



SOCIAL UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT POLITICAL CHANGE AS EARLY AS 2020 IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE.

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ABSTRACT

On 14 September 2014, the president of the PDCI-RDA, during the state visit of President of the Republic in the region called Lifou to support the candidacy of President Ouattara during the 2015 elections According Henri Konan Bédié, President of PDCI, the goal of such a choice is twofold: to ensure the success of the RHDP the 2015 elections and then lead to a unified party called PDCI-RDR to govern Côte d'Ivoire, on the understanding that both parties will establish them alternation in power since 2020. Would it be really possible to reach this alternation especially in the current context of plurality and political division? On this basis, this article tries to question the uncertainties that shape this future alternation in a context of political plurality.

Key Words: PDCI-RDA, RHDP, alternately

Introduction:

In Côte d'Ivoire, the second round of the 2010 presidential election was marked by a deep restructuring of the political space and in particular by strengthening the cohesion between the PDCI of Henri Konan Bédié and the RDR d' Alassane Ouattara.

In order to democratically "beat" the Laurent Gbagbo FPI, the ruling party, the PDCI-RDR coalition is being reactivated under the name of RHDP. And after the 2010 elections, the candidate of the Rassemblement des Houphouétistes pour la Démocratie (RHDP) Alassane Ouattara prevails over that of the presidential majority (LMP) Laurent Gbagbo. In view of the facts, it is significant to point out that the union of the parties in the Rally of Houphouetists for Democracy and Peace (RHDP) made it possible to bring their candidate to the supreme magistracy.

However, in the elections of 2015, the configuration of the political groupings took shape with a candidature representing the coalition of the Rally of Houphouetists for Democracy and Peace

(RHDP) to face the candidate of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) and Its allies of the Alliance of Democratic Forces of Côte d'Ivoire (AFDCI). This assertion is supported and legitimized by Daoukro's appeal since September 14, 2014.

Undoubtedly, this call structures the establishment of a political alternation between the PDCI and the RDR from 2020 to govern Côte d'Ivoire. This is a political game where in 2015 both parties will support Alassane Ouattara from the RDR and in 2020, the presidential candidate will come from the PDCI and so on. This mode of political structuring is certainly characterized by social productions in the sense that it may generate fears and / or fears. Thus, on the basis of the facts and the functioning of their actor, this new pattern of alternation to power in 2020 deserves to be questioned in order to know whether it is certainly a reality or a political myth. This is the purpose of this article.

At the methodological level, the study is based on an essentially qualitative approach aimed at a comprehensive understanding of the context and socio-political interactions between social actors. Multiple sources of data: (i) formal and informal individual interviews, (ii) in situ observation in which we perceived, memorized and noted elements of analysis especially at the 5th PDCI-RDA Congress on 28 February 2015, (iii) the online documentation.

1. the hypothesis of the philosophy of isolation of the "small weights of the RHDP"

Since the end of the state visit of the President of the Republic to the Lifou region, there has been an increase in exchanges and communications on Daoukro's appeal. The consensus seems almost total on the idea of building a new single party, PDCI-RDR, after the re-election of Alassane Ouattara in 2015, as under the Houphouët-Boigny era, a real change of ' Paradigm "in the mode of accession to state power.

In view of the facts, it can be admitted that it is a matter of building a new individualized relationship between the PDCI and the RDR backed by social agreement and / or social trust. This agreement or social trust was born of the elections to emerge from serious crises of 2010 that the country has known for several decades.

But this supposed alternation from 2020 engages various forms of representation at the level of the actors of the Ivorian political scene, notably through the principles of equity and social justice. This dimension is central because social facts are first of all facts of consciousness before being manifest facts.

In the respondents' opinion, it is as if the RHDP alliance and the 2020 alternation will be based on an alliance between the North (RDR) and Akan in the center of the country (PDCI).

Thus, on the basis of the virulence of the current debate around Daoukro's call, is it significant to specify the neutralization of the small weights of RHDP (UDPCI, MFA, UPCI) by 2020? Everything happens or is likely to happen from now on as if the political social reality was

necessarily organized around the two major political schemes of the RHDP, namely the PDCI and the RDR. This affirmation is reinforced by the speech of President of Union For Côte d'Ivoire (UPCI), who has already announced that he will indeed be a candidate for the presidency of 2020 in these terms:

"When President Bedie said that in 2020 it will be a PDCI activist who will be the candidate of the RHDP, we say that for this part we feel less concerned. If it is an alternation between the PDCI and the RDR, I as President of the Union for the Ivory Coast (UPCI), I do not feel concerned by this chapter. If not globally, we think calling Ivoirians, especially RHDP activists, to support President Alassane Ouattara for the 2015 election, is going in the right direction and meets our full membership. Now, if it is to say that the PDCI in 2015 supports the candidate of the RDR and in 2020 the RDR will have to support a candidate of the PDCI, you understand that I as president of the PUIC, I can not Align myself with such a position ... "

The speech of the President of the PUIC expresses the real intention of his party for the conquest of power in 2020 and reflects the forthcoming production of a rivalry between the parties of the RHDP which can extend dialectically and simultaneously to all the social relations .

If the call to support the candidate of the RDR in 2015 has gradually settled down and has tended to impose itself on the different parties of the RHDP, it is because it has hatched on favorable ground where each one fights for the Preservation of the "little social peace found" and that it could be carried by a constellation of leaders of inspiration claiming an ideological posture.

The hypothesis of relative treason in 2020

Daoukro's appeal makes it clear that since the creation of the political alliance to win victory in the 2010 elections, the RHDP sees the question of alternation to state power as an undeniable indication of their effectiveness Political alliance and the sidelining of opposition parties. But in the opinion of the respondents, President Bédié (PDCI) and President Ouattara (RDR) are the keystone of this alliance and they are at the center of everything. Power, decisions are incarnated in the person of these two people they say. In these circumstances, it is significant to specify that the duration of the alliance is under the age of President Bedie and "his younger brother" Ouattara. On analysis, this political reality within the alliance functions as a personalization of power within the RHDP. It then becomes evident that the realization of the 2020 alternation is a utopia.

The depth of the talks makes it possible to know that the natural absence of Presidents Bédié and Ouattara will infuse negative contents into the alliance because "everyone aspires to be president of the republic one day" in the opinion of the respondents. Consequently, we will witness the ideological production of political betrayal behaviors, the singular forms of social production of otherness linked to political aspirations in the country. This is reinforced by the remarks of the President of the UDPCI. Indeed, Albert Mabri Toikeusse declared in 2015 that "the Appeal of

Daoukro is not an agreement and I hope to be the candidate of the said political alliance in 2020".

This speech by the President of the UDPCI highlights the sustainability index of the political alliance RHDP and produces germs of treason and / or confidence on the horizon. The socio-political crises in the country have made the Ivorian political game a game where it is increasingly difficult to trust others. Confidence has given way to doubt and suspicion. However, the various key informant speeches in the study predict that 2020 appears to be the breaking point of the RHDP alliance, because there will be a plurality of vision. This makes it possible to predict that each political party that is a member of the alliance will build its own vision for the conquest of state power. Under these conditions, the resilience of members may be low, which could open the door to relative betrayal. This situation makes it possible to objectify the presence of the hypothesis of a betrayal in the collective and individual consciousness of the militants.

Conclusion:

The comprehensive perspective in this study has enabled us to understand that the social stakes of political alternation are characterized by uncertainty. To this end, the study revealed the persistence of speeches valorizing the democratic recovery of state power by 2020 by each political party member of the RHDP since Daoukro's appeal. The study made it possible to observe the construction of a new individualized relationship between the PDCI and the RDR guaranteed by a social agreement. This new relationship within the alliance, since Daoukro's appeal, is not inclusive insofar as it reveals the symbolic rejection of the "small weights" of the RHDP alliance. Although in a phase of unity of the RHDP member parties and the actual choice of a single candidate for the 2015 presidential election after the electoral crisis of 2010, the effectiveness of an alternation in 2020 is still far from reality .

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