and lived experiences in the provision of identity documents and determination of citizenship. As mentioned previously, I am interested in the micro-process with regards

to how state officials decide who is, or is not, a citizen. I seek to uncover the implications of this categorisation of individuals to essential features of the peace agreement in Côte d'Ivoire.

The ethnographic observation allowed for an examination into Foucault's terms on the 'minor practices' of government and its structure and functions to provide identity documents. Within this perspective, I examine 'the cultural nature of the state'. This is the state's multi-layered, contradictory and trans-local ensemble of institutions, practices and people (Steinmetz, 2008, cited in Sharma & Gupta, 2009: 6) that are examined. As for the phenomenological approach, it enables the discovery of meanings behind participants' experiences of issuing identity documents and granting citizenship. Qualitative research provides themes and understanding from exploration and textual data (Moustakas, 1994; Creswell, 2007, 2013). As Maggs-Rapport (2000: 223-224) writes:

'triangulation of ethnographic and phenomenological approaches offer both an element of a descriptive narrative and wider interpretation and allow the researcher to rigorously accumulate and present data using a variety of methods whilst emphasizing that their interpretation is transparent enough to permit challenge'.

Thus, this study includes ethnographic observation and phenomenological approaches derived from interpretive epistemology, for critical investigation of knowledge and its validity with respect to philosophy, methodology, and analytic method and product (Starks & Trinidad, 2007: 1373). As phenomenology is epistemologically grounded in constructivist and subjectivist field, the aim was not to develop a theory by elaborating a conceptual apparatus grounded in data (grounded theory). Rather the study's primary interest was in understanding the phenomenon and describing the meaning of the lived experience of the individual involved in the provision of identity documents, including documents of citizenship. A mixed ethnographic and phenomenological method 'posits that all consciousness is consciousness of something and that this something need not have reality in the usual sense of the word' (Bakewell, 2014). In this sense, phenomenology allows us to investigate the structure of subjective experience together with the object it 'points to' while setting aside the question of 'whether the object is like...' a specific area or object. The objects of my experience are objects from me in that they constitute my 'lived world' that need not overlap with the material or scientific one. As Bakewell (2014) writes, phenomenology allows discussions about human experience with its wider range of reference devoid of prejudging the reality question. This requires a use of lived experience

language and its meaning rather than cause (ibid.), and is appropriate for this study as these experiences promote the validity of data findings and encourage comprehensive understanding and explanation. As for the case study method, it was not chosen, as it is designed to focus extensively on incidents, confined to a case-by-case system, by events and by the processes of a group (Creswell, 2002: 439). A quantitative method would not have been appropriate either, given that the focus of the study was to understand the experience and social realities of the participants, rather than evaluate or describe participants' attitudes and opinions through a statistical representation of the individuals (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). As a qualitative research, this study used in-depth semi-structured questions and observation. Its aim was to understand participants' perceptions of the micro-process of identity documents and determination of citizenship that could be analysed for patterns and build knowledge to new experiences within the context of the post-conflict peace process.

Ethnographic focus through governmentality approach

Ethnographic studies concentrate on the routine daily lives of people and examine a number of views (Magg-Rapport, 2000: 220). An intensive period of observation, discussion or a mixture of the two is ideal. Thus, the goal of ethnographic research is to discover and represent faithfully the true nature of social phenomena' (Hammersley, 2002: 202). While ethnographic findings can formulate themes and patterns from experience (Moustakas, 1994; Creswell, 2002, 2013), a governmentality focus on the minor practices allows for an ethnographic understanding of the state or what Foucault would call Biopower/biopolitics or governmentality (Inda, 2005; Sharma & Gupta, 2009).

According to Sharma & Gupta (2009), an ethnographic approach can illuminate the process of state formation, its mechanisms of rules and workings of power through mundane state activities such as issuance of identity documents (p. 9). Foucault's analysis draws our attention to the minor practices of government, thereby opening up space for what Sharma and Gupta (2009) call an 'anthropology of the state.' Although, there are many studies about governmentality and detailed accounts of the process of governance, the significance of this project is the careful ethnographic focus on issues involving citizenship, legal procedures and bureaucratic practices. Of significance are its concerns with how local and national identities are constructed in the context of the post-colonial/independence with the

'help' of outside intervention were reproduced and reinforced in the post-conflict peace process. The research engages in the theoretical and ethnographic explorations of the linkage between the two processes - techniques used to categorise ethnic groups and the peace process. By investigating the mode of government of state and non-states actors in Côte d'Ivoire in terms of their complex programmes, calculations, techniques, documents and procedures this study built on other emerging patterns of global governmentality (Rose, 1996; Perry & Maurer, 2003) with a careful ethnographic focus on the 'peace process' phenomena, where governmentality analysis seeks to understand precise answers through empirical inquiry (Rose et al., 2006: 85).

The governmentality perspective is a methodological innovation which is involved in highlighting practices of governance rather than either epochs or generalized modes of power-knowledge (Rose, 1999; O'Malley & Valverde, 2007: 160) within post-conflict peace processes. It also looks for patterns and logic that might exist in relation to similar studies of governmentality in post-colonial states (Gupta & Sharma, 2009, Hansen & Stepputat, 2001, 2009). The goal is to deal with theoretical standpoints of the 'peace process' and the legitimisation of identity categories, as well as to make a contribution to anthropological studies of the state and laws governing citizenship. These open and embedded governmental practices of defining categories of inclusion and entitlement have been the subject (Benda-Beckmann, 1997, 2009) of peace agreement implementation (Finlay, 2010; Brewer, 2010), and in Côte d'Ivoire in particular. Thus, the study traces work practices of specific state and non-state institutions apparatus of civil registry, court and legal centre in Abidjan suburbs of Youpougon and Marcoli. In particular, I am interested in their official procedures and systems of government (Ferguson & Gupta, 1997; Ferguson, 2005a; Sharma & Gupta, 2009). These are part of the 'peace process' activities and policy initiatives that 'have shaped and regulated the conduct of individuals towards specific goals' (Inda, 2005). Hence, the study draws attention to the consequences of technologies of power in the area of the 'peace process' and indicates the patterns or inconsistencies of institutional practices of documenting and granting citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire.

I will analyse the everyday practices of local bureaucracies (Gupta 1995: 376) in recording different ethnic groups and the laws governing Ivorian citizenship and address contextual specificity of the 'peace process' in Côte d'Ivoire. These include forms of global governance and the problematic law and governance (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2008; Benda-Beckmann & Eckert, 2009) in the context of post-colonial Côte d'Ivoire and how these mechanisms are used to deny citizenship to 'strangers', a category comprising immigrants,

but also some local ethnic tribes (discussed in detail in chapter four). Specifically, the study emphasises the governing dynamics of citizenship and distinguishes ways in which ‘citizenship questions who belongs and how decisions about who belongs are reached’ (Bosniak, 2006: 9).

Phenomenological approach

Grounded in constructivist epistemology and subjectivist field, phenomenology offers a systematic approach to the study of a phenomenon that is more challenging than ethnography²⁷, case studies or grounded theory approaches (Wilding & Whiteford, 2005; Szreter, 2007). The latter have a broader research agenda compared with the phenomenological perspective. In its broadest sense, the qualitative phenomenology research patterns refer to research that elicits participants’ accounts of meaning, experiences or perception (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002; Goulding, 2005; Creswell, 2012). It is useful for exploring the full nature of little-understood phenomenon (Polit & Hungler, 1999: 18). As Moustakas (1994: 13) argues ‘the phenomenological approach involves a return to experience in order to obtain a comprehensive description and provide the basis for a reflective structural analysis that portrays the essence of the experience’ (Moustakas, 1994: 13).

Moustakas (1994) developed a foundational understanding of phenomenology as the natural process through which awareness, understanding and knowledge are consequential. Hence, the study treats participants’ perceptions as the primary resource of knowledge about the practices of identification of population and the granting of citizenship in post conflict Côte d'Ivoire. The aim of this qualitative, phenomenological research is to understand human experiences, perceptions and social realities through interviews (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001; Creswell, 2002; Donalek, 2005) and observation. The use of the qualitative method in this study allowed government officials to be interviewed about their individual experiences in the provision of identity documents to the population and the determination of who is and who is not, a citizen. The objective of the research is to seek knowledge, interpret and describe the reflexive process (Wilding & Whiteford, 2005) in relation to the peace agreement. Phenomenology is oriented toward describing what constitutes the experience under investigation, rather than attempting to explain why it looks the way it does (Sandberg

²⁷ In this study I use ethnographic method to study governmental practices rather than conducting an ethnographic study.

2005: 60). By asking 'what' and 'how' questions rather than 'why' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000), the approach turns participants' focus to the research object and what it means to them.

The analysis of micro-mechanisms of the state practices allows one to address the issue of how power is grounded in everyday life, which underpins 'technologies of domination' over people because they define a field of knowledge (Gledhill, 2000). Data for this thesis was obtained from individuals immersed in the daily life of the setting in which the study is delineated by producing an insight into the problem based on various contextual factors (Miller, 1999). The inductive findings are derived from data collected through interviews and observations. This study will use phenomenological theoretical perspectives that derive from constructivism; a theoretical methodological approach to deals with individual actions idiographic (Bryman, 2004: 20). The phenomenology approach is ideal for this study as it enabled the discovery of meanings behind participants' experiences on issuing identity documents and granting citizenship. These interviews and field notes were broken down, coded and consolidated into thematic patterns. As I attempt to understand the meaning, the phenomenon has, for those involved, built toward a theory of observations and intuitive understanding assembled from being in the field. This qualitative research is inductive, as data is gathered to build concepts or theories rather than deriving hypotheses to be tested (Merriam, 2002: 3).

Data was analysed, and themes developed through breaking down the interviews and observations to form themes, categories, concepts and substantive theory. As a qualitative study is descriptive, it provided descriptions of the context, the participants involved and the activities of interest. Quotes from participants' interviews, field notes and excerpt speeches and so on were used and contributed to the descriptive nature of the research findings (Merriam, 2002: 5, Merriam 2009). As 'qualitative research attempts to understand and make sense of phenomena from the participant's perspective' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), the intent of the interview analysis was to understand the government officials' experiences and to identify themes, and so patterns emerged. These ideas might represent a broader theoretical perspective on categorisation of identities and exclusion from citizenship in the post-conflict peace process. The thematic analysis suggested the problematic and revealed ways in which individuals were classified as citizens or foreigners.

As a researcher, I directly collected the data and analysed it. The type of participants selected was based on their ability to describe the experience being researched. I conducted interviews in French, the everyday language of Côte d'Ivoire - with no need for translation

during the interviews, but there was translation at some point because findings were reported in English. The majority of interviews were audio-recorded (15 out of 21 or 70 %), others (6 persons or 30 %) where participants did not consent to audio recording, detailed interview notes were taken during the interviews. I also transcribed all interviews, verbatim in French and themes were developed and translated into English using NVivo software (Appendix A).

Data collection in the radically changing political landscape in the country

In the first weeks of my fieldwork, government officials and non-government personnel I had worked with, were the only contacts that I met. I was aware of tense arguments around access to citizenship and identity documents in the country. It was critical that I get access to 'balanced' views from people from different cultural and social backgrounds. Most of the government officials I knew were from the dominant groups (i.e., Baule and Kru), and one highly ranked Mande (working for the transitional government) introduced me to two others and an academic, who was an immigrant, who could be said to represent the subordinated group. Participants were identified by contacting them by email asking if they will voluntarily be willing to participate in this study. One participant from non-government organisation (NGOs) introduced me to another non-government officials who had contacts in the government, in particular, mayor's office in which civil registries' are based and in which I was interested in. This NGO's official introduced me to two of the chiefs of civil registry and one allowed me to conduct an ethnographic observation into his office. Through my previous work in the country, I also knew many migrants, mostly from Burkina Faso and a few from Mali.

A transitional government was established following the signing of the OPA and divided Ministerial offices according to political parties' allegiance. For instance, the cabinet of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights were under the authority of the rebel group Force Nouvelle (or New Forces) and its leader Guillaume Soro who became the Prime Minister of Laurent Gbagbo's last transitional government. The Prime Minister oversaw activities related to the operation of identity documentation as set out in the OPA, while the latter was responsible for legislation and policy on citizenship. From the President Laurent Gbagbo's party, the government controlled the Ministry of Interior and its Office of National Identification (ONI), it had control over all matters of civil registration including the issuance of birth certificates, appointment of local administrators

(sub-prefects) and the judges responsible for issuing documents of citizenship. I had remained troubled by the 'politics' around the practices of identity documentation, the determination of individual citizenship and how this affected the ways in which population groups were categorised as citizens or non-citizens. I was even more attentive to the context of the governing rationale, which trained government officials to distinguish citizens from non-citizens. I was aware of the different levels where these decisions were made in the provision of administrative papers, either in the civil registry or the district court. Within such tense political polarization of identity, I became interested in the outcome of the 'peace process' in particular, the issues of 'identification of population' that had been at the heart of the conflict. I was also attuned to the quickly changing situation in the country; it led me to return after the change of the government in 2011 following post-presidential elections in November 2010. With the new government in power following contested election results, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, political representative of the rebel group became president. There was a 'feeling' that there would be a radical change in governing issues related to citizenship and identity documentation. With this in mind, I returned to the country in 2012 and 2013.

Participants' selection

A small sample of a desired group of participants was selected through a purpose sampling method (Lackey et al., 1998: 330), because the purpose of the study is to understand participants' perceptions and experiences. The focus was on the quality of information obtained from the participants, rather than on the size of the sample (Burns & Grove, 1997). Participants included government officials, policy makers, judges, civil registry agents, as well as personnel from non-government organisations providing information and legal assistance to the population applying for identity documents including citizenship documents. Long-term migrants as described by Creswell (2002) are 'a group of individuals with some common characteristics, a list of names [was] identified' (p.163). Given that a person can generate hundreds or thousands of concepts, large samples are not necessarily needed to generate rich data sets (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Creswell (1998) proposed long interviews with up to ten people for the phenomenological study (pp. 63 & 113). A sample size of eleven persons, of which five policy makers and six bureaucrats and paralegals were selected for interviews. In addition to eleven interviewees, one group of other people involved in the system of identifications (traditional leaders, midwives,

volunteering civil agent of the civil registry) was requested to take part in a focus group discussion.

The aim of collecting data on three types of informants allows 'data triangulation' to contrast the data and validate it if it produces similar findings (Bloor, 1997; Holloway, 1997; Arksey & Knight, 1999). Participants were encouraged to talk until the subject was exhausted, or had no new perspectives on the topic (Creswell, 2002; Bailey, 2008). Some of the participants (government officials) were interviewed twice over a period of three years due to significant political changes that related to the subject of the research and the same individuals had kept their position.

There were three categories of people interviewed ²⁸ in this study. Firstly, state officials, policy makers and bureaucrats who issue identity documents. Secondly, personnel from non-government organisations who were providing legal assistance to people applying for citizenship documents and birth certificates and thirdly, groups of interviewees consisting of long term migrants in Côte d'Ivoire who had applied for these documents.

The selected participants had first-hand experience in the provision of identity documentation or determining citizenship. This purposive strategy for the selection of participants was suitable for this study sampling because 'the phenomenon dictates the methods including the type of participants' (Hycner, 1999: 156). I knew the kind of participants I needed for the study (Babbie, 2012). With this purposive convenience sampling (Creswell 2002, Cooper & Schindler, 2003; Salkind et al., 2003), the site was intentionally selected and participants located in a single site where they agreed to participate and share their experiences. These participants were government officials with knowledge and direct involvement in identity documentation and determination of citizenship either as policy advisors, lawmakers or applicant civilian populations.

Through my previous acquaintances, I contacted authorities and NGOs in the country seeking their assistance in recruiting these participants. I was particularly interested in the provision of national identity cards, birth certificates, certificates of nationality and consular cards. I was introduced to the manager of civil registration where administrative papers were issued on a daily basis. As a result, I was given open access to the site to overtly conduct an ethnographic observation of birth registration. The head of the civil registries agreed to provide open access to his office for the research and introduced me to the person directly in charge of providing birth certificates. This participant shared an office with other

²⁸ See the list and detailed information of participants in this study, Appendix B.

people working on another type of administrative papers such as tax stamps, certificates of marriage, duplication of lost documents, dactylography and so on. While an ethnographic observation of the pilot study was conducted in the North West region of Moyen Cavally from May to September 2009, the main ethnographic observation was subsequently carried out in the office of civil registry located in one of the suburbs in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire for twelve months between 2010 and 2013, after changing the site for the study. The ethnographic observation allowed me to explore issues that might not be mentioned in interviews.

I also conducted interviews with participants from the government and non-government organisations whom I had met before the research began. I also interviewed local bureaucrats, magistrates and population groups that provided their accounts and experiences of practices of provision of identity documents and attribution of citizenship. These participants were responsible for managing information or legal assistance centres, which provided legal support to people seeking identity documents and citizenship. The participants from non-governmental organisations also volunteered to help me in organising a focus group discussion with other people they knew whose work was directly linked to the system of identification of population in the country. These people included participants from government and non-governmental organisations. Each theme was explored until saturation was reached, and no new data was realised (Creswell, 2002; Szreter, 2006). Some participants have been re-interviewed months later to make certain that the new themes were appropriately addressed and that no new insight arose. These interviewees and field notes became the primary unit of analysis (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006). Furthermore, participants were given access to their won recordings or transcripts depending on their preference.

Confidentiality and informed consent

Before my arrival in the field, I had sent an introductory email (see Appendix A) to invite the proposed participants to join the study. I made use of informed consent (see Appendix B) and the acknowledgement was administered at the beginning of each interview session to each participant (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Bailey, 2008; Holloway, 1997; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Steinar, 1996). To encourage open and honest communication, participants were assured of confidentiality. The participants' names and data sets were administered by assigning a naming scheme (see Appendix D). Prior to the interview, I

encouraged participants to read, complete and sign an informed consent form (see Appendix C), which denoted their willingness to participate and acknowledge that the interview was audio recorded. The interview process began by noting that the recording had commenced and the interview time frame would be about 60 minutes or more. I personally conducted all interviews in French and no interpreter was needed. Next, the participant reviewed and signed an informed consent form, acknowledging that he or she knew that they could interrupt the interview if they wanted to. The interview was initiated by presenting questions to the interviewee. The recording continued until each session was completed. The confidentiality and informed consent provision of interview were restated. The interview data was labelled and secured after each recording and setup for the next interview session. To maintain the privacy of participants, all information that could reveal the identity of the participant, places or things that could make such identity easily known were replaced with pseudonyms. The data set was stored in secured computers that required password access and no access to data-entry and editorial personnel (Cooper &Schindler, 2003).

The sites and meeting the participants

Exploring the perceptions of the government officials provided useful information about how various groups are classified into citizens and noncitizens. It also highlighted issues relating to who is entitled to be a citizen or a foreigner and under what regulations. How the decision was made to determine citizenship was crucial to the study of the peace process. Kvale (1996) draws a distinction between the research questions and the interview questions. This qualitative phenomenological study integrated in-depth semi-structured questions designed to guide participants to share their experiences in their 'natural setting'. This enabled the research to bring together theoretical and conceptual support of related literature (Creswell, 2002; Moustakas, 1994). The central question that guided the study and focus of the inquiry to avoid becoming too broad or specific (Creswell, 2002) was:

- What are the practices of identification of population and attribution of citizenship after the signing of the peace agreement in 2007?

However, scholars such as Bentz and Shapiro (1998) and Groenewald (2004) argue that 'doing phenomenology' means capturing descriptions of phenomena and their setting. The

actual questions asked were:

- What are the procedures involved in providing birth certificates?
- How is individual citizenship decided?
- Who is entitled to Ivorian citizenship?

While all the questions asked descriptive responses (none directly asking for individual experiences of feeling towards processes of provision of identity documents and application of citizenship), the experiences and feeling about the process was always expressed when questions of citizenship were discussed or asked about in the country.

Triangulation

According to (Mouton & Marais, 1990), the concept of triangulation refers mainly to the use of multiple methods of data collection that can increase the reliability of observation. In this study, triangulation of methods applies to mixing participants' observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary sources. Participant observation, interview and documentary source methods together 'provide insights into different levels or units of analysis' (Creswell, 2013: 16).

Observation from within

The access to the site of observation was possible through a gatekeeper who is a previous government's official acquaintance. The site is a civil registry situated in one of Abidjan's large suburbs. It took about two weeks to be given access to observe the daily activity of issuance of birth certificates. I had explained to the manager and other staff what the study was about and what it entailed and asked for their informed consent, but signing a consent form made the manager nervous. Fortunately, he allowed me to go to his office and anybody interviewed there signed consent forms once they understood that it would, in no way, affect their job. As May (2011) argues, participant observation is concerned with the process of establishing aspects of a relatively long-term relationship with human association in its natural setting (p. 165). Thus, the process must take into consideration the purposes of developing a scientific understanding of the association with a social world filled with meaning whereby people are busy interpreting and voicing any concern (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; May, 2011).

Participant observation allowed me to explore issues that might not have been

mentioned in interviews. Participant observation was used to obtain descriptive data on events or phenomenon (Finnegan, 2006: 58). I took abundant notes on what appeared to be everyday mundane happenings and tried not to make firm assumptions about what activities are important to people I was attempting to understand (May, 2011: 166 & 170). Observation was concerned with the issuance of birth certificates consisting of checking the birth registration records, listening to the reception of applicants and reviewing information recorded. I also explored participants' perspectives, ideas, motives and intentions and most importantly the way they interpret their social environment. The observation method enabled me to collect information about the physical environment, human behaviour that was directly obtained without having to rely on anticipatory accounts of others. As an observer, I noticed that participants cannot see relevant features of the environment and behaviour that they may have taken for granted or had difficulty describing, for example decision taken based on individual's name to determine his or her citizenship (discussed in Chapter five). These included significant patterns and regularities in the setting and behaviour revealed through careful, planned observation by a study over a period (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006: 59).

I spent a lot of time building relationships, participating in social interactions and creating a rapport with the subjects/participants being observed, and they became accustomed to my presence. As a researcher, I adopted an 'overt role'. I made my presence and intention known to participants with whom a relationship was established with the intention of the participant becoming both respondent and informant (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Participants observed were personnel working on birth registrations. I was interested in what the criteria were when deciding to issue, or not, birth certificates. I paid attention to what and how information was recorded such as a sequence in establishing birth certificates as well as what were the official and unofficial norms found in the process of birth registration. I took notes on space (layout of the office of the civil registry), actors (people involved in the delivery of birth registrations), activities (the various activities of civil registers), acts (the actions of individuals, for example who fills out the forms and who authorises them etc.), events (days, birth certificates, identity cards are issued etc.), time (the sequence of document delivery during the day and week), goals (the activities people are attempting to accomplish), rationale (for example logic used to particular contexts such as the rejection and approval to deliver an identity paper to one person and not another), the division of labour and hierarchies, significant events, member's perspectives and meanings, social rules and basic patterns of order. I also took notes on the types of applicants

(individuals, couples, family, age groups etc.), request purpose (birth certificate, legalisation, copy of birth certificate, change of name, etc.) style of dress (traditional, formal or casual), literacy (whether applicant could read and write). I visited the civil registry at least three times a week, mornings and afternoons. Every day, I took 'memos' or field notes of what I heard, saw, experienced and thought during data collection and reflected on the process to correlate with other data (Miles & Huberman, 1984: 69).

Interviews

In this study, I used in-depth semi-structured interviews to collect data. Specific questions allowed 'freedom' to probe beyond the answers while enabling a dialogue and seeking both clarifications to the response provided (May, 2011: 134). The semi-structured interview opened up an understanding of how participants generated and deployed meaning in social life (Carter & Henderson, 2005; Carter & Little, 2007; May, 2011: 135). I used these definitions to support the development of the probable effect, use of theories and the assessment of differences (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). Face-to-face interviews were conducted like a natural conversation whereby the participants knew what the research was about (Sapsford, 2006; Wilson & Roger, 2006: 94). I asked participants to give accounts of their experience of systems and practices of provision of identity documents in detail, how citizenship was determined and who was or was not entitled. The participants were 'encouraged to elaborate on the details that add clarity and to stay close to the lived experience' (Starks & Trinidad 2007).

The interviews were audio-recorded, and questions were asked for clarification where needed. The interview settings were comfortable and relaxed and the process was informal and interactive (Moustakas, 1994), and through conversation, participants shared with the researcher textual data relating to interviewing and the research. The participants comprised of policy makers, judges, government and non-government agents directly involved in the provision of identity documents and attribution of citizenship. A number of interviews were conducted with government officials and personnel from non-government organisations. Government officials included civil registry staff and magistrates responsible for issuing birth certificates, the government bureaucrat responsible for advising the ministry on matters relating to the identification of population and other policy makers in the areas. Non-government organisations included international organisations and donor agencies supporting the implementation of the 'peace process' activities related to identity

documentation.

Also, part of the interview included focus group interviewing which was a valuable tool of investigation used in this study. Two focus group discussions were organised. The first one consisted of a group of twelve mixed government officials and the other was a group of thirteen migrant descendants. The group discussion encouraged the participants to talk to one another about their experiences, as opposed to each person in turn answering questions (May, 2011: 137). I guided the discussion on the topics of identity documentation and citizenship determination.

Documentary Sources

Documentary sources were used to supplement information from other sources (Finnegan, 2006) such as interviews and observation data. This process enhanced understanding, identified practices and allowed comparison of interpretation of events in order to understand how they are constructed and the reasons they are employed (May, 2011: 91 & 194). Sources of documents included government reports, laws, works of references on 'identification' of population, parliamentary debates on citizenship, unofficial records, statistical records, civil registrar's records, policy documents and legislation, cabinet records, records of the civil registry, mobile courts decisions on the identification following the 2007 peace agreement, official journals and newspapers with decrees published related to identification from 2000-2009 etc. These official documents, as Sapsford and Jupp (2006) writes 'provide valuable data for the analysis of the official definition of what is defined as problematic, what is viewed as the explanation of the problem, and what is deemed to be the preferred solution' (p. 276).

Other sources include non-government organisation documents (for example, reports, policy documents, rules and regulation on identification, handbook for identification and census, emails, memorandum of understanding, minutes of meetings, standard operation procedure records of identification, mass information campaign aide memoirs, workshops audio records and discussions on identification of population and provision of birth certificates) (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Most of the documents required translation from French to English and documenting who produced the material and in what circumstances, etc.

Data-storing methods

Audio records of interviews and focused group discussion: A large amount of data was audio-recorded, with the permission of participants, (Arksey & Knight, 1999) and collected. Organising data included listening and transcribing recordings and producing a summary of recordings. Because interviews were recorded in French, initial transcription was done in French and translated to English. I assigned each interview a code, for example, 'Participant 2', July 2010. When more than one interview was conducted on the same date, different participants were identified and given an alphabet (e.g., Participant-B, 2 July 2010). At the end of each interview, I listened to the recording and made notes. Field notes were written every day, in order not to forget crucial data and retain data gathered (Lofland & Lofland, 1995: 5). Morgan (1997) remarks that the interpretation of field notes is properly speaking, a component part of the analysis rather than data collection (pp. 57-58), as is in transcription. The field notes allowed me to clarify each interview setting (Caelli, 2001 cited in Groenewald, 2004). Transcriptions of interviews and field notes were also stored electronically on hard drives (Groenewald, 2004) and to the cloud including Dropbox.

Field notes (participant observation): included detailed information about what was observed and the researcher's personal feelings about what was observed. My feelings and thoughts as a researcher were clearly marked off from the observation records. These field notes are the raw material from which the evidence provided research findings (Boulton & Hammersley, 2006: 249).

Validity of data

According to Maxwell (1992), validity refers primarily to accounts and is relative to purpose and circumstance. Maxwell (1992) argues that the validity is not inherent property of a particular method, but pertains to the data; reports or conclusions reached that use a method in a particular context for a particular purpose (pp. 282-283). According to Hammersley and Atkinson, (1983) 'data in themselves cannot be valid or invalid, what is at issue are the inference drawn from them' (p. 191). Hence, to achieve the validity of this study, 'the focus is on an insider perspective' (Mouton & Marais, 1990: 70). I consciously bracketed my presuppositions in order to understand the views of the participants. The audio recordings made of each interview data is accurately described and reflects what the participant has said or done, and the reporting of the data also reflects the same precision

which indicate that the transcription is an accurate description of what was said (Maxwell, 1992). Furthermore, my interpretation of the findings is informed with contextualised perspectives and is critical to modern state's assumptions and narratives (Creswell & Miller, 2000: 125-126) to enquire the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire.

Limitation of the methodology

The limitations of this methodology are related both to the phenomenological approach and methods used to collect data. Firstly, it should be noted that observation as a research method may cause people to consciously or unconsciously change their behaviour because they are being observed. Consequently, observational accounts of their behaviour may be inaccurate representations of how they behave 'naturally' (Potter, 1987). The other important limitation is that observation is inevitably filtered through the interpretative lens of the observer (Astley 1985; Hobbs & Wright, 2006). Hence, observation can never provide us with direct representation of reality (Cohen et al., 2011). In addition, the observer has to select what they observe and what observation they record. Finally, observation is time consuming and therefore costly, when compared to other methods of data collection. The observer is only able to observe a restricted number of participants that are of interest, thus the issue of representativeness of the findings.

Secondly, an interview limitation perhaps is the need to engage with the informant, yet remain detached, which is difficult in 'naturalistic methods of investigation' (Sapsford, 2006: 117). Participants were asked to talk through the chronology of their jobs and what their units did or had done in relation to the provision of identity documents. In this way, they narrate the story they were familiar with. Focus group discussions can produce different perspectives on the same issues and caution about attributing the opinions of such a group to the whole population (May, 2011: 137). Through the migrant's focus group, I was able to talk to people who have been displaced. They were able to describe their experiences of the northern regions that were not accessible for the research due to security concerns and cost. Other issues related to establishing validity and reliability of the subjectivity of the data, difficulties related to research induced bias have been addressed in the final conclusion, where with data collected it was not possible to determine whether the state practices of determining citizenship will apply to different groups with different cultural and religious background.

Finding a point of departure for the research: a pilot study

As Wilson and Sapsford (2006) suggest, a pilot study is essential in order to assess the adequacy of the research design and of the instrument to be used for data collection (p. 203). The term pilot study refers to so-called feasibility studies, which are 'small-scale versions, trial runs, done in preparation for a major study' (Polit & Hungler, 1999: 467). However, 'a pilot study can also be the pre-testing or trying out of a particular research instrument' (Baker 1994: 182-3). One of the benefits of a pilot study is that it might give early warning about potential problems that could fail the research, for example, in case protocols may not be followed, or unsuitable, or 'too complicated' for proposed methods or instruments (Dey, 2003; De Vaus, 2001; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001).

From the start of this study, I was simultaneously working in a professional capacity. Piloting was also carried out to give me more 'confidence, as a novice in research' (Holloway, 1997: 121). I learned more about the responsibility of the sub-prefect about issuance of birth registration when I was working and conducting a pilot study in the northern, western part of the Moyen Cavally region. He allowed me to follow him to some of his field visits when he met with the population. I followed him when he met with community members; the pilot phase gave me an in-depth insight into the working and governance and the process of documentation, particularly in rural areas. Due to the political sensitivity of topics related to the identification of population and citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire at the time, prior to general elections in 2010, it was not as simple to gain valid and reliable information as it may first have appeared. There were some difficulties associated: 'factual' information about the number of persons who lack identity documents, the procedure to grant or deny citizenship. With a transitional government constituted of belligerents in the war and with both parties having a role and responsibility to resolve the issue of identity documents, the issue of reliability and inaccuracy of information arose. Furthermore, the security situation was volatile and could change at any moment, undermining the field research.

During the pilot phase, I also used in-depth interviews and focus groups to establish and test the questions as well as to test the research process in different ways and places of focus (Morgan, 1997; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). I conducted five in-depth interviews with the prefects and mayors about their roles and activities in the management issue related to the provision of identity documents, particularly with regards to birth

registration. Through this pilot study, I was able to identify some potential practical obstacles in following the research procedures (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). For example, my summer study from 8th May to 26th September, 2009 demonstrated that the proposed monitoring of mobile courts hearings to issue identity documents had completed, as it was time bound as a provided by a presidential decree, but there remained residual cases. Thus, the pilot study provided me with a precise definition of the focus of the study and helped in focusing the research data collection on a small range of projected analytical topics (Frankland & Bloor, 1999: 154). In order to avoid potential considerable changes in the main study when research started, I decided that the proposed study could not be achievable with the funds and time available and could not guarantee access to the north-western region of Moyon Cavally. Abidjan, the commercial city was more accessible and posed lesser challenge of security. It was easy to move around and meet with not only policy makers but also people directly responsible for issuing identity documents. The practice of issuing citizenship and identity documents was the focus of this study.

Data analysis

As the study is uses phenomenological approach, data analysis is mostly descriptive. The research also involves the production of a narrative account of events related to participants' experiences of and perspectives on identification of population and attribution of citizenship. This section discusses data analysis strategy and the use of Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses System to facilitate the process of comparing categories, as well as exploring the links and patterns to be discerned, building up understanding (May, 2011: 154).

Data analysis strategy

According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 9), data analysis strategy is the 'systematic procedures to identify essential features and relationships'. It is a way of reconstructing the data through interpretation (Greonewald, 2004: 17). Furthermore, Dey (2003) regards analysis as a process of breaking down data into smaller units to reveal their characteristic elements and structure. The study adopts (Hymned, 1999) five main steps (of which steps four and five are repeated) or phases in analysing phenomenological data which is termed

‘explicitation of data’, which entails an examination of the components of the phenomenon ‘while keeping the context as whole’ (p.161). The five phases are:

- 1) Bracketing and phenomenological reduction.
- 2) Delineating units of meaning.
- 3) Clustering of units of meaning to form themes.
- 4) Summarising each interview, validating it and where necessary modifying it.
- 5) Extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary.

Bracketing and phenomenological reduction: the term reduction coined by Husserl (2012), is regarded by Hycner (1999) as having nothing to do with reductionist natural science methodology that may over-analyse the human phenomena, remove the lived context of ‘the phenomena and, worse possibly, reducing phenomena to cause and effect’ (Groenewald, 2004). Instead, phenomenological reduction as deliberate and purposeful was an opening to the phenomenon ‘in its own right with its own meaning’ by points suspending or ‘bracketing out’ (or epoch), in the sense that I may, as a researcher not take no position (Hycner, 1999). This level of analysis used open coding or bracketing and reduction, a procedure that consisted of listening to the recordings of the interview and/or reading the transcript with openness to whatever meaning emerged, without my interpretation to understand what the participant was saying, rather than what I expected that person to say (Hycner, 1985: 281-282). I sought to generate as many categories as possible, without worrying about what the relevance of those categories might be to their intended goal. Data that looked promising was highlighted, noting down topics or categories to which the data relate and which were relevant to the research focus, and were in some other ways interesting or surprising (Hammersley, 2006: 249).

As a researcher, I listened several times to the audio recording of each interview to become familiar with the words of the participants in order to develop an holistic sense (Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999). Furthermore, open coding also included going through every field note of observation, interviews, every word, phrase, sentence, paragraph and highlighting ‘significant statements, sentences, or quotes’ that provide an understanding of how the participants’ experiences the phenomenon, elicit participants meanings and getting the essence of the meaning expressed by participants. Phenomenological approach implied a process that emphasises the unique own experiences of the research participant (Zinker, 1977).

My own presuppositions did not allow my meanings and interpretations or theoretical

concepts to enter the unique world of the participants (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994; Sadala & Adorno, 2001) or personal views or preconceptions (Crabtree & Miller, 1992).

Delineating units of meaning is a critical stage of explicating the data, in that statements explain the phenomenon under investigation, which is extracted or 'isolated' (Creswell, 1998; Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999). During this phase, I had to make a judgment calls while consciously bracketing my own assumptions in order to avoid subjective judgments (Groenewald, 2004: 18). A list of units of relevant meanings was extracted from each interview and was carefully scrutinised, and the clearly redundant units are eliminated (Moustakas, 1994). The following process of analysing data, involved the 'reduction' of what the participants said, while simultaneously using literal words where possible (Hycner, 1985: 282) by focusing on the structure of an experience (Merriam, 2002: 7) of identification of population and granting of citizenship. Thus, I looked into experience through the narration of participants, of their shared single event (acquiring administrative paper and/or applying for citizenship) and investigated the effects and perceptions of that experience as well as interpreting the experience or fact, by listening to the different stories of the participants (Green et al., 2007).

In this phase, I considered literal content, the significance or number of times a meaning was mentioned and also how (non-verbal or paralinguistic cues) were stated. Hycner (1999) regards this exercise as important because 'the actual meaning of two seemingly similar units of meaning might be different in terms of weight or chronology of events' (p.19).

Clustering of units to form themes. After a list of non-redundant units of meaning was established, I rigorously examined the list of units of meaning and tried to elicit the essence of meaning of a unit within the holistic context. Particularly at this stage I continued to 'bracket' my assumptions or theories and was engaged in 'creative insight' or something that cannot be precisely delineated (Hycner, 1999: 151-152). I formed cluster themes by grouping units of meaning together (Creswell, 1998; King, 2004; Moustakas, 1994), and I became aware of and validated important themes also called units of significance (Sadala & Adorno, 2001). Hycner (1999) notes that the researcher role is, thus, to interrogates the meaning of the various clusters and identifies overlapping clusters, and determines the central themes 'which expresses the essence of these clusters' (p. 153).

At this point, summary of all the themes was produced from data to give an holistic context and conduct. As Hycner (1999) argues 'validity check' was carried out and was consisted of 'returning to the informant to determine if the essence of the interview has been

correctly captured' (Hycner 1999: 154).

Once the process of 'bracketing' or reduction in phase one, and summarising each interview in phase 4 was completed for all the interviews, I searched for the common themes to most or all of the interviews as well as the individual variations' (Hycner, 1994: 154). Comparing and contrasting all the items of data that had been assigned to the same category, I attempted to clarify what categories have emerged including sub-categories and relations among categories (Corbin & Strauss 1990). The repetition of this process of analysing generated categories and interpretations of the data in terms of these categories in view of integrating into a network of relationships forming a core of the main claims of the resulting research report (Boulton et.al, 2006: 253). If major differences emerged, care was taken, not cluster common themes in order to voice the unique or minority voices as important counterpoints to bring out regarding the researched phenomenon (Groenewald, 2004: 21).

I then wrote a composite summary, which reflected the context from which the themes emerged (Hycner, 1999; Moustakas, 1994). At this stage, the participant's everyday expressions were transformed into expressions appropriate to the scientific discussion supporting the research (Sadala & Adorno, 2001: 289). Although the initial theorising is derived from the qualitative data, the analysis went 'beyond the data to develop ideas' (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996: 139). Hence, the analysis aim was the categorisation of collected data in order that the events, relationships and interactions observed may be understood or explained in the context of a developed theoretical framework (May, 2011: 180).

Use of Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analyses System – NVivo

The researcher used NVivo 10, a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis System (CAQDAS) to support the analysis of qualitative data. In this study, the use of software to assist in the analysis of qualitative data was selectively utilised in the later stage of the project, when methods had been decided and data had been collected. This was mostly due to practical issues concerning resources, expertise and time available and most importantly because of the software data management capability. The later use of the software for qualitative analysis allowed me to scrutinise and spend considerable time conceptualising issues that surround and inform its practices (May, 2011: 154). The software also helped in defining the analysis strategy that informed concrete steps for the computer assisted data analyses.

Different types of data gathered were incorporated (mostly imported) in the NVivo software. The data included background information (e.g., consent forms for interviews and observation), documentary sources including primary data (interview and focus groups audio records and transcripts, field notes) and secondary data (official documentation, government reports, legislation etc.). The software was used to analyse other relevant supporting information such as existing literature, supporting statistical evidence relevant government websites, etc.

Methodology Memo Template

There were two discrete methods of qualitative data analysis deployed in this study. The methodology adopted for the primary interviews were based on Moustakas' modified Van Kaam method known as the 'seven steps' (Moussaka, 1994). The methodology adopted in this study for the various identity documents was based on content analysis as defined by Krippendorff (2004) who drew on the work of Lasswell (1965) in his development of this methodological framework. The content analysis consisted of meaning attached to categorisation of identities as either national or foreigners. In particular, I was interested in whether this interpretation and emerging decisions taken by the authorities were in line or not with the legislation on citizenship.

Method: Overview of process

Framed by a focus of inquiry, data is collected through open-ended interviews that allow participants to express their views and experiences freely (Stemler, 2001). The analysis of collected data is not grouped according to pre-defined categories, only relevant themes and the relationship between them and what emerges from data itself, through a process of inductive reasoning known as coding units (Stemler, 2001). This process involves breaking down the data into discrete incidents (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or 'units' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and coding them into categories to take two forms. On the one hand, categories deriving from the participants' own languages, and those that the researcher identifies as significant to the project's focus-of-inquiry (ibid). The goal of the former 'is to reconstruct the categories used by subjects to conceptualise their own experiences and world view' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 334-336). The goal of the latter is to assist the researcher in developing theoretical insights into the social processes operative in the site under study;

thus, 'the process thought that leads to both descriptive and explanatory categories' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 336-341). The content and definition of the categories are changed as units and events are compared and categorised through cycles of coding, and as understandings of the properties of categories and the relationships between categories are developed and refined over the course of the analytical process. As Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 126) summarise: 'the researcher simultaneously codes and analyses data in order to develop concepts; by continually comparing specific incidents in the data, the researcher refines these concepts, identifies their properties, explores their relationships to one another, and integrates them into a coherent explanatory model'.

Using of Qualitative Data Analysis Software

In qualitative data analysis software, the 'investigator used the computer as a tool for efficiency and not as a tool which in and of itself conducts analysis and draws conclusions' (Fielding and Lee, 2004) (Mangabeira, Lee, & Fielding, 2004). As Mangabeira, et al. (2004) explain, 'qualitative researchers want tools which support analysis but leave the analyst firmly in charge' (p.167). Importantly such software also serves as a tool for transparency, and an audit trail can be established. Qualitative analysis software's logging of data movements and coding patterns and mapping of conceptual categories and thought progression, render all stages of the analytical process traceable and transparent, facilitating the researcher in producing a more detailed and comprehensive audit trail than manual mapping of this complicated process can allow (ibid.).

Primary Interviews

Primary interviews go through separated cycles of coding, managing codes, one for data reduction through consolidating codes into a more abstract theoretical framework and three which use writing itself as a tool to prompt deeper thinking of the data (Bazeley, 2009; Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). These cycles lead to findings from which conclusions may be drawn. This managing coding cycles also involved additional coding and querying of the data. Moustakas' (1994) modified Van Kaam method known as the 'seven steps'. This process consisted on listing and preliminary grouping of every expression relevant to the experience. Following was the reordering themes identified and coded in step one. On this process was completed I proceeded with clustering and thematising the invariant constituent

of the experience relating to the coded thematic label. I consolidated data into a more abstract and conceptual ideas for reporting purpose. The validated invariant themes including verbatim example from the transcribed interviews. I constructed a description into an organised structure of the experience as described and wrote imaginative variation. I wrote analytical memo which, accurately summarised the content of each category including empirical findings against such categories. Finally, I validated that by seeking data beyond textual quotes to expand deeper meaning and draw relations between category, literature, and observation. See (Appendix A), which shows the seven steps and the corresponding process, and that was transacted through NVivo 10 software product.

Chapter Four

Denial of citizenship: a challenge to the peace process

Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue that the 'peace process' denied citizenship and discriminated through identification practices and the determination of citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire. These practices seem to be rooted in the country need to forge a post-independence national identity with a view to establishing the criteria and meaning of citizenship. Citizenship, as culturally configured, was defined by exclusionary and discriminatory criteria that allowed 'the state to define what and how people were represented legally and administratively' (Scott, 1998: 3-4). Each of the procedures required by the citizenship documents were framed as a 'technical activity for creating characteristics and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion' (Delanty 2007: 64, Ong, 2006).

In this study the focus on the process of denial of citizenship is important to understanding how people were excluded from citizenship through various tactics among others, administrative obstruction, discrimination based on social cultural background, corruptions and neglect of the system of birth registration. Individuals were asked to pay for a service that is supposed to be free (except for stamp duty), but also because they were in some cases expected to move from one village to the other without financial support. To be able to fulfil the assigned duty, they charged excessive prices to the local population who were seeking for government service of birth registration.

In section one, I describe how identification activities, the provision of identity documents, and the determination of an individual's citizenship is unfolding in the implementation of the post-conflict peace agreement. As reviewed in the methodology chapter, the basis of Ivorian citizenship is the need to shape the meaning of membership and to establish its boundaries. The 'peace process' is understood to have provided agreeable 'communal' criteria for future inclusion in the citizenry (Finlay *forthcoming*). The emerging practices used to identify and determine an individual's citizenship suggest a continued denial of citizenship and discrimination based on the social and cultural identities of ethnic groups from northern regions such as the Mande, Senufo, but also migrant-descendants

groups from Mali and Burkina Faso who share the same ethnic groups as these local groups. In this diverse society, citizenship is framed in terms of cultural citizenship, 'a status of a culture as discursively constructed' (Delanty, 2007: 64). This cultural citizenship is evident in the succeeding political pronouncements and new bills on nationality.

Linked to the practice of denying citizenship to some Ivoirians based on origin is the representation of collective identities, their categorisation and their homogenisation by the state system of identity documentation. In debates about naturalisation, political leaders and the media have portrayed naturalisation as a process that is aimed at increasing the electorate and have argued that this policy is necessary due to a substantial number of immigrants in Côte d'Ivoire. This method of representation based on social and cultural identities appears more exclusive and discriminatory. The 'peace process' has already been framed in terms of singular socio-cultural identities, based on citizenship boundaries that have their roots from 'a conception of a community that is bounded and exclusive' (Bosniak, 2008: 1). This narrative of defining who is Ivorian has problematised how to become Ivorian. Some identity categories were reaffirmed as more Ivorian than others. The dominant groups, often from southern ethnic groups (i.e., Akan-Baule, Kru-Beté) and who were in power, perceived northern ethnic groups (i.e., Mande and Senufo), as non-Ivorian and denied them citizenship.²⁹ The procedures of provision of citizenship document 'presented the crucial source for bureaucratic decision-making' (Wodak, 2008: 66). In other words, exclusion from citizenship based on discriminatory practices has been legitimised through structural norms and systems. These norms manifested on many levels of discursive languages linked to the power of decision making and the marginalisation of individuals identified with some ethnic identity categories as non-citizens.

In section two, I argue that the 'peace process' might describe a politics of representation and homogenisation (Finlay *forthcoming*, Ghosh, 1994)³⁰ that emerged in an historical context (social, political and economic) of socio-cultural identity construction. These characteristics of the 'peace process' are aimed at the 'privileging of some cultural categories' (Finlay, *forthcoming*). I draw on David Theo Goldberg's theory of 'the racial states'. Goldberg argues that homogenisation, inclusion and exclusion manifest the state's capacity to represent the population through its officials, who form the state's bureaucratic

²⁹ See Chapter one, pages 45-50

³⁰ Ghosh (2014: 417-418) documented the difficulties of labelling ethnic groups in peace building. He writes about how, as part of the peace process, the United Nations Transitional Authorities in Cambodia (UNTAC) had special unit in Cambodia engaged in the activity of separating Cambodians from Vietnamese, a category that implied the latter were foreign forces.

apparatus and represent the interests of these groups (Goldberg 2002: 8). The refusal to grant citizenship to individuals assigned to some socio-cultural identities was expressed in the need to resolve and manage the problem of citizenship and lack of identity documents in the post-conflict peace process. This argument formed the unfolding narrative and practices of state officials, as well as the policies and legislation enacted pursuant to 'peace process' implementation. Within the 'peace process' consensus who is or is not a citizen is determined in advance of the boundaries of inclusion or exclusion being delineated. Through the peace process, state officials and communities are encouraged to work together to spot 'fake citizens' (discussed below). At the same time, the state bureaucracy promulgated new regulations to administratively 'catalogue' future groups to be excluded from citizenship. Within this narrative, state practices to provide and grant citizenship are attuned to the cultural criteria of citizenship that prompt and reinforce an ethnocentric and exclusionary national identity.

Contextualizing the denial of citizenship

The idea of race is described as the notion of differences among the population, which tend to look at the characteristic of ethnicity, race and place of origin. As Fassin (2001) remarks, this process of differentiation entails 'a reduction of the social to the biological' and 'challenges the notion of a common humanity' (p.5). Racial discrimination has its foundation on insurmountable differences, be it ethnic, race, religion, place of origin and lineage. Initially construction of Ivorian national identity of *Ivoirité* (i.e., Ivorianness), differences in race and ethnicity were celebrated as being part of the country's constellation of multi ethnic groups. Under the constitution, racial discrimination is prohibited, as is an act of discrimination on the basis of origin or racial or religious affiliation. In this sense, Ivorian law is grounded in the universalism of natural law (Amselle, 1990).

However, this appearance of Côte d'Ivoire mosaic of multi-ethnic society began to crumble in the 1990s, and the process intensified in late 1990s and early 2000 following political crisis that led to the civil war in 2002. The political and social polarization of identities in the Ivorian society increased violence and displacements in which long term immigrants became the targets. Exclusion from citizenship became extended to national, ethnic and religious groups allegedly because of their seeming relationship to similar ethnic

groups from neighbouring countries from which the majority of immigrants came from. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to attribute the rise of xenophobia and discrimination in political life only to the above-mentioned period of the 1990s/2000s. Open xenophobic rhetoric in political debates often targeted Jula category, as anyone with a Muslim, northern or immigrant background (Akindès, 2004, Banégas, 2010, Marshall-Fratani, 2006). New laws enacted increasingly designated to exclude from the political process and denied access to citizenship and associated rights such as land ownership, public services, education, etc. As it happens, there has been growing 'lexical confusion', influencing the classification of Ivorian people. Migrant-descendants born in Côte d'Ivoire (even before the country's 'birth of an Ivorian citizenship) were classified as 'strangers'. This categorisation revealed how supposed origin, ethnic and languages undermined, the legal definition of the 'other' (Fassin, 2001: 6), mainly individuals of migrant-descendants or Muslim background.

During the same period, the police and military targeted the 'Jula' people, confiscated or tore up their identity documents. Many of identity documents confiscated tended to belong to individuals whose ethnic identity and Ivorian citizenship was seen as fraudulent. As a result, northerners with 'Jula's' identity were discriminated on the basis of their citizenship or ethnic identity. With an increment of roadblocks between 2002 and 2010, people were systematically stopped and searched. At the same time, practices of ethnic discrimination became 'more' visible, through displacement during the war, and the treatment of foreign workers who were evicted from their plantations. As a result of systematic discriminatory practices, human rights groups brought the Ivorian state to court (OSF, 2006). The latter complained about the legitimisation of xenophobia and discrimination in the constitution that targeted Ivorian people based on their ethnic and origin background.

Thus, the category of Jula, stranger, migrants, Muslim and ethnic usually from northern regions (that often could be recognised by their names and languages) became the object of 'racialisation' and discrimination. This discrimination was initially seen as a rejection of foreign migrants. The migrant category provided a narrative in the development of politicised national identity. Through the prevailing official discourse of *Ivoirité* (Ivorianness), internal boundaries dividing ethnic groups and their differentiation was made possible.

Legal status of citizenship was not any longer the criteria to define the basis for the exclusion of foreigners. There was increased criteria under which, these groups could be evicted from their land by community members (e.g., traditional authorities, local

population) or see their identity documents confiscated or destroyed by state authorities (i.e.; police, military, schools and so on). These were phenomenological features based on people's origin, ethnic and religious groups, which mainly targeted people identified as 'Jula'. These were specifically ethnic groups from northern regions (i.e.; Mande, Senufo, Lobi) Muslims, foreign migrants mainly from neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, etc.

These practices became a social reality as much as in political debates on the meaning of Ivorianness. The elites' virulent controversial debates in the 1990s, about *Ivoirité*, '*Ivoirien de Souche*' (or Ivorian of origin) was established to distinguish Ivorian citizens. Thus, these practices legitimised a deeper distinction than that which had been created by the legal status (Fassin, 2001: 7). Ethnicity and race became the basis under which difference was officialised.

Towards ethnic discrimination

One might argue at this point that this difference is socio-cultural. The distinction between Ivorian population questions became explicitly between Ivorian of origin (this designation is also questionable) and people of 'foreign' origin. Meanwhile, discrimination practices increased between the mid-1990s and 2010 (period relating to the country's economic decline and conflict)³¹. However, since the introduction of citizenship legislation, in the early 1960s, state policies and practices of citizenship for a long time maintained ambiguous meaning about who is or is not a citizen and under what condition. In particular, the confusion was cultivated by the elite among the population of origin and Ivorian of immigrant origins. The state promoted a different type of treatment, such as access to citizenship and land ownership (Dozon, 2000).

States have proven imaginative in inventing ways of eroding access to citizenship (Sokoloff, 2005: 28). The discriminatory practices the state can apply in restricting certain groups access to citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire is useful in understanding the issue of denial. Procedures for naturalisation and birth registration (discussed in chapter five) are some ways of denying citizenship that target certain population groups. Over time, the state's pervasive attempt to restrict the access to certain population groups to citizenship sets the basis for the crisis. As discussed earlier the narrative and ideology *Ivoirité* or 'Ivoirianess' attempted to

³¹ See Chapter One

define an 'Ivorian cultural identity' based on the identities of the dominant ethnic groups³². These became criteria that set the boundaries for the citizenship eligibility.

The Ouagadougou Peace Agreement had recommended a simplified naturalisation procedure that was the fifth attempt to resolve issues of access to identification documents and citizenship. The government acknowledged the grievances of rebel groups and people they purported to represent. One of the major demands of the rebel groups was full access to citizenship and membership in the polity. As Harris (2007: 181) noted, the fact that the 'peace process' attempted to make it easy to acquire citizenship through naturalisation begged the question of how Ivorian origin was to be determined (Harris, 2007: 181). In this section, I argue that the legal and administrative structure for the implementation of the OPA denied citizenship to Ivoirians by origin. I draw on David Goldberg's (2002) conceptualisation of 'racial states', which explicitly construct and 'normalise' a cultural citizenship through racial discrimination. I examine how the 'peace process' in Côte d'Ivoire reproduced procedures of naturalisation and attribution of citizenship that 'implicitly and explicitly denied citizenship and discriminated against a segment of its population'. The confusion about which documents were required and who had the 'power' to determine citizenship became disputed. It appears that the main goal of the agreement was to ensure that the existing regulations were implemented for the completion of the activity to issue identity documents such as birth certificates and documents of citizenship. New naturalisation regulations were to provide easy access to Ivorian citizenship to those who fell under the category of people born in the country prior to its independence in 1960. In the period leading to the conflict, there was increased intensification of the state practices, which has deemed most of them ineligible or illegal migrants; although they had been living in the country before its independence and the establishment of Ivorian citizenship.

The question of the 'peace process' is framed as a bio-political problem of the rapidly expanding legal and administrative apparatus and the pursued accumulation of knowledge about the population. The only questions that are addressed in this thesis concern the mechanisms of providing identity papers and attribution of citizenship as a technology of the 'peace process' based on empirical detail and analyses everyday practices of what local bureaucracies do in relation to citizenship and how they reach the decision of who is, or is not, a citizen. I argue that although the denial of citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire has its root in the implementation of legal norms enacted after independence in 1960, the

³² See Chapter One, page 45-46

post-peace agreement interventions 'retained' post-independence practices. The findings suggest that 'administrative harassment and obstructive official routines' contributed to and became a state device to exclude. Biopolitics, understood as a technique of power, has been linked to the issue of the 'identity politics' (Heller & Riekmann, 1996). It 'implies a politics of otherness' and 'which have race, sex, ethnicity and genes as their foundation biopolitics...' (Fassin, 2001: 7). By denying the inclusion in citizenship, biopolitics illustrates a negation of the recognition of human diversity from the citizenship universal perspective. The examination of the practices of attribution of citizenship in post-peace agreement in Côte d'Ivoire exemplifies the micro-practices of exclusion. This is, to use Fassin's (2001) words, the 'the contemporary biopolitics of otherness' (p.7). In Côte d'Ivoire, this process rests on two foundations: classification of ethnic identities between native and non-native; and enforcement of these categories through the legal status in which native category means citizen, and non-native noncitizen. However, both categories are constructed by the modern state and have disadvantaged groups from northern regions as non-native, and migrant-descendants. The latter groups cannot attain the status of native, thus are not of origin, and so are non-deserving of the right to Ivorian citizenship. This practice is discriminatory and creates hierarchies between ethnic groups that form Côte d'Ivoire. The recognition of a person or group as a member of a native group or southerners imposes a legitimate order of defining citizenship in cultural and social terms. The recognition of outsiders who are 'racialised' provides an illegitimate or 'fake' order, which allows for the measure for political problematisation of access to citizenship.

Hence, the concept of biopolitics allows a demonstration of a tension inscribed in the historical and present circumstances relating to practices of the provision of citizenship in post-peace agreement. In this thesis, the concept of biopolitics enables me to critique practices of categorisation of identities and how they related contemporary foundation of the problem of 'power as used in everyday governmental practices.

Ouagadougou Peace Agreement (OPA) and Identification of the population

One of the main goals of the peace agreement was the identification of the population, referring to the provision of identity documents to the population. This goal was aimed at launching an activity of *audience foraines* that consisted of deploying mobile teams of judges and support staff to deliver *jugements suppletif d'acte de naissance* or court

decisions replacing birth certificates. These documents were to be issued to individuals born in the country and who had never been registered and, as a result, lacked proof of citizenship. For applicants, they had to be witnessed by a member of the locality to prove their citizenship and that they were born in circumscription where the mobile court hearing was held. A disagreement erupted as to whether the provision of birth certificates during the mobile court hearings would provide sufficient evidence of citizenship. According to my discussion with some judges, the birth certificates cast the foundation leading to full access to citizenship but were not equivalent to evidence of citizenship, while other judges required a separate document³³ as a proof of citizenship.³⁴ The mobile court hearings had a parallel system that issued *certificat de nationalité* (certificates of nationality). Under the law, this document stands as administrative proof or physical evidence of Ivorian citizenship and is issued by the President of the Court of first instance or the section of the Tribunal.

Different types of certificate of nationality in circulation contributed to mistrust on governmental practices of issuing citizenship documents. Specifying the origin of citizenship (see Appendices G1-G4) of the holder was, according to government records, driven by the desire to ensure a minimum of transparency on attribution of citizenship, such as attribution of citizenship by filiation, naturalisation, marriage etc. (MJDH & UNHCR, 2010). Before the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, access to a certificate of nationality was based on whether individual could convince the magistrate, through connections or networks of friends or relatives, or by bribing the authority. Various certificates of nationality with different colours (i.e., green, orange, plain white papers) [see appendices, G2, G3 & G4] were issued by the authorities, although no regulatory provision imposed a differentiation of colour, except the initially required blue paper for all certificate of nationality.³⁵

Individuals born to Ivorian parent were issued orange or green documents (Appendices G3 & G2). White identity documents were issued to the naturalised and Ivorian by descent but born in foreign countries. These certificates of nationality were prescribed by a 1962 Ministerial memo relating to citizenship law. It established different colour of certificates and continued to be applied during and after the OPA in 2007. Thus, certificates of nationality models (see Appendices G1 to G4) were based on a mixture of

³³ The document to affirm citizenship document was a highly contested issue between judges and led to disagreements about the number of people who had been officially conferred citizenship (UNOCI, 2009).

³⁴ Field-notes interviews with judges, 13-14 July 2010

³⁵ Interministerial Circular No. 31 / MJ / CAB 3 OF 25 APRIL 1962 applicable to the *Code of Nationalité* (citizenship law) initially required that certificate of nationality be established on blue paper (see Appendix G1 attached, page 192).

citizenship principle based on birth within the national territorial boundaries (*jus soli*) and citizenship based on affiliation birth right (*jus sanguinis*). In addition, the citizenship law made provision for foreigners applying Ivorian citizenship through naturalisation process.

However, distinction was made between Ivorian by origin, including individuals born to Ivorian parents inside out outside the country. As a consequence, there were conflicting interpretations of the meaning of Ivorian citizenship. The law prescribed that anyone born in the country before independence was Ivorian provided that applicants can produce a document to prove that they were born in the country or their kinship to Ivorian parent. The line between Ivoirians and foreigners was blurred because, until then, there was no such thing as a legal status of Ivorian citizenship, except being recognised as the French subject.

What this citizenship law did was to differentiate those who were born within Ivorian territory and those who were born outside those boundaries. Simultaneously, the law left open interpretation of citizenship by 'origin' whether it was about being born in the country before independence, or whether it would be because of kinship or identity that has to be decided on. For example, persons whose natural parents were 'Ivoirians' but born abroad, were issued a different certificate of nationality (see Appendix G2). Yet, establishing Ivorian citizenship faced challenges in its application and enforcement. The evidence was required to prove where one was born, or kinship could not be obtained. The reasons were that this new independent Côte d'Ivoire had no previous national system to record people's citizenship before 1960. Also, there were problems of obtaining the certificate of nationality, as a person applying to be registered in the civil registry that did not exist. Many individuals who lacked birth certificates could not obtain a certificate of nationality, as they did not legally exist or had no official records of their existence in the country.

Problems raised concerning the certificate of nationality limited its validity and the process of obtaining it. This document is valid for three months, and the applicant was obliged to produce it each time he or she requested renewal of a national identity document. However, some populations groups had encountered obstacles in acquiring it from the magistrate's courts in several localities.³⁶ This lack of permanent citizenship put individuals at risk of being perpetually questioned about their citizenship, which the 'peace process' had attempted to resolve in the first place. With this practice enshrined in the law, compounded with enduring discrimination against northern ethnic groups (i.e.; Mande, Senufo and so

³⁶ Field notes interviews, with a NGO worker providing legal assistance to population, 10-11 August 2010.

forth), migrant-descendants (namely the Jula social category) the procedure received a great deal of condemnation from the rebel groups and civil society (Open Society, 2009). However, there was a requirement for proof of the birth of one's parents and residence permits attesting to the presence in the country before independence, ancestral connection and lineage. Even when these conditions were met, they did not guarantee access to citizenship. For example, citizens were required to prove that they were not mature and had lived in the country continuously.

Proof of residency and age remained difficult to meet for many people. By the time of independence, a staggeringly low number of people had access to any form of identity document. Following independence, few had identification documents to prove their residency. They had to rely on witnesses from their place of birth to establish their presence as required by the law. However, as the conflict erupted, and social relations between communities became strained, the inability to acquire proof of residence became difficult. For example, migrant descendants usually of Muslim background and from neighbouring countries (especially, but not limited to, Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea) who had arrived in Côte d'Ivoire before its independence or before 1972, were unable to find community members willing to provide the proof of residence as an alternative to a recorded residence permit (Banégas, 2006; Marshall-Fratani, 2006; Dorman et al., 2007). These specific requirements, combined with complicated naturalisation procedures and discriminatory practices, were used to bar certain groups of the population such as Muslims, northerners, commonly known as Jula from ever obtaining Ivorian citizenship.

There was also a dispute regarding the type of document that was proof of citizenship. This situation may in part be imputed to concerns over the messiness and multifaceted initiatives of the 'trajectory of the post-conflict peace process' (Curtis, 2013:102; Adebajo, Curtis, & Dzinesa, 2012). As Curtis notes, 'peace process' initiatives seldom correspond to the statements in policy documents and institutional reports (Curtis, 2013: 202). This disagreement had catastrophic consequences for the determination of citizenship while implementation of the peace agreement became a contentious issue that culminated in subsequent post-elections violence in November 2011 (discussed in chapter five).

Types and patterns of discrimination

Administrative and obstructive official routine

Naturalisation procedures were among the many types and patterns of discriminatory practices used during the post-conflict peace process. The state, by denying citizenship to populations in its territory, had often enacted legislation that defined the cultural identity of the dominant ethnic communities, mainly from southern region (i.e.; Akan - Baule, Kru - Beté)³⁷ and laid the foundation for the qualifications for membership (Sokoloff, 2005: 28). Many individuals who were born in the country and could be entitled to Ivorian citizenship were subjected to systematic administrative harassment that made citizenship impossible to attain. The obstacle that impeded naturalisation could be the deterring mechanisms of regularising claims from citizenship, such as 'administrative harassment', procedures and deadlines for citizenship applications that were not disclosed to the public (Sokoloff, 2005: 29).

This problem is related to naturalisation policy and its effects. For example, several naturalisation decrees had been signed by then - President Laurent Gbagbo from the onset of the conflict in 2002 until OPA in March 2007. Two months after the signing of the agreement, the government had received only 1,800 naturalisation requests since the signing of naturalisation decree in 2006.³⁸

The Ministry of Justice indicated that the naturalisation procedures could have covered as many as one million people. This relatively small number of individuals who participated in the process of identification of population was somehow surprising. The low level of participation suggests some type of state attempt to withhold decisions regarding citizenship.³⁹ This difficulty is highlighted by the lack of information provided to the public

³⁷ See maps of ethnic groups by regions on page 38

³⁸ Interview audio-recorded, High Ranked Government Official, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, 9 August 2010. There was no official report about the number of people naturalised. This was directly managed under President's Office. Before the 2006 Presidential decree of naturalisation, there was another temporary special procedure provided in Law 2004-663, Article 3 that established criteria for applying for naturalisation within a 12-month period. This decree was amended twice before 2009 because certain parliamentary groups made reservations regarding the conditions under which people could be naturalised.

³⁹ Beneficiaries of the decree included (i) people born in Côte d'Ivoire before independence in 1961 and under 21 years of age; (ii) people born in Côte d'Ivoire between 1961 and 1973 (when the citizenship law was amended from citizenship by *jus soli* to citizenship by *jus sanguinis*; and (iii) people living continuously in the country since August 1960. By mid-

regarding the naturalisation procedures. For example, the decree's one-year time frame was under-communicated. It was not published, nor was it made accessible to the public upon demand. Furthermore, uncertainty about the immediate effect of the new naturalisation policy created disagreement within the transitional government led by a coalition of the President's people and the rebel group. The former argued that people naturalised under the 'new naturalisation' procedures would have to wait for five years before they would be entitled to political rights.

The opposition challenged this government decision. The opposition maintained that administrative obstacles made it impossible for people to obtain citizenship through a restrictive regularisation process. Citizenship acquired through naturalisation did not guarantee the automatic enjoyment of rights associated with citizenship, such as suffrage or land ownership. The high ranked state official insisted that the problem was procedural and administrative: the choice of document and who could confer citizenship.⁴⁰ Migrants or applicants for naturalisation, however, complained about the lack of information and discriminatory practices (discussed in the following section). The absence of explicit consent about the applicability of naturalisation procedures and the impact thereof added to the issue of citizenship confusion about 'immediate' entitlements associated with citizenship.⁴¹ As Nafissatou, a Muslim and elderly female migrant descendant from Burkina Faso remarks:

'I was born in Côte d'Ivoire before independence. I tried in 1999 and 2000, but I did not have my parents' documents. The judge refused to issue me the document. He did not even try to talk to family of autochthons to check how long I have been here. I have given up applying.'⁴²

The state refused application for naturalisation without providing an explanation. Many people had hoped that following the signing of the peace agreement, those who applied for naturalisation several years prior to the conflict and during the conflict between

2010, no applications for naturalisation resulted in a positive outcome, according to the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights official (Interview field notes, 12 August 2010).

⁴⁰ Interview audio-recorded with a high ranked official interviewed in this study, from the Ministry of Justice, 11 August 2010.

⁴¹ The referendum on the constitution was passed by more than 86% of the electorate. As a result, many amendments to the citizenship code were made. From independence in 1960 to 2004, there was only one amendment to the code of citizenship. Between 2004 and 2013, 8 amendments were made to the same code.

⁴² Interview field notes 12 August 2010.

2002 and 2010, would finally be granted citizenship. However, the state (presided by Laurent Gbagbo) ‘manipulated’ naturalisation procedures that contributed to political tensions. The President never signed the decree for naturalisation as set out by the peace agreement as it was expected following the signing of the peace agreement. By the time it was officially published, the time for its application had passed and it was no longer applicable. The magistrates used the invalidity of the decree that had expired to support the government’s view that few people had applied for naturalisation and that others did not apply were thus, foreigners.

Firstly, individuals who had been naturalised and spent their entire lives in the country saw their political rights ‘postponed’, despite the promise of the peace agreement’s commitment to guarantee these rights. Secondly, there seemed to be systemic discriminatory practices based on socio-cultural and regional characteristics. Many ‘migrant’ populations born in the country had presumed that they were de facto Ivorian and did not take the required step to becoming Ivorian. However, it is also difficult to ignore the centrality, relevance and importance of ‘bureaucratic power’ and the ‘social drama’ associated with the paperwork of becoming ‘legally alive’ as a citizen. Without that paperwork or forms of proof of citizenship, a person would not legally be a citizen.

A final issue related to naturalisation procedures is the diverging views among migrants and government officials with regards to administrative procedures. Moussa, a Muslim farmer whose parent’s arrived in Côte d’Ivoire during colonial period, described everyday constraints and discriminatory practices that had become the norm for people perceived to be migrants.

‘I was born here in 1966, and I applied for naturalisation several times. Last time was in 2006, my fifth time. I have a job and feed my family. I have spent much money. It costs a lot to get the forms and all required documents for the application. Until today, I have not received any response. Is it because I am just a simple driver? I hear that some people who are educated have Ivorian passport.’⁴³

As Diallo, a Muslim and migrant descendant from Burkina Faso, also observes, there were administrative issues preventing people from obtaining citizenship. He notes the following:

‘I applied in 1979 but I was rejected by the judge who demanded to see the papers of my parents. Where was I going to get these papers? My

⁴³ Interview field notes, 16 August 2010.

parents are dead, and they never had any identity document to my knowledge.’⁴⁴

Under the law, individuals whose parents had never had or lacked identity documents could present an affidavit of residence in the country. However, the state arbitrarily appears to have never allowed this option to be used in a naturalisation matter. Obstruction included bureaucratic inadequacy; the government requesting a document that could not be obtained, such as birth certificates which many people did not have in the first place. Other obstacles included lack of government services in remote areas, financial cost to obtain birth certificates and so forth. Thus, contingency and ad hoc practices at the administrative and legislative level, frustrated the process of naturalisation.

Some of the problems applicants faced were related not only to bureaucratic obstacles but also discrimination. The majority of participants in this study described how exclusion operated not only in particular interpersonal encounters but also through institutions (Burns, 2008: 153). While these remarks demonstrate how state practices embodied ethnic ideologies, the findings of this thesis cannot be separated from my experience during fieldwork. During this period, the country's ethnic identity had been polarized (Nordas, 2007; Dorman, Hammett, & Nugent, 2007; Woods, 2003) as a result of the exclusion and denial of citizenship of Muslim northerners and migrant descendants. In some instances, members of these subordinated groups expressed fears and danger associated with being accepted or having evidence of citizenship. For example, Savadogo explained how his wife, an Ivorian citizen, allowed their daughter to be qualified for a certificate of nationality. However, because he feared that his daughter would be attacked or accused of falsely obtaining the document, he advised her not to get one. Savadogo explained the type of obstacles and petty annoyances that his daughter might be faced with as follows:

‘When you go to register, you are told you are not Ivorian or that you are not this. My daughter could be accused of fraud if she presents her certificate of nationality at a checkpoint. She could be taken to a police station where she would then be asked to present the papers of her parents and grandparents. The police do this to extort money, harass you even if you have a document signed by the Police Commissioner. Many people have been arbitrarily detained for several days. Moreover, to be released they had to pay a bribe. Some paid up to 100,000 Franc (about

⁴⁴ Interview field notes, 12 August 2010.

\$200). The police shredded their certificates of nationality'.⁴⁵

There were clearly allegations of corruption around naturalisation regulation and practices. For those people who wished to exclude individuals deemed non-Ivorian, lineage and ancestry as well as social and cultural background, was sufficient to justify their decisions (discussed in the following section). Some of the 'migrants' born in Côte d'Ivoire became frustrated at the impossibility of acquiring Ivorian citizenship. Other individuals have gone even further by trying to claim the foreign identity or citizenship of their alleged ancestors' countries of origins; apparently with no success.⁴⁶ There is a pervasive sense that some people were faking Ivoirianess. There seems to be 'paranoia' in parents fearing that their children will be accused of fraud even if they obtain legal documents. These fears emerging from the way people are treated suggest a concerted effort to exclude. On this view, the legal and policy confusion around acquiring citizenship is a product of the actions of individual bureaucrats with the intention of undermining the peace process.⁴⁷ At the time of the research, there were high tensions Côte d'Ivoire, country divided into two between the north (mainly Muslim) and the south (mainly Christian). Political and public debates about who is entitled to be Ivoirian had implication in actual application and access to citizenship. Many authorities (and in general the elites) belonged to the southern Christian group and they were worried about how the newly process of accessing citizenship could affect presidential elections outcome. I argue that many government officials and civilians in their attempt to limit or obstruct northerners and Muslim from accessing citizenship turned into *de facto* vigilantes in their attempts to ensure that the alleged 'strangers' are excluded from citizenship.

⁴⁵ Interview audio-recorded, 10 August 2010.

⁴⁶ Between the 2002 and 2011 conflict periods, the International Organization for Migration reported thousands who returned to Burkina Faso and Mali. Migrants' descendants who returned to Burkina Faso were unable to establish their link to the country or were refused Burkinabe citizenship. For Malians, many returned to Côte d'Ivoire and kept their links to Mali (See Bredeloup, 2006).

⁴⁷ The confusion and disorder of naturalisation and citizenship can be understood as ambivalence that characterises the modern society attempts to include 'the stranger'. Accordingly this stranger is enticing for the economy, but yet unfamiliar, unable to control and always an outsider, and an object of fear (see Bauman, 2013). Naturalisation procedures are used as a default method of making some individuals' lives difficult in the hope that they will give up and go away. The state facilitated the arrival of new migrants for economic reasons (i.e., to work in the cocoa plantation). This policy suggests that it is not that the state does not want migrants but would like to see their access to citizenship rights limited.

Naturalisation procedures and discrimination

The case of eight thousand inhabitants of villages that became collectively naturalised provides a good example of how naturalisation did not guarantee access to full citizenship because of administrative harassment.⁴⁸ The naturalisation of Burkinabe descendants in Bouaflé and subsequent refusal to issue them documents of citizenship might also be a result of the state policy of discrimination and exclusion. In this section, I demonstrate how administrative practices were used to deny citizenship. The villages of the so-called 'Mossi' ethnic group of Burkinabe migrants' were created by the government as one of the four villages called *campements*. Mossi was located in the department of Bouaflé.⁴⁹ The descendants of 'Mossi' migrants from Burkina Faso were not recognised as an ethnic group indigenous in Côte d'Ivoire. These people have been forced by the colonial authorities to move from Upper Volta, (present-day Burkina Faso) to Côte d'Ivoire in 1930s and the 1940s. Subsequently, the colonial state permanently settled them in seven villages created especially for them in the departments of Bouaflé and Zuenoula (in the north-eastern region of the country). Among them were 8,133 applicants who were collectively naturalised in 1995, and several thousand copies of the official decree of naturalisation issued.⁵⁰

Until late 2013, many of these people who benefited from the collective naturalisation decree continued to face administrative obstruction to their obtaining citizenship documents. As a result, they suffered a prolonged denial of citizenship. The problem was the refusal and inadequate logistical capabilities of various administrative and judicial structures to issue an official document confirming individual citizenship. Consequently, the rights of these groups as naturalised Ivorian citizens were not as well respected as those of other Ivoirians. All government officials interviewed in this study confirmed that there was a general issue with lack of information regarding the procedures for acquiring citizenship. They also reported the negligence and misconduct of state officials in the attribution of citizenship and identity documents. For example, Louis, a Christian from the south with mixed ethnic parents (Baule mother and foreign father) and a

⁴⁸ The collective naturalisation took place in a place called Bouaflé, central part of Côte d'Ivoire in the 1990s. It was thought at the time President Bédié (at the time) was using this gesture to capture electoral votes from mostly immigrant's farmers who have been in the country from colonial period.

⁴⁹ Collective naturalisation was expanded to three other villages (i.e., Tenkodogo and Koudougou Garango) in 1995.

⁵⁰ Official Gazette No. 1 Supplementary Edition of January 2, 1996 publication of Decree No. 95-809 of 26 September 1995 on the naturalisation of 8,133 applicants.

government official observed the following:

‘Now what we see recently is that indeed there was a naturalisation decree of entire villages. These people are, therefore, in the decree. However, to have a certificate of nationality, these people must present the original decree, but many do not have the decree. Some community leaders had the decree. To get a certificate of nationality, people had to ask the community leaders or few officials who had access to the decree of naturalisation. They would, then photocopy the page in which appeared their name and present to the judge who issued a certificate of nationality. However, of these people started to sell the pages themselves and with advanced technology by incorporating new names in the decree.’⁵¹

Under pressure and repression from the central government, the local authorities were unwilling to recognise these individuals as legitimate citizens. Many of the people recognised in the decree of naturalisation had not been able to acquire certificates from magistrate courts. As (Louis), a government official, noted, judges refused to issue documents because of alleged errors or because the applicant had presented a photocopy, although it was difficult to obtain access to the original copies of the decrees.⁵² Louis observes the following:

‘...Judges started to ask only original of the decree of naturalisation. Many could not get the original as they were asked to pay and did not have the money. Those who managed to obtain a certificate of nationality, when they go to the police to request the national identity card, were told to provide additional evidence of the decree of naturalisation. They had the certificate of nationality, but they did not have an official journal. Additionally, sometimes, when a person found his name in the decree, there were name’s spelling errors. The judges refused to issue a certificate of nationality.’⁵³

Louis also provided an example of other migrants who had been naturalised through the ‘normal process’, but faced all types of administrative obstructions. In this example, Louis notes the following:

‘Gabriel gave a collective decree for his son to apply for a certificate of nationality. However, when he applied for naturalisation in 1974, a

⁵¹ Interview recorded 12 July 2010.

⁵² Between the crisis in 2002 and late 2010, the decree of this collective naturalisation was on embargo or classified by the government and could only be accessed through the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights at the time.

⁵³ Interview digital recording, 12 July 2010.

decree was signed in 1976. His son was born in 1975 and was minor and was born after the introduction of the application. His other children are included in the decree of naturalisation. His younger son was never been able to obtain a certificate of nationality and was forced to stop his studies because the magistrates refused to give it to him. In this case, the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights requested for the rectification of the decree of naturalisation that was amended in accordance with Ivorian law.⁵⁴

These layers of administrative rules were difficult for the majority of people to understand. Together with the lack of information about the process, these measures became an effective means of discouraging people from regularising their situation (Sokoloff, 2005: 29). As Ibrahim, a judge of a Muslim background observes:

‘Legislation on the civil registry in 1999 adopted a year before a new constitution, allowed agents of civil registry to make decisions about citizenship and were not trained to so. The judges, not agents of the civil registry, are responsible for presiding over decisions of citizenship as mention of individual citizenship to a birth certificate is not sufficient to confer the right to citizenship.’⁵⁵

The naturalisation applicant is clearly faced with inconsistency in the practices and interpretation of whom and what documents determine citizenship. Sadly, the regularisation of those left out of the naturalisation procedure is dependent on the practices of governmental institutions such as courts and civil registries, which ironically have been part of the problem. Thus, constraints on access to citizenship through naturalisation procedures offer a practical example of identifying the mundane banality of paperwork and obstructive official routines that can be distinguished from those addressed in isolation from direct discriminatory practices. Types of ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ or ‘structural discrimination’ have been observed in other divided societies such as Northern Ireland (Finlaly, 2011). The ‘problematization’ was characterised by the endless discussion of the ‘technicality’ of how to become Ivorian, which seemed to be the government’s strategy of ensuring that the problem remained visible (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013: 1124 & 1127).

Firstly, it is also recognised that discrimination in matters of citizenship often came about through determinations based on ethnic, racial, religious and lineage background. Discrimination in this section is discussed in the context of the ‘peace process’ in multi-

⁵⁴ Interview recorded 12 July 2010.

⁵⁵ Interview recorded 12 July 2010.

ethnic environments. In Côte d'Ivoire, as in other West African countries, 'the state was built from mosaics of ethnic groups' (Akindès, 2004; Bouquet, 2003, 2007; Chauveau & Colin, 2010; Chauveau & Dozon, 1987; Dozon, 2011; McGovern, 2011). The process of constructing a national identity became defined along social and cultural markers such as ethnic, religion and language. These situations generated confusion about the 'proper' application of the concept of citizenship and led to the politicization of group membership, which affected the substance of citizenship (Sokoloff, 2005). Groups have been discriminated against and this discrimination was made possible by the categorisation and exclusion of social and cultural identities.

Secondly, some migrant -descendants interviewed in this study and many others living in the country had presumed that they were Ivorian because they were born in the country prior to its independence. As previously discussed the parents and grandparents of those currently being denied Ivorian citizenship had mostly been these migrants who were forced to move into Côte d'Ivoire from other former French colonial administrators' colonies in West Africa. Some older migrant-descendants interviewed in this study explained that they had previously received national identity documents during Houphouët-Boigny (the first president since independence in 1960, holding office until 1993) and participated in presidential elections. Two of them had held public offices and felt 'all was fine until mid-1990s when their citizenships were revoked by the state'.

Another migrant -descendant, participant Aboubacar, added 'the Jula were the targets, even when they hold national identity documents. The police harass us, and sometimes the judges during the application to renew identity documents.'⁵⁶ Migrant descendants from Burkina Faso were often identified as non-citizens, even if they had been in the country prior to independence and were, therefore, entitled to Ivorian citizenship. Although the participants who were migrant descendants are easy to identify, they were often known as non-Ivorian because of their names. The trends across society comprised enduring structural approaches to ethnic, religious or (geographic) discrimination (Burns, 2008:153). An individual's cultural and social identity categories could be easily identified and used to determine whether he is or not included in citizenship. Regardless of the time migrant descendants arrived in the country, they were considered non-citizens.⁵⁷ There were xenophobic institutional practices often embedded in the functioning of the state (Wieviorka,

⁵⁶ Audio recorded group discussion, 10 August 2010.

⁵⁷ Audio recorded group discussion, 10 August 2010.

1995). The following comments from Amadou, an elderly male Muslim and first-generation migrant, highlighted the problem faced by long-term migrants trying to access citizenship.

'I have been in Côte d'Ivoire since 1933⁵⁸ and some of relative are here since 1945, 1951 and 1970. I have all my vote cards. I am not returning to Burkina Faso. My application of the national identity document was rejected because of my family name Pare, and my wife has tribal marking and I think that is why we have been rejected.'⁵⁹

Migrants in the group discussion of this study identified the types of discrimination and harassment they faced, even when they had valid documents. Daouda said the following 'Racism⁶⁰ and discrimination is a significant problem in Côte d'Ivoire. Discrimination is not a new phenomenon. The race card was used in 1980 to remove a Burkinabe mayor of Djibo and have a new elected non-migrant background elected mayor.'⁶¹

While all the members of the focus group agreed that discrimination was widespread in Côte d'Ivoire, which was practiced by the state, half of those interviewed said 'it was not all the indigenous population that discriminated against them, but government officials' and some ethnic groups. In the following Ousmane, a Muslim - Jula from Mande ethnic groups expressed how host communities treated them: 'There is no racism between foreigners, and there is no problem with the Baule. The problem is with the Jula, who did not like foreigners.'⁶²

They were referring to a Jula ethnic group from the northern part of Côte d'Ivoire. Originally from Côte d'Ivoire, Jula and other northern ethnic groups (i.e., Mande and Senufo) Ousmane, a Mande, and Muslim- Jula expressed his anger because he was, with other Jula being confused with the foreigner Jula from neighbouring countries. These participants spoke about some of the conflicts that had arisen around land issues in the community and how, in some instances, the community supported them to acquire Ivorian citizenship by testifying during the documentation process.

⁵⁸ This makes Amadou 77 year old at time of interview in 2010.

⁵⁹ The three waves of Burkinabe migrants are those who arrived before independence in 1960, those who arrived between 1960 and 1972, and those who arrived after 1972. Amendment in citizenship applied differently to these categories. Interview audio recorded, 21 July 2010.

⁶⁰ Burkinabe used race interchangeably with different nationality between Ivorian and Burkinabe.

⁶¹ Interview field notes 21 July 2010.

⁶² Audio recorded group discussion, 21 July 2010.

The question of 'Jula' identity

Contextualizing the autochthon category in Côte d'Ivoire

In this section, I argue that institutionalisation of categories of native and non-native in terms of political conceptualisation may have operated as a vehicle for discrimination and exclusion from citizenship. This claim supports the argument made in the previous section about the articulation of some ethno-religious identities, place of birth and lineage through legal and administrative norms and the regulation of citizenship. These identities were 'unproblematically' understood within a context that presupposed that ethnic groups from southern regions and with Christian backgrounds represented the Ivorian identity. This understanding assumption distorted the rather more complex makeup of the different social and cultural identities and provided the boundaries for inclusion and exclusion from citizenship. These assumptions underlie Mamdani's (2012a) thesis on the state systems of categorisation of socio-cultural identities to manage differences. Firstly, there is an assumption that southerners/Christians are native while northerners/Muslims are non-native. This assumption stems from a focus on categories assigned to each group, a focus that obscures the broader context within the official boundaries of the country. Secondly, the non-natives are presumed to be individuals whose lifestyles and belief systems are incompatible with the characteristics of nativity.⁶³ However, nativity features also have been subjectively assigned and are not all-inclusive of different identity categories found within the country's territory before or prior to the creation of the nation-state.

The informal citizenship policy from independence until the mid-1990s evolved into full denial and fully fledged conflict. This fragile tolerance is exemplified by the former President Houngouet-Boigny's comment who once famously said that 'in this country, we are all foreigners.' Under his rule, the country encouraged immigration between the 1960s and 1993. Côte d'Ivoire was considered a successful sub-Saharan example of economic and social development. At the time, however, citizenship was not a significant concern. Migrants were allowed access to land for farming; the right to vote and freedom of movement across borders (Akindès, 2011; Touré, 2000). However, the seemingly preserved harmonious social fabric of ethnic and religious tolerance was collapsing with the decline of

⁶³ Breusers (1998) discussed how mobility and livelihood practices of Burkinabe - considered as Jula in Côte d'Ivoire-, was integral to their education and affected the meaning of migration to Côte d'Ivoire's village life.

the country's economic situation. The issue of representation of national identity appeared in government commissioned reports. Immigrants from the three neighbouring countries (Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso) were the focus of policy discussions, and their large numbers were perceived as a 'threat' to expanding the Muslim community (CES, 2000; Touré, 2000).

The danger of a vast number of Muslim migrants was perceived by southerner elites, from Akan-Baule ethnic groups having the potential to reverse religious majority in the country. Since 1990, the number of Muslims in Côte d'Ivoire has been growing to the point that they were referred to as the model of Islam compared to other Muslims in neighbouring states and for making Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, the most influential Islamic scholar centre in West Africa (Miran, 2006). As Miran (2006) notes the explicit modern liberal and tolerant Ivorian Islam drew many converts, from traditional religions but also of Christianity, not only from disadvantaged background but also, from urban bourgeoisie; Islam was becoming the majority religion of the Côte d'Ivoire and its local roots and the social impacts and dynamism was evident before the war began (Miran, 2006: 103) and concerned the Christian, southern local elite who were in government (Touré, 2000).⁶⁴

The idea of a policy intended to regulate the relations of the country's diverse culture groups was not new in Côte d'Ivoire. Under the guise of *Ivoirité* or Ivorianess,⁶⁵ each ruling authority had attempted to exclude some of its political opponents by limiting the rights of many Ivoirians to become Ivorian by origin and, thus full citizens. The effort by the elite to construct an Ivorian identity through the notion of *Ivoirité* (Ivorianness) was given effect in the categorisation of different ethnic identities during identity documentation and the attribution of citizenship: creating an Ivorian identity that seemed to be based on one-sided ethnic identities, mainly those of the southern ethnic groups, the Baule and the Akan. Although these ethnic groups can also be found in the neighbouring countries, as their northern counterparts, the elite gave the southern groups a meaning of the 'real' Ivorianness. For example, the concept of *Ivoirité* took on new representations during the crisis. *Ivoirité* was presented as a new type of the social contract (Touré, 1996) and a new term for critical

⁶⁴ In 1998, the Ivorian Economic and Social Council used demographic data on the number of migrants to conclude that there was a potential risk of altering the balance of the Ivorian population and identity if immigration trends continued (see CES, 2000; Touré, 2000; Marshall-Fratani, 2006). CES analysed the data not only as a change in demographic reconfiguration, by a 'risk' that threatened to change Ivorian society from a Christian to a Muslim society.

⁶⁵ Replacing its cultural content with a political one, *Ivoirité* was initially introduced as a cultural concept by Niangoran Porquet, Professor of Literature and theatre director at the University of Abidjan, but President Konan Bédié was responsible for bringing the term into the political discourse (Niangoran, 1996).

intervention, which the elite and politicians used to define Ivorian identity (Laclau, 2005: 110). This meaning was then expanded by politicians and employed to sensationalise the migrants as a problem, thus stressing the process of problematisation.

The term was marked by the practices of 'categorisation and classification' and complemented by new and politicized terms (Laclau, 1994; Clausen, 2004). The terms such as *Akanité*, a political myth of the meaning of the state within Akan political identity (Mémel-Fote, 1999), and *alloctones* (internal migrant, mostly referring to Baule ethnic group), *allogenes* (internal migrants consisting of mostly long term Burkinabe immigrant) to differentiate between internal and external strangers, while maintaining that both are not real Ivoirians. Under the guise *Ivoirité*, the ruling government limited the rights of many Ivoirians to become Ivorian by origin (Bredeloup, 2003). As the father of politicized version of *Ivoirité*, Henri Konan Bédié's contention that southern ethnic groups are predisposed to rule can be interpreted as an attempt to reverse the colonial legacy that had privileged foreign migrants and *Muslims*. This vague notion of *Ivoirité* was a vague mixture of an enlightened nationalist quest for identity, ancestral value, modernity, rooting and openness, presented by its founders as the pretence of progress for all, happiness for everyone, and the spirit of the new social contract. This narrative allowed Bédié to manufacture his legitimacy while distinguishing its illustrious predecessor, who was able to practice, with success, this ethno-religious mix within the state apparatus (Bédié, 2003: 12) [my translation].

Migration that was claimed to be a problem produced support from political constituencies and ethnic groups while native categories gained significance as capable of ruling. These groups capable of ruling were redefined as only the southern Akan ethnic groups - namely, the Baule, the Beté and Kru - who claimed to be natives. At the same time, the northern ethnic groups such as the Jula, the Mande, and the Senufo were associated with a subtle form of representation as non-natives and migrants by claiming their historical connections with groups in neighbouring countries, although southern ethnic groups also have such connections. As a result, the status of natives (southern cultures, e.g., Akan) and their 'culture discursively constructed citizenship' (Delanty, 2002, 2007) was formed at the expense of the exclusion of many ethnic identities associated with the north.

Subsequently, controversial policies, including new legal and administrative practices of tracking ethnic identity and citizenship during birth registration, contributed to the stigmatisation of foreign migrants. The adoption of the new constitution redefining who could be president was introduced and justified by the state and allowed the state to claim

the legality of its actions. Thus, the *Ivoirité* concept is, as Thomas Lemke argues, a ‘specific form or representation that happens through processes of delineation of concepts, the specification of objects and borders, the provision of arguments and justification’ (Lemke, 2001: 191). As Lemke (2001) writes:

‘The forms of representation are seldom unbiased or unprejudiced. Political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge that simply represents the governing reality; instead, it constitutes the intellectual processing of the reality that political technologies can then tackle. This is understood to include agencies, procedures, institutions, legal forms that are intended to enable us to govern the objects and subjects of political rationality’ (p. 191).

For instance, in 1998, the state argued for the need to control immigration flows, and those born to immigrant parents became marginalised over time. They were stripped of the right to land ownership, and some were expelled to Burkina Faso (IOM, 2009). In 2000, a new constitution was approved by referendum requiring all candidates for civil service to be born of Ivorian parents and to have never held another nationality (HRW, 2001; OSF, 2009). Population groups from northern regions, Muslims and migrants complained about exclusion. The southerners used the new constitution to denounce the Islamisation of the State, which the Ivorian society was allegedly experiencing because of its uncontrolled transformation (Bassett, 2003; Roubaud, 2003). Identity was constructed around self-image, as a tool for political manipulation (Smock, 1997). In September 2002, the conflict split the country into two: the northern part of the country was under the control of rebel forces, the majority of whom were Muslim northerners allegedly having ties to neighbouring Burkina Faso and Mali, while the southern region remained under government control. The crisis, porous borders and migration revealed social and political tension (Courtin, Fournet, & Solano, 2011; Bouquet, 2003), with an installed divide between foreigners and nationals (CES, 2000). The influx of immigrants, in particular those of the Muslim faith, to Côte d’Ivoire (Miran, 2006) was interpreted as a threat to religious balance, security and social peace due to an adverse perception of Islam as a religion of foreign invaders (CES, 2000).

The unfolding process of forging a national identity through the concept of *Ivoirité* led to an uncritical acceptance of a ‘language context’ in which the new Jula identity emerged. The basic premise was that non-southern ethnic groups, Muslims and immigrants who arrived in the country even before the formation of the state and the adoption of a citizenship code could not be Ivorian citizens. As Mamdani (2012a) argues,

‘The institutionalization of the regime of inequality between supposedly original residents and subsequent immigrants led to a mono-ethnic administration ruling over a multi-ethnic society overseeing a triple tribal monopoly over land, governance, and dispute settlement-institutionalized tribal discrimination.’(p. 52)

This ‘practical categorisation’ of social-cultural identities (Verdery, 1993: 37; Brubaker 1996) stems from the assumption that anyone can be classified (Boxill, 2001: 1). In other words, there is a problem in categorising all groups (northerners, Muslims, and migrants descendants) as non-native.

Xavier, an academic of migrant origin, interviewed in this study, summarises the problematic process of homogenising the Jula identity, and explains how even at the micro-administrative level, it was possible to enforce identity categories. He notes the following:

‘Designated under the generic name Jula, this community is ethnically and nationally diverse. The name of a professional group of the Muslim religion whose shared identity became an instrument of assignment, sowed confusion concerning each other’s real origins. The use of the Manlike language, the practice of Islam and sharing trade cultures eventually made them into a homogeneous group.’⁶⁶

This designation of the Jula category seems to ignore the complexity of Ivorian multi-plural societies (ethnic, religious and migration phases) and impose what Goldberg (2005) calls a ‘link between race and homogeneity, the state and racial exclusion’ (p 5). This link is most naturally expressed in the Ivorian state practices of ‘articulating’ the cultural, political, and ideological forms of the national identity explicitly homogenised, which are meant to exclude members of the Jula category. While the post-independence states ‘articulation’ of the Jula identity was based on the historical theorising of social and cultural identities, there is no question that there are significant theoretical, conceptual, definitional problems inherent in the classification of ethnic groups (Robbin, 1999: 479).

The mode of production combining the elements of the classification of groups accentuated the contrast between Jula perceived as ‘alien’ (Meillassoux, 1974). Those with ‘fertile’ land were classified as citizens, while the others in arid land who migrated to other regions were given a category of ‘stranger’ and, later, non-citizen. The state’s classification of people gave privilege to natives and discriminated against ethnic migrants (Mamdani, 2012a: 7). The ‘discourse’ of autochthony was used to refer to Ivorian citizenship and built

⁶⁶ Interview audio- recorded 5 July 2010.

on the problematisation of cultural narratives based on 'historically and specific systems of the subject and objects' (Howarth, 2000: 9) of the colonial system that has expanded in decolonisation (Cooper, 1992) and the post-conflict situation. Whereas the native identity categories of the south regions defined and classified by colonial authorities are understood to be citizens, the identity groups of northern regions classified as non-natives are understood to be non-citizen.

Valerie, a participant in this study worked for a nongovernmental organisation involved in providing information and legal counselling and advocating on behalf of groups and individuals applying for identity documents and citizenship. She told me that she thought it was in the Ivorian mentality in general to believe that all Jula were migrants-descendants. It did not matter to a large number of officials that some Ivorian ethnic groups comprised the Jula category. In the context of the peace agreement implementation politics linked to preparation for the presidential elections in November 2010, there was a state institutional belief that Jula were trying to increase the portion of the electorate in favour of the then opposition, as well as struggling to secure identity documents as a proof of citizenship, Valerie's organisation was the subject of attacks by some government officials who accused the organisation of helping some 'foreigners to fake their Ivorian identity documents.'⁶⁷ She explained the process of amalgamating different groups into a Jula category. She noted that she met with judges who questioned her organisation's intention to assist people in acquiring identity documents. Xavier, a Christian migrant academic who grew up in Côte d'Ivoire explained during the interview for this study, the process of homogenising the Jula identity, Xavier observes that,

'Designated under the generic name Jula, this community is multiple in its ethnic composition for nationals and by its diverse nationalities that comprise it. The name of a professional group of the Muslim religion that shared identity became an instrument of assignment, carrying confusion of the real origins of each other. The use of the Manlike language, the practice of Islam and sharing cultures of trades eventually made them into a homogeneous group.'⁶⁸

This statement reflects the basis behind the emerging critique of the micro-process of categorising of social and cultural identities and their use to exclude and discriminate from citizenship in the previous section. The implementation of access to citizenship rights in the

⁶⁷ Interview audio-recorded 12 July 2010

⁶⁸ Interview audio-recorded 5 July 2010.

'peace process' had promised or sought to eradicate discriminatory practices and allow more inclusive citizenship rights. However, as discussed earlier, categorisation systems based on cultural stereotypes and attitudes framed discriminatory practices irrespective of the aims, personal attitudes or beliefs of the officials involved in the state institutions (Burns, 2008: 152). Local officials were clearly frustrated with the idea that the population from the country's northern territory, long-term migrants and Muslims could be granted 'full' citizenship and used the 'language' of national identity and cultural citizenship to sustain the 'other' Jula identity as non-native, thus denying them citizenship. Hence, the contours of a distinct national identity were developed and confined around the cultural and religious identities of parts of the country's multi-ethnic societies. The state constructed a national identity around the notion of *Ivoirité* or Ivorianness and defined the meaning of Ivorian citizenship. What is disturbing is how this subordinate grouping or the migrants' category would be used to include population of origin who had lived within the nation-state territorial boundaries prior to its creation in the eighteenth-century. In other words, because of the historical connection of the trading activities associated with itinerancy lifestyle, they came to be forever-presumed foreigners.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have critically examined discrimination and the denial of citizenship by drawing on the peace process. The means used to exclude particular categories of the population from citizenship can be found in the process of state formation and the construction of a national identity. The implementation of the 'peace process' that was meant to resolve the Ivorian crisis by allowing all citizens equal access to citizenship seems to have been inadequate. While the procedures set out in the peace agreement, namely establishing mobile courts 'hearing to issues identity documents such as birth certificates to individuals born in Côte d'Ivoire, but who have never been recorded in the civil registry and lacked proof of citizenship, were highly politicized. The confusion surrounding the implementation of the peace agreement's procedures allowed discriminatory and exclusionary practices.

Significantly, there was no attempt in the implementation of the peace agreement at least to resolve administrative issues and normative institutional practices. Individuals

continued to be excluded or denied citizenship based on their religion identities, lineage, and places or regions of origins. All Ivorian peace agreements reiterated that the cause of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire had been the mismanagement of the application of citizenship laws and practices in the state apparatus of the provision of identity documents attesting individuals' citizenship. Excessive social-cultural categorisation continued to affect the 'peace process' implementation. Mobile court hearings were used in some areas to perpetuate petty annoyances, which often disregarded the law and affected foreign nationals, migrant descendants, Jula, northerners and Muslim communities. For instance, there is evidence to suggest that many people who had been naturalised were harassed and in some cases were prevented from accessing proof of citizenship. The necessary conditions to participating in the process were already difficult. For example, it was a requirement to attend in one's area of birth. This was not possible for many people, as it was not possible to freely move around due to insecurity and lack of resources. The requirement to provide proof of residence could not be reasonably obtained for many people. The reasons for this problem were related to the obstructive nature of the requirement of a witness to provide proof of residence in the context of community tensions. Furthermore, harassment by the local authorities is understood to have been used to some extent to force people to participate in the process. Consequently, even those who attended, (Muslims, northerners, Jula and migrant descendants) had a disproportionate chance of being denied citizenship.

The specificity of the peace agreement, however, is usually observed as useful for ensuring compliance in the implementation (Hoffman & Bercovitch, 2011; Smith & Smock, 2008; Fortna, 2003). The specificity of the OPA clearly indicated the need for the provision of birth certificates and certificates of nationality. Its operation guideline contributed to confusion and led to abusive misinterpretation of who is or is not an Ivorian citizen. It could be said that the peace agreement overlooked normative practices that were and had been used to discriminate against some identity categories in the first place. The legal and administrative practices replicated and expanded to speed up the issuance of birth certificates and certificates of nationality during mobile court hearings reproduced that same behaviour of discrimination against these already marginalised groups.

The post-conflict peace-building process became 'a political contest, where peace was a set of contested ideas and practices' that masked the subjective nature of post-conflict peace-building that disguised ideology (Curtis, 2013: 206). People from northern areas and Muslim felt that, to some extent, the process further institutionalised identity categories in that it operated based on a subjective conception of what people's identities were. In this

context, it could be argued, as other studies of 'peace process' as a 'technique of governance' have demonstrated, that 'communal identities and indigenous practices are reproduced, subsumed and reproduced in peacebuilding' (Finlay, *forthcoming*: 13-14). Thus, the 'peace process' had not resolved the issue of Ivorian citizenship at the definitional level and administrative application. Among people interviewed in this study, the majority perception of the 'peace process' was that its mandate appeared to be a production of an elector list rather than an allowance for 'fair' access to citizenship. This apparent contradiction emerged from the rigidity of the 'peace process' identification of population as to who could or could not participate in the mobile court hearings.⁶⁹

In section two, I went beyond discussing discriminatory practices and the obstructive bureaucratic practices encountered in accessing citizenship. I attempted to contextualise the emerging construction of a national identity that impacted on the way in which citizenship was understood in cultural terms that were exclusionary. This exclusion also related to the state's homogenisation of identities that provided the basis for exclusion and discriminatory practices. Firstly, it was suggested that the creation of a native category was ambiguous but existed as a rational state interest in forging a national identity and exclusionary cultural citizenship. While these assumptions fit within the teething of state formation and the construction of a national identity, they obscure the 'structural violence' associated with the bureaucratic experience of completing paperwork to become a citizen legally. The issue becomes, therefore, the messiness and confusion generated by actors in developing a device for practical categories for whatever political reasons. This has been situated within the management of differences that is frequent in the post-colonial state (Mamdani, 2012a).

Secondly, I discussed using the idea of the Jula identity to justify exclusion from citizenship, which became very questionable. It exposed the discriminatory practices and exclusion from genuine citizens that are only possible if maintained by state institutions. The government officials appear to be engaged in ongoing social and cultural relations that led them to take positions that served their group interests. Within this context, it becomes possible to envision how the everyday practices of paperwork and bureaucracy can significantly affect the prospect of inclusion or exclusion from citizenship. The consequences of the politicisation of the bureaucratic practices supporting the peace

⁶⁹ For example, children under 13 years of age were not allowed to participate in the identification process, which implies that they would not require identity documents or citizenship. The agreement seemed to neglect and undervalue the status of children (see Bhabha 2003).

agreement contributed to the disagreements about the number of people who participated in the elections. The idea of who were and were not Ivorian became the rallying point for the demonstration precipitated by the pro-government group after the loss of the presidential election for then-President Laurent Gbagbo in March 2011, which led to violent conflict and killed three thousand people (HRW, 2014; ICG, 2012).

Chapter Five

Birth registration procedures

Introduction

As I conducted a pilot field research from May to September 2009 in the North-Western region of Moyen Cavally in Côte d'Ivoire, I had security concerns of the conflict events in the region. I had planned to research district courts role in the provision of identity documents and practices of determination of citizenship. The pilot study goal was to conduct a 'small-scale feasibility study in preparation for a major study' (Polit & Hungler, 1999: 467). The pilot study allowed me to test the feasibility of the research, test questions, methodology, procedures as well as the research process in different ways and places of focus (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). The pilot study also allowed me to identify potential practical problems such as where the project could have failed or did not follow the research and ethical protocols (De Vaus, 2002).

I was familiar with the Ivorian 'peace process' and general politics. I had spent several months a year in the country between 2004 and 2007 working in the area of protection of human rights, and advocacy for documentation, citizenship and statelessness. However, this professional experience had not prepared me for the processes of an academic research. The pilot study conducted from May to September 2009 allowed me to uncover three main practical problems that led me to change the orientation of my research in relation to the site of the study.

These concerns were mainly due to insecurity and political turmoil. Furthermore, the implementation of complex operations related to the process of 'identification of populations' (OPA, 2007), such as mobile courts hearings, the reconstitution of records of civil registration led to significant delays in early 2008 and early 2009, had been postponed. The crisis of the coalition government and dissolution by the then-President Laurent Gbagbo on the suspicion of fraud in the 'identification' process, had allowed a restart of the way out of the crisis by agreeing to the establishment of an electoral list that was final but would never officially be recognised by all parties (discussed in the following section).

In this politically volatile situation, and with difficult access to the site and informants in the northern-Western region of Moyen Cavally, initially selected for the study,

timing and combined limited resources, motivated my decision to avoid considerable changes in the study objectives. I decided to change the site of the study to Abidjan, the former capital of the south of the country's commercial city. In Abidjan, I was able to access a civil registry and conduct an ethnographic observation focusing on the birth registration process.

This chapter is divided into three main sections: firstly, I describe the informal mechanisms of birth registration that operate simultaneously with the official civil registry and its impact to access citizenship documents. The second section is concerned with the examination of the formal civil registry in which I used ethnographic methods to conduct this study. In this section I describe practices of categorisation of identities and emerging patterns of ignorance, abuse of power and overall neglect of services of birth registration and how these practices affect access to Ivorian citizenship.

Ethnographic encounter of informal mechanisms: Traditional authority and birth registration systems

In this section, I begin describing the informal mechanisms of birth registration at the village level as captured in the field notes and ethnographic observation that suggests the neglect of civil registration of birth in Côte d'Ivoire. One of the common themes that emerged in interviews and field notes is the established informal mechanism, that is, the use of 'helpers' of the state to execute government daily task of birth registration. This stemmed from an interest in analysing the formal, or official, and informal practices of birth registration

Through what I call the 'informal mechanism' of birth registration, traditional leaders and midwives and 'helpers' are encouraged or expected to perform the state role of birth registration in given constituencies. This has resulted in a form of interplay between techniques of power and possible knowledge about the population by the state through responsabilisation of traditional authorities and other non-state actors. These non-state actors have operated with vested state power and are able to preside over birth registration activities. Part of this knowledge collected through the set of mechanisms and procedure of informal mechanisms, which reinforce the way power is exercised (Foucault, 2007).

The problem with this system is that it condoned corruption. Because these

individuals are not paid, but also because the authority invested to them by the state require that they perform although not provided with the minimum material, rampant practices of corruption and abuse of power were reported by also observed during this study.

This form of an informal mechanism can be understood as a governance shift in the management of the population. In governing the population, birth registration goes beyond a simple 'exercise of power', but it is also a 'regime of practices' that has become accepted 'unquestioned' and has generated problems that incite new practices and institutions (Foucault, 2000: 74). This practice was commonly expressed by people interviewed in this study as a lack of resources, control and non-compliance to regulation. This lack of compliance has provoked articulation of indignation among high-ranked government policy makers and judges who sought invalidation/annulment of birth certificates issued through, or by those acting within, informal mechanisms.

This narrative appeared to fit the complaints and politicization of identity documentation that was in the first place encouraged or sanctioned by the state. The contradictory narrative in the issuance of birth certificates attributed the arising errors to lack of capacity and personnel. Furthermore, included were the irregular practices of delegating responsibility to people who were not public servants. These were local chiefs or their delegates, volunteers and midwives known to be the 'engine' of the civil registry in Côte d'Ivoire. These individuals played a key role in the birth registration but were particularly scarce in rural areas. As Konaté, the government official, from a southern northern region interviewed observes,

'Midwives and some traditional leaders and chiefs constituted a blockage. They asked to be paid by the population, but people are poor and have no money. It was so difficult that some women wanted to give birth at home, to avoid insult, and they instead, attract *guru* (wise and expert) midwives who are the first persons to come into contact with the newborn. They have been trained to become the agents in the field, and that is already important. They are teachers and chief of villages taking things in their own hands by organizing the census of all the children who are undocumented. But, they require that parents present identity documents, which they do not have. Then they have no other choice than going to religious leaders if they cannot get registration done. This process is not free.'⁷⁰

The use of midwives is one example of the use of state 'helpers' (e.g.; people who

⁷⁰ Interview audio recorded, 5 July 2010

are not civil servants but are used to do the job of the state) for birth registration. Other auxiliaries of the state include volunteers appointed by the public servants. Because they are not paid, they ask for money from people. Many participants in this study, as well as reports on civil registration, noted how the ‘helpers’ of the state charge for the service, sometimes more than ten times the state cost. While the state turned a blind eye to the practices, it also highlights the incompetence and inadequacy associated with procedures of birth registration. One could attempt to argue that these individuals made an effort to ensure, albeit inefficiently, that declaration of births are recorded and endorsed by the state authority. In some villages, village chiefs, teachers, religious leaders, midwives and NGOs organised themselves to register new births.⁷¹ But these documents are often if not always, rejected by state authorities.

Ritual of governing villages and birth registration

One of the main functions of the Chief of the village is the time consuming activity of documenting, recording and reporting new-borns and ‘newcomers – migrants’ and land leases to migrants. A multitude of registers recorded different aspects of the village functioning. For example, birth registration recorded events such as dates and place of birth of each child born in the village, parents of the child, names, ages, citizenship and ethnic group, as well as the name of a midwife who delivered the child or hospital. A visitor log register recorded why and when organisations or government officials visited the villages, names, dates of visits, with whom they met, where they went and the objective of the visit. A third register was used to record the migrants and their new *campements* (settlements). The chief allocated land to new migrants. The size of the area and the length of the lease of land and number of people living in a given settlement, their names, children or relatives’ names, and the size of the settlement were recorded. These registers formed the devices the sub-prefect used to monitor villages in his constituency and assess the effectiveness of the management of the village by the chief, thus ‘enabling the surveillance and control’ (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992: 987) of the chiefs and population.

Planned visits and inspections of different registers were mechanisms by which the sub-prefects’ power was enacted. For each visit, he carefully planned his itinerary, how to get to the villages, the distances, the number of people and house-settlements in the village

⁷¹ The request for transcription of these birth records into the national civil registry remained unresolved at the time of last fieldwork in November 2013.

and their main concerns/problems. The issues the sub-prefect was interested in concerned the behaviour of the population in general. These included discipline, disrespect of the chief of the village by ethnic groups, land disputes, population size, including those of migrants, illegal use of protected forest, conflict and security. The sub-prefects' visits were not a surprise and had been announced to the chief of the village with clear instruction to invite all population and representatives of different communities: ethnic groups, elders, youth groups, women and children. The sub-prefect measured the success of the visit and praised the chief based on size of the crowd that attended his meeting, the representation of different communities and the interaction between him and the population. Chiefs who attracted a large number of people were encouraged and praised. Those local chiefs who seemed not to be 'in control' of their villages, were shamed, punished and as a result the community was asked to vote for a new chief. The crowd varied between dozens to hundreds of people. For example, in one particular settlement, the sub-prefect delegation estimated that the number of people who attended was about 2000 people. This village was visited because other villages had complained about a large number of migrants living there. Many of them had moved to the village and allegedly occupied the reserved forestland, and tension had grown between this group and autochthon communities. In this settlement, migrants were from Burkina Faso. Its chief complained about the lack of education and lack of birth registration.

Upon arrival, everyone was seated. Through a translator any person who wished could ask a question⁷². The meetings took between two to five hours. Usually, the vice-prefect brought a journalist that audio recorded the entire conversation with the communities and broadcasted parts of the meeting (usually the vice-prefects' main messages or instructions) on local news radio. Each member of the community was given a chance to talk. On each visit the sub-prefect explained that the goal of his visit was to make contact with the population, hear their concerns and give instructions that must be followed. When it was their turn to ask questions, they raised issues such as land disputes, lack of authority, security, lack of basic services (schools, health clinics), the illegal sale of land to foreigners, lack of birth registration, etc. As the conversation progressed, serious matters around security and disputes of land would arise, and the sub-prefect personally recorded each question in his diary and responded to all of them. For example, one elder lamented that the

⁷² The sub-prefect was a southerner (Bété ethnic group) who was appointed there and did not speak many of the local languages from Moyen Cavally. The majority of the local population did not speak French, which is the official language and usually an assistant of the local chief acted as a translator.

youth had become 'uncontrollable' disrespected elders and had anarchically sold property and protected forest. The elders also said that youth groups' restricted access to 'strangers' who had been displaced during the war, illegally erected checkpoints and engaged in racketeering practices. Another problem they raised was insecurity caused by a lack of rule of law and the presence of police patrol. Young people often grieved over their parents who had 'sold' or given the land to migrants. They insisted on their entitlement to the ancestral land regardless of whether the land had been sold legally or illegally. They also complained about the lack of employment and necessary infrastructure such as poor roads to reach markets or main urban cities.

In the end he thanked everyone including the chief for agreeing to meet him and appreciated the number of people who came to the meeting. He described the purpose of his visit as being to re-establish the authority of the state. He reminded the community that the war was over and that it was time to start re-building the country and to do so there was a need of social cohesion between all communities. Before he concluded the meeting, he reminded people who the chief of the village was and his role as representative of the state at the chief level.⁷³ Finally, the chief of the village was always told that he must hold various registers on birth, visits, security incidents, deaths and the information sent back to him every month. To the people, the sub-prefect said that the illegal occupation of land must stop and be resolved; he reminded people who are the autochthon and 'strangers' in the village. The former member of an indigenous people from that particular village or native of the land; and latter were immigrants both from foreign countries or anyone including nationals who were or his or her ancestors were not native the village in question. The population were reminded that the autochthons were the owners of the land and that the land could be leased to foreigners or 'strangers' under the law. However, it was emphasised that any dealings with land leases should involve the chief of the village and the state's authority was to be informed.

The local village governance systems illustrated ways in which the state may be able to create, through mundane and unmarked practices, a powerful impression of the state (Ferguson, 2005a: 114) and keep track of who's who on a micro level⁷⁴. The village

⁷³ During the period of research there were problems of power struggle among different community leaders (e.g. chief of land, elected or appointed local chief etc.)

⁷⁴ The ethnographic encounter at the micro-level shifted ethnographic observation of the village's population and as how they are 'managed by the state to an ethnographic observation of a micro-level of state administration, in this case the civil registry).

'governance' model use of different registers was a form of 'surveillance and control' of the population. These registers created at the village level, although they could not be used 'officially' by the population to get a service from the government for instance, became obsolete for the people, but remaining useful for the government that, 'ensured that [the villages or communities] were, in some ways imagined' (Scott, 1998). However, because of a lack of resources and the time-consuming activity of documenting 'the life' of an entire village, the system was somehow dysfunctional, particularly with regards to civil registration of birth. More importantly, the ethnographic observation led me to focus on birth registration. The latter was the basis for determining individual's identities and citizenship during the peace process. Finally, because many people in Côte d'Ivoire have never declared birth, the lack of birth certificates remains a reality for many adults. These people often are not sure of where to get their birth declared because of the complex systems of birth registration. In the next section, I describe this apparent complex and dysfunctional system of birth registration and associated consequences to the everyday experience of having a birth declared in Côte d'Ivoire.

Local administration and traditional authorities

Relevant to the everyday experience of birth registration were the informal mechanisms established at the village level without any rules or laws stated. The issuance of birth certificates is, usually, the responsibility of the sub-prefect and is transferred to the district court for all births undeclared to the authorities within ninety days as prescribed by the law.⁷⁵ Through participants' observation and interviews, I had hoped to document how the biopolitics translate into the mundane practices of identity documentation in Côte d'Ivoire. According to Foucault (1990, 2010) biopolitical practices allow the government regime to target the social body or the population as political problem with which materialise, the exercise of power.

During the pilot study, I had picked the North West region of Moyen Cavally sub-prefecture, responsible for all matters of civil registration in the area. As my primary field site, I was particularly interested in the encounter between the state service providers of civil registration and groups, both Ivorian and migrants. From my earliest days in the field, I

⁷⁵ According to the civil registry law of 1964, people are required to register birth of a new-born within 90 days from the date the child is born.

started to realise the 'governance' of the constituency under the prefect relied on traditional mechanism of community management by the chief of villages.

This governing system had been one of the contentious issues in the implementation of previous peace agreements.⁷⁶ I noted that a village organisation headed by a village chief was a social layer of 'indigenous governance' consisting of the local chief, usually from the autochthon; *chef de terres* (chief of land)⁷⁷ (Chauveau & Richard, 1977), representative leaders of ethnic groups, community (e.g., women, youths) and migrant communities. Other auxiliaries to the administration apparatus included the local elites or local members of the parliament. The village indigenous governance had emerged and had been reinforced during the colonial period and sustained by the post-colonial state (Chauveau & Richard, 1977; Woods, 1994). This system appeared to be the foundation of the state apparatus of control, identity documentation, enumeration and identifying who is who within the community.

I hovered near those enclosed in the sub-prefecture office and at least one day a week I joined the sub-prefect in his field visits to different villages when he met with the local populations. The sub-prefect was a forty-five year old man, a member of the ruling party of the former President Laurent Gbagbo. He worked and lived in one of the Moyen Cavally regions in the northwest of Côte d'Ivoire. He was originally from the southern part of the country and had been at his post for a few years. A few months into the field research, the sub-prefect had been re-deployed in his locality in the North-West of the country. From 2002 until the period following the signing of the OPA, he had fled for security reasons to Abidjan, a commercial city that was under the control of the government. Most of the incumbent administrators had fled to the southern part controlled by the government.

The sub-prefect office was potentially one of the largest buildings in the locality and easily identified by the government sign, painted in white with two four-wheel drive cars in front of a spacious entrance. His office was staffed by a male secretary, who everyday received a long queue of a dozen people who wanted to meet with the sub-prefect. At the reception of his office were two police officers and one of them always joined him during the field visit. The sub-prefect received people in his office and sometimes several people simultaneously, with no privacy for individuals who had to share their concerns to the sub-

⁷⁶ See Chapter one, on different peace agreements relating to the Ivorian conflict and the Linas-Marcoussis peace agreement in 2003 implementation which failed as a result of violence during the process of provision of citizenship documents.

⁷⁷ In some cases the Chief of village, although selected from the community he must be approved by the government. In case in this case, the chief of village is different from the Chief of land who is appointed through local customs.

prefect in front of everyone else. In the meetings held in the sub-prefect's office, I began to understand the relationship between the sub-prefect and the village chief. In the several meetings which I attended, I heard not only about the lack of identity documents and birth registration in villages, but also insecurity, land disputes, 'invasion' and selling of protected forest to migrants, as well as tensions between the youth and elders regarding the use of land.

Through my participation in village visits with the sub-prefects, I was able to use ethnographic observation methods to understand how villages were governed. Most importantly, I was interested in the experiences and perspectives surrounding provision of citizenship and identity documentation through civil registration of birth in this rural region of Moyon Cavally region. These rural villages had a large number of long-term migrant workers and their descendants who had lived together, both Ivorian nationals and autochthones. I draw on my field notes from the conversations between the sub-prefects and population, and my interviews with the sub-prefect, other government representatives; as well as migrant groups and non-government organisations to show how village chiefs and other volunteers are tasked by the state with the registration of birth and 'monitoring' of the population, through their role as representative of the state authority in their locality. My field notes are from the conversations between the sub-prefects and the population, and my interviews with the sub-prefect, other government representatives; as well as migrant groups and non-government organisations. The problem of institutionalisation of norms such as abuse of power, corruption, indifference, ignorance, and errors in the structure of civil registration of birth in Côte d'Ivoire is examined.

Reporting to the sub-prefect were thirteen Chiefs of villages who were the liaison between different groups, traditional chiefs and sub-prefects. The Chief of the village who is not on the government payroll, is elected by the community including foreign nationals. This Chief has a secretary, and his committee is composed of the Chief of lands, Chief of forest and Chief of different ethnic groups. Chief of the village represents the state at the village level as a 'marginal member' of the state apparatus. The Chief of the village seemed to have dual positions. At his village level, he is regarded in the same way as the power of the state. He performed the same duties as a sub-prefect at the village level although he is not an employee of the state, and he is neither a civil servant nor paid for this function. The sub-prefect called the village chief 'the ear and eye of the state.'⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Field notes, village visit on 10 August 2009.

Focus from district courts to birth registration

In Côte d'Ivoire, initially introduced by the colonial administrator, the civil registry of births in former French colonies was established to facilitate land ownership and the sale of land (Pillon & Sodter, 1991: 158). The civil registry law was enacted in 1964, four years after the independence of the country. The legal time period for birth registration in Côte d'Ivoire is 90 days after a child is born. Declaration of birth is mandatory to all persons born and living in Côte d'Ivoire. Under the statutory law, birth registration is the responsibility of the officer or agent of civil registry. The former is the sub-prefect of the mayor, while the latter is a civil servant appointed by a ministerial decree under the supervision of the officer of the civil registry. To obtain a birth certificate after the time limit set by the law, an individual must request a substitute birth certificate (commonly called a *jugement supplétif d'acte de naissance*).⁷⁹ This document is issued by a judge, instead of a civil registry and is subject to a fine paid by that applicant. In principle, a court hearing to issue a substitute birth certificate would take place in the courthouse. However, many hearings might stand outside the courthouse and towns other than where the court is sitting, particularly remote areas. On the request of local authorities (sub-prefects, district authorities, chief of villages or community leaders) the judge organises in his constituency, a court hearing outside his courthouse. The latter is commonly called *audience foraine* (mobile court hearing) and is organised if there is an indication that there are many children and adults without birth certificates.

Birth registration is based (still today in many locations) on paper registers of which at least ten percent have been destroyed or lost because of the civil war or simply as a result of inadequate conservation. Other problems identified by the 'peace process' included multiple registrations. Birth registration documents are easily falsified due to the non-transcription of previous birth certificates obtained from the court decisions. International organisations reported the presence of stateless populations ignorant of their rights. Under the law on the civil registry, birth must be declared in areas of birth.

However, as Charles, a participant working for a non-government organisation observed,

'Hundreds of thousands of displaced persons, could not return to their areas of birth because of a strained relationship between some displaced

⁷⁹ Article 13 of Law No. 99-691 of 14 December 1999 amending the Section 41 of Act No. 64-381 of 7 October 1964 on the civil registry.

population and community members in their village of origin. The administrative procedures were irrational. People could not return to their area of origin due to security concerns.’⁸⁰

Joa, a participant from an international non-government organisation described these mobile court hearings which appeared not be comprehensive or sufficient to solve the underlying problems of the lack of birth certificates and later allow individuals to apply for citizenship. Joa described this issue as follows:

‘Mobile court hearings were only a modality - exceptionally - for obtaining a court judgment of a substitute of a birth certificate and seemed to have undue importance. The organization of regular mobile court hearings in existing courts could have been the practices in urban areas, particularly in Abidjan, to allow the adoption of an ‘ordinary’ substitute of birth certificate. The only thing that was to be decided would have been whether people participating would be exempted from stamp duties. It appears that government point of view in relation to mobile court hearings and the reconstruction of civil registry records lost or destroyed seemed to have been in both cases an update of the civil registry. Data entries of the results of the operations were inconsistent in their design. As a result, the computerization of national civil registry records became incompatible.’⁸¹

Under Ivorian law, birth certificates must have a correspondent entry in the civil register. However, the existing civil registry had significant reliability issues (duplicate records, fraud, etc.), as well as logistical and financial problems faced by the mobile court hearings. In groups discussions with government and non-government officials involved in birth registration activities, judges and a few participants from non-government organisations expressed concerns about the risk of fraud occurring during mobile court hearing operations. They remarked ‘many people likely showed up in the mobile court hearings despite having already their birth registered in the civil registry.’⁸² This meant that people who already had obtained birth certificates in the past, could go to other areas to have new documents issued, if they want their age changed, for example.⁸³

The mobile court hearing had issued some 700,000 birth certificates to those who

⁸⁰ Interview field notes, 31 July 2010.

⁸¹ Interview field notes, 6 July 2010

⁸² Interview field notes, 12 August 2009

⁸³ Change of age and sometimes place of birth was a common practice, particularly for young people who wanted to access scholarships, internship in public office, which had limitation of age.

were not registered during the civil war (The Carter Centre, 2009: 5). Many people wondered what happened to the 3.5 million people deprived of identity documents as had estimated the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement.

The setting of birth registration: ethnographic observation of the civil registry

The structure of command of the civil registration of birth at the District level followed a typical hierarchy in theory. *Officier de l'Etat Civil*, the District Officer of the Civil Registry, headed the office. Reporting to him were three agents of the civil registry, who headed birth registration, marital and tax revenue units and supervised seventeen workers and helpers in the office block. Two agents of birth registration supervised an office consisting of typists' secretarial staff and clerical staff who, in turn, oversaw the completion of the issuance of birth registration. The hierarchy in the office was made visible to the employees through standard bureaucratic representational devices such as sitting areas, reporting lines, responsibility to sign a document, etc. These were an 'array of practices that allow control and surveillance of the population' (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002: 985-987) as described below.

The civil registry observed operated in one of Abidjan suburbs, run by agents of civil registry workers and clerical staff from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. five days a week. Running the civil registry involved receiving applications for administrative documents, including birth, death and marriage certificates. On average, the birth registration section issued between 15 and 40 birth certificates per day, and on busy days, applications might reach 100. The birth registration process consisted of completing a birth declaration form (see Appendix F). The included birth declarations records in the civil registry book, typewriting, printing and distribution for pick-up. There were personnel assigned to the mechanical work of sticking stamp duties on a signed document by the head of the office. The ethnographic observation took place in the civil registry where the agents of the birth registration had one woman and two men. The head of the civil registry was a man and the rest of the typists' secretarial staff and helpers were women.

In order to contextualise the ethnographic observation's examples that follow, I will begin with a short description of the civil registry office. When first looking for the head of the civil registry, I walked right past a queue of about 30 people sitting on the only available

few chairs, while the majority was standing. From the gate on the street there was no door to enter the office, and I had to walk around the main building through a queue of people waiting to be received. In front of the building, there was a long queue of people waiting. There was no outward indication that the office was of the civil registry, but all taxi men including the one who took me there knew where it was: beside a bakery and small fruit and vegetable markets. The entrance was nondescript space, consisting of a small driveway and narrow door towards the backyard. There were two other small offices located in the backyard. The main entrance was located here. On the right, there was the office of the head of the department. In the middle, data processing (information technology) were located and on the left was the central office for the rest of employees. The head of departments was a Baule, Christian and from the central east region of the country. His office had a large window where they could see through to the main entrance and reception of applicants of various administrative documents. I passed a busy, large desk in a room filled with office materials strewn all over the floor. The head of the department had a large poster from a nongovernment organisation behind him on practical rules of the declaration of birth.

I wondered why the user-friendly guideline was not in the main reception area for the application of birth certificates. Inside there were three doors. The District Officer's workplace had many bundles of office materials (toner for printers, forms and papers). His private office was separated from other members of staff's office by this. The window allowed him to see, hear and monitor conversations taking place between his staff and the people applying for documentation such as certificates of birth, marriage and death. The L-shaped position allowed the head of the office to see and be seen from all sides. His office felt crowded, and only two persons could be in it at any one time. Beside his office, there was a small, windowless room. Inside the room were ten persons, each with a laptop computerising old civil registry records, a temporary project funded by the EU and the World Bank⁸⁴. Marie, who is one of the people observed during the study described to me her office conditions in one of many conversations

'I was recruited in 1990 by the mayor's office. It was hard to find a job in government. I was trained as a midwife, and I am paid above 100,000 francs (about \$200). When they are training for civil registry staff, my boss prefers to go himself because he thinks that there is money in it. Also, few women

⁸⁴ In 2007 following the signing of the peace agreement, there was joint EU and World Bank that provided funds to the Ivorian government for a post-conflict assistance project.

are recruited. Did you see my chair? It is broken. I bring a pillow from home to make my chair more comfortable. By the time I go home my back is hurting. I bring my ink, because it takes time for the office to buy one, when we run out of stock. I keep this one and use it in case of emergency. I paid it with my own money. It cost me 1000 Franc (\$2). We are two working on birth registration, but when my other colleagues are not around I take over their work too.’⁸⁵

This lack of support and negligence of birth registration by the state shifted my attention from the experience of state agents to consequences of seemingly ineffective foundation for the provision of identity documents and attribution of citizenship. I began to study policy documents about the civil registry in Côte d’Ivoire, and how they came to be established, and what ‘real’ purpose it served for the state. Thus, birth registration appears to be the ‘mechanisms and procedures that have the function to make visible possible forms of knowledge about the population on the basis of the constitution of the population and its specific phenomena’ (Foucault, 2007: 79). The apparent confusion and messiness of official birth registration regulations and practices left many people in cracks of the bureaucratic system of identity documentation. This lack of legal status of some groups benefited and served the purpose of those who wished to exclude some groups (i.e.; northerners and Muslims) or simply deny them any form of identity document.

⁸⁵ Interview audio recorded, 22 June 2010

Categorisation: Names, ethnic, religious

‘Birth certificates define what and how one is named and thus recognized legally and administratively, how such recognition or its failure furnishes social standing’ (Goldberg, 2002: 245).

This section examines how the civil registration of birth came to be instantiated in the everyday practices of classification of the people into citizen and non-citizen. The civil registry was positioned at the bottom of the bureaucratic hierarchy in which the ritual of discrimination and regulation as an instrument of power was enacted. One of the civil registry agents’ primary concerns was to collect data on persons declaring birth of their children, including parents’ citizenship. The lack of clarity on how the decision about citizenship was made, led me to question how the agent decided when the parents did not have an identity document that mentions the parent's citizenship.

In this sense, the object of the agents was to classify applicants into citizens and non-citizens based on information provided to them. The logic of establishing individual citizenship during birth registration cannot be explained in ‘functional terms’ of a court judgment. Rather, what such mundane practices achieved was to represent and embody state ideology of who is or is not Ivorian.

I explore how the geographical place of birth and cultural features are used to categorise individuals and allow the state to assign categories of citizens and non-citizens. I argue that religion has played a part in who gets accepted as a citizen or a non-citizen. For example, people with a Muslim name were assumed to be non-Ivorian, thus denied citizenship. The practices seem to suggest ‘institutional discrimination based on norms, procedures and broader cultural discrimination’ (Burns, 2008: 152). Officers and agents of the civil registry through regulation and procedure of birth registration are required to determine individual citizenship.

During ethnographic observation, I noted the importance that names seem to hold. The authority seems to use these names to determine ethnic identity and citizenship in cases where applicants lack identity documents attesting their citizenship. The official declaration form of birth (see Appendix F) has twenty-two numbered questions, which, according to the law on the civil registry must be followed sequentially.

The form is divided into two columns. On the right hand side is date of birth, first name of the child, name of the place of birth and locality and sex of the child. Following

this is the name of the father, his date and place of birth, profession, place of residence. Other information needed was the name of the mother, her place of residence, and date and time the form was completed. The name of the person declaring the birth, his or her profession, place of residence and signature is also required. On the left hand side the civil registry is located, the number assigned to the declaration form/birth certificate and surname of the child being declared. Following this, the number of copies of birth certificate issued, amount paid, physical address of the civil registry as well as the name of the dactylography of the birth certificate is questioned.

Before the civil registry agent signs the form, he must inform the declarant about what is written on the form. The form states that 'the declarant has been warned of the penalties for a false statement'; and also whether the declarant can read or write. Otherwise, the form is given to the applicant to confer what is on the birth certificate form. The agent signs where it is written 'we have signed the form in the knowledge of the declarant'. The form does not contain any data requiring any information on the citizenship or nationality of the child or his parents. However, I noted that during birth registration, nationality was often bracketed behind the father's name. In some other cases, ethnic group was mentioned instead of nationality. The two civil registry agents responsible for birth registration remarked that they have been required to mention the nationality of the parents on a child's birth certificate since 2003. Previously, this requirement was not seen as necessary, because birth certificates did not confer citizenship and anyone born in Côte d'Ivoire, including foreigners were required under the law to declare birth⁸⁶. Marie, and a Baule, from the south east of the country, a female participant observed in birth registration notes that 'the instruction to mention nationality on a birth certificate form (although the legislation and birth certificate form used had no mention of nationality) was made mandatory and reinforced in 2008.'⁸⁷

The declaration form is not in sync with the new legislation on civil registry and citizenship, and the civil registry agents arbitrarily decide whether a person is or is not Ivorian. The first workshop convened together with the support of the Ministry of Justice brought together many people who were responsible for the civil registry in which I was

⁸⁶ Citizenship is conferred by a certificate of nationality, a separate document than a birth certificate and is issued by the magistrate court (see chapter four page 112, 194 & 195).

⁸⁷ Field note of ethnographic observation: 28 June 2010.

allowed to participate.⁸⁸ Twenty-five civil registry agents had been invited and a judge overseeing some of the civil registries was asked to explain the rules that govern birth registration in Côte d'Ivoire. These include that civil registry agents cannot refuse to register the birth; all people born in the country are entitled to birth registration, including foreigners. Marie, the civil registry agent explained that civil registries lacked proper staffing. Marie lamented:

‘I have been working for the civil registry for now twenty years. I am retiring in one year and this is the first time I learned that anyone born in Côte d'Ivoire can register his child.’⁸⁹

Marie's personal anecdote captures essential elements of the problem facing the primary establishment of the legal existence of a person and his relation to the state. The problem of birth registration and assumptions is the entitlement of birth recognition. However, the question also goes deeper. How do the agents of the civil registry know who is or is not a foreigner? Could asking the person for his or her national identity card be the answer? However, if a person does not have one, then a person might respond that he is Ivorian or express another citizenship. I was reminded of the discrepancies of what people say or believe their citizenship is and the subjective assumption within the government about people's identity.

As a non-governmental organisation reported: ‘various ethnic groups from the north of the country, predominantly Muslim, faced extraordinary obstacles in exercising their right to a citizenship’⁹⁰, particularly from the 1990s when the government was raising the issues of high level of migration in the country. As Xavier, an academic, who was interviewed in this study recalled ‘the state stopped renewing national identity cards, to so called ‘foreigners’, who under President Houghouet-Boigny, have enjoyed full access to national identity cards.’⁹¹

This criterion was used as a prerequisite for citizenship even though ‘many born in the country were denied the official documents necessary to everyday life’ (OSF, 2009). The agents of the civil registry were among the low ranking staff in the civil registry. They

⁸⁸ The workshop took place from 11th to 13th of July 2010. It was organised by the International Rescue Committee, an international non-government organisation, in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights

⁸⁹ Marie's quote is drawn from field note interview by the author and official workshops organised by International Rescue Committee in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, July 2010

⁹⁰ Interview audio-recorded, 12 July 2010

⁹¹ Interview field notes, 15 June 2010

tended to use prejudices in subtle ways and often in ways that are unconscious or routinised (Delanty, Wodak, & Jones, 2008; Wodak, 2008). The peace agreement was being subverted by many magistrate's courts and birth registration services responsible for the issuance of birth certificates which continued to promote the 'pure' Ivoirian heritage.

During birth registration in the civil registry, I conducted ethnographic observation, various documents (e.g., health care certificate, national identity card or one of the parents' passports or a copy, attestation of identity) were systematically asked to be presented, although, this practice is not required by the police. From these documents many assumptions about a person's identity could be made such as his religion based on whether the family is monogamous or polygamous for Christian and Muslim respectively. Non-Ivoirian nationals were asked for similar documents as Ivoirian nationals, and resident or consular cards in place of a passport or national identity document.

The most common document the civil registry agent asked was the medical certificate to prove the birth of a child and family booklet for legally married couples both of which do not mention the person's nationality. As a result, in some cases, the civil registry agent had to guess the citizenship of the parents, thus that of a child being declared. For example, during the declaration of birth, one of the civil registry agents asked a declarant: 'what are the parents' names?' The man responded: Touré, and then the civil agent said, 'so you are from Mali.' In this case, the man did not respond, and the civil agent wrote that his citizenship was Malian. In some other cases, a tribe was mentioned instead of individual citizenship. Marie, the civil agent in the civil registry observed in this study explained to me that,

'You see, I still have to include something about the parents' nationality, and if I am not sure, I just ask them to give me their tribe, and it is easy to guess by the way they dress, and names.'⁹²

Those who didn't have any identity documents and were sent back home, may have been asked about their citizenship but this was not always the case. It was felt in the civil registry, as around the country, that people were 'faking' to be Ivoirian. Also, there were many foreigners who came to declare their birth from countries such Burkina Faso, France, Mali, Guinea, Togo, Benin, Senegal, Nigeria, Tunisia and Lebanon.

At the civil registry, foreign nationals who applied for birth certificate were

⁹² Field notes observation, 28 July 2010.

systematically told that because they are foreigners they were not entitled to birth certificates issued in Côte d'Ivoire and were sent back home without any identity document. However, educated migrants paid their way out and in most of cases left with birth certificates

Names and deciphering identity category

I was intrigued to discover that some people were still assigned foreign citizenship, even though they were born in the country before independence. For example, when Mr Kulango, whose parents were born in Côte d'Ivoire in 1959 went to register the birth of his new born, his citizenship was listed as Burkinabe, as is that of his child, although both were first and second generation of Burkinabe's migrants. As they had arrived during the Côte d'Ivoire independence, under the law they could be Ivorian citizens if they have completed the administrative procedure of acquiring citizenship. Although he was not asked his citizenship, the civil registry agent focused on his name, thought to be a typically Burkinabe's name and so he was designated to be a Burkinabe as was his child.

Coulibaly, another person applying for a birth certificate, whose name was presumed to be from the north and of Islamic heritage, was given a Malian citizenship even though he was born in Côte d'Ivoire before independence. While these two persons may not have been naturalised Ivoirians, it is also possible that they could be of an Ivorian citizenship. But the civil registry agents made no effort to at least ask whether they had identity documents in order to confirm their citizenship. Furthermore, citizenship was often written without asking the person for documents to verify it and in all the cases observed, applicants rarely challenged what the civil register agent wrote. The contentions I observed were often related to the type of surname the parents could give their children. Some fathers objected to giving their surname to their children because this practice contradicted their tradition. However, under the law each child in Côte d'Ivoire born from a legitimate marriage should have his father's name.

The law on the civil registry⁹³ regulates attribution of the patronymic name or surname and first names, and these make a difference according to the nature of the affiliation: legitimate, natural, adoptive or found children. A legitimate child gets their father's surname. There are exceptions when the father's name is not given to the child: if

⁹³ Civil registry law, No. 99-691 of 14 December 1999 amending article 42 of the Law no, 64-381 of October 1964.

the father has not acknowledged his natural child or adulterine – by default the child gets the name of the mother. The same law says that an adulterine child by the mother in principle gets the patronymic name of the husband of his mother (article 2) unless the father has recognised the child. The birth declaration form (see Appendix F) must announce forenames, surnames, residence of father and mother. The same law gave authority to agents of the civil registry to decide on individual citizenship during birth registration. In practice, however, determining citizenship in the civil registry underlined how classification of who is or is not Ivorian was made. In principle, civil registry law does not require the declarant of birth to submit his or her identity document. As there are a larger number of people who lack identity documents, the question is raised as to how the authorities determine an individual's citizenship. However, because of state mistrust of the individual to give a 'true' account of their identity or citizenship, the agent of civil registry has the power to decide and determine citizenship.

Because of the xenophobic attitude in the country at the time, and as they could be identified as foreigners based on their name and place of birth, they were determined as non-citizens. The mechanical functions of the birth registration shape the way in which 'the state in Côte d'Ivoire may construe the kind of population being ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry' (Anderson, 2006: 164). From this declaration of birth, the state's subjective acts and prejudice led to 'politically powerful identity categories' (p. 164).

The officers and agents of the civil registry may use the power through legal and administrative means, or statistical power to normalise discriminatory or exclusionary practices (Burns, 2008: 156). In the setting up of the civil registration of birth; names, ethnic identity and religion have been used to define 'others', mostly northerners, Muslims and Jula as foreigners. Civil registry informs how decisions are made about who is or is not an Ivorian citizen. Resulting from these decisions, Burns (2008) argues are 'resources allocated and 'opportunities given or denied' (Burns, 2008: 156). The agent of civil registry is the first 'power of gatekeepers' determining citizenship or categorising individuals and groups into citizens and non-citizens. In the context of civil registry institutional power, discrimination takes place as particular judgments and actions are carried out - or not, in relation to differentiated individuals and groups. Differentiation and categorisation for the purpose of judgment about individual's citizenship (Burns, 2008) are required during birth registration. Thus, the latter becomes a tool for profiling in which there is tendency for simplistic generalisation about groups with the probability that people will be categorised

inaccurately. As Schauer (2009) writes this has simplified, reduced heterogeneity through the use of abstract categories. For example, names provided the basis for establishing people's religious identities. Muslim names, as well as northern names are easily identifiable (See Appendix E) by regions. This makes it possible for authorities, if they wish to do so, to deny citizenship to individuals with northern ethnic and Muslim background. Furthermore, northern ethnic groups share the same ethnic background with immigrants from neighbouring countries. In other words, it is easy to identify a northerner with someone from Burkina Faso and Mali (i.e., ethnic Mande, Malinke in Côte d'Ivoire with similar groups in these countries), as it will be possible to identify someone from the south by his or her name with someone from Ghana, or Liberia (mainly Kru and Akan ethnic groups).⁹⁴

The majority of participants in the study, particularly government officials familiar with the process of civil registration of birth, reported contradictions and described the problematic process of recording identity categories during birth registration. The state imposed naming patterns have created errors that have consequences on the legality of the document. This situation created tensions between the state and the civilian population who felt that they should be allowed to choose the name for their children. Two participants described the phenomenon of names and how they are attached to ethnic categories. Konaté and Louis reported how 'some civil registry agents make fantasies and mix first and surname which generate errors on birth certificates and set precedents for the future quest to regularise the status of citizenship, national identity cards, passport, electoral enrolment, registration in the school.'⁹⁵

These participants add that before the civil registry was introduced, in some cultures, they did not differentiate between names or surnames. The state had not explained to people the regulation of giving names. When parents want to give a child a name according to their culture⁹⁶, and the agent of civil registry refused, tension arose and in some instances, people

⁹⁴ According to the last census of 1998 Islam and Christianity were the dominant religions with 38.6 % and 30.3 % of the population respectively followed by animism (11.9%). It is reported by the Economic and Social Commission Council (2000) that the Non- Ivorian population contributes more than 70% to the formation of the population size of the local Muslim community. Some government officials have used these statistics to complain about 'threats' posed by altering the balance of Ivorian population and national identity. These officials said that the increase of Muslim in the country was perceived to be a threat to religious balance, security and social peace (Touré, 2000; CES, 2000).

⁹⁵ Interview field notes, 12 July 2010.

⁹⁶ See Appendix E regarding the cultural practices of giving name, that in some cases contradict the required official surname, which must derive from parents name (mostly father, and the mother in case a child is born outside of wedlock).

abandoned birth registration. Describing this issue of cultural naming that contradicts the legal rule established by the state Louis (I1) comments that,

‘Mande or Malinke and Senufo are the only places where there were family names. Moreover, it was in relation to what are called eponymous. For example, when someone calls Sekongo, the eponymous is squirrel and its equivalent in Mande is Camara. Hence, those whose names are: Coulibaly and Soro as our Prime Minister know that their eponymous name is a panther, and it is a favourite fetish animal. What must be explained is that they are surname and first names, nicknames and others? If they want to have pet names they can give them, but not as a surname. In Mande ethnic group, these names are surname, as opposed Akan and Baule ethnic groups with, usually, one name not two names. Another problem occurs during the typewriting of birth certificates during by the civil registry agent. I call it bad typing. You see, for example, was born Joachim Youngbaré all capital letters. It is assumed that the surname is Joachim as it is written first. When you have two siblings with the same with surname but different spelling orthography, there is a problem. How it came they are all in the same decree with different spelling orthography?’⁹⁷

As these participants provided descriptions of their experience, they often were incredulous of the ignorance of agents of the civil registry. This sentiment seems to mirror the fact that the practices of the civil registry deviate from the norms with regards to the way in which names are recorded. Mark, a judge who participated in this study exclaimed: ‘there is a principle of free choice for first or middle names.’ Then he added:

‘In Baule ethnic group, first names are assigned depending on the day of the week a child is born. The Akan ethnic group assign first name according to the order of birth or for a particular distinction; whilst for Mande ethnic group, each family name, has a genesis legendary. In ethnic groups of the north (Mande and Senufo), eponym is the act of giving his name to something.’⁹⁸

I argue that names provide the state with a medium of categorising people according to their presumed identity categories. Another subjective element was the way in which the ‘cultural names’⁹⁹ are spelled, skin colour, dressing style.’ These were signs often used by the agent of the civil registry to presume if a child was a migrant or non-national. The statement

⁹⁷ Interview audio recorded, 5 July 2010

⁹⁸ Interview audio recorded, 5 July 2010.

⁹⁹ See Appendix E, list of cultural names assigned per region or tribe, page 191

of another participant, migrant descendant of Burkina Faso origin, explained the internalisation of the fear of being perceived anything other than Ivorian. This man who had married an Ivorian woman explained that due to his wife's citizenship his daughter would also be entitled to Ivorian citizenship.

Stereotypes and prejudice fit into the way in which groups are problematized, marginalised, excluded or otherwise restricted access to human rights of ethnic/religious groups (Wodak, 2002, 2008), and were based on stereotypes and prejudice. There also appears to be the effects of the state bureaucracy of birth registration aimed at producing knowledge of the state about the population (Foucault, 1980), yet are forms of structural violence (Graeber, 2012; Gupta, 2012). The ethnographic observation and participant's responses display forms of discriminatory practices in categorising some individuals. For example, those with Muslim names or other names that can be traced from northern regions and northern bordering countries such as Burkina-Faso, Mali and Guinea were deemed to be foreigners. These cultural markers such as language, names and religious faith were used to discriminate disproportionately or excluded. While the civil registry had not been initially established to exclude a segment of its population and was a state, a mechanism to assert individual citizenship, it created errors and produced discriminatory practices.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced the practices of birth registration in post-conflict Côte d'Ivoire. Moving from the reasons for focusing on birth registration, I attempted to describe the pervasive irregular workings in the systems of birth registration. I examined the substantial impact these practices have on people who end up with invalid birth certificates or simply deprived of their right to have one. I called this practice the informal mechanisms of birth registration. While many people around the world continue to live without any form of identity document, in modern society many people continue to live without a birth certificate or a legal status. Birth registration is understood to be a 'first right' in that, the birth certificate is a 'ticket to citizenship'. Without a birth certificate, an individual does not officially exist and lacks access to the benefits and protection of the nation-state (Dow, 1998). Birth registration was a prominent focus of the post-conflict 'peace process' agenda. While birth registration is a basic tool for any single element of identification documents, it is also a device to establish the categories of people who may or may not be citizens. It allowed the

state to determine among different segments of the population, including ethnic and social groups, who is or is not a citizen. The state needed a classification of individuals into ethnic categories to be able to determine which categories of individuals could be excluded or included from citizenship. Access to citizenship was associated with rights to public services, education, political participation, land ownership etc. By excluding some individuals from citizenship. The coding of ethnicity, names, place and time of birth are used to assess, assign and count citizens. However, the recording of these elements at birth is a process of simplification or ordering of a person's identity category, which is erratic and underlies the design of much of the disparities in the determination of citizenship. Birth registration is inherently biased and inconsistent when it comes to ethnic categorisation. The determination or attribution of citizenship is based on the nature and definition of a person's socio-cultural categories.

Promotion and control over birth registration is sensitive precisely because it can be used as 'technology of knowledge about the population in relation to socially constructed social and cultural identities of groups.'¹⁰⁰ As Hull (2012) argues, birth certificates as documents are not only an instrument of bureaucratic organisations, but rather are constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjective, objects, outcomes and even the organisation themselves.

The classification of groups of people into social and cultural categories was rendered possible by birth registration. The state becomes active in collecting data on people and regulating the way in which they can obtain their legal status in line with their biological, social and cultural characteristics. As (Werner & Kaplan (2014) argue, individuals become subject to more monitoring and surveillance in order to ensure social and cultural categories are 'clearly and consistently defined'(p.1), so that difference can be captured. On one level, this chapter examined the implications of inconsistent ethnic classification based on vital events. These elements including the name is suggestive of a person, religion, date and place of birth, which can indicate whether a person is a citizen by origin based on constructed identity categories. On the other level however, this could be understood as part of a more fundamental confusion, messiness and corruption of official registration regulation practices that serve the purpose of those who wish to exclude some population groups from citizenship. The neglect and implicit assumption of social and

¹⁰⁰ Werner and Kaplan (2014) observe that language and other symbolic processes to formulate an approximate socially constructed identity for some groups under some circumstances.

cultural differences coded at birth are reported unchallenged and provide an inappropriate interpretation of who is or is not a citizen. The result is a sense of structure of birth registration which converges around properties of a subject citizen inferred by learning and reasoning based on information provided in the construction of a national identity or meaning of citizenship. As this rationale is realised, the agents of the civil registry become skilful in using this knowledge and technologies that enable them to apply the boundaries of citizenship or national identity in the mundane activities of birth registration. The neglect and confusion may be used to determine who is inside or outside the nation-state based on the assigned identity category during birth registration.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine micro-practices surrounding the implementation of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement in Côte d'Ivoire. Specifically, this study sought to understand how the 'peace process' project became subverted by sets of practices meant to contribute to it. My research follows Foucault's (1982) set of the methodological orientation to look into the context in which the peace agreement is implemented in Côte d'Ivoire. Foucault methodological approaches into 'minor practices' provided the mean to explain the how 'power relations' in the provision of identity documents during the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. Significantly, the decision taken during the everyday encounter between the lower rank government officials and the civilian population, affect individual's everyday life. For instance, lack of access to an identity document, not only limited freedom of movement, but also, limited access to basic rights such as education, land ownership, work etc.

Thus, I explored local agencies and reflected on how liberal governance of 'peace process' mechanisms were deployed. With ethnographic approach, I described the peace agreement interventions relating to the identification of the population. Specifically, I critically examined the effect of the provision of citizenship documents and the effects of their inherent power relating to micro-practices of inclusion and exclusion from citizenship to the overall 'peace process' in Côte d'Ivoire.

Emerging obstacles to the proposed solutions in the peace agreement

At the time of the conflict, more than a third of the population were without documents (GoC, UNFPA, & UNICEF, 2013). It is in this context, the proposed solution by the peace agreement had sought to simplify the procedures to obtain citizenship documents and streamline the types of documents that would serve evidence of citizenship. Thus, the peace agreement goal was to repel any confusion surrounding the application of citizenship law.

While expanding the period by special arrangements to apply for citizenship under the peace agreement was adopted, confusion emerged as to what documents would constitute evidence of citizenship: birth certificate or certificate of nationality. Another matter of political debates was, which government entity had the authority to issue the citizenship document. This continual dispute played into the government strategy that problematised (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013) access to citizenship. For example, on the one hand, various types of certificates of nationality continued to be issued by the authorities while some of them have been officially removed from circulation. As a consequence, individuals, who presented the removed type of documents, were accused of fraud. Thus, these procedures and actions were condoned, bureaucratised and legitimised as problem and made normal.

The use of formal and complex 'language' of a system of citizenship documentation including legal and administrative procedures, legitimised the problem of the undocumented population. As such expansion the post-peace agreement context, reference was made to policies of naturalisation and access to citizenship documents (i.e., birth certificates, certificate of nationality), which stressed, 'the normality of policies in combination with the abnormality of circumstances and the seriousness of the threat' (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013: 1128) posed by the inability to differentiate citizens from noncitizens. Accordingly, migrant-descendants were systematically described as 'strangers', representing them as foreigners, thus unentitled to Ivorian citizenship. For instance, invalid forms of certificates of nationality continued to be issued by the authorities, and the state did not take any precaution to remove the precedents forms. After stressing that the action was acceptable, there was some justification that the reason for not removing these invalid forms in circulation was to avoid the further waste of funds that had already been spent in printing these documents (MJDH & UNHCR, 2010). This measure to remove the invalid document was to be supplemented by an awareness campaign reassuring people about the change.

Notably, the programme designed to increase awareness only emphasised the alleged counterfeit imitations of certificates of nationality by immigrants and further deepened suspicions of alleged people scamming Ivorian citizenship. The state authority's interpretation of this message was understood as a state policy to ensure that not only the authenticity of the document presented to them but also to identify 'fake' Ivorian citizens. This contributed to the legal and administrative bureaucracy that legitimised suspicions and ignited acceptance that became difficult to avoid in prevailing thinking and narrative around citizenship. Petty annoyance against people who legally obtained certificate of nationality increased, for example for the enrolment on the electoral list, for the establishment of national identity cards or passports. Related to this was also increased discrimination, xenophobic attitude against population of foreign descents, northern ethnic Jula such as the Mande, Malinke, Senufo and Muslims. It is, for this reason, not surprising these groups complained of discrimination from state officials. Civil registry and district courts' institutions that delivered this administrative paper were seen as seeking to differentiate Ivoirians of '*pure souche*' (pure stock with the original type from which a particular race, family, group is derived) (Geschiere, 2009, MJDH & UNHCR, 2010) with other Ivoirians.

It follows that the state practices to determine who is or is not Ivorian derived from a 'progress of rationalisation' developing 'specific rationalities' (Foucault, 1982: 780) of Ivorian citizenship, and construction of a national identity. The historical categorisation of groups as either native or non-native has persisted unchallenged. They continued to transcend the categorisation of ethnocultural identities designated during the colonial period, which were maintained and reproduced by the state during the 'peace process.' The state legitimised this category through the process of the construction of a national identity (*Ivoirité* or Ivorianness). It is a link with *Ivoirité* that later distorted the meaning of these identity categories so that it cannot be understood without 'appropriate' association of the designation of the native category. As such, the state excluded not only long-term immigrants, but also some population of origins (e.g., ethnic Jula, Muslim etc.). These practices were then expanded and legitimized into attributions of citizenship. The native category is understood to be more Ivorian, and the non-native category excluded from citizenship. The state apparatus made possible this classification of citizens and noncitizens. As Gledhill (2001) has remarked, 'the ethnic concept of the nation continued to be propagated and manipulated by political elite' (p. 348).

The state authorities were governed by the judgement and beliefs (Steinberger, 2004) surrounding the vernacular understanding of identity in Côte d'Ivoire in which birth

registration systems maintained and replicated the existing practices. One significant issue considered in this study was Goldberg's (2002) theorisation of the racial state. It emphasises that state officials, who form the bureaucratic apparatus, represent the racial interests of the state (Goldberg, 2002: 8). The experience suggests that the elite and bureaucrats represent the interest of the state, or at least the dominant group that the state represents. The state officials embraced identities of the dominant groups when relating to others and used them to exclude marginalised groups. As Marie, a government official who is from a Baule ethnic group remarked during ethnographic observation 'I can tell people's origin by their name and the way they dress.'¹⁰¹

Hence, little has changed as to who is excluded, and there has been an increase in contested claims as to who is a citizen. Richmond (2011) remarks that discourses of the 'peace process' privilege elites and the institutions over members of the societies 'everyday life with little attention to social justice issues. Thus, issue of granting citizenship to people in Côte d'Ivoire and its real consequence to those who lack it. The peace agreement interventions became another 'usual' bureaucratic process, rather than exploring its effect to everyday life of people. As a consequence, local knowledge reactivated through effect of intrinsic power as a result of 'peace process' practices.

Access to citizenship thus, becomes subject to the ways in which a person is categorised as a native and a non-native. While the former seems to guarantee citizenship, the latter leads to exclusion from citizenship. The justification is based on ethnocultural, religious, and lineage backgrounds, those with Jula identity categories namely, Muslims, northerners and migrant-descendants are understood to be non-native groups. This identity group infers that a person who is a 'stranger' or foreigners not qualified access to Ivorian citizenship. This assessment is founded on the view that these groups share ethnocultural ties with ethnic groups from neighbouring countries, as well as with immigrants from countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, and Guinea (McGovern, 2011: 12). This leads to the question of whether migrant-descendants, who are of the same ethnicity as southerners in Côte d'Ivoire, would be treated differently and if they would be more likely to be granted citizenship. Inevitably, Muslims, northerners and migrant-descendants who could not prove they were 'real' Ivoirians either as a result of proof of evidence or discrimination would be excluded.

¹⁰¹ Interview Field notes, 15 August 2010.

Limitations

Limitations of this analysis as a result of methodological approach and scope of this study must be considered. Based on empirical studies of practices of denial of citizenship, the findings suggest that the identity categories of Muslims, northerners and migrants-descendants were likely to be denied citizenship. What the analysis based on data collected in the field and from documentary sources does not tell us, however, is whether these practices will apply similarly or differently to other types of migrants-descendants. Thus, it is beyond this study to infer whether the patterns of exclusion are similar among migrant-descendants that share ethnic groups with southerners. Future research could fill in the gaps from this research. Further study could investigate whether migrant-descendants (i.e., Ghana, Togo, and Liberia) who share the same ethnicity as southern groups (i.e., Kru and Akan) are more likely to be included or able to access citizenship. This hypothesis is based on the idea that immigrants from these countries may be perceived as native by the dominant group within the vernacular criteria, thus would be more likely to be recognised as citizen.

Biopolitics and considerations of micro-practices in the 'peace process.'

In the aftermath of the peace process, the everyday practices of providing citizenship documents sought to problematise inclusion, although they were in line with political rationality. As a consequence, the procedures and complex techniques, including the birth registration apparatus, operated in a way that undermined the overall peace process. The problem of citizenship, which had become part of the public debate and the political narrative seem to have influenced the decisions of local officials who were responsible for deciding who is or is not an Ivorian citizen. Investigating the consequences of exercising power through administrative procedures illustrates how these procedures enabled the state to impose categorical identities (Foucault, 1982) and patterns in designating identity categories and exclusion or inclusion from citizenship. The main empirical findings suggest that the 'peace process' intervention continued to deny citizenship to many people who, under the law, would be entitled to Ivorian citizenship.

The category of Jula continued to be implicitly inscribed in the political rationality that problematises those so called strangers or Jula identity category in accessing citizenship. Thus, the peace process, was a complex, confusing and often unclear web of activities surrounding identity documentation provided the medium for exclusion. Indeed, the Jula

remained disproportionately subject to contestation not only by state officials but also community members who continued to question whether Jula were Ivoirians. Beyond the confirmation of discriminatory practices, this study suggested that many people remain unable to obtain citizenship documents as a result of the technically complex and confusing systems of identity documentation. Provision of birth certificates as a way to address the problem of discrimination and exclusion from citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire appeared to have relied on historical, social, and political narratives. As the empirical result of this study suggests, informal categorisation methods were used. Among the devices, used to 'detect' a person's identity category were their names, religion and place of birth. Officials attempted to designate identities within the vernacular 'I see your name, and I know who you are and where you come from.'¹⁰²

The criteria used in everyday social interaction were the names, place of birth and religion, as well as other markers such as physical appearance, clothing style and dialect. These are clues that enable people to make a correct categorisation (Kelleher, 2006 cited in Finlay, *forthcoming*). This categorisation approach is historically rooted in the construction of identity categories in Côte d'Ivoire during the colonial period as discussed in previous chapters (two and four). This form of categorisation is part of today's vernacular and also serves as a tool to classify groups in the micro-practices of birth registration. Thus, the 'manipulation' of ethnic identities by state authorities in confusing northerners, Muslims, and migrants was a government tactic.

In the context of implementing the peace agreement, it was thought that providing 'new' national identity cards would resolve the conflict by showing the category of citizen or noncitizen on the birth certificate. The legislation of birth registration required parents' citizenship status be specified on birth certificates, even though a separate document established citizenship. However, the state made no provision for how state officials in charge of the civil registration of births would determine citizenship for a person applying for a birth certificate. These authorities had to use their 'creativity' to determine citizenship for undocumented individuals.¹⁰³ This practice was seen as being used by the state to further discourage Ivorian born in foreign and immigrants from registration.

The state's registration apparatus and ability to define the contour of national identity provides the meaning of citizenship, which may be achieved through the power provided by

¹⁰² Field notes from an interview with a birth registration agent, 30 June 2010.

¹⁰³ It was estimated that approximately four million people were undocumented, a number that included both nationals and foreign nationals.

state institutions (Hall, 2006: 390-391). I argued that birth certificates and other citizenship documents are techniques of power operating the micro-level. More importantly, they contributed to reconstructing identity categories and excluding certain individuals and groups in the context of the 'peace process' (Finlay, *upcoming*). The state used tactical obstacles through legal and administrative procedures of birth registration to 'detect' and impose categorical identities through ethnic, religious and lineage background.¹⁰⁴ In this sense, it could be inferred that, birth registration is 'the manifestation of modern form of power. Certificates of birth are documents of identity that are part of the broader social structures. They are state institutions, and they played out 'as politically possible' in an infinitesimal level of the family (Gledhill, 2001: 348). Consequently, because the peace agreement limited the assessment of the problem of exclusion as a problem of discrimination of the undocumented population, it failed to recognise the significant 'power' invested in the process of birth registration. In this sense, the meanings of categories and their application in the provision of citizenship documents were not questioned or perceived as part of the problem.

This analysis is consistent with the Foucauldian approach of biopolitics, which is concerned with power and 'the explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of population' (Foucault, 1998: 140). 'Peace process' activities were framed as a bio-political problem of the rapidly expanding legal and administrative apparatus, which pursued the accumulation of knowledge about the population. These practices were in line with managing differences, through which northerners, migrant descendants, and Muslims were subsequently excluded from the list of citizens without their knowledge and denied the political right to vote. The findings in micro-processes of identity documentation suggest that they have subverted to the 'peace process' because of the stated aim of the peace agreement to opening-up citizenship to previously excluded groups, and discriminatory practices persisted in post-peace agreement. These seemingly insignificant micro-processes of identity documentation, and, in particular, its broader impact to the 'peace process' was ignored. These forms and mechanisms of the modern type of government create the micro-physics of power in which individuals are the target of governmental practices.

The analysis moved from who was denied citizenship to describing complex and contingent techniques and procedures of identity categorisation to emphasise the

¹⁰⁴ See chapter six, page 165.

significance of this categorisation in emerging peace processes. The procedures for issuing identity documents through birth registration, although, they played a major role in the designation of identities, thus affecting who get included or excluded from citizenship were generally neglected. As discussed earlier, complex bureaucratic procedures were routinely obstructive and further exacerbated by the general neglect of documentation services. The administrative and legal procedures of citizenship (and naturalisation) contributed to and became a state device to exclude.¹⁰⁵

This is not to say that the peace agreement underestimated the colossal work that needed to be done in improving the birth registration system. What the process failed to do was to adequately monitor how at this level inclusion was carried out or to contribute in resources and capacity to the system, in general. I demonstrated that the 'peace process' failed to fulfil its aims, which is the inclusion of people that had previously been denied citizenship. Thus, the 'peace process' by ignoring the minor practices perceived somewhat to be significant to the broader political goal of the 'peace process' was subverted by its operationalisation. Consequently, these practices served to discriminate and exclude based on ethnic categories and lineage, which the 'peace process' has sought to address.

'Peace process' and procedures to obtain evidence of citizenship

The 'peace processes' in general neglected to answer the most difficult problem of implementation of citizenship document that resulted in violent conflict. The confusion regarding which document (birth certificate or certificate of nationality) was to provide proof of citizenship during the peace agreement implementation became a disputed and underrated issue. Previously undocumented people were left without a possibility to obtain or prove that they were Ivorian citizens because birth registration of birth remained inadequate, and was ignored within broader interventions of the peace process.

As empirical research in this study demonstrated, the aim of the peace agreement to allow people who prior to the conflict had been denied or excluded from citizenship was not fully achieved. I argued that the microphysics of power relations or the mundane practices of issuance of identity document by some of the lower rank of government officials in the determination of citizenship and related practices of designating identity categories affects who gets included or excluded from citizenship. The analysis of the findings suggests

¹⁰⁵ See chapter four page 137.

mundane practices of birth registration undermine the main goal of the peace agreement of inclusion and easy access to citizenship documents.

The post- peace agreement interventions lacked an understanding of the historical context that motivated its conceptualisation and how it has shaped the intervention relating to the peace process. The interventions relating to the peace agreement reproduced citizenship administrative and legal procedures as if they were unproblematic. In fact, the OPA stated that the problem was not the law, but the police and other law enforcement authorities responsible for the application of citizenship law. However, the peace agreement failed to pay attention to seemingly, banal and insignificant procedures that contributed to the overall implementation of the peace agreement. The fact that birth certificates were difficult to access should have raised concern, and, in particular, related discriminatory or exclusionary practices that continued during the peace process.

Firstly, neglect of the basic mechanisms that would have guaranteed an opening up of citizenship to those previously denied it. Secondly, there are limitations of the 'peace process' liberal interventions of good governance that rely on other borrowed concepts such as citizenship. The requirements instituted as a condition to obtaining citizenship were based on the western concept of citizenship, and identity documentation and state building form of good governance. Significantly changed for people who resided within the territorial boundaries (Bauböck, 1994) in decolonising societies. In these former colonies such as Côte d'Ivoire, the state's application of citizenship rules were used to exclude many people from membership. Citizenship deriving from membership of a group as practiced in these non-western societies (Mujkic, 2007) was not sufficient to guarantee access to the legal status of citizenship. One of the problems was the lack of basic infrastructure such as registration of the population that is the basic of obtaining a legal status within a nation-state. The state failure to accurately communicate and explain the process of becoming a legal person and the legal citizen excluded people from citizenship. In addition, legal and administrative procedures used by the state, were not fully understood by the people whose membership in the community and ancestry could be established within territorial boundaries under the state control. There seems to be a contradiction between the meaning of citizenship and how it could be obtained. The legal status remains, thus, foreign to many people because, it has been either inadequately communicated or deliberately denied. As a consequence, in non-western societies, such as Côte d'Ivoire, citizenship that is automatically conferred by community membership becomes often subverted by the state's centralised power of citizenship policy and practices. Thus, how citizenship policies and

practices are carried out become significant in the 'peace processes', particularly whereby, there has been a lack of transparency in the attribution of citizenship.

In the case of Côte d'Ivoire, the present forms of 'peace process' took the form of good governance (i.e., state building, citizenship and identification) replicating liberal democracy practices. Confusion and reasons of government, to exclude some groups, saw requirements to obtain citizenship instituted, but no adequate measure taken to ensure access is reasonably possible. As result, while membership in their group recognised these groups, the state centralised system denied them access to citizenship documents. Lack of information, unavailable services in the communities, together with administrative obstacles and discrimination contributed to these groups marginalisation.

For the macro focus of the peace process without minimising their significance, seems to suggest that there is a failure or limitations of 'peace process' model of good governance. As Mac Ginty (2011) argues, liberal peace must be conceptualised as a set of 'norms, actors, and intervention programmes', rather than an authoritative and standardised practice. (p. 75). The practices of 'peace process' have often ignored 'the consequence of power, the way in which liberal peace system has evolved as an after-effect of the emergence of the state system and its colonial history, as well as the global political economy.' (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 768). Zanotti (2013) remarks that in conflict and post-conflict contexts, societies characterised by 'factionalised power agendas, polarised identities, and divisive politics' (p. 645) idealising local practices of 'peace processes' can also be problematic. Indeed, actors and institutions' discourse of liberal peace 'practices are part of the deeply entrenched international power structures, which reflect internal politics at the local level' (ibid.). There is a 'little regard for major structural matters or causes of conflict or everyday dynamics of peace' (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 768). Hence, the limitations of 'peace processes' are based on believing that only political institutions, rather than the actual structural functions or practices of the state, would require some improvement to fulfil its goal.

Given that two issues arise: the idea that the bureaucratic institutions, supporting the 'peace process' are neutral, is misleading. As discussed earlier, there is lexical confusion in the supposed origin of citizenship, ethnicity and language that overdetermined the legal definition of the meaning of citizenship, which continued through the peace process. Minor practices such as the provision of citizenship documents (i.e., birth registration) are not 'neutral'; rather they are techniques of power or biopolitics (Heller, 1996). This form of biopolitics entail politics of otherness based on race, sex, ethnicity (Fassin, 2001) and

negates the supposed universalism of citizenship. The examination of micro-practices of exclusion from citizenship illustrates the mechanisms of modern techniques of the power of otherness and exclusion. Most importantly the examination of micro-practices emerging from the 'peace process' illustrate the tensions inherent in the historical and present conditions relating to the provision of citizenship document, and thus contribute to the critique of power and contemporary problems of the government and its techniques. Attention to these micro practices may, improve our understanding of why peace processes often fails.

Appendix A: Seven steps approach with NVivo analytical processes

Comparing Moustakas' modified Van Kaam (1994) seven steps approach with analytical processes engaged in using NVivo

Moustakas' modified Van Kaam (1994) seven steps approach Process Engaged in NVivo

Step 1

Listing and preliminary grouping of expression relevant to the experience. (*Horizontalization*)



Cycle 1

List every experience. Broad participant driven open coding of the chronological transcripts supported with definitions so as to deconstruct the data into general themes. These themes will have clear labels and definitions to serve as rules for inclusion (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) of units of meaning (text segments) which will be coded from the transcripts (MAYKUT & MOREHOUSE 1994, pp.126-149)

Step 2

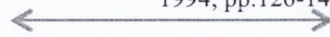
Reduction and elimination to determine the invariant constituents:

Test each expression for two requirements:

- a.) Does it contain a moment of the experience that is necessary and sufficient, constituent for understanding?
- b.) Is it possible to abstract and label it? If so, it is a horizon of the experience. Expressions for not meeting the above requirements are eliminated. Overlapping, repetitive, and vague expressions are also eliminated or presented in more descriptive terms. The horizons that remain are the invariant constituents of the experience.

Phase 2

Re-ordering themes identified and coded in Phase 1 into categories of themes by grouping related themes under these categories and organising them into a framework that makes sense to further the analysis of the data. This phase also includes distilling, re-labelling & merging categories to ensure that labels and rules for inclusion accurately reflect coded content.



Step 3

Clustering and thematising the invariant constituents: Cluster the invariant constituents of the experience that are related into a thematic label. The clustered and labelled constituents are the core themes of the experience.

Phase 2

Also addressed in Phase 2



Step 4

Final identification of the invariant constituents and themes by application.

Check the invariant constituents and their accompanying theme against the complete record of the research participant. (a) Are they expressed explicitly in the complete transcription? (b) Are they compatible if not explicitly expressed? (c) If they are not explicit or compatible, they are not relevant to the co-researcher's experience and should be deleted.

Phase 3

'Coding on' – breaking down the now restructured themes into sub-themes to offer more in depth understanding of the highly qualitative aspects under scrutiny such as divergent views, negative cases, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours coded to these categories and to offer clearer insights into the meanings embedded therein.



Step 5

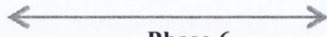
Phase 4

Using the relevant validated invariant constituents and themes, construct for each co-researcher an *Individual Textural Description* of the experience. Include verbatim examples from the transcribed interview. Include verbatim examples from the transcribed interview.

Data reduction - consolidating codes into a more abstract and conceptual map of a final framework of codes for reporting purposes.

Phase 5

Writing *summary statements* against lower order codes so as to offer a synthesis of the content coded they contain; to use writing itself as a tool to prompt deeper thinking about the data (Bazeley, 2009).



Step 6

Construct for each co-researcher an *Individual Structural Description* of the experience based on the Individual Description and Imaginative Variation.

Phase 6

Writing *analytical memos* against the higher level codes to accurately summarise the content of each category and its codes and propose empirical findings against such categories. These memos will consider 5 key areas:

1. The content of the cluster of codes on which it is reporting
2. The coding patterns where relevant (levels of coding for example although this could be used to identify exceptional cases as well as shared experiences)
3. Situating the code(s) in the storyboard –meaning considering the relatedness of codes to each other, and their importance to addressing the research question and sequencing disparate codes and clusters of codes into a narrative which is structured and can be expressed in the form of a coherent and cohesive chapter
4. Considering background information recorded against participants and considering any patterns that may exist in relation to participants' profiles
5. Considering primary sources in the context of relationships with the literature as well as identifying gaps in the literature



Step 7

Construct for each research participant a *Textural-Structural Description* of the meanings and essences of the experience, incorporating the invariant constituents and themes.

Phase 6

Also addressed in Phase 6



Phase 7

Testing, validating and revising analytical memos so as to self-audit proposed findings by seeking evidence in the data beyond textual quotes to support the stated findings and seeking to expand on deeper meanings embedded in the data. This process involves interrogation of data and forces the consideration of elements beyond the category itself; drawing on relationships across and between categories and cross tabulation with demographics, questionnaires, observations and literature. This phase will result in evidence based findings as each finding must be validated by being rooted in the data itself and will rely on the creation of reports from the data to substantiate findings. Finally, synthesising analytical memos into a coherent, cohesive and well supported outcome statement or findings report. Finalising Phase 7 will result in having produced two draft chapters; namely the findings and discussion chapters.

A simplified comparison table is now presented in table 2:

Table 1 - Comparing Moustakas' modified Van Kaam (1994) seven steps approach with analytical processes engaged in using NVivo

Moustakas' modified Van Kaam (1994) seven steps approach	Process Engaged in NVivo
1. Listing and preliminary grouping,	Open Coding
2. Reduction and elimination	Categorising Codes
3. Clustering and thematising the invariant constituents,	Categorising Codes
4. Final identification of the invariant constituents and themes by application	Coding on
5. Construct for each co-researcher an individual textual description,	Data reduction and consolidation and writing summary statements
6. Construct for each co-researcher an individual structural description, and	Writing analytical memos
7. Construct for each research participant a textural-structural description of the meanings and essences of the experience.	Writing analytical memos Validating and synthesising analytical memos

The stages and process for the content analysis of the various identity documents are now set out in Table 3:

Table 3 - Stages and Process involved in Qualitative Analysis - Adapted from Krippendorff (2004). Analytical Hierarchy to data analysis

Analytical Process (Krippendorff, 2004).	Krippendorff Practical Application in NVivo	Strategic Objective	Iterative process throughout analysis
<p>What data are analysed. How are they defined What is the population from which they are drawn (Source)</p>	<p>Phase 1: Transcribing submissions and formatting demographic and other profiling information into a single table for import into a computer aided qualitative data analysis system (NVivo)</p>	<p>Data Management (Open and hierarchal coding through <i>NINVO</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↕</p> <p>Descriptive Accounts (Reordering, 'coding on' and annotating through <i>NVIVO</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↕</p> <p>Explanatory Accounts (Extrapolating deeper meaning, drafting summary statements and analytical memos through <i>NVIVO</i>)</p>	<p>Who said what? ↕ Why did they say it? ↕ How did they say it? ↕ What inferences may be drawn? ↕ To whom did they say it ↕ With what effect?</p>

Appendix B: Introductory email with potential participants¹⁰⁶

I am a doctorate student in the Department of Sociology, Trinity College, The University of Dublin, Ireland. I am writing my thesis to examine the population identification practices, particularly regarding the granting of identity and citizenship documents after the signing of the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement in 2007. I am interested in conducting an interview with people who are directly involved in the identification of the population.

I will arrive in Ivory Coast on 7 May 2010 and will contact you again on arrival to determine if you accept my request for a confidential discussion with you. The interview will focus on issues relating to the identification of the population process. I will also ask you if you can suggest other people to whom I could contact and who have knowledge of the matter.

If you agree to participate, I will send you a consent form to review and to be signed before the interview. A nickname will be used for each interview, and specific details of your institution will not be mentioned to help ensure confidentiality of the information shared in this study. Once the project is completed, you will receive a copy of my research conclusion for your feedback.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to contribute to my study on identification practices in post-conflict situations.

Best Regards,
Penelope Muteteli
Ph.D. Student,
Department of Sociology
Trinity College Dublin
University of Dublin, Ireland

¹⁰⁶ Original email was in French.

Appendix C: Consent Form and explanation note

Explanation note

I am conducting a study to understand the identification of the population practices after the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement in 2007. I invite you to volunteer to take part in my research. You have been selected as a potential participant because of your work or knowledge in policy regarding the granting of nationality in Côte d'Ivoire. This study is conducted by myself Penelope Muteteli.

Further information:

The objective of this study is to explore experiences of the state practices of provision of identity papers practices after peace agreements regarding the Ivorian conflict.

Procedures:

I will ask you if you agree to participate in this study. The interview will last around one hour and will be audio-recorded if you agree. Also the transcripts will be made after the interview. The meetings/interviews will be held at a time and place of your convenience.

Confidentiality:

To maintain your privacy, I will use pseudonyms for your institution. All recorded interviews and field notes records are locked in a safe place. Second, you will be provided a copy of the transcripts to confirm the accuracy. Your personal information won't be disclosed, and you can pull out from the study at any time, and your data will be destroyed.

The records of this study will remain private. Written documents and research audio will be kept in a locked in a safe place. Digital audio recordings will be uploaded to the password-protected on a personal computer and stored on a secure external hard drive. Only my thesis supervisor Dr Andrew Finlay will have access to this data. Pseudonyms are used in this research to help protect the anonymity of participants and their communities and institutions.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your participation in this study is in every respect voluntary.

Questions and Contacts

My name is Penelope Muteteli. You can contact me for any question. My phone numbers from May 8 to September 4, 2010 at + 22505 68 07 42 and then on +353 170 8315 or on my emails and Skype penelopemuteteli: mutetell@tcd.ie or muteteli@gmail.com.

You will receive a copy of this form to keep for you if you wish.

CONSENT FORM			
This consent form is designed to check that you understand the purposes of the study, that you are aware of your rights as a participant and to confirm that you are willing to take part			
Please tick as appropriate			
		YES	NO
1	I have read the statement describing the study		
2	I have received sufficient information about the study for me to decide whether to take part		
3	I understand that I am free to refuse to take part if I wish		
4	I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without having to provide a reason		
5	I know that I can ask for further information about the study from you		
6	I understand that all information arising from the study will be treated as confidential		
7	I know that it will be not be possible to identify any individual respondent in the study report, including myself		
8	I agree to take part in the study		
Signature		Date:	
Name in block letters, please:			
I confirm that quotations from the interview can be used in the final research report and other publications. I understand that these will be used anonymously and that no individual respondent will be identified in such report.			
Signature:		Date:	

Appendix D: List of participants (respondents)

	No.	Name	Profile	Sex
<i>Non-Government Organizations</i>				
1	1	Lias	NRC, International staff	Male
2	2	Evans	IRC, local personnel from central west Côte d'Ivoire	Female
3	3	Charles	UNHCR,	Female
4	4	Joa	EU, international staff	Male
5	5	Dani	World Bank, Ivorian, Christian and from a southern region	Male
6	6	Xavier	Academic, University Lecturer, who immigrated to Côte d'Ivoire in the 1980s.	Male
<i>Government Officials</i>				
7	1	Louis	Ministry of Justice, Christian of mixed races from the south	Male
8	2	Konaté	Ministry of Justice, Muslim from the north	Male
9	3	Koffi	Ministry of Interior, Christian, from the south	Male
10	4	Abdu	Prime Minister Cabinet, Muslim from the north	Male
<i>Group discussions</i>				
<i>Government Official and Non-government Organizations Workers</i>				
11	1	Mark	Judge (1), Christian from centre eastern region (south)	Male
12	2	Konaté	Ministry of Justice (same as above)	Male
13	3	Raoul	Local NGO (local staff, from the south)	Male
14	4	Simon	Ministry of Education	Female
15	5	Kouame	Judge (2), from the south	Female
16	6	Kra	Ministry of Interior, from the south	Male
17	7	Valerie	International NGO, International staff	Male

18	8	Charlotte	Civil registry (Ministry of Interior), Christian and from the south	Female
19	9	Bade	Judge (3), mix ethnic groups, consider himself northerner	Female
20	10	Marie	Civil registry (Ministry of Interior), Christian from the south	Female
21	11	Fatou	Juvenile Court, Muslim from the north	Female
22	12	Ibrahim	Judge (4), Muslim from the north	Male
<i>Migrant Descendants*</i>				
23	1	Safiatou	Trader	Female
24	2	Amadou	Community Leader	Male
25	3	Diallo	Farmer	Male
26	4	Ousseni	Trader	Male
27	5	Nafissatou	Farmer	Female
28	6	Fatimata	Trader	Female
29	7	Daouda	Trader	Male
30	8	Aboubacar	Trader (Elder)	Male
31	9	Moussa	Farmer	Male
32	10	Ousmane	Farmer	Male
33	11	Mariam	Farmer	Female

*All immigrants interviewed, they came or their ancestors from Burkina Faso and were all Muslims.

Appendix E: List of Cultural Names¹⁰⁷

Akan names			
N'Guessan =>	Boy or girl born in 3rd position of the same mother and the same sex as the first two.		
Brou =>	Boy or girl born in 10th position of the same mother		
N'da =>	Name assigned to twin		
Amani =>	Name assigned to the child who comes after twins		
Baule names			
Day	In Baoulé	Male	Female
Monday	Kissié	Kouasi	Akissi
Tuesday	Djolai	Kouadjo	Adjoua ou Adjo
Wednesday	Mlan	Konnan, Konlan	Amlan
Thursday	Houé	Kouakou, Kakou	Ahou
Friday	Ya	Yao ou Ya	Aya
Saturday	Foué	Koffi	Affioué
Sunday	Monlin or Monnin	Kouam', Kouami	Amoïn
		Kouagn, Kouagni,	
Mande	Senufo	Eponym	
Kamara, Traoré, Sanogo	Sekongo,	Squirrel	
Konaté, Koné	Silué	Python, Red Monkey	
Coulibaly, Kéïta	Soro	Panther/Leopard	

Appendix E: Examples of customary rules of attribution of names and surname which differ from the legal rules prescribed by the 1964 Law on civil registry.

¹⁰⁷ See Koreki, P. & MJDH. (2010). *Déclaration des naissances à l'état civil. Quelques règles coutumières d'attribution des noms et prénoms qui diffèrent des règles légales prescrites par la loi de 1964. Module 1. Extrait du Droit Civil -les personnes - par Assi-Esso, Anne-Marie.*

Appendix F: Birth registration form

REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
UNION - DISCIPLINE - TRAVAIL

DISTRICT D'ABIDJAN



MAIRIE DE

N°CM/EC

NAISSANCE DE :

- NOM -

- PRENOMS -

Nbre d'Extrait

Copie (s) Littérale (s).....

Sommes versées

Adresse du Travail

du domicile

Extrait tapé

le.....

Nom Dactylographe

DECLARATION DE NAISSANCE

1 - Le

2 - à heures minute

3 - est né à la Maternité de

4 - Commune de

5 - L'enfant

6 - du sexe (Masculin) (féminin)

7 - Ayant pour père

8 - né le

9 - à

10 - Profession

11 - Domicilié

12 - Et pour mère

13 - née le

14 - à

15 - Profession

16 - Domiciliée à

17 - Dressé le.....

18 - à

19 - Sur la déclaration du

20 - Profession

21 - Domicilié à

22 - Par nous

Après que le ou la déclarant..... ait été averti..... des peines sanctionnant les fausses déclarations. Lecture faite et invité..... à lire l'acte, nous avons signé avec le ou la déclarant..... ne le sachant

SIGNATURE

Appendix G1: Certificate of nationality issued by district courts

papier couleur bleue

TRIBUNAL DE 1^{re} INSTANCE
SECTION DE TRIBUNAL
de

MODELE N° B 11

CERTIFICAT PROVISOIRE DE NATIONALITE IVOIRIENNE
(valable jusqu'au)

N° du registre d'ordre.

Le Président du tribunal de première instance, le Juge du tribunal de première instance, le Juge de la section de tribunal (1) de

certifie sur le vu des pièces suivantes ; (indiquer ci-dessous et compte tenu de la situation du pétitionnaire les pièces présentées en vous référant aux modèles de certificats de nationalité définitif) :

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

que M. demeurant à
né (e) à le
de né à le
et de née à le
est ivoirien (ne) en vertu de l'article du Code de la nationalité comme (indiquer ci-dessous la situation juridique sur laquelle repose la nationalité du pétitionnaire) :

....., le 19.....
Sceau et signature,

Appendix G1: This type the most issued type of certificate of nationality as it did not require expensive printing and was issued to anyone who could prove that he or she was Ivoirian.

Appendix G2: Certificate of nationality (green)

MINISTERE DE LA JUSTICE
 REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
 UNION - DISCIPLINE - TRAVAIL

TRIBUNAL DE PREMIERE INSTANCE
 d'ABIDJAN

CERTIFICAT DE NATIONALITE IVOIRIENNE
 (Pétitionnaire Ivoirien d'origine par sa naissance en C.I.)

Section de _____

EST. DE NAISSANCE N° _____ DU
 DU CANTON D'ABIDJAN-PLATEAU DE
 LA REGION D'ABIDJAN.

N° _____ du registre d'ordre.

Le Président du tribunal de première instance, d'ABIDJAN
 Le Juge du tribunal de première instance, d'ABIDJAN
 Le Juge de Section
 de _____

certifie, sur le vu de l'acte de naissance de l'intéressé (ou du jugement en tenant lieu) (ou de l'acte de reconnaissance) (1)
 que M _____
 demeurant à ABIDJAN
 né à ABIDJAN le _____
 de _____ né à _____
 le _____ et de _____
 née à _____ le _____

est ivoirien (ne) en vertu de l'article 5 du Code de la nationalité, comme né (e)
 en Côte d'Ivoire
 ABIDJAN le _____ - 2 - 1960

POINT à VERIFIER : Naissance en Côte d'Ivoire, cette naissance constitue une présomption. Cependant il vous appartiendra de vérifier le lieu de naissance du ou des parents du postulant lorsqu'il vous apparaîtra, par exemple à l'examen des noms sur l'acte de naissance du pétitionnaire, qu'ils sont étrangers.

Quel que soit le résultat de vos vérifications vous solliciterez les instructions du Ministre de la Justice.

F/LE PRESIDENT DU TRIBUNAL
 LE 11/10/1960

REPRODUCTION INTERDITE

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onality, often used by district courts. It was issued to petitioners of Ivoirian by origin, meaning those with Ivoirian parents. The document states the responsibility of the authority to check the applicant place of birth or his parents. It states 'when it appears, through a review that the applicant's names on the birth certificate are foreign, the authority, must seek instructions from the Minister of Justice' (my translation). The name is understood to be a significant indicator of a person's identity.

Appendix G3: Certificate of nationality (orange)

MINISTRE DE LA JUSTICE 11:49:55 REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
 TRIBUNAL DE PREMIERE INSTANCE CERTIFICAT DE NATIONALITE IVOIRIENNE
 d' ABIDJAN Extrait N° [redacted] PLATEAU ABIDJAN
 C.N.I. N° [redacted] (Monsieur)
 N° [redacted] du registre d'ordre
 Le président du tribunal de première instance d' ABIDJAN
 certifie sur le vu de l'acte de naissance de l'intéressé (ou du jugement en tenant lieu)
 (ou de l'acte de reconnaissance) (1)
 que Mr [redacted]
 demeurant à [redacted]
 né à [redacted] le [redacted]
 de [redacted] né à [redacted]
 le [redacted] et de [redacted]
 née à [redacted] le [redacted]
 est ivoirien(ne) en vertu de l'article 6 du code de la nationalité comme né(e) en Côte d'Ivoire.
 ABIDJAN le Jeudi 15 octobre 2009

POINT à VÉRIFIER Naissance en Côte d'Ivoire, cette naissance constitue une présomption. Cependant il vous appartiendra de vérifier le lieu de naissance du ou des parents du postulant lorsqu'il vous apparaîtra, par exemple à l'examen des noms sur l'acte de naissance du pétitionnaire, qu'ils sont étrangers. Quel que soit le résultat de vos vérifications vous sollicitez les instructions du Ministre de la Justice.

LE PRÉSIDENT DU TRIBUNAL

D 03 653 216

Appendix G3: This certificate was issued for the first time in 2005. It was supposed to replace, the green certificate of nationality for applicant with Ivoirian of origin by parentage. And was introduced as a result of alleged fraud of the 'green' certificate of nationality.

Appendix G4: Certificate of nationality obtained through naturalisation

MINISTRE DE LA JUSTICE
TRIBUNAL DE PREMIERE INSTANCE

REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
Union - Démocratie - Travail

SECTION

CERTIFICAT DE NATIONALITE IVOIRIENNE

(Certificat délivré après avoir acquis la nationalité ivoirienne
par naturalisation ou réintégration)

N° _____ du registre d'ordre.

Le Président du Tribunal de Première Instance, le Juge du Tribunal
de première instance, le Juge de la section du Tribunal (1) de

certifie sur la vu des pièces suivantes :

1° Acte de naissance de l'intéressé (r) (ou jugement ou constat
de naissance).

2° Le décret de naturalisation (ou de réintégration) n° _____
en date du _____ enregistré (l'intéressé (e),
ou l'exemplaire du décret affiché de la République de C.I. n° _____
du _____ contenant le décret n° _____ du
portant naturalisation (réintégration), de l'intéressé (e), ou l'inscrip-
tion n° _____ du _____ de M le Ministre de
la Justice attestant l'existence de décret de naturalisation (réinté-
gration) concernant l'intéressé (e).

3° La lettre n° _____ du _____ de M le Ministre de
la Justice attestant que l'intéressé (e) n'a pas été déclaré (e) de la
nationalité ivoirienne et n'a pas perdu cette nationalité ;

que M. _____
né (e) le _____ à _____

a acquis la nationalité ivoirienne par naturalisation (réintégration)
en vertu des articles 20 et 26 du Code de la nationalité ivoirienne.

_____ 19

Points à vérifier : 1° Existence du décret de naturalisation,
2° Non-existence d'un décret de déchéance.

Appendix G4: Certificate of nationality on a simple paper of white colour issued to petitioner having acquired Ivorian citizenship by naturalisation.

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