

Addressing School-Related Gender-Based Violence in Côte d'Ivoire: A Scoping Study

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List of acronyms

| | |
|------------|--|
| CAFOP | <i>Centre d'animation et de formation pédagogique</i> (Animation and Pedagogical Training Centre) |
| CDE | Convention des Nations Unies relative aux Droits de l'Enfant |
| CEDAW | UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CEDEAO | Communauté Economique des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest |
| CMEF | <i>Clubs des Mères d'Elèves Filles</i> (Mothers of Girls Pupils Clubs) |
| CNLVFFE | <i>Comité National de Lutte contre les Violences Faites aux Femmes et aux Enfants</i> (National Committee to Combat Violence Against Women and Children) |
| COGES | <i>Comités de Gestion des Établissements Scolaires publics</i> (Public Educational Institution Management Committees) |
| CRC | UN Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| DDEN | <i>Direction Départementale de l'Éducation Nationale</i> (National Education Departmental Direction) |
| DEPG | <i>Direction de l'Egalité et de la Promotion du Genre</i> (Directorate for equality and gender promotion) |
| DHS | Demographic and Household Survey |
| DIFEF | <i>Direction des Institutions de Formation et d'Education Féminine</i> (Directorate of Training and Female Education Institutions) |
| DMOSS | <i>Direction de la Mutualité et des Oeuvres Sociales en Milieu Scolaire</i> (Directorate of Mutuality and Service Projects in Schools) |
| DPJEJ | <i>Direction de la Protection Judiciaire de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse</i> (Directorate of Judicial Protection for Children and Youth) |
| DRENET | <i>Direction Régionale de l'Education Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique</i> (Regional Directorate of National Education and Technical Education) |
| EDS - MICS | <i>Enquête Démographique et de Santé à indicateurs multiples</i> - Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (Demographic and Health Surveys) |
| EGVS | End Gender Violence in Schools |
| EIP | <i>Enquête sur les Indicateurs du Paludisme</i> (Malaria Indicator Survey) |
| EIS | <i>Enquête sur les indicateurs du sida</i> (Aids indicator Survey) |
| FDIF | <i>Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes</i> |
| FeDDAF | Femmes, Droit et Développement en Afrique |
| FGC | Female Genital Cutting |
| FGM | Female Genital Mutilation |
| GBV | Gender based violence |

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| GER | Gross Enrolment Rate |
| GTPE | <i>Groupe de Travail pour la Protection de l'Enfance</i> (Working Group on Child Protection) |
| GPE | Global Partnership for Education |
| IEPP | <i>Inspection d'Enseignement Préscolaire et Primaire</i> (Preschooling and Primary Education Inspection) |
| IoE-UCL | Institute of Education – University College London |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| INFS | <i>Institut National de Formation Sociale</i> (National Institute for Social Training) |
| IRC | International Rescue Committee |
| MEN | <i>Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale</i> (Ministry of National Education) |
| MENETFP | <i>Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle</i> (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training) |
| MEPS | <i>Ministère de l'Éducation Primaire et Secondaire</i> (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education) |
| MESAD | <i>Mouvement pour l'Éducation, la Santé et le Développement</i> (Movement for Education, Health and Development) |
| MESRS | <i>Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique</i> (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research) |
| METFC | <i>Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique et Professionnel et de la Formation Continue</i> (Ministry of Technical Education and Professional Training) |
| MFPE | <i>Ministère de la Femme, de la Protection de l'Enfant et de la Solidarité</i> (Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity) |
| MICS | Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey |
| MJDH | <i>Ministère de la Justice et des Droits de l'Homme</i> (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights) |
| MPFFPE | <i>Ministère de la Promotion de la Femme, de la Famille et de la Protection de l'Enfant</i> (Ministry of Women's Promotion, Family and Child Protection) |
| MSFFE | <i>Ministère de la Solidarité, de la Famille, de la Femme et de l'Enfant</i> (Ministry of Solidarity, Family, Women and Children) |
| MSHP | <i>Ministère de la Santé et de l'Hygiène Publique</i> (Ministry of Health and Public Hygiene) |
| ONEG | <i>Observatoire National de l'Équité et du Genre</i> (National Observatory for Equity and Gender) |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| PF | <i>Planification Familiale</i> (Family Planning) |

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| PNOEV | <i>Programme National de prise en charge des Orphelins et autres Enfants rendus Vulnérables du fait du VIH/SIDA</i> (National Care Programme for Orphans and Vulnerable Children due to HIV/AIDS) |
| PNPG | <i>Politique Nationale sur l'Égalité des chances, l'Équité et le Genre</i> (National Policy for Equality of opportunities, Equity and Gender) |
| PNSR | <i>Programme National de la Santé de la Reproduction</i> (National Health and Reproduction Programme) |
| PPEAV | <i>Programme pour la Protection des Enfants et Adolescents Vulnérables</i> (Protection Programme for Vulnerable Children and Adolescents) |
| PSE | <i>Plan Sectoriel d'Éducation</i> (Education Sector Plan) |
| REPSFECO | <i>Réseau Paix et Sécurité des Femmes dans l'Espace CEDEAO</i> (Network for Peace and Women's Security in the ECOWAS Region) |
| RNFF | <i>Reconstruire les nations par et avec les femmes et les filles en Côte d'Ivoire</i> (Women and Girls Rebuild Nations in Côte d'Ivoire) |
| ROCARE | <i>Réseau Ouest et Centre Africain de Recherche en Éducation</i> (West and Central African Education Research Network) |
| SIGE | <i>Système d'Information et de Gestion de l'Éducation</i> (Education Management Information System) (EMIS) |
| SRGBV | School-related gender-based violence |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNGEI | United Nations Gender Education Initiative |
| UNOCHOA | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| UN Women | United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women |
| VAC | Violence Against Children |
| WILDAF | Women in Law and Development in Africa |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |

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1. Introduction and Overview

School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) describes physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence against both girls and boys in and around schools, within communities and families, underpinned by unequal access to resources and power, and inequitable norms and stereotypes. While there is increasing recognition of SRGBV as a major issue globally, rigorous reviews of literature have concluded that evidence about effective ways to address it is lacking. In particular, the links between different levels of action – from international and national policy and legislation, to practice and projects on a school or community level – have thus far been inadequately addressed. End Gender Violence in Schools is a partnership between UNICEF, the University College London Institute of Education, the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative, the Global Partnership for Education and partners in Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia (2015–2017), funded through the Global Partnership for Education global and regional activities grant portfolio. The initiative aims to build evidence to better understand, inform and strengthen the process of policy enactment on SRGBV. Findings from the initiative in these four countries will contribute to global and national debates on how to address SRGBV.

The main objective of the study was to analyse responses to gender-based violence in and around schools in Côte d'Ivoire, in order to inform future planning of policy and practice initiatives. This report draws on the data gathered by the research team, UNICEF CO, national consultants and partners, and presents findings from a scoping study of policy, practice and evidence on school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) in Côte d'Ivoire.

The study has been carried out as a collaboration between the government of Côte d'Ivoire (through the *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training), UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire and UNICEF headquarters, and a team at the UCL Institute of Education working alongside national consultants from ROCARE. Its core elements consist of: stakeholder mapping and engagement across sectors and with state and non-state actors; analysis of the legislative and policy framework around SRGBV; analysis of programming and initiatives addressing SRGBV; and the identification and evaluation of research and extant data sets. The findings presented here will be used to guide decision making for phase two of the initiative which will take place during 2017, as well as longer term planning and action on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire. The findings will provide the basis for reflection and the development of the action plan for the next phase of the EGVS initiative.

The overarching research questions guiding the study are:

1. What is the existing evidence on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire, and how is SRGBV shaped by contextual features, including social, economic, political and educational structures and norms, in varying contexts across the country?
2. How is SRGBV being addressed in law and policy? How are laws and policies enacted at macro, meso and local levels? What programmes are in place to address SRGBV? How effective is policy and practice, where are the gaps and barriers, and how could they be addressed?
3. What sources of evidence have been used to inform SRGBV policy and practice? What approaches have been used to collect data, and by whom? How effective have they been, where are the gaps, and how could they be strengthened?

This report begins by detailing the **methodology** used to undertake the study, before moving to provide an account of the **background, contexts and perspectives** on gender, education and SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire. It then discusses **legislation and policy**, its enactment, and **initiatives** to address SRGBV, before moving to **conclusions and possible priority areas for action**.

2. Concepts and Methods

2.1 Sampling and data collection

The EGVS initiative overall takes an action research approach to achieving its aim to strengthen evidence-based policy and practice on SRGBV. Action research means research developed through a reflective process of progressive problem solving among a team to achieve a longer term goal. It involves actively participating in a change situation, while simultaneously participating in research. Thus the initiative does not define the problem and present ready-made solutions from the outset. Instead it involves stakeholders, UNICEF, and UCL Institute of Education working together to systematically review evidence, using this to develop action plans that are concerned with strengthening evidence-based policy enactments.

As part of this approach this Côte d'Ivoire study maps and analyses patterns and perspectives on SRGBV, including legislation, policy and programmes at national, district and local levels. In order to do this several methods for data collection were employed:

- An interactive workshop led over two days by *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (MENETFP) (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training) and facilitated by UNICEF and the UCL Institute of Education lasting two days in May 2016. A range of stakeholders (including members of the ROCARE, NGOs and multi-lateral organisations, government officials and civil servants, members of teacher unions and teacher training organisations) participated to share knowledge and information relating to SRGBV. Participants in the workshop were selected and invited with the intention of spanning the wide range of relevant actors at a national level from education to justice, youth to gender. Where possible, participants were drawn from different regions of the country. The workshops were structured and facilitated to provide a rich source of qualitative data for the study, contributing to the stakeholder analysis as well as insights into the policy, research, data and programmatic mapping.
- Meetings with representatives from ministries, i.e. the *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training) and the *Ministère de la Femme, de la Protection de l'Enfant et de la Solidarité* (Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity), national partners and UNICEF CO staff.
- Documentary analysis of 1. Legislative and policy texts linked to SRGBV; 2. Research reports and datasets on SRGBV; and 3. Documents describing programmes or interventions addressing SRGBV. Documents were selected according to their relevance to SRGBV, and identified through a combination of the workshop, the stakeholder interviews, and desk review.
- 22 interviews were conducted with individuals and groups in order to gain a deeper understanding of the processes, strengths and gaps in evidence, policy and practice around SRGBV. The sample for these interviews was devised with the intention of engaging a wide range of key stakeholders, both in and outside of government (NGO workers, governmental actors at local, regional and national level, parent-teacher representatives, social services' representatives). The semi-structured interview guides were designed to address the research questions, while allowing flexibility to discuss the specific experience and perspectives of each interviewee.

A collaboration with ROCARE enabled field-based data collection to be carried out: regular meetings (phone or skype) and communication (emails) were organised to monitor progress and to determine research protocols, sampling design and data collection. The IoE team worked closely with the ROCARE team and education team of UNICEF CO to develop an interviewee sample which would enable the consultants to conduct interviews with key policy makers, governmental actors and NGO actors working in the fields of child protection, SRGBV, GBV and education. The interviewees were approached by education team of UNICEF CO and ROCARE to determine availability and participation modalities. The consultants conducted the interviews between June and July 2016 following and agreed interview guide, and transcribed all interviews. The ROCARE consultants also carried out desk-based research on existing policy texts, research reports and datasets. The multiple sources of data were recorded and synthesised by the consultants using an agreed template. The UCL Institute of Education team developed the research design, tools and templates, and conducted the analysis and report writing. Using Microsoft Office and NVivo (software for qualitative analysis) the materials were organised and analysed thematically. Data was coded in relation to the research questions, and the main themes within these such as gender, SRGBV and policy enactment. Additionally, coding was carried out to identify themes and issues emerging from the data, which had not been previously anticipated, such as networks and partnerships. This methodology was carried out similarly across the four project countries, enabling the research team to use a consistent approach for data collection, data analysis and the reports' drafting.

2.2 Limits of the study

There were a number of limitations relating to the size and scope of the study, and the availability of data. For example, as a small scale study, it was not possible to gather data directly from young people or teachers to collect first-hand information on the nature of SRGBV and responses. The study therefore focused on synthesising information from previous research to understand the nature of SRGBV; and sampled from a broad range of experts and stakeholders working in areas related to SRGBV to understand how policies and practices were enacted on SRGBV. The interviews were conducted from June to July 2016, a busy period for most of the interview participants (school and exam calendars, holidays, etc) which in some cases prevented researchers from meeting with the identified interviewees and required adapting the schedules or interviewee sampling. Some modifications to the interview format were necessary to meet the interviewees' requests (for example, a focus group was organised instead of a face-to-face interview because the institution preferred all designated employees working on the topic to be present and assist with data collection).

The desk-based research also included some obstacles due to lack of published documentation. Accessing key reports, datasets and publications which proved more difficult than initially expected, creating delays in the study. Another challenge was the multilingual nature of the study (Francophone and Anglophone countries) which led to a lengthy multistakeholder proofreading and translation phase. In order to prevent any linguistic misunderstanding, UNICEF CO organised workshops with a group of national collaborators identified for their expertise on this topic who contributed to the peer review and proofreading.

2.3 Key concepts

There are several key concepts central to the present study. Firstly, as introduced earlier, *SRGBV* is broadly conceived and we understand it as describing physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence, underpinned by norms, stereotypes, inequalities and exclusions. Examples might include boys being beaten by their teacher, girls being harassed verbally on their route to school, or pupils

bullying each other for defying gender norms. It is recognised that SRGBV violates human rights, and undermines girls' and boys' potential to learn and develop with dignity, confidence and self-esteem.

In the *Etude sur le bien-être et la sécurité des élèves dans les écoles de Cote d'Ivoire*, the national organisation ROCARE defines SRGBV in Cote d'Ivoire as follows: '*les violences de genre en milieu scolaire mettent en jeu des dimensions multiples: économiques (cas du sexe transactionnel), socioculturelle (tabou sur la sexualité, absence d'éducation à la sexualité, relations de genre asymétriques). De type sexuel, psychologique et physique, elles revêtent des formes spécifiques diverses et interviennent dans et autour de l'école, tant de la part des élèves que des personnels enseignants. Elles ont une influence directe sur la scolarisation des filles, provoquent souvent leur retrait de l'école, et apparaissent des lors comme un des obstacles majeurs à l'éducation des filles*' (MENET-UNICEF, 2015). The definition highlights the different types of violence inflicted upon students by peers and/or teachers/educational staff and addresses the impacts on girls' education in particular.

Gender describes the socio-cultural characteristics of masculinity and femininity as articulated by individuals and through cultural practices, contrasted with *sex* as the biological ascription of man or woman. Gender is also a structuring feature of all societies, shaping political, economic and social institutions, as well as relations between individuals. Thus it is a key lens through which inequalities and power relations can be examined and addressed. Gender is rarely a relationship to be understood on its own, and often needs analysis together with other forms of social division linked to socio-economic status (or class), region, ethnicity, age and level of education.

Gender-based violence (GBV) refers to all acts of violence (physical, sexual, mental) committed on the basis of normative expectations associated with each gender. GBV intersects with power relations, traditions, resources and cultural and social norms; it can affect both women and men, although it is widely acknowledged that women and girls are the prime victims of GBV.

In Cote d'Ivoire, the National Strategy Against GBV defines GBV as follows: *Elles concernent tout acte dirigé contre un homme ou une femme du fait des rapports sociaux inégaux régissant la communauté et défavorisant un groupe* ». *La Violence Basée sur le Genre est un terme générique pour désigner tout acte nuisible/préjudiciable perpétré contre le gré d'autrui, et qui est basé sur des différences socialement prescrites entre hommes et femmes/filles et garçons*. The definition underlines the unequal social relations within communities, discrimination against particular groups, and violence on the basis of socially defined differences between men and women and girls and boys.

The notion of *policy enactment* is central to the framing of this study. The term reflects how actions relating to policy take place at many levels (international, national, local, school) and involve many different actors and relationships. While the term 'implementation' describes how policy is converted into practice, the term 'enactment' is intended to signal the continuous, interactive nature of activity related to policy. It includes the negotiations involved in developing policies, allocating resources, prioritising and planning across sectors, and in putting plans into practice, which involve a wide range of policy actors at international, national, provincial, district and local level, who may have different positions with regard to promoting or opposing policy initiatives at different moments (Ball et al., 2012). It also involves paying attention to the influence of contexts.

2.4 Ethical considerations

The EGVS research underwent full ethical review and was awarded ethical clearance by the UCL Institute of Education's Ethics Committee. Although not working directly with minors or vulnerable

individuals, the themes of the work are undoubtedly sensitive, and the politics around this was something which was considered throughout the study – for example in designing the workshop and interview guides.

Similarly central to the study was ensuring informed consent for all participants – to this end information sheets were distributed to all workshop and interview participants. The workshop included detailed discussions about the aims of the project as a whole and the scoping study specifically. At the beginning of interviews there was another opportunity to explain the purpose and seek consent. It was also made clear that participants were free to stop the interview at any time and not obligated to answer questions they preferred not to. Confidentiality was maintained through ensuring interviews could not be overheard, anonymising interview data and ensuring that data represented in reports could not be attributed to individuals (e.g. by masking identifiers like job titles). This methodology was used similarly across the 4 project countries.

3. Contexts, Patterns and Perspectives on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire

The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa has had a rapidly growing population, with an estimated 15.3 million inhabitants in 1997 to 22.7 million inhabitants in 2014 (World Bank, 2016a), of which 41.8% are under 15 years old and 35.5% between 15 and 34, resulting in 77.3% of the population being under 35 years old (RPGH, 2014). 2015 poverty measurements reveal that 46.3% of the population lives under the poverty line, and that there are significant variations in poverty levels between rural and urban areas (56.8% compared to 35.9%) (World Bank, 2016a).

Previously a French colony, the country gained independence in 1960 under the presidency of Houphouët-Boigny, who remained in power until 1993. From 1960 till 1980, Côte d'Ivoire was considered a safe haven and 'economic miracle' (Bahi, 2013), based on the production and exportation of coffee and cocoa and proactive economic development policies, which led to it becoming one of the most prosperous states in the continent.

Following this boom, Côte d'Ivoire experienced an economic decline from 1980 till 1993, triggered by the 1980s economic crisis (liberalisation of the political market caused national economic turmoil that affected the country's stability and development), the falling price of raw materials (coffee and cocoa), and a significant increase in urban unemployment - leading to a population reflux towards the countryside (Akindès, 2011). This economic decline was then followed by a socio-political crisis from 1993 to 2011.

The consecutive post-electoral conflicts had significant social impacts: the crisis caused the displacement of 1 million people; 150,000 Ivoirians sought refuge in neighbouring countries; about 3,000 civilians died, and human rights abuses were perpetrated, including judicial killings, rape and torture (Adeyeri, 2015). This long-lasting period of instability brought about increased poverty, high levels of youth unemployment and complex social and ethnic post-civil war relations (Kouamékan et al., 2014).

3.1 Gender in Côte d'Ivoire

Gender inequality is visible and prevalent in Côte d'Ivoire. Gender inequalities in both private and public life are reflected in practices including FGM/C, child marriage and polygamy. Although illegal for several decades, and in decline, the most recent DHS data shows that 28% of women live in a polygamous relationship (DHS, 2012). Despite its having been made illegal in 1998, Côte d'Ivoire is reported to have one of the highest rates of FGM/C in West Africa, with nearly 40% of women having undergone the practice (UNICEF, 2007). Abortion is illegal except to save a woman's life, and the most recent DHS shows that 27% of women in a union have an unmet need for family planning (DHS, 2012).

The 2012 combined EDS-MICS report (DHS, 2012), coupled with data from the Aids Indicator Survey (EIS) and the Malaria Indicator Survey (EIP), provides comprehensive information on early pregnancies and marriages, FGM/C (38% of 15-49 year old women report having suffered traditional cutting, 53% of them report it having happened before the age of 5), domestic violence (with generational, economic and regional discrepancies: 51% of 15-19 year old women believe it is justified that a woman is beaten for certain reasons; 53% in rural settings and 43% in urban settings; 37% of educated women compared to 50% of un-educated women). Women from the Krou (47%), Mandé du Nord (45 %) and Mandé du Sud (43 %) ethnic groups are reported to most suffer physical violence, and 10% of Krou women report having experienced sexual violence. Among women who report experiencing sexual or physical violence, 37% declare having sought assistance; women from

rural settings (44% versus 32% in urban settings), from the North-East region (61%) and from poor households (51%) are more likely to seek help from a third party or services (EDS-MICS, 2012).

Although Article 1 of the Civil Code specifies that marriage for women under the age of 18 is illegal, this is not fully enforced – with 12% of women married before the age of 15, and 36% before the age of 18 (DHS, 2012). Gender relations vary considerably across the country, and different pieces of ethnographic research have highlighted some facets of this – ranging from work in rural settings showing the way in which sources of household income are produced, used and distributed along specifically gendered lines (Duflo and Udry, 2004, Bassett, 2002). In the very different context of urban Abidjan, Newell (2009) discusses transactional sexual relationships between unmarried men and women.

In terms of household decision-making, 68% of married women who work decide themselves how to spend their earnings, however the DHS data shows significant variation by region. Looking at the role of married men and women in other household decision making – the DHS shows that few women have sole decision making over their health, important purchases or visiting friends and family (just 10.2%, 9.2%, and 18.3% respectively). The number of women reporting they have joint decision making on these matters is more positive, at 24.4%, 28.8% and 28.5% respectively (DHS, 2012). McCauley et al, in a large rural study, found that partner-perpetrated reproductive coercion was experienced by 18.5% of women (McCauley et al., 2014).

Different pieces of research have highlighted the high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) and intimate partner violence (IPV) experienced by women in particular. Hossain et al (2014) in their survey across 12 rural communities found that 57.1% of women and 40.2% of men had experienced physical or sexual violence since the age of 15, that 29.9% of women and 12.3% of men reported exposure to any violence in the past year, and that 14.8% of women and 3.3% of men reported their first sexual experience was forced. A smaller study based in Abidjan found that 53.6% of women reported experiencing IPV during the previous year (Shuman et al., 2016), and found considerable shame and stigma associated with this. Gupta et al. (2012) reporting on a cluster randomised control trial found that 27% of women reported experiencing life-time abuse from their in-laws, and this was significantly associated with in-law perpetrated reproductive control. Although not a huge amount of work has been done in this area, Hossain et al report positive results from a men's group intervention to address IPV in rural Côte d'Ivoire (Hossain et al., 2014).

The 2012 DHS-EDS-MICS mentions violence against children (27% of 15-17 and 34% of 18-19 year olds report having been exposed to physical or sexual violence) and child labour (39% of 5-14 report working). Young girls frequently take on domestic labour, with the practice of leaving home to live and work for another family common, often under very poor circumstances (Jacquemin, 2006). Although the MICS provides some data on the situation of children under the age of 15, it does not explore occurrences or trends in violence, nor does it address school-related dimensions of gender inequalities or violence.

The recent history of violent conflict saw women and children victim to violence of different types as well as abuse and trafficking (Blay-Tofey and Lee, 2015, Hudson, 2009). Moving forward from this, Hudson has highlighted the problematic lack of involvement of women and women's organisations (as well as civil society more widely) in the peacebuilding process (Hudson, 2009). Barthélémy (2016) reports that women's organisations developed in the mid-20th century as a means to fight male domination and French colonial repression, allying with the FDIF (*Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*, an organisation based in France). Various sources show that more recently women's movements have focused on empowering small groups of local women, such as

the NGO Femmes et TIC¹, which aims to reunite women interested in new technologies, and at increasing women's political representation (e.g. *Centre Féminin pour la Démocratie et les Droits Humains en Côte d'Ivoire* (Women's Centre for Democracy and Human Rights in Ivory Coast), *Leadafricaines* and *Gepalef*²).

3.2 Education in Côte d'Ivoire

In line with EFA goals outlined during the Dakar Forum in April 2000, Cote d'Ivoire undertook educational reforms in order to align with the agreed upon objectives, including the improvement of teachers' status (Dabalen and Paul, 2014), compulsory public schooling from 6 to 16 years old, the achievement of parity between boys and girls (Plan Stratégique d'Accélération de l'Éducation des Filles, 2016). The conflict in 2002 led to education services and institutions' delocalisation as the country was split in two (UNICEF PBEA, 2014). As the government struggled with the crisis and the allocation of resources and infrastructure, education reforms were abandoned (Dabalen and Paul, 2014). The conflict resulted in reduced access to functioning schools, the occupation and the destruction of education infrastructures by the rebels, displacement and death of children and teachers, and drops in educational attainment. It also reportedly exacerbated existing gaps between the South and the North: the Ministry of Education estimated that 50% of the children in the North had been deprived of education in 2004. Sany (2010) reports that the psycho-social impacts of the conflicts on students' self-confidence, as well as material hardship, led them to become vulnerable to criminality, illegal drugs, prostitution, and unsafe sex leading to HIV/AIDS. According to an UNOCHOA report (Dabalen and Paul, 2014), non-governmental organisations provided temporary NGO-run primary and secondary schools for over 300,000 children between 2002 and 2004. During the 2010 conflict, the Ministry of Education reorganised the school year and postponed the exams and the holidays in order to avoid complete closure of schools (Kuppens and Langer, 2016). The effects of the second conflict were absorbed rapidly and schooling was not impacted as much as during the first conflict: within 3 months after classes resumed, 97% of primary schools had reopened and 86.3% of students had returned to school (RESEN, 2016). Education gained a new impetus from 2011. Changes were made to the preschool, primary and secondary curricula by integrating a course on human rights and citizenship that addressed democratic principles and notions of tolerance to sexual and road safety education. However, Kuppens and Langer (2016) argue that inclusion within the post 2011 curriculum of the history of conflict, and notions of resilience, would have the potential to increase understandings and heal the rupture with the past.

Although girls' and boys' access to education has improved in recent years, Côte d'Ivoire remains one of the 10 countries globally with the highest number of out of school children. The ENSEA 2015 report shows that 1,123,674 children of primary age (between 6-11) weren't schooled in 2015 which represents 2/3 of children (65.6%), a phenomenon that affects 54% of girls. The reports also reveals that 6,061,161 children from 3 till 24 years old were out of school, of which 3,845,805 in rural settings and 2,215,356 in urban zones (ENSEA/MENET/UNICEF, 2015). The table below presents gross enrolment rates for primary school – showing clearly the significant disparity between girls and boys. In terms of completion, the completion rate for primary education is 52.1% for girls and 64% for boys (World Bank, 2016b).

¹ See <https://africa.mozilla.community/fr/decouvrez-les-women-in-tech-de-cote-divoire/>

² See <http://www.genreenaction.net/interpellaction-formations.html>

Table 1 - Gross enrolment in primary and lower secondary education (MoE statistical yearbook 2012/13 to 2015/16)

Primary education

| Year | NER | | | | Completion rate | | | |
|---------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------------|------|-------|------|
| | Girls | Boys | Total | GPI | Girls | Boys | Total | GPI |
| 2012/13 | 69.3 | 76.4 | 72.9 | 0.91 | 52.1 | 64.0 | 58.2 | 0.81 |
| 2013/14 | 73.5 | 80.4 | 77.0 | 0.91 | 54.2 | 66.4 | 60.4 | 0.82 |
| 2014/15 | 77.1 | 80.6 | 78.9 | 0.96 | 58.8 | 68.5 | 63.9 | 0.85 |
| 2015/16 | 86.2 | 89.3 | 87.8 | 0.97 | 64.7 | 73.1 | 69.1 | 0.88 |

Source: MoE statistical yearbook 2012/13 to 2015/16

Lower secondary education

| Year | GER | | | | Completion rate | | | |
|---------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------------|------|-------|------|
| | Girls | Boys | Total | GPI | Girls | Boys | Total | GPI |
| 2012/13 | 37.8 | 53.8 | 46 | 0.70 | 30.2 | 43.4 | 36.9 | 0.70 |
| 2013/14 | 42.5 | 58.7 | 50.8 | 0.72 | 29.0 | 40.1 | 34.6 | 0.72 |
| 2014/15 | 46.2 | 60.9 | 53.8 | 0.80 | 30.5 | 41.2 | 36.0 | 0.78 |
| 2015/16 | 51.0 | 65.3 | 58.4 | 0.78 | 35.4 | 47.3 | 41.5 | 0.74 |

Source: MoE statistical yearbook 2012/13 to 2015/16

There are high rates of illiteracy in the population over the age of 15, particularly among women. In 2014 just 63% of men and 49% of women were literate (RPGH, 2014). Levels of higher education are low, with the gross enrolment ratio for tertiary education just 9% in 2014 (World Bank, 2016b).

In terms of teaching staff, the percentage of primary school teachers who are trained has dropped from 100% in 2010 to 85% in 2014, and the pupil to teacher ratio is 43:1 (World Bank, 2016b). Positively, the number of female teachers is increasing in primary schools (from 18.1% in 2007 to 25.3% in 2014) (RESEN, 2016), however this figure remains low.

3.3 SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire

Violence is commonplace in Ivorian schools (MENET-UNICEF, 2015). According to the 2015 national study on students' wellbeing and safety by ROCARE, violence in schools is can be explained by sociocultural causes and institutional malfunctioning (MENET-UNICEF, 2015). The report shows that close to 80% of surveyed school students (boys: 79% and girls: 78%) report having suffered violence in schools, of which 1/5 reported having experienced verbal abuse, 7/10 having experienced physical violence, ¼ having experienced sexual harassment; 63% of primary students report having been beaten by their teachers (MENET-UNICEF, 2015). 62% of the surveyed students said that they did not report the violence they had experienced to anyone. As discussed in the report by the French *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Européennes* and the *Association Genre en Action* (Benabdallah, 2010) on GBV in the francophone sub-Saharan region, girls and boys are assigned compulsory chores in and around schools, with girls often assigned more burdensome tasks, such as cleaning floors. These school chores can render girls more vulnerable to other forms of violence, if for example they are required to work in teachers' personal households, and affects the time they can allocate to

studying, resting or for leisure (Benabdallah, 2010). Household chores in the home have also been found to hinder girls' academic success, both in the capital city (Kra et al., 2012), and in rural areas (Abou, 2015).

A 2007 ROCARE-UOMEA study undertaken to assess the influence of corruption on girls' education in Côte d'Ivoire found that 15-19 year old girls were exposed to corruption from peers or educational staff. Such practices were justified because of the fear of failing the exams and the pressure to obtain a diploma, in a context of poverty (Karamoko et al., 2007).

3.4 Quality and availability of evidence

In Côte d'Ivoire, as in other countries around the globe, it can be very difficult to collect reliable data on patterns of SRGBV. There are many risks and sensitivities in disclosing violence, and so underreporting is common. Research studies vary considerably in their designs and the questions they ask, and are usually one off studies, so gathering consistent and comparable data over time is lacking around the globe (Leach, 2015).

Our analysis of contexts, patterns and perspectives on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire shows that there have been a range of studies on gender and violence against women in the country, which have revealed many forms of commonplace gender-based violence, some of which were aggravated by the history of conflict and associated economic insecurity. There are far fewer studies of gender-based violence experienced by children in Côte d'Ivoire. The studies on SRGBV discussed above have collected data only at one time point, and so do not provide a clear picture on whether patterns of violence have changed over time, or on how they vary across the country. This means that policy makers in Côte d'Ivoire have limited evidence from which to develop policies on SRGBV, a point we discuss further in section 4.7 below. The existing body of research does show, however, that schools are not always sites of safety and security for girls and boys to learn. In the next section, we discuss how the Government has addressed this concern through its legislative and policy framework.

4. Mapping and analysis of existing legislation and policy

4.1 Legislative and policy framework

Internationally and regionally, Côte d'Ivoire has complied with a wide range of conventions which commit it to ensuring the rights of all children including to safety and education, as well as gender equality and women's rights. These include the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (ratified in 1991), the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (ratified in 1995), the African Union Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ratified in 2002), and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (ratified in 2011).

The country also complied with the ILO Convention no. 182 on the worst forms of child labour that addresses child rights and protection such as free basic education, protection from slavery, trafficking and labour. Côte d'Ivoire additionally adhered to the UN Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages (*Convention sur le consentement au mariage, l'âge minimum du mariage et l'enregistrement des mariages*) in 1995 that reaffirms the consensual nature of marriages, prohibits child marriage and engagement.

Nationally, the recent Ivorian Constitution was adopted following a referendum carried out in October 2016; it reflects social and political changes brought about since the last Constitution from 2000, and grants equal rights to men and women, forbids FGM/C and physical violence and mentions compulsory education and access to health services (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 2016, SIGI, 2016). Other legislation at the national level which adds to a framework for addressing SRGBV spans several areas including education, young people, gender and justice. Key among these are:

4.2 Laws

- *Loi n° 95-696 du 7 septembre 1995 relative à l'Enseignement en Côte d'Ivoire* – a MENETFP law that mentions the **founding principles of equality, free schooling and impartiality in education**. The principle of equality requires non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, opinions (political and religious), social, cultural or geographic origin. However, it does not refer to SRGBV nor is gender a specific focus.
- *Loi n° 98-757 du 23/12/1998 sur la répression de certaines formes de violences à l'égard des femmes* ('law on the repression of certain forms of violence against women') refers to **female genital mutilation** as the violation of the integrity of the female genital organs through complete or partial removal, infibulation, insensitisation or by any other means and lays out related sanctions.
- The law on Child labour and trafficking (in *Loi n°2010-272 du 30 septembre 2010 portant interdiction de la traite et des pires formes de travail des enfants*) aims to define, prevent and punish the trafficking and hazardous labour that children are exposed to whilst supporting the victims. The child labour and trafficking issues are also specifically addressed in national law (see *Arrêté N°009 MEMEASS/CAB du 19 janvier 2012 portant révision de l'arrêté n°2250 du 14 mars 2005 portant détermination de la liste des travaux dangereux interdits aux enfants de moins de dix-huit ans*) – with reference to child labour in the cocoa sector. Child labour is here understood as any labour that puts children under threat and that could negatively impact their health, safety, physical or mental development, rob them from their childhood, their potential or their dignity, affect their education or their access to schooling or expose them to prostitution.
- The Penal Code (instituted by *Loi n°81-640 du 31 juillet 1981 instituant le code pénal*) addresses various aspects of child rights, VAC (labour, sexual harassment, early

marriage, trafficking) and child protection. The Penal Code, in Section 2, article 215, specifies that any civil servant (for a listing of who is considered a civil servant, see article 223 – in Côte d'Ivoire, teachers, educational staff and head teachers are considered civil servants) who orders or commits any arbitrary or illegal act that violates individual freedom, civic rights or the Constitution, shall be punished by imprisonment of three months to a year.

- The *Loi n° 2015-635 du 17 septembre 2015 portant modification de la loi n°95-696 du 07 septembre 1995 relative à l'enseignement* ('law of 17th of September 2015 modifying the law of 7th of September 1995 on education') stipulates in its article 2.1 that schooling is compulsory for all children of both sexes aged 6 till 16.

4.3 Circulars and guidelines

A range of national circulars and decrees with specific relevance to SRGBV have been produced, the most notable of which are discussed below:

- The *Arrêté n°0112 MEN/CAB du 24/12/2014 portant création, organisation et fonctionnement du groupe de travail sur la protection de l'enfant en milieu scolaire* ('Decree on the creation & functioning of the Child Protection Working Group') is an internal MENETFP decree that addresses **all forms of VAC and SRGBV** from pre to high school, through creating the working group on child protection in schools (see also section 4.6).
- The *Arrêté n° 0111111 MEN/CAB du 24/12/2014, concernant le code de conduite des personnels des structures publiques et privées relevant du MEN* (MEN's 'Code of Conduct for staff in public and private structures') mentions **child protection and rights** through respectful relations between education staff and pupils (verbal respect, moral and bodily integrity, role modelling) and stipulates sanctions in the cases of corporal or psychological punishment, alongside forbidding sexual relations and harassment, fondling, corruption towards students' progression and intentional physical assaults. The text promotes values of citizenship and the development of relations between parents/community/school.
- The *Arrêté n° 0002/ MENET/CAB du 20 janvier 2015 portant création, organisation et fonctionnement du comité de pilotage du processus "école, amie des Enfants, amie des filles"* ('Decree on the creation and functioning of the 'Friendly Schools' process') sets up a Steering Committee that is in charge of implementing, monitoring and evaluating the Friendly Schools initiative. Although it does not specifically address SRGBV, it does provide guidance on gender-friendly schooling.
- The *Circulaire n°005 du 18 mars 2014 relative à la réception dans les services de police judiciaire des plaintes des victimes d'agressions physiques* ('Circular on the reporting of physical aggression within services of judicial police') issued by the Minister of Justice, Human Rights and Public Freedoms focuses on enabling the access of rape victims to the legal system by allowing the reporting of violence, assault and battery and sexual abuse without the presentation of a medical certificate. Although the ministry recognises the importance of medical evidence, accessing the certificate was a considerable barrier to reporting for victims without financial resources or living in areas without health centres. The Circular provides a temporary response through offering alternative solutions, such as logging a report with police services, which is deemed equivalent value to a medical certificate. If and when the victim desires to pursue the investigation, they will be asked to provide the medical certificate.

4.4 Strategies and policies

Several significant national strategies and policies also support the law:

- The *Document de la stratégie nationale de lutte contre les violences de genre* (covering the 2012-2015 period) ('National strategy towards tackling GBV) was drafted by the MFPEs and adopted in 2014 by the government with support from UN agencies. It defines the **institutional, political and legal framework in relation to GBV** and highlights the multi-sectoral collaboration. Although it does not mention SRGBV specifically, it does address gender-based violence in general, and addresses many issues that are highly relevant in work with school aged young people, including difficulty/lack of reporting, violence in informal settlements, access to justice for children, impunity, law and policy enactment and victims' protection. The *Stratégie Nationale de lutte contre les violences basées sur le genre* ('National strategy towards tackling GBV') for the 2014-2016 period was issued by the MFPEs with support from UNFPA. It is based on the standard operating procedures for **GBV responses and prevention** and addresses long term impact of violence on children (victims and bystanders). It does not specifically mention SRGBV.
- The 2009 *Politique Nationale sur l'Égalité des chances, l'Équité et le Genre* ('National Policy for Equality of opportunities, Equity and Gender') aims to integrate a gender perspective in all policies, plans, programmes and projects, to create synergies between all development actors in Côte d'Ivoire and to promote the participation of people in fair and sustained development. A specific aspect of this law is of interest in regards to the **enactment of gender-sensitive institutional mechanisms** such as the institutionalisation of the gender cells in charge of addressing gender disparities in the social, economic and political spheres and the strengthening of institutional systems for gender-disaggregated data collection, analysis and dissemination. When referring to education and violence, the policy states the need for the integration of peace and social cohesion education in all formal and non-formal educational programmes.
- The *Plan Sectoriel d'Éducation* (PSE) (Education Sector Plan) for the 2016-2025 period is currently being finalised by the ministries involved in the education sector. It outlines the **strategies and priorities for the next decade**, and more precisely the improvement of access to and equity in education (mentions of inequalities due to gender, economic status and geographic location), as well as quality and efficiency of education. There is reference to SRGBV as part of the national strategy towards tackling violence against children and more specifically through implementing a primary retention policy that will address the provision of safer and healthier schooling for pupils through infrastructural interventions, such as provision of furniture, water supplies, canteen, and latrines, and strengthening child protection within schools and safety during the travel to and from school. Furthermore, the PSE mentions the introduction of a parity enrolment process at the *Centre d'animation et de formation pédagogique* (CAFOP) (the Animation and Pedagogical Training Centre) over the upcoming 3 years that would send a strong message to young girls and the educational community on the government's efforts to tackle gender disparities in the education sector and that would be supported by a strategy encouraging female teachers to work in areas with low school attendance rates for girls. The plan also invokes a new scholarship system for entrance in secondary schools which takes into account gender and other vulnerabilities, alongside the construction of new girls-only infrastructures in zones with high early pregnancies' rates and low enrolment rates. Girls' access to technical education will be promoted and a

'gender/location' bonus system will support girls' access to regional universities or priority sectors to counteract intersecting inequalities. The Sector Plan takes seriously the need to address persistent gender disparities in the education system, though there is not a specific focus on gender-based violence in and out of schools.

- The *Politique Nationale de Protection de l'Enfant* (PNPE) (National Policy on Child Protection) was adopted in 2013 by the government and outlines the country's policies towards preventing and responding to VAC, including GBV. It defines the roles and responsibilities of the sectoral ministries related to child protection, of which the MENETFP is part. The PNPE is based on the framework document « *Protéger les enfants à l'École* » ('Protecting Children in Schools') drafted in 2014 by the MENET that stands as the sectoral child protection policy document.
- The *Plan accéléré de réduction des grossesses à l'école* (Accelerated plan to reduce pregnancies at school) 2013-2014 is a MENETFP action plan linked to the SNLVBG. It aims to tackle unwanted early pregnancies in schools through providing participatory reproductive and sexual education (with the involvement of school groups), organising information and awareness-raising campaigns and activities and implementing/strengthening social services and data collection mechanisms. It aims to inform on the legal framework tackling VAC (rape, sexual harassment, abuse of authority, early and forced marriages) and to deliver advocacy to support the engagement of administrative authorities, religious and community leaders and parents.

4.5 Enacting laws and policies on SRGBV

This array of legislation and policies on gender, violence against children, gender-based violence and education provides a partial foundation for the country to address multiple issues surrounding SRGBV. The focus on child rights and protection – and more specifically on child trafficking, labour, slavery and exploitation, as well as child marriage, FGM/C, and sexual abuse – reflects an awareness of the need to address issues of violence against children. There are also key policies and strategies relating to gender and violence that are valuable entry points for addressing SRGBV.

Previous research reviews around the world have identified a range of difficulties with policy enactment. For example, in relation to gender-based violence policy in low income countries, Ellsberg et al. (2015) report that despite national policy development, its implementation can be patchy, with problems with budget allocation and support from key actors, such as the judiciary and police, both deliberate and unintended. Similarly, looking at gender violence in schools in developing countries, Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006) highlight political and bureaucratic resistance as key in hampering enactment of legislation and policy. Leach et al (2014) highlighted weaknesses in policy implementation related to lack of action plans, training or adequate resources. Parkes (2016) stressed the importance of working with policy actors at the meso level – for example, education, health or judicial officials and institutions who are responsible for policy implementation, yet often missing from research and intervention on SRGBV (Parkes, 2016).

In Côte d'Ivoire, positive references to policy enactment mentioned by interviewees included the proliferation of structures at different levels aiming to bring actors together in relation to GBV and child protection, and high level commitment from national actors. However, many interviewees in this study raised concerns about the effectiveness of their enactment, echoing the findings of global literature reviews. There were several areas highlighted by interviewees where action is needed to strengthen the enactment of existing policy, crucially: **dissemination and training** in relation to existing legislation and policy at regional and local levels; **resourcing** including financial support,

expertise and necessary **monitoring** to enact policy and operate related structures; and the prevalence of inequitable **values and norms** at all levels hampering enactment.

Many interviewees referred to the limited **dissemination** of different policies and strategies, highlighting the need for further efforts to ensure they were made available and understood across the country through relevant training. For example, this was highlighted by NGO workers as well as teachers and teacher unions in relation to the Code of Conduct. Teachers participating in a focus group reflected this limited awareness when asked, reporting:

Yes, I have personally come across it once in a booklet or on the Ministry's website: Teacher's Code of Conduct. I went through it. [And what does it discuss in essence?] (Eh) It says, well, the teacher's duties, the teacher must show good behaviour in order to protect students, to improve students' results. That's mostly it. I didn't go through all of it, I think I saw that online. (Interviewee 12, civil servant)

Although there were positive reports that a range of stakeholders had been involved in the development of the Code of Conduct, one national NGO working with teachers reported there not being enough physical copies to distribute to schools, while another international NGO reported that although teachers may have heard of it, they have not received training on how to enact it:

We also wanted to address the knowledge and the use of the codes of conduct. Globally, teachers have heard of them, but either they haven't been trained or they don't know how to use it. (Interviewee 11, NGO worker)

This is significant given it is two years since its introduction in 2014, and is particularly important given the need to support teachers to employ alternative forms of discipline in what are very often large classes of 60-100 children.

A similar example can also be observed in relation to the changed policy on the need for medical certification before a case is taken to the police. This requirement was dropped in a circular in 2014 (see 4.3 above), as an NGO worker reported:

I'd rather give a little more detail. That decree was issued in 2014 by the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. It's the decree number 005 of the 18th of March 2014. The reporting of assault and battery by police services and others is no longer conditioned to the production of medical certificates. (Interviewee 14, civil servant)

However, it appears that payment is often still enforced as a requirement – and this point was raised by several other interviewees, suggesting problems with the Circular's dissemination and enactment among actors at the local level of the police and healthcare. Similarly, and particularly sadly given it is no longer a legal requirement, it was reported that the fees required by doctors to complete the form in support of a complaint to the police were a barrier for individuals.

The lack of training of police in relation to issues of gender and gender violence was pointed out by several interviewees, leading to poor treatment of victims. Relatedly, an interviewee based centrally yet connected to those working in different areas/sectors reported being called by someone managing a case of forced marriage as they were not sure what the relevant law was. This is significant if we reflect that these are many of the key workers at the meso level who are hugely significant in shaping policy enactment of this kind. There is a lack of research evidence available on this levels of policy enactment (Parkes, 2016), making it a valuable area for attention.

Related to, yet wider than the specific focus on dissemination and training around law and policy is the question of **resources**. This was an issue that cut across different levels when considering the enactment of key policies – from the national to regional and local – but also with different inflections for different actors.

Firstly, at the national level, although there have been positive developments of collaborative structures relating to child protection and GBV (as discussed below in section 4.6), interviewees reflected on the extent to which limited resources – in terms of finance, executive power, human capital, and data – curtailed their efficacy. For example, one interviewee reported the difficulty in carrying out even low cost work such as school visits for dissemination:

You tell yourself that it's all about gathering the children in the playground and explaining certain things. It doesn't entail great costs. It doesn't cost anything. Words don't go far. You are requested to send a letter. We went as far as the DELC to obtain approval. Can you imagine? It was so complicated. They sent us away and he said, we are all civil servants here. (Interviewee 04, civil servant)

An NGO worker specialising in this area emphasised that more concrete support and clear budget allocations for work, as opposed to political will alone, was needed:

It's the budgeting and the funding of the activities. It's to show a commitment, not only a political commitment but something concrete, to give budgets to the ministries in charge of the issue at hand. The true issue relating to SRGBV is to know how to fund actions. Social centres are there, people are motivated, people are working, but they do not have the budgets to work. I believe this question is crucial. (Interviewee 11, NGO worker)

Relatedly, the ability of actors (including groups specifically established to address questions of gender, violence or education) to implement policies was also connected by interviewees to the question of data and monitoring. For example, although reporting lines had previously been established to record GBV nationally, for the past two years there has not been accurate data available due to available funds to cover the costs of maintaining the service up and running, thus hampering their ability to act.

These different dimensions of resourcing can then be seen to have a knock on effect on the extent to which work can take place at regional and district level. For example, although it is a positive step that 48 platforms on GBV have been established (see section 4.6, below), it was also reported that they were not necessarily all active or working as envisaged. Thinking too about the quality of schools, the question of stretched resources, and large class sizes (as discussed in section 3.2 above) appeared to shape how realistic interviewees involved with teaching felt attempts to address corporal punishment could be without further resources being dedicated.

Lack of financial resources was also observed to impact negatively on individuals' access to education and justice. For example, despite free education having been legislated for at national level, interviewees reported that in some cases poor parents struggled to pay the fees required to the *Comités de Gestion des Établissements Scolaires publics* (COGES) (Public Educational Institution Management Committees) for school maintenance and materials:

Otherwise, indeed, those additional costs exist within the COGES. When you raise the question, you're told, that's the COGES, it has to do with the school's development. The government said it isn't paying for it, but how can you buy the benches, if there

aren't any benches children cannot go to school. It's about the maintenance of the environment, and the COGES has to cover the additional costs. (Interviewee 06, civil servant)

Values and norms at different levels were viewed by interviewees to be important in shaping the enactment of law and policy related to SRGBV. Views on gender and violence among parents, teachers, other education staff and officials, were viewed as influential in shaping the occurrence of, and responses to SRGBV in different sectors.

In terms of the occurrence of SRGBV, the values and norms of parents, pupils, and others in the vicinity of school were discussed by interviewees. For example it was pointed out that parents and other community members often perpetrated or sanctioned violence, and that violence and gangs around schools could impact detrimentally on pupils and teachers. For example, as one interviewee reflected on the cultural acceptability of violent discipline for children:

But, I say there is a factor that hinders the enactment of those laws... the community factor, when a parent beats their child for example. What are the sanctions provided in Africa, in Côte d'Ivoire, in Yopougon here. You'll be told that it's their son, and that their son is being educated, that's all. (Interviewee 02, civil servant)

The views of teachers were also crucial, with for example teachers expressing ambivalent views about initiatives such as the Code of Conduct. Some interviewees queried the feasibility of teaching without corporal punishment, worrying that removing this practice would change the balance of power between pupils and teachers, with teachers losing control. This meant they could feel undermined by and lack impetus and power to enact the code as intended.

In terms of the reporting of, and justice for victims of violence, again values and norms appeared to be key barriers. Lack of reporting and silence around SRGBV was mentioned by interviewees. This, coupled with problematic views of key actors such as the police (as discussed earlier), mean that even when cases are reported they may not be followed through because of the influence of other community members (including religious leaders), so called 'friendly arrangements' between victims or their families and the perpetrator, as one interviewee explained:

Because there are family relationships, there are affinities, there's the social pressure, there is the pressure on the person so we prefer to find a friendly settlement among ourselves. Those are things we come across daily but it does happen that we go all the way. (Interviewee 14, civil servant)

More specifically in relation to the categorisation of offences, one interviewee explained that rape is not taken sufficiently seriously in the ways it is defined and treated within the justice system:

With regards to rape, it would appear it's not taken into account in our judicial system. It has to be requalified as indecent assault. But, for indecent assault, it's 5 years imprisonment. Yet, in workshops, and for magistrates, for everyone, sitting, rape is a crime and you get 20 years or more imprisonment for a crime. (...) So, concerning this law on rape, people need to reflect extensively. Either it's a crime or it's indecent assault. (Interviewee 02, civil servant)

This discussion highlights some major barriers to implementing laws and policies. However, there have been efforts to address these barriers, to which we now turn.

4.6 Governmental structures and processes of relevance to addressing SRGBV

At the national level, there are various ministries and governmental structures that work specifically on GBV or on related themes (African Development Bank, 2015).

There are 2 ministries in charge of education, and each of them holds a specific mandate. The *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (MENETFP) (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training) deals with primary and secondary education in public and private institutions and the *Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique* (MESRS) (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research). When referring to governmental structures that address SRGBV, we will here focus on the MENETFP as the primary and central actor.

The *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (MENETFP) focuses on child protection through the **wellbeing and safety** lens. It also gives careful consideration to health and gender issues as they can impact on students' progression, retention and educational experience. The MENETFP has decentralised stations at regional (*Directions Régionales de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle* (DRENETFP) (Regional Directorates of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training), departmental (Departmental Directorates of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training) (DDNETFP) and the *Inspection de l'Enseignement Préscolaire et Primaire* (IEPP) (Preschooling and Primary Education Inspection).

The *Groupe de Travail pour la Protection de l'Enfance* (GTPE) (Working Group on Child Protection) is the coordination cell responsible for child protection within the MENETFP. It was created by ministerial order in 2014 for a better synergy around child protection. It is a centralised working group composed of stakeholders from different areas engaged in **child rights, child protection and violence** who work in or with the MENETFP at national and decentralised levels in schools (DRENET, DDNET, primary and secondary schools, high schools, IEPP). The Working Group, in partnership with its regional committees, addresses safety and wellbeing issues: it contributed to the drafting and dissemination of the teachers' code of conduct aimed at staff from public and private structures falling under the MENETFP and provides awareness-raising, training and information for all actors of the educational system. The GTPE also plays a role in teachers' capacity building and in coordinating activities across different ministries.

Beneath the GTPE, the instigation of the establishment of child protection committees at regional and local levels has been a significant development, and these have the potential to act as the means to collect information and address cases that would include SRGBV, for example if a child was sexually abused in a school. At the DRENET level sit the regional committees on child protection; at the *Inspection de l'Enseignement Préscolaire et Primaire* (IEPP) ('Preschooling and Primary Education Inspection') and college level sit the local committees on child protection; and at the school level there are *le comité de veille de protection de l'enfant* ('child protection monitoring committees'). However, although in principle valuable, multiple interviewees suggested that the formation and operation of these structures, particularly at the lower levels, was not uniform or fully functional. For example, one NGO worker reported that in some areas the committees simply did not exist:

You said that the monitoring committees that were set up in high schools, for example the ones in the areas where you work, were not operational. What were the issues?

- *Actually, they didn't exist; they knew.*

Yet, it was announced

- *But they didn't exist.*

Who did it depend on?

- *I believe it's the DREN's responsibility, along with the head teachers', to set that in place. We just came to support the governmental initiative.*

But do you know why?

- *I think that in order to set these types of committees up, you need to be able to train them. I believe that in other zones, there have been trainings and the committees do exist. I think that in these zones, it hasn't been done. That's why we went to this zone. (Interviewee 11, NGO worker)*

Along similar lines, a central government worker suggested that the establishment of this structure was in its early stages, as opposed to being fully operational:

It must be said that we are really at the early stage. I can't remember if it was in March [2016] I went on such a mission to go and see if the structures, the committees, were already implanted. But we realised there hadn't been a feedback session; yet, the DRENs and the IPEs have been trained in this field. But, when they went on to the field, they didn't feedback to their colleagues. (Interviewee 19, civil servant)

This suggests the child protection monitoring committees could be an avenue for development and support that, if fully established, would be a key element in the enactment of policy to address SRGBV, but also an important source of data and evidence on the issue. More information is needed to fully map and assess their current operation and understand how they could be supported.

The *Direction de la Mutualité et des Œuvres Sociales en Milieu Scolaire* (DMOSS) (Directorate of Mutuality and Service Projects in Schools) at national level is directly linked to the MENETFP and sets up health and social related actions on child protection for the related ministries, focusing on **illnesses, poverty and early pregnancies**, all of which can strongly impact students' retention, progression and educational experience. The directorate may intervene in some cases of early pregnancies, and has elaborated formal protocols on child protection in schools with both the *Ministère de la Santé et de l'Hygiène Publique* (Ministry of Health and Public Hygiene) and the *Ministère de la Justice et des Droits de l'Homme* (MJDH) (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights).

The *Ministère de la Justice et des Droits de l'Homme* (MJDH) whose mandate is to protect citizens' rights works on **juvenile justice and human rights**. Its *Direction de la Protection Judiciaire de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse* (DPJEJ) (Directorate of Judicial Protection for Children and Youth) is the structure that coordinates the juvenile protection activities (listening, counselling and rehabilitation) and liaises with the different stakeholders (police, social workers, specialised educators, Young Girls' Monitoring Centres and NGO/INGOs).

The *Ministère de la Femme, de la Protection de l'Enfant et de la Solidarité* (MFPES) (Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity) deals with protecting women and children's rights against abuse and physical violence and strengthening the legal and institutional framework on child abuse. Under the MFPES lies the *Direction des Institutions de Formation et d'Education Féminine* (DIFEF) (Directorate of Training Institutions and Female Education) in charge of implementing the MFPES's policies towards women's empowerment. It also liaises with the MENETFP to promote girls' education strategies. The DIFEFs implements its actions through the *Institutions de Formation et d'Education de la Femme* (IFEFF) (Women's Training and Education Institutions) that operate in parallel to schools and offer alternative education and training opportunities to illiterate or out of

school girls and women that aim to contribute to their socioprofessional integration and their economic empowerment. There are 116 IFEFs disseminated over the whole territory. The MFPES is also regionally represented through its directorates that cover almost the whole territory, whose roles are to enforce the framework at meso and micro levels. The regional directorates work closely with social services (including social centres, child protection centres, socio-educational structures for young children, girls and women, special education centres, community action centres, orphanages, INGO, NGOs, and community leaders) and other formal medical and educational service providers. They aim to address gender issues such as women's empowerment, physical violence against women and children and the protection of vulnerable groups.

La *Direction de l'Égalité et de la Promotion du Genre* (DEPG) (Directorate for Gender and equity) within the MFPES is the national organ that coordinates all **GBV related issues** (rights, forced marriage, FGM/C, child labour and exploitation, and all forms of violence).

The *Comité National de Lutte contre les Violences Faites aux Femmes et aux Enfants* (CNLVFFE) (National Committee to Combat Violence Against Women and Children) is a body led by the MFPES that acts as an advisory and coordinating organ on **child protection, equality and gender promotion**, and more specifically on the following issues: rape, sexual and domestic violence, FGM/cutting, forced and early pregnancies, access to resources and opportunities. It was first created in 2000, with the children's component added in 2006, and consists of five units: communication; capacity building; documentation, administration and finance; and monitoring and evaluation. The committee works closely at local level with social centres in establishing operational Listening and Counselling Centres for women and children victims of violence, and carries out trainings with relevant officials such as doctors or magistrates. Problematically, discussions with civil servants involved in the committee suggest that their work is hampered by the fact that the interministerial committee on gender based violence is not yet fully functional.

The *Comités de Gestion des Établissements Scolaires publics* (COGES) (Public Educational Institution Management Committees) were instigated in public primary and secondary schools by the 1995 decree *n°95-26 du 20 janvier 1995 portant création du Comité de Gestion des Établissements Scolaires publics (COGES)* (later modified with decrees *n°99-604 du 13 octobre 1999*, *n°2002-132 du 27 février 2002*, *n°2002-304 du 29 mai 2002* and *n°2012-488 du 07 juin 2012 portant attribution, organisation et fonctionnement des Comités de Gestion des Établissements scolaires publics en abrégé COGES*). The COGES deal with day-to-day issues relating to infrastructures, equipment maintenance, pupil and teacher management. They represent parents and hold a specific mandate as they are involved in the school management mechanisms through implementing and monitoring the MENETFP's guidelines and working towards endorsing children's rights at all levels. 88% of primary schools have a COGES (RESEN, 2016). They are for example involved in distributing textbooks, thus contributing to the dissemination in remote settings and the monitoring of needs at local level or act as 'community relays' by facilitating parental education activities. More monitoring and evaluation is needed to assess the COGES' impact and potential discrepancies between theory and practice (RESEN, 2016).

48 platforms on gender based violence have also been initiated by the MFPES (from 2012) that are intended to bring together different (state and non-state) actors who are involved in addressing this issue at local/district levels – such as health, social services, justice. Our interviews included workers at local level who reported that these monthly meetings worked well, enabling actors to work on cases together, and plan work in a proactive way including capacity building, sensitisation and data collection and evaluation. However, other NGO workers engaged with the topic of vulnerable children and GBV recounted that these do not necessarily function as they need to bring together a wide range of people, and those involved require support to attend over a sustained period:

The problem is that the platforms don't function. And what stops the platforms from functioning is primarily that they need to bring together actors working on a specific theme. In the case of GBV, they have to meet on the issues of GBV. Today, how many NGOs have funding to participate in the fight? That's the question we are asking. Now, when people meet up through the platforms, they expect to be reimbursed for their transportation or food expenses. Yet, the secretary, the technical secretariat provided by the Ministry of Family, don't have the funds to cover transportation or food expenses. So people come once or twice, then they wonder about the future and question their participation, then stop coming. That's the fight we are tackling.

Similarly, even those reporting experience of platforms functioning well said that there are areas which do not yet have them, and said that they were not funded specifically on GBV work. More information is needed to fully map and understand the functioning and efficacy of these platforms, and indeed how they could be best supported in relation to addressing SRGBV specifically.

It is positive to see the instigation of structures and platforms intended to address and document SRGBV across the country, and seeking to integrate working across sectors such as health and education. However, our data suggest that the existence, implementation and functioning of these may vary. More information is needed to fully understand this, and to develop recommendations for how this can be supported and improved.

4.7 Data to monitor SRGBV

Accurate data is essential to understand and address SRGBV, including devising, implementing and monitoring policies and initiatives. However, as discussed in section 3.4 above, there are many challenges in collecting accurate and in-depth data on SRGBV. A recent review of evidence on policy and practice on SRGBV also found that globally there is a limited research evidence on how to strengthen and monitor policy enactment at macro, meso and micro levels (Parkes et al., 2016). Collecting data not just on prevalence of SRGBV, but also on related attitudes and knowledge, and the efforts and effectiveness of institutions in terms of prevention and response at multiple levels has potential to provide a rich range of data to inform policy.

In Côte d'Ivoire, as outlined above, there is a coordinated attempt to collate information from different sources at various levels. The *Système d'Information et de Gestion de l'Education* (SIGE) (EMIS) system is currently being set up and will include a systematic primary pupils' matriculation enabling a closer monitoring of pupils and sustained tracking of their educational course (repetition, transfer, release) (ESP, 2011). The system has been reinforced to include child protection and conflict/disaster risk reduction indicators.

At regional and local levels, information can be retrieved through schools, committees, social services and centres, security services, police and NGOs. These services and organisations come together on the **platforms to tackle GBV**. Although the platforms offer a considerable opportunity for data collection on SRGBV, problems have been reported with their functioning and the lack of adequate data collection tools and qualified agents to analyse the data and use findings to inform actions to address SRGBV. Other data collection tools or systems collate important data on schooling and educational outcomes but omit to address issues relating to violence in schools, gender based violence, or causes of drop-out for example, all themes that could offer a more comprehensive and holistic picture of the SRGBV challenges.

The Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (MENETFP) issues annual statistical **analyses of the education system** in order to monitor the progress of the

education reforms. It draws from the MENETFP **data collection system** set up in public and private schools from preschool to secondary level, supported by planning and statistics agents who are assisted by head teachers and school management. The tool's objective is to allow a centralised analysis. The 2015-2016 report provides quantitative data on access, retention, participation, infrastructures, pedagogical environment, educational staff, associated centres (teacher training and literacy centres) and quality, funding and performance of the education system (MENET-FP, 2016). Data is also collected on disability, early pregnancies and vulnerable groups through a broader inclusivity lens. However, this analysis does not feature any information on violence in schools or gender-related issues.

The *Ministère de la femme, de la Protection de l'Enfant et de la Solidarité* (MFPES) (Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity) manages the *Système de Gestion de l'Information sur les Violences Basées sur le Genre* database ('**GBV information management system**' or **GBV-IMS**). The system is the result of an inter-organisation project between UNFPA, WHO, UNHCR, and UNICEF with the collaboration of NGOs and state social services at central, regional and departmental levels operating since 2011. This partnership aims to harmonise routine data collection on GBV, support service providers in psychosocial and medical sectors, and direct assistance and care of victims and knowledge sharing at various levels. It combines evaluation and admission forms, summary sheets, information sharing protocols, databases and GBV classification tools from all partner organisations and aims to process the information – verifying and validating – within a maximum of 10 days.

In 2015, the MPFFPE initiated the *Observatoire National de l'Equité et du Genre* (ONEG) (**National Observatory for Equity and Gender**) that was instituted by the decree n°842 dating from the 17th of December 2014. The observatory works on gender dynamics in the labour, governance, agriculture and farming, health, education and science sectors, as well as within the private sector. The observatory aims to enhance the accountability systematisation of gender related actions through the monitoring, the evaluation and the generation of strategy proposals towards promoting gender parity in the public and private sectors. However, more information is needed to determine what the observatory's work in the education sector covers, who works for the organisation, how the data will be collated and analysed and how it will influence national policy making.

Although these structures show that there is an attempt to collect and analyse data on the issues addressed by the legislative and policy framework detailed above, there is a need for more information and systematic exploration of the specific area of SRGBV. More information is needed on the **data that is collected, analysed or available from different sectors** of relevance to SRGBV – such as the justice system (cases reported, followed up and charged), the health system (survivors given support, children's pregnancy and child bearing), or social services/support (number and types of cases referred, dealt with, follow up, outcomes). More information is also needed in relation to the **monitoring and evaluation of initiatives** to address SRGBV, and problematically, we found little reference to the recent conflicts and their impact on violence and inequalities in relation to data collected or analysed.

A critical area for work in Cote d'Ivoire lies with **monitoring, evaluating and accessing data**: interviewees and workshop participants reported that it was difficult to access reports or raw data (when they exist), or to track where data has been stored or to define who is responsible for it. This is essential if at national, regional and local levels data is to be used to feed into the design and implementation of policy and programming.

5. Programmes and initiatives to prevent and respond to SRGBV

A recent global review of evidence on SRGBV explored the types of programmes that can help to reduce SRGBV (Parkes et al., 2016). In schools, effective interventions worked at various levels – with girls and boys, with teachers, and ‘whole school’ approaches attempted to address school policies and processes (Devries et al., 2015, Sebba and Robinson, 2010, UNICEF, 2009). Interventions with children and those with teachers were particularly effective when they provide both specific training on skills and knowledge (e.g. about reporting systems), and helped participants to reflect on their own values and beliefs around gender and violence (Humphreys, 2008, Pick et al., 2007, Duque et al., 2007). A number of studies in other countries have also found that girls’ clubs can work effectively to raise awareness about gender and violence, but that these are most effective when combined with multi-level programming, addressing violence, norms and inequalities both within schools and in communities (Parkes et al., 2016).

Alongside the political and administrative structures discussed in the previous section, the past decade has seen various national and local programmes, interventions and initiatives of relevance to SRGBV developed in Côte d’Ivoire. These have involved a number of different INGOs and NGOs in collaboration with the state, however, more information is needed in order to map and understand the implications of these for SRGBV.

There are several notable services or initiatives to support the reporting of and responses to gender based violence. At a national level, the *Programme pour la Protection des Enfants et Adolescents Vulnérables* (PPEAV) (Protection Programme for Vulnerable Children and Adolescents) and *Programme National de prise en charge des Orphelins et autres Enfants rendus Vulnérables du fait du VIH/SIDA* (PNOEV) (National Care Programme for Orphans and Vulnerable Children due to HIV/AIDS) were set up in 2003, financed by external partners and carried out by MENETFP, MFPEP and Ministry of Health and Public Hygiene depending on the availability of funds. UNICEF focuses on HIV and adolescents. These projects aim **to tackle GBV and provide medical, psychosocial and educational care** for victims and vulnerable groups (for example, home visits, listening and counselling services, liaising with organisations working on health related themes) as well as trainings for youth organisations and peer awareness-raising. The PNOEV has also drafted a national document aimed at social workers and the *Institut National de Formation Sociale* (INFS) (National Institute for Social Training) and seeks to harmonise care and support providing services.

Several interviewees discussed the national **free reporting phone line ALLO 116 Enfants en détresse** for gender based violence set up in 2013 by the MFPEP, viewing this as having been an important service. The reporting line aims to promote faster response mechanisms such as access to police, health and social services. However, more information is needed in order to understand how this service is currently being provided, by whom and what actions follow reporting, as there was some contradictory feedback from interviewees, with some indicating that the service may be been temporarily or permanently ceased.

At the local level, **social centres and listening and counselling centres** for victims have been established, offering support for psycho-social, health, welfare and justice concerns. These multi-sectoral centres are funded and operated by both state and non-state organisations – but this varies by area. An interviewee shared concerns about their lack of budget:

In Cote d’Ivoire, the social centres have the responsibility of what is called case management. For example, if I have been a victim of sexual violence, I can go to the social centre or be accompanied by another actor. It can be anyone, and the social centre will take charge of the care, will assess all my needs. It ranges from medical assistance to going (...) to the police or finding a partner who can take responsibility

for legal assistance, etc. He/she is responsible for cases from A to Z: psychosocial support, discussing the situation, improving the wellbeing of the person, etc. (...) Unfortunately, social centres do not have the budget. May it be for VBG care or child protection, they do not have operational budgets. (Interviewee 11, NGO worker)

5.1 School based initiatives

At the school level there are multiple initiatives in Côte d'Ivoire addressing SRGBV.

An interview with central government civil servants concerned with girls' schooling suggested that an initiative to install special '**enseignantes protectrices des filles**' ('female teachers protecting girls') in each school had begun:

They are trained in child protective pedagogical practices. They act as the Child Protection Working Group [Groupe de Travail sur la Protection de l'Enfant] focal points and when, for example, a child has been detected as victimised, if she detects that, she can contact social workers, until [the child] is taken care for. (Interviewee 19, civil servant)

This is a joint intervention of the UNICEF Education and Child Protection programmes, piloted in about 350 UNICEF supported schools across the country. Modules have been developed and female teachers have been trained for the detection, response and referral of violence/gender based violence cases. The designated *enseignante protectrice des filles* acts as a focal point and support for students who were victimised. This is an interesting development, however more information is needed to assess the extent and efficacy of this initiative.

Many interviewees raised school-based clubs as a way in which the topic of SRGBV was being addressed. This was taking place through different themes; including peace clubs, girls clubs, mothers of girl pupils clubs, and health clubs.

The **mothers of girl pupils clubs** (*Clubs des Mères d'Elèves Filles* or *CMEF*) have been a relatively long-standing initiative and undertake a range of activities including discussing topics including SRGBV, health, early pregnancies (in and out of schools), the importance of girls' education with parents, pupils and the community. They also undertake literacy work with mothers to better enable them to support their children's learning. The clubs' participants pre-enrol all school aged girls in the community in partnership with the head teachers and parents and facilitate dialogue between family and teachers on girls' education, enabling the CMEF members to identify and liaise on issues at both school and family levels. Interviewees reported that there were between 350 and 500 such clubs across the country and they were an effective strategy. Although this was viewed as a positive development, it was pointed out that they were far from reaching the target of one club per primary school (which would mean 14,000). These CMEF are being widely praised for their actions and are now being developed in parallel with the Child Friendly Schools (discussed below). Problematically interviewees suggested that a lack of funding hinders the work that clubs can undertake (as they rely on the volunteer mothers to operate), as well as their roll out, follow up and evaluation. One central government civil servant reported:

But, what stops you from monitoring? (...)

It's the budget, it's the lack of support, the lack of financial resources. That means that up until now, we haven't monitored them and [we are] overlooked. Except for the CMEF which have developed income-generating activities that are holding up at the moment. (Interviewee 19, civil servant)

Girls' Clubs were described by interviewees as involving girls (aged 12-14, or 15-17) meeting weekly to discuss topics including reproduction, health, school and violence. Each meeting deal with a different topic and is facilitated by the 'godmother' who is the female teacher. The clubs address issues like how to identify and report violence. This sounds like a valuable initiative, however more information is needed to understand its working, scale and efficacy.

Clubs promoting peace were also a key initiative raised by multiple interviewees, where pupils come together to discuss how to live together peacefully and how to make the school environment violence free. The topics addressed also include social cohesion, building and promoting a culture of peace, the issue of 'returnees' and host communities, the impact of the conflicts, etc. They operate as 'field agents' through intervening when witnessing occurrences of violence between pupils in the school environment; if the situation needs mediating, they involve the teachers, otherwise they seek to solve the issue among the pupils. However, there is no data tracking of the reporting process between the pupils and the teachers. A lengthy process led to the implementation of Peace School Clubs: first, clubs focused on members' training and organisation of activities rewarded each year by the *Grand Rassemblement des Clubs Scolaires* (Grand gathering of School Clubs); this process resulted in the 2004 project on *Ecole espace convivial de paix et de tolérance* (Schools as Friendly Spaces for Peace and Tolerance), later formalised by the decree *n°0040/MEN/CAB du 15 juin 2011 des trois clubs Enfants Messagers de la Paix, Hygiène et Santé, VIH SIDA*.

In 2013-2014, Search For Common Ground partnered with UNICEF for the project *Promouvoir une culture de la paix en milieu scolaire* ('Promoting a Culture of Peace in Schools in Cote d'Ivoire') that addressed the gendered nature of conflict and the different forms of violence that impact on education in 18 schools (UNICEF WCARO & UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, 2015). The Peace Messengers' Clubs were an intrinsic part of the project as in-school sensitisation and intervention: trainings on peaceful conflict resolution and mediation technics were delivered, theatre groups and teachers of targeted schools were trained on techniques of conflict management. The second phase (January 2015) took into account 30 schools/institutions including 18 of the first phase and aimed to help students and teachers become more resilient to conflict (UNICEF WCARO & UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, 2015). The project report recognised the connection between the previous country-wide conflicts and violence in and around schools – which suggests a valuable contextualised approach. As the partnership with SFCG ended and capacities were transferred to MENETFP (supported by UNICEF) in charge of leading the intervention to ensure continuity of the project, one NGO interviewee who had been involved in the development of peace clubs reported that there were problems in handing over and rolling out the clubs to the relevant state structures and the continuity within the schools. The interviewee suggested that although the materials and trainings have been handed over, in order to ensure schools dedicate time to enact the clubs, leadership needs to come from the level of the DRENET.

However, in order to assess the impact of these clubs and the challenges that they face, more information is needed to fully understand their scope, impact and efficacy in relation to SRGBV. It would be valuable to understand how they are being run, their funding needs (based solely on volunteering or intervention of professional paid staff) and the participants' training needs (literacy, advocacy, knowledge of existing mechanisms and services), the multi-stakeholder coordination governance and the technical/structural development of these clubs. Also, it is necessary to consider the data collection and analysis processes, as these clubs offer an interesting opportunity to collate information on violence in informal spaces in the school environment and the community, as well as strategies to remedy them.

There have also been initiatives that focus on developing curricula and training for teachers on SRGBV and related topics in Côte d'Ivoire.

The *programme de pratiques de vie saine ou "Life Skills" en matière de prévention des IST/VIH/Sida en milieu scolaire en Côte d'Ivoire* ('Life Skills Programme towards preventing STD/HIV/AIDS in schools in Côte d'Ivoire') was first implemented in the early 2000s by the MENET (now MENETFP), and ended in 2015. It has since then been integrated in the HIV and Adolescent programme to ensure continuity. It is targeted at national, regional and local teachers and educational advisers, health club leaders and peer educators and aims to prevent 265,000 young people from being infected. It advocates for citizenship values such as freedom, equality, justice, opportunity and human rights whilst providing information on HIV/AIDS. Project documentation suggests that teachers support students with critical thinking skills, developing strategies to resist pressure, and tackle stigma linked to HIV/AIDS. A set of guidelines produced by MENETFP and WHO has also focused on how to integrate the life skills programme into the class teaching. More information is needed to understand the extent to which this programme has been delivered and evaluated.

The *Manuel de Formation à l'Education aux Droits de l'Homme et à la Citoyenneté ('Trainer's Handbook on Human Rights and Citizenship Education')* developed by MENETFP in partnership with the UNESCO aims to support the 'affirmation of the Ivorian personality and the *africanisation* of programmes' (implementing the *law N°95-696 du 7 septembre 1995 relative à l'enseignement* (law on education)). The manual was conceptualised in Côte d'Ivoire after the two recent conflicts and aims to support peaceful culture and national reconciliation by developing students' responsible attitudes and behaviours towards family, school and society. It is delivered from preschool, through primary and secondary, and university level in both public and private institutions. The document specifically refers to promoting gender equality, tackling gender discrimination, intersecting inequalities (for example poverty, racism), and gender-based violence. It would be valuable to have more information on the delivery, reception and evaluation of this important strand of the curriculum.

Côte d'Ivoire was also a recipient of UNICEF's 2012-2016 *Programme pour la Consolidation de la Paix, l'Education et le Plaidoyer ('Programme for Peace Building, Education and Advocacy')* that addressed violence in schools, the gendered impacts of conflict on girls' education, the marginalisation of women in peace building processes and the socioeconomic impacts of conflicts in 14 countries (UNICEF PBEA, 2014). The report discusses the previous use of schools to reinforce social divisions throughout the conflicts thus leading to the rise of violence, intolerance and prejudice. 22 Early Childhood Development centres facilitated the creation of mothers' groups that brought together 650 mothers from different Ivorian ethnic groups as well as those from neighbouring countries. Discussions on children's well-being, friendships and relationships of trust enabled participants to question the negative values towards others transmitted from parents to children, and begun to have an influence on spouses' attitudes towards violence (UNICEF PBEA, 2014). As the programme ended in June 2016, the approach was mainstreamed across UNICEF programmes.

Following the 2002 sociopolitical crisis, the MEN – supported by UNICEF – implemented a series of projects to promote peace, security and non-violence in Ivorian schools: *Ecole espace convivial de paix et de tolérance* (Schools as Friendly Spaces for Peace and Tolerance), *La campagne pour le retour de tous les enfants notamment les filles à l'école* (Campaign for the return of all children and especially girls to school), *Apprendre le long des frontières pour vivre au-delà des frontières* (Learning Along Borders for Living Across Boundaries – LAB 4 LAB), *Projet d'Appui Institutionnel Multisectoriel à la Sortie de Crise* (Multisectoral Institutional Support for Crisis Recovery – PAIMSC), the

Programme pour la Consolidation de la Paix et le Plaidoyer (Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme – PBEA), the *Ecoles Amies des Enfants* (Child Friendly Schools – EAE). The **Child Friendly Schools** has been a key initiative to support schools that are safe and violence free in Côte d'Ivoire. An interviewee recalls the process:

We had to open the school, but we couldn't open until there was peace. That's when we started implementing programmes such as 'convivial school', 'school of peace and tolerance', 'child-friendly school', that was back in 2005-2006-2009. So when the last crisis ended, the Ministry of Family started the vast undertaking of child protection, it already had some foundations, and was supported by UNICEF, to think about a child protective school, and in particular, a girl friendly school. (Interviewee 19, civil servant)

This project was implemented across 150 schools nationally, and includes measures specifically of relevance to gender and SRGBV – such as ensuring separate and secure toilet facilities for girls. However, one interviewee suggested that there was no budget to support the schools engaged in the project, but more information is needed to understand the delivery, evaluation and future plans for this valuable initiative.

5.2 Strengthening knowledge and capacity on SRGBV among national level stakeholders

Short-term work to train and equip staff working at high levels on GBV and SRGBV has taken place at different points in Côte d'Ivoire. Examples include, at national level, the *Ministère de la Femme, de la Protection de l'Enfant et de la Solidarité* (MFPES) (Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity), supported by the *Réseau Paix et Sécurité des Femmes dans l'Espace CEDEAO* (REPSFECO) (Network for Peace and Women's Security in the ECOWAS Region) carried out a two day training in 2013 for **Ivoirian Parliamentarians to strengthen their capacity on national and international texts on GBV**. The training emphasised the urgency of policy enactment and the adoption of concrete adapted laws that guarantee the promotion and protection of women in Côte d'Ivoire. Also in 2013, the *Ministère Français des Affaires Etrangères* (French Ministry of Foreign Affairs) with UNGEI and UNICEF, organised a three day workshop on tackling SRGBV in West Africa, including Côte d'Ivoire. The meeting sought to **provide advocacy skills and to strengthen the state and non-state actors' capacity to address violence** in and around schools thus enabling the integration of the issue in planning and sectoral programming. Participants from governmental departments and CSOs shared best practices from their national contexts and were able to reflect on a regional SRGBV strategy contributing to quality education for girls.

In 2007, the guide *Eliminer la violence à l'encontre des enfants* ('Tackling violence against children') was published by UNICEF and the Interparliamentarian Union. Aimed at **informing parliamentarians on child protection and violence**, it refers to the prohibition and prevention of violence in the household, in educational contexts, in relation to child protection and the law, at work, and within the community.

These guidance, trainings and workshops aimed at strengthening NGO workers, civil servants and political actors' skills and knowledge on GBV and prevention are promising initiatives. Generally, these initiatives are the fruit of multi-organisational collaborations, most of which partnerships between NGOs, international institutions and national governmental bodies which shows a shared concern and commitment to addressing these issues across meso and macro level. However, more information is needed to understand the scope, duration and efficacy of these trainings, whether they are carried out with any regularity, as well as considering the sustainability of the learning and the need for systematic refresher sessions.

5.3 Working at micro level with community agents and leaders

At the local level, the *Ministère de la Santé et de l'Hygiène Publique* (with UNFPA, the *Programme National de la Santé de la Reproduction/Planification Familiale* (PNSR/PF) (National Health and Reproduction Programme/Family Planning) and the World Bank) recently implemented **training on GBV prevention and the holistic care of survivors** (*Formation en prévention des violences basées sur le genre (VBG) et prise en charge holistique des survivants/Victimes en Côte d'Ivoire*).

In 2015, CARITAS supported a one-off initiative to **train local community agents** and CARITAS supervisors on GBV. This included information on women's access to ownership of land, the treatment of widows, the management of rape cases, men's sensitisation on violence against women, the importance of girls' schooling, forced and early marriage, and the consequences of FGM/C.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) implemented a programme *Reconstruire les nations par et avec les femmes et les filles (RNFF) en Côte d'Ivoire* ('Women and Girls Rebuild Nations' in Côte d'Ivoire) from 2008-2015 which involved **training community leaders and setting up rural committees to tackle GBV**. The programme reportedly contributed to the socio-economic empowerment of women, the decrease in physical, economic and domestic violence and an increase in access to legal mechanisms thanks to the engagement of community leaders and the change of certain community laws.

Currently, IRC are leading a small pilot project in three high schools on preventing violence in schools. This includes sensitisation and training with groups ranging from pupils, to teachers and communities **on SRGBV and prevention/reporting mechanisms**. Other work includes the implementation of girl clubs in schools as safe spaces, teacher training on detecting violence occurrences and gender norms and stereotypes and community meetings (with community leaders and women's organisations).

The *Mouvement pour l'Éducation, la Santé et le Développement* (MESAD) (Movement for Education, Health and Development), has set up its *centres d'animation et d'écoute* ('community and listening centres') in many districts which offer **a platform to work jointly with the community, women jurists and health and police services**. The interaction of these various services has the potential to enable a more holistic response to violence and more systematic follow-up with survivors; however, more information is needed to evaluate the nature of the collaborations and the effectiveness of the centres.

Our analysis of programmes linked to SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire shows that there have been many initiatives working with young people and schools to improve responses to violence and to prevent violence. Work done with orphans and vulnerable groups or on topics related to HIV/AIDS, health and life skills offer some contextually relevant ways to deal with post-conflict issues and challenges. Most of these initiatives have emerged in the aftermath of the conflicts, with a view to building education agents and actors' capacity to create more peaceful, equitable societies through the promotion of values such as citizenship, human rights, resilience and peace. While these can be seen as having potential for supporting policy enactment on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire, we have little information, however, about their effectiveness, and there is a need to strengthen monitoring and evaluation in order to assess their potential for replication and scaling up.

6. Conclusions and areas for discussion

This scoping study has involved the examination of a wide range of primary and secondary sources, the collection of new data including from stakeholders, and the analysis of existing legislation and programming in Côte d'Ivoire with relevance to SRGBV. It addressed three main research questions.

1. What is the existing evidence on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire, and how is SRGBV shaped by contextual features, including social, economic, political and educational structures and norms, in varying contexts across the country?

Our review of evidence found that widespread gender inequalities, coupled with the legacy of conflict, provide a context where SRGBV is an urgent and prevalent problem in Côte d'Ivoire. Social norms around gender disadvantaging women and girls, and validating physical punishment against girls and boys in and out of school, combined with socio-economic pressures that impact on school infrastructures and the lives of many children in and out of school, mean that physical, sexual and psychological violence are commonplace in and around schools, although more accurate and in-depth data on this is required.

2. How is SRGBV being addressed in law and policy? How are laws and policies enacted at macro, meso and local levels? What programmes are in place to address SRGBV? How effective is policy and practice, where are the gaps and barriers, and how could they be addressed?

Findings from the study indicate that a number of useful elements of a legal and policy framework exist in Côte d'Ivoire to address SRGBV, including violence against both girls and boys in and around schools. Practices such as corporal punishment, FGM/C and child marriage are illegal, and a Code of Conduct for teachers has been developed collaboratively. There are also strategies at national level addressing gender based violence and education as well as a dedicated multi-sectoral working group on child protection that addresses SRGBV and child rights. However, the study found that there were some problems with the enactment of laws and policies across the large and diverse country, particularly at regional and local levels. Evidence gathered from interviews, workshop and other texts suggests that work is required to ensure knowledge and understanding of existing laws and policies, resources to support their enactment, and reflection on the norms and values that work against their application. For example, it was reported that although the code of conduct was implemented in 2014, awareness, understanding and application of the code is uneven at regional and district levels and amongst education actors.

Relatedly, there is positive evidence of institutional structures intended to address SRGBV at national, regional and local levels, such as child protection committees and gender based violence platforms. However, the interview data suggests that the roll out and operation of these is not consistent across the country and needs considerable work.

Alongside these structures, data collected by the consultants suggest that a range of different types of initiative have been implemented that seek to address some aspect of SRGBV – these include school-based clubs for girls and mothers of girls, and child friendly schools. However, further information on the scope and efficacy of these is needed in order to assess their effectiveness, and explore whether and how to build on them.

3. What sources of evidence have been used to inform SRGBV policy and practice? What approaches have been used to collect data, and by whom? How effective have they been, where are the gaps, and how could they be strengthened?

This proved to be a highly pertinent and important question in the Ivoirian context, with the need for more effective data collection, analysis and availability raised by many interviewees and workshop participants, including both state and non-state actors. As discussed above, the range of structures intended to address SRGBV has the potential to collect, analyse and use regular data. However, more detail is needed concerning the operation of these structures, and study participants expressed difficulty in accessing data and reports, or even identifying who is responsible for different sources of data. This is a core issue to attend to in order to ensure that policy and initiatives are well formed and monitored going forward, and would benefit from further attention.

6.1 Areas for further discussion

The study findings identified a number of areas for further discussion in order to inform future planning for research, policy and practice on SRGBV in Côte d'Ivoire. These different points surfaced from the research undertaken for this study and are presented here, followed by actions to implement within a concerted effort. These actions are mentioned as a guideline and will require cross-sectoral in-depth discussions in order to adapt and/or integrate them into existing plans, strategies, programmes and policies.

- Enactment of existing legislative and policy framework
 - Strengthen the code of conduct for teachers – by conducting an analysis of its effectiveness, addressing its uneven implementation throughout Côte d'Ivoire, and supporting teachers in adopting the code;
 - Increase the effectiveness of the structures and platforms that work on SRGBV from national to local levels, such as the GBV platforms and child protection monitoring committees – by strengthening the feedback loop and sharing best practices;
 - Enhance efforts at national level – by supporting the work of national level coordinating bodies/groups such as the GTPE;
 - Strengthen cross-sectoral work – by enabling a better articulation of different ministries, including in terms of monitoring and evaluation.
- Programmes to address SRGBV
 - Strengthen effectiveness of SRGBV related programmes – through rigorous monitoring and evaluation of programmes, and sharing best practices;
 - Consolidate state and non-state partnerships – in order to ensure continuity, replicability and sustainability of promising approaches and programmes;
 - Strengthen awareness and capacity to respond to violence at the meso level – by including work with police, health workers and institutions concerned with implementing laws and policies on SRGBV;
- Research, data collection and use
 - Develop analyses of the approaches to data collection and using data by existing local, regional and national platforms/systems (such as the GBV-IMS, the ONEG at national level) –in order to examine how to enhance their effectiveness;
 - Strengthen and systematise processes of recording SRGBV – in order to make available data on incidents, responses, and violence prevention initiatives at school level;
 - Conduct further qualitative and quantitative research on SRGBV – in order to develop a better understanding of the nature of violence experienced by girls and boys of different ages, phases of education, and in varying contexts across the country, and violence experienced by vulnerable groups, such as children with disabilities;

- Revise existing data collection tools in the education sector, such as MENETFP's annual statistical analysis – by making them more gender sensitive.

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