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NOW THE KIDS ARE SAFE

POPULATION-BASED SURVEY
ON PEACE AND EDUCATION IN
CÔTE D'IVOIRE

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Now the Kids Are Safe:
Population-Based Survey on Peace and Education
in Côte d'Ivoire.

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the results of two surveys about peacebuilding and education conducted in Côte d'Ivoire:

- (1) A survey of 2,561 youth aged 12 to 17 years old and 18 to 26 years old randomly selected throughout Côte d'Ivoire. The survey was designed to provide representative data for 5 regions.
- (2) A survey in the Western region conducted among mothers randomly selected among mothers participating in mothers' clubs supported by UNICEF and its partner, and a comparison group of mothers selected in the community. In relation to peacebuilding, the clubs offered opportunities for women to become leaders in peacebuilding through joint learning, social interactions and dialogue about key issues. A total of 433 mothers were interviewed

The goals of the survey were (1) to assess youths and mothers' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors in relation to the informal and formal education experience of mothers and youth respondents and (2) to collect data on social cohesion, resilience, human security and conflict resolution which are seen as crucial elements in building peace. The overall objective then was to examine the relation between these two factors (education experience and peacebuilding dimensions).

This study further offered an opportunity to examine the changing context and the effects of UNICEF's support to peacebuilding and education in Côte d'Ivoire. Within the limits of a cross-sectional survey, causal changes cannot be attributed to UNICEF's interventions. The results nevertheless may challenge assumptions about the effect of the program.

Among youths, the survey results confirm the positive impact of policies that ensure universal access and participation in primary school. However early marriage and pregnancy remain a leading cause for women to drop out of schools, along with financial pressure. Early parenthood was especially frequent in the West and the North. The north was also the region with the highest percentage of youths with no formal education.

The analysis of social cohesion indicators shows that inter-group trust is the lowest, despite the fact that most people report being comfortable in social situations with members of other groups. Trust and relations were ranked most negatively in Abidjan and in the Center regions. It is also in these two regions that the level of solidarity was lowest. Trust, solidarity and other measures of social cohesion were negatively associated with experience of disputes and stigmatization. In response to dispute, youth appear to engage most frequently in positive solution seeking as opposed to avoidance or anger. This was especially true among youth exposed to peacebuilding programs.

Among youth, we find evidence that participation in peacebuilding training and outreach programs is associated with more positive perceptions of education and positive social cohesion and conflict management outcomes. We cannot fully attribute the impact to UNICEF support. However, a number of dynamics suggest potential avenue for intervention and articulation of theories of change that link exposure to such programs, the effect it has on how disputes and relations are handled, how this in turn helps build trust and ultimately resilience. A cross sectional survey does not clearly establish that such a path exists, but it is in line with existing literature and research.

Among mothers, the survey showed that participants in mother's clubs tended to be older and employed in trade rather than agriculture compared to mothers who are not members of such clubs. Participation in a mothers' clubs tend to be associated with increased probability of having a birth certificate and that the child is involved in early learning opportunities. However, this survey finds no evidence that membership

is associated with differences in overall educational and child care strategy. Similarly, club membership did not appear to be associated with difference in perception of the value or equitability of education.

Club members have a higher score on overall participation and civic engagement, but do not show significant differences in other domains of social cohesion such as trust and solidarity. Overall, trust is low, especially considering inter groups relations. Finally, compared to mothers in the community, mothers in clubs do not appear to engage more frequently in positive solution oriented conflict management. In fact, mothers who participate in peace committees and/or participated in conflict resolution classes were more likely to use anger in reaction to disputes or engage in violent behavior. It is possible that participants in such committees and training are more at risk of violent outbursts because of their role in conflict mediation. It is also possible that individuals more prone toward violence are channeled through such committees and training.

Overall, the study among mothers finds that club membership is associated with improved economic and livelihood factors, but we failed to find an association between club membership and outcomes concerning child rearing philosophy, social cohesion, or conflict resolution approaches. It is possible that the comparison group (mothers not member of the clubs) differed from the mothers' members of a club so that, in the absence of a baseline, we cannot ascertain impact. Nevertheless, women reported a positive experience and benefits not only for their livelihoods but in terms of social relations.

The analysis of the youth survey at the regional level reveals geographic patterns that must be considered and possibly explored further. The Center and North regions showed the lowest educational achievements, including perception that inequality in education is acceptable. Perhaps more importantly, the Center region and Abidjan appear to have the lowest levels of trust toward all actors and institutions considered as well as lower levels of solidarity and other measures of social cohesion and resilience. Given the limited range of activities in this

region and the likely association between social cohesion and other elements of peacebuilding, further analysis may be needed to understand what undermines trust and the lack of solidarity in order to inform programming.

Geographic distribution of key indicators

Trust in family

Trust inter-groups

Solidarity

Considering the findings from this study and the affirmation of educations' potential for peacebuilding as an avenue to enhance social cohesion and build resilience we offer the following recommendations to the government, the international community, and national and local agencies:

1. The government must adequately invest in schools and infrastructure to ensure that access to education is not hindered by socio-economic factors, especially for girls. These investments should be made alongside programs to fight child marriage, reduce early pregnancy, and eliminate gender biases in access to education. These efforts must be implemented nationwide, but emphasize underserved areas, especially in the North and Center regions. International and national organizations must support these efforts especially through community outreach and capacity building in schools.

2. In response to the strong desire for continued education, the government must develop effective and transparent mechanisms to provide youth with opportunities to continue beyond primary and secondary levels, including scholarship programs especially targeted for underserved communities, youth at risk, and economically disadvantaged families. International and national agencies should complement these efforts through targeted scholarship and other support opportunities.
3. The government must support and mainstream programs aimed at preparing children with life skills, especially as they relate to conflict management, respect, social cohesion or solidarity. Such programs appear to be effective and strongly correlated with the overall perception of education as being valuable as well as with measures of trust and solidarity. Such programs should be designed to strengthen abilities to seek positive solutions as opposed to avoidance and anger when confronted with disputes – these behaviors appear themselves to be pathways toward intolerance and violence. The international community and local partners must support and provide the required expertise to develop such programs and continue to invest in pilot projects to identify effective programs and best practices.
4. Despite the measured association between peace training and social cohesion, higher levels of education appear more generally to be associated with lower levels of trust and solidarity. It is possible that more educated respondents perceive more acutely frustration and grievances, which in turn undermine trust and solidarity. Greater age also appears to be associated with lower levels of trust, suggesting that social and political capital may be eroded over time. The government with the support of the international community must develop a

comprehensive strategy to rebuild trust and social cohesion as a core component of building peace in Cote d'Ivoire. This should include but not be limited to:

- a. reviewing the role of teachers and schools to take advantage of the peace and education programs throughout the entire curriculum
 - b. confronting the past in a transparent manner and mainstream the outcome in peace education activities.
 - c. identifying and engaging with key groups, including those with higher levels of education, especially those who may have broad influence on community actions and perceptions.
5. Interpersonal relations within households and families are the most common form of disputes, and alongside other forms of disputes and stigmatization, contribute to undermine social cohesion and resilience. School-based and community-based mechanisms to support youth who live in violent and/or conflicted households must be supported. Given the perceived value of role models, mentorship and peer-to-peer networks should be explored as avenues for social support. International and local organizations should develop and invest in such projects in a pilot phase to draw lessons learned and work with the government toward scaling up successful strategies.
6. Mothers' clubs should be supported as an avenue to foster community participation and economic support. The survey however finds little evidence that such clubs have an effect on trust, social cohesion, or conflict management skills. More research is needed but it is possible that mothers' clubs are not the appropriate avenue to engage in conflict management, or that changing behaviors may take time. Given the effects on registration and early education, such clubs could serve the purpose of strengthening parenting styles to reduce gender

biases and enhance supportive care which involves setting clear goals, rules, and limits and helping children achieve them. National and international organizations should support pilot programs in this area and build lessons learned for broader implementation in case of success.

The above recommendations are based on consultations and the survey results outlined in this report. A more rigorous monitoring and evaluation framework is nevertheless needed to document best practices and better understand causal links between peace and education.

2. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

2.1. Introduction

For three decades after its independence in 1960, Côte d'Ivoire enjoyed a relative stability and prosperity under President Félix Houphouët-Boigny. But by the turn of the millennium, the country had collapsed into civil war fueled by political rivalries after the death of Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, worsening economic conditions and resentment over the influx of economic migrants. A civil war broke out between 2002 and 2007, further damaging the social fabric already weakened by economic decline, the deep-rooted sociopolitical divisions and structural inequalities related to citizenship and access to land and services, including education

A first peace agreement signed in 2003 and the deployment of a United Nations missions to facilitate its implementation offered prospects for recovery and reconstruction. The long-delayed presidential elections of 2010, however, saw renewed widespread violence as outgoing president Laurent Gbagbo refused to concede victory to Alassane Ouattara. International intervention and the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo in April 2011 established Ouattara as the new president. Since then the country has slowly sought to reconcile and rebuild itself, focusing on strategies to build peace, increase wealth, improve living conditions, and guarantee equal access to quality services, especially for women and girls.

It is in this context that, in 2012, UNICEF developed its Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy program for Côte d'Ivoire, aiming at strengthening resilience,¹ social cohesion² and human security.³ Using education as a driver for peace, the program sought to mitigate the impact of conflict drivers, including the harmful politicization of the education system, the politicization, division and fragility of community

structures, and the inequitable access to social services. In response, the program sought to: 1) increase inclusion of education into peacebuilding and conflict reduction policies, analyses and implementation; 2) increase institutional capacities to supply conflict-sensitive education; 3) increase the capacities of children, parents, teachers and other duty bearers to prevent, reduce and cope with conflict and promote peace; 4) increase access to quality and relevant conflict-sensitive education that contributes to peace; and 5) to contribute to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to education, conflict and peacebuilding. The program was part of a broader initiative supported by UNICEF in collaboration with the Government of the Netherlands, and the Governments of 14 countries at risk of or experiencing and recovering from conflict.

Education, whether at school or at home, has a profound influence on children's development and to how youth perceive, react and respond to violent conflicts. Education may promote reconstruction, reconciliation and peacebuilding through conflict-sensitive education interventions, interventions aimed at strengthening education as a 'peace dividend', and education that supports peace through development. Peace education promotes respect for diversity, tolerance, human rights, justice, and the use of nonviolent means of expression and dispute resolution.⁴ Education, however, may have 'two faces', potentially driving conflict by fueling grievances and stereotypes. There is, however, little research available in Côte d'Ivoire providing a comprehensive analysis of how education contribute to peacebuilding. This study aims to fill that gap, specifically through an investigation of youth's perception, attitudes and experience of education in relation to the social and institutional context and legacy of the past, as well as a study of mothers' parental attitudes.

2.2. Latent conflict, latent violence

The 2010 election in Côte d'Ivoire were supposed to mark a significant step toward peace 8 years after the beginning of a civil war that left the

country divided. Instead, it turned into a bloodshed as Outgoing-President Laurent Gbagbo refused to cede power to Alassane Ouattara following the announcement of his challenger's victory. Laurent Gbagbo's reaction led to a 5-month post-election crisis resulting in 3,000 deaths, 1 million of internally displaced persons and 200,000 refugees in neighboring countries⁵ including more than 62,000 in Liberia.⁶

The post-electoral violence was the latest crisis in nearly two decades of protests, unrests and full civil war rooted in the economic downturn of the early 1990s. The death of Houphouët-Boigny in 1993 fueled the emerging tensions and political rivalries, including the emergence of a xenophobic focus on the concept of 'Ivoirité'⁷ and changes to customary land ownership arrangements to favor 'certified Ivorian citizens.' The exclusionary policies fostered resentment especially among Northerners, ultimately leading to a coup in 1999 and a rebellion in 2002. The rebellion lasted more than a decade and divided the country into the North controlled by Guillaume Soro's Forces Nouvelles and the South under the control of Laurent Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI).⁸ In 2007, the Ouagadougou Accords ended the cycle of violence. Soro became Prime Minister in the Gbagbo's government.

After much delay, elections were finally organized in 2010. However, political rivalries and divisions ultimately proved too strong to allow for a peaceful process. Ouattara and Gbagbo entered the election's second round and violence exploded as both candidates claimed victory. Gbagbo was ultimately defeated and arrested by pro-Ouattara forces in April 2011, and Ouattara was sworn into office.

Ouattara inherited a divided country.⁹ During the first term, the Ouattara led government arguably enjoyed rapid economic growth,¹⁰ gave a path to citizenship to thousands of stateless people, released hundreds of political prisoners, and allocated funds to support victims of the 2010-2011 political violence. However, economic growth masked inequities across the population and regions. On October 25 2015, Ouattara was re-elected in first round elections with 83.7% of the votes.¹¹ But, with the backing of the *Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire* (PDCI) and the FPI

preoccupied with internal turmoil, Ouattara faced little challenge dropping. Out of a country of 17 million of citizens, only 6.3 million were registered to vote.¹²

Progress toward reunification and reconciliation have also been slow.¹³ For many pro-Gbagbo supporters, the concept of 'Ivoirite' has reversed itself. The concept first introduced in the mid-1990's by then President Bédié was originally used as a xenophobic distinction between Ivorians and foreigners, including descendants of these two groups, restricting among other the right to vote and stand for presidency to only Ivorian nationals with complete Ivoirian parenthood who had resided in the country for five years prior to the election. Now, however, many Ivoirians feel discriminated against as they believe the new government favors Northerners, providing them with key positions and giving them impunity for crimes committed since 2002.¹⁴ Many further remain displaced. In 2015, an estimated 300,000 people were still displaced by the conflicts and reluctant to return, including 72,000 refugees mainly in Ghana and Liberia.¹⁵ In the Western part of the country, tensions persisted. Land disputes have long generated intercommunal clashes in this area. Driven by politically divisive discourse, the post-electoral crisis has only intensified such clashes and disputes. Outside of Abidjan, Cavally and Guémon, two administrative regions in Western Côte d'Ivoire are the two areas "where the post electoral crisis claimed the most victims and which saw the most serious violence."¹⁶ In the region of Guémon, for example, Duekoue recorded 505 violent deaths out of 954 for the whole region.¹⁷

Since the post-electoral crisis, more attacks have been registered especially against military posts and civilians -- notably at the Liberia border resulting in deaths, injured people or an increased number of internally displaced persons.¹⁸ The Ebola epidemic in Liberia, the slow return of thousands of refugees who fear returning home, and the slow DDR process (28,000 former combatants have yet to be reintegrated), exacerbated tensions at the border and in the Western region in general.¹⁹

After the country's civil unrest, domestic and international initiatives were launched with the goal of holding perpetrators of serious crimes accountable for their acts, promoting reconciliation, and reintegrating combatants, with a particular focus on youth. President Ouattara created three entities within the government to seek accountability for crimes: the National Commission of Inquiry, the Special Investigative Cell, and the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CDVR).

The National Commission of Inquiry published a report in August 2013 documenting 1,009 summary executions by pro-Gbagbo forces and 545 summary executions by the Republican Forces.²⁰ The Special Investigative Cell heard from over 3,500 victims and witnesses, and charged close to 140 people, although allegedly in a partial manner.²¹ The mandate of the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CDVR) has expired. The CDVR submitted a report to the president but it remains unpublished. In March 2015, the government created the *Commission Nationale pour la Réconciliation et l'Indemnisation des Victimes* (CONARIV) to oversee a reparations program for victims of abuse committed between 1990 and 2012. The mandate and status of the recently created National Social Cohesion Program (PNCS), a new reconciliation agency, is also still ambiguous. Generally, challenges are yet to be solved to establish a credible process of truth and reconciliation. The perception of absence of justice, or 'victor's justice' in favor of the government and biased against opponents could reignite violence.

The perception of victor's justice is also fueled by a sense that the International Criminal Court has failed to hold accountable Ouattara's supporters who allegedly committed atrocities,²² while building and trying a case for crimes against humanity against Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Ble Goude, a member of the former President's inner circle.²³ Simone Gbagbo, wife of the former president, was tried in country and convicted to 20 years in prison for conspiracy against the authority of the State, participation in an insurrectional movement and disturbing public order.²⁴

2.3. Peacebuilding and Education

In this context of latent conflict and legacy of violence, UNICEF launched the Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts (PBEA) programme in Côte d'Ivoire building and mobilizing the potential for children, youth and women to become agents of peace through education initiatives. Mainly, the PBEA sought to address the following underlying causes and dynamics of violent conflict – or 'conflict factors'.²⁵

- *Weakness and politicization of the education system:* in 2013, the population of Côte d'Ivoire was estimated at 23.8 million with 75% of its population aged of 35 years old and less. During past crises, children and youth were both perpetrators and victims, often used in conflicts through demonstrations or recruitment in armed groups. The diverse crises have especially bolstered the student union, the federation estudiantine et scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) in politicizing the education system. The PBEA program aimed at increasing inclusion of education into peacebuilding and conflict reduction policies (and vice versa) in order to "strengthen the fragile education system and to build institutional as well as community resilience, preventing manipulation and use of education as a divisive force [in the future]."²⁶
- *Mistrust and destruction of community and family structures:* tensions experienced at the community level are felt in schools. During the postelectoral crisis, in Abidjan, especially in Youpougon, youth were active in spreading hate discourse and participating in violent acts against Muslims, Dioulas and people from the North. Inside the country, notably in the West, the crisis became a "good opportunity" to settle scores on land conflicts questioning identity and citizenship, and legitimized the use of minimal violence such as racketeering, physical and verbal threats, and insults. The result was wider social fracture, including within families, and intercommunal discord still present today in many rural areas.²⁷ Building on a network of Child-

Friendly schools and Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres, the PBEA program sought to “establish a culture of peace among children, youth and communities at large so that schools and ECD could contribute to social cohesion rather than to conflict. [It also aims at] ensuring that children and youth play a central role in documenting and developing means to address the conflict and its impact on themselves, their communities and their peers.”²⁸

- *Large-scale regional inequalities in education and other social services:* successive crises have widened regional disparities creating discontent and frustrations between territorial areas and ethnic groups notably the Ivoirians born in-country, the Northerners and the more prosperous people in the South.²⁹ In an attempt to decrease resentment and discontent that could lead to conflicts, the PBEA program supports “equitable access to basic education services especially for the most vulnerable children and women in the most disadvantaged areas affected by the conflict.”³⁰
- *Politicization of identity (concept of Ivoirite) and citizenship:* The concept of Ivoirite has been used in politics during the successive crises triggering or sustaining intercommunal tensions. It has also enhanced difficulties for children to attend school, as birth certificates are a necessary document for enrolment. Addressing the concept of Ivoirite and citizenship, the PBEA program facilitates birth registration of children and promotes a culture of peace among children, youth and communities at large.

In response, UNICEF adopted a strategy promoting social cohesion and empowering different actors to become agents of peace. UNICEF worked closely with the Ministry of Education to integrate peacebuilding strategies into the government’s education sector plan, providing capacity building and other forms of support to its staff. The agency also works with partners to implement these strategies.³¹

In the Western part of the country, UNICEF, in collaboration with Caritas, developed 20 Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres associated with Mothers' Clubs. The Clubs are composed of women from different national, religious, ethnic and social background and are crucial in managing the ECD centres. The centres and Clubs offer opportunities to women to become leaders in peacebuilding through joint learning, social interactions and dialogue about key issues that affect women, children and the community, addressing intra- and inter-community tensions, violence and conflict.

More specifically, the centres are safe place for women to gain skills and capacities in management, literacy and numeracy, income generation, and conflict management. Through the centres, women develop community interventions to bolster community social cohesion, and a selected number of women participate in community peace committees. The centres also provide children between the ages of 3 and 5 with early development activities and services, and facilitate birth registration of children without certificates.

To encourage schooling among internally displaced persons, returnees and disadvantaged communities, UNICEF has also supported the rehabilitation or construction of education structures "Lab4Lab" (Learning along Borders for Learning Across Bounderies) at the border region with Liberia. All 4 complexes were finalized, and are now functional, hosting approximately 1050 students.

In partnership with Search for Common Ground (SFCG), UNICEF supported the Ministry of Education to operationalize/reinforce 35 peace clubs at primary and secondary schools mostly in the west and centre parts of the country and Abidjan. The role of the PMCs is to reinforce the role of children and youth in promoting a culture of peace and social cohesion, increase respect for human rights and equality across gender, ethnicity, religion, as well as to develop children and youth's understanding of managing conflict positively.

Those clubs are instrumental in teaching children and youth, skills to resolve conflicts in a non-violent and constructive manner and to build leadership and team-building skills, self-confidence and spirit of fair play. Activities focused on conflict mediation, participatory theatre, radio programming and solidarity or sportive events. The program has been expanded to the Ministry of Education 150 Child-Friendly schools.³²

Not all youth and children are in school.³³ To broaden the network of agents of peace, SFCG work closely with out of school children and youth qualified as 'disturbers'. Those are children and youth, who after dropping out of school, continue to have a negative influence on the school and its students. In the context of the program, these young people, socialized into violence, are being mobilized for peacebuilding activities. They are identified by members of the Peace Messenger Club and community leaders, and enrolled as Peace Guardians to work in tandem with the PMC in the community. Some evidence suggests that being Peace Guardian could be a positive way to channel youth's energy into peacebuilding actions.³⁴

Older children and both direct conflict victims and perpetrators of Côte d'Ivoire past conflicts, were further engaged in a dialogue around issues of peace and justice in collaboration with ICTJ, offering opportunities to have a voice in the reconciliation process and to engage in non-violent actions, especially in Abidjan.³⁵ Those actions include but are not limited to giving testimonies of their experience during the crisis to the CDVR,³⁶ training in a transitional justice approach to peacebuilding. This included training in dialogue, documentation, reporting and memorialization, as well as in producing a radio documentary on children and youth during the crisis.³⁷

As the program closed its operations, this study offered an opportunity to examine the changing context of peacebuilding and education in Côte d'Ivoire, and, within the limits of a cross-sectional survey, examine the effects of UNICEF investments.

2.4. Study Aims and Framework for Analysis

This study was undertaken in the context of UNICEF's PBEA program to (1) assess youth and mothers' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors in relation to the informal (e.g. child rearing philosophy) and formal (e.g. school) education experience of mothers and youth respondents, including the existence of discrimination, exclusion, marginalization or violence in schools and communities, and how these are handled; and (2) collect data on social cohesion, resilience, human security and conflict resolution which are seen as crucial elements in building peace. The overall objective was to examine the relation between these two factors (education experience and peacebuilding dimensions) in relation to PBEA's strategic objectives and, where relevant, specific activities. This in turn was meant to better understand possible effects of the program and future areas of programming.

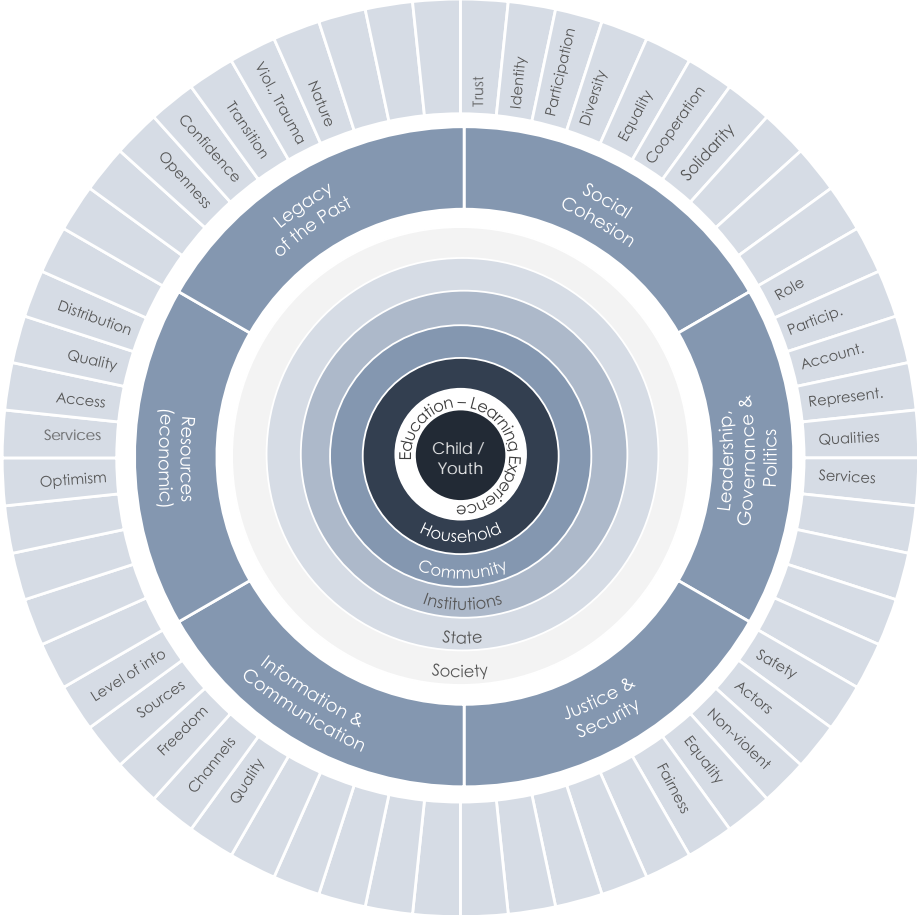
Acknowledging the contextual nature of the education experience and dimensions of peace examined in this study, it is possible to position and articulate the places, forms and manifestations of education and peacebuilding within a framework developed by the authors in relation to six dimensions of peacebuilding detailed below: (1) social cohesion, (2) leadership, good governance and inclusive politics, (3) access to resources and opportunities, (4) the legacies of past conflict, (5) societal information and communication networks, and (6) Justice and safety.

The educational and learning experience is both influenced and influencing these dimensions of peace, within a multi-level ecological model that includes household, community, institutions, state and society-level interactions.

The process of operationalizing the educational experience and dimensions of peace in the context of Côte d'Ivoire was informed by participatory exercises with key stakeholders and consultations. It resulted in an emphasis on social cohesion and participation, as well as conflict related behaviors. This report follows the logic of the framework proposed above and the outcome of the consultation. It explores key

domains of education, social cohesion (belonging and inclusion; respect and trust, and civic and social participation), and legitimate politics and governance. Which were identified as the critical dimensions. These components are used to frame the survey data analysis.

Figure 1: Analytical Framework



3. DESIGN AND METHODS

This chapter provides a description of the design and instruments used in the study. To achieve its objectives an in-person survey methodology was adopted with two components:

- A nationwide survey of youth among two age groups (12-17 and 18-26), a common classification used to distinguish between teenagers (12-17) and youths (18-26) who were targeted by the UNICEF programs. The survey provides regionally and nationally representative data for both age groups.
- A survey among mothers in the western part of the country, focus of UNICEF interventions, designed to compare results between mothers participating in Mothers' Clubs activities and mothers in the general population. The two samples were designed to provide representative data from the two groups – mothers and mothers in clubs - in the eastern part of the country.

The two surveys were designed by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (HHI) and carried out by HHI in collaboration with the École Nationale Supérieure de Statistique et d'Économie Appliquée (ENSEA). Data collection was carried out between February 10, 2016 and March 4th, 2016 (24 days). A total of 433 mothers and 2,561 youth were interviewed. Mothers ranged in age from 18 to 74 years old (average 41.4). Youth age ranged from 12 to 26 years old and averaged 18.8.

3.1. Research Instrument

Two questionnaires were designed by the HHI research team in consultation with partners at ENSEA, UNICEF and other stakeholders

representing UN agencies, non-governmental agencies, and governmental agencies. The table below provides an overview and general description of the different sections included in both questionnaires. The questionnaires were adapted from questionnaires used by the authors as part of the broader research on peacebuilding and education. Both questionnaires include contextual questions and selected standardized measures.

Table 1: Overview of different sections of Questionnaires

Section of Questionnaire		Focus
Section A	Demographics	Basic demographics, household composition, wealth
Section B	Formal education experience	Level of education, experience in school (self or children), discrimination, inequality
Section C	Education beliefs	Perception of education (value), perception of equality in education
Section D	Child rearing philosophy	Self-reported parenting style, parental views on physical punishment
Section E	Social cohesion	Reported perception of relationships, and level of trust toward select actors across ecological context.
Section F	Social participation	Engagement in civic and public activities, interdependence, 'belongingness'
Section G	Services and gov't performances	Perception of and experience with services and outcomes, institutions and government performance
Section H	Disputes and conflicts	Perception of security and security actors, self-reported disputes and conflict resolution behaviors.
Section I	Legacy of the past	Exposure to violence, perception about transitional justice, victimization,
Section J	Resilience outcomes	Level of functioning, self-esteem, sense of coherence

The questionnaires use structured formats, including open-ended questions and close-ended questions such as Likert scales (e.g. ranking from very bad to very good). For open ended questions, pre-coded answers were available based on the pilot interviews but never read to or shared with participants, and a blank field enabled interviewers to record exact answers. The questionnaires were piloted prior to deployment to test their feasibility. Once finalized, the questionnaires were subsequently programmed into Android Nexus 7 Tablets running KoBoToolbox, our custom data collection package.³⁸ The use of the tablets allowed interviewers to enter the data directly as the interviews were conducted. Built-in verification systems reduced the risk of skipping questions or entering erroneous values, resulting in data of a high quality.

3.2. Survey Administration

Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers recruited with ENSEA. All the interviewers had previous experience conducting one-on-one interviews. A seven-day training was organized to cover the study aims and questionnaire content, household and participant selection protocol, including replacement (see sampling and recruitment), interview techniques including neutral probes and protocols to address security, ethical or protection concerns. The training also included manipulating and troubleshooting the data collection equipment, mock interviews and pilot-testing with randomly selected individuals at non-sampled sites.

A total of nine teams of four interviewers and one team of six were deployed throughout the country. The nine teams of four were composed of equal number of men and women interviewers, which were assigned to same-sex respondents among youths due to the sensitivity of some questions. The team of six was composed of women only and conducted all the interviews with mothers randomly selected in clubs and in the community. Each team was accompanied by a field supervisor in charge of verifying adherence to protocol and providing support in the field.

The research protocol required each team to collect data in one location per day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one, anonymously, and in confidential settings. Each interviewer was responsible for conducting four interviews per day. Each interview lasted an average of one hour. When possible, data were synchronized with a central computer, enabling the lead researchers to check data for completion, consistency, and outliers. The lead researchers and supervisors discussed any issues that arose with the team prior to the next round of data collection.

Prior to the data collection, an outreach team visited selected communities. The purposes of the visit were to explain the study to community authorities, announce data collection teams' arrival, and maximize the possibility that targeted groups would be present at the time of data collection.

3.3. Sampling and Recruitment

3.3.1. Survey of youths

The first survey component was a survey among youth aged 12 to 26 years old, designed to gather individual characteristics and estimating prevalence of outcomes of interests such as social cohesion, resilience and attitudes towards peace. In total, 2,561 youth were interviewed for this study. The youth were randomly selected in five zones in Côte d'Ivoire. Those zones were defined based on PBEA activities across country and legacy of the conflict.

For each zone, the target sample was 240 youth aged 12-17 years old and 240 youth 18-26 years old, except in the West, where the sample was increased to 320 youth in each age group. This was done to increase the likelihood of selecting youth exposed to peacebuilding and education programs in the region. Within each age group an equal number of male and female youth were to be interviewed.

Table 2: Definition of geographic zones for sub-national survey

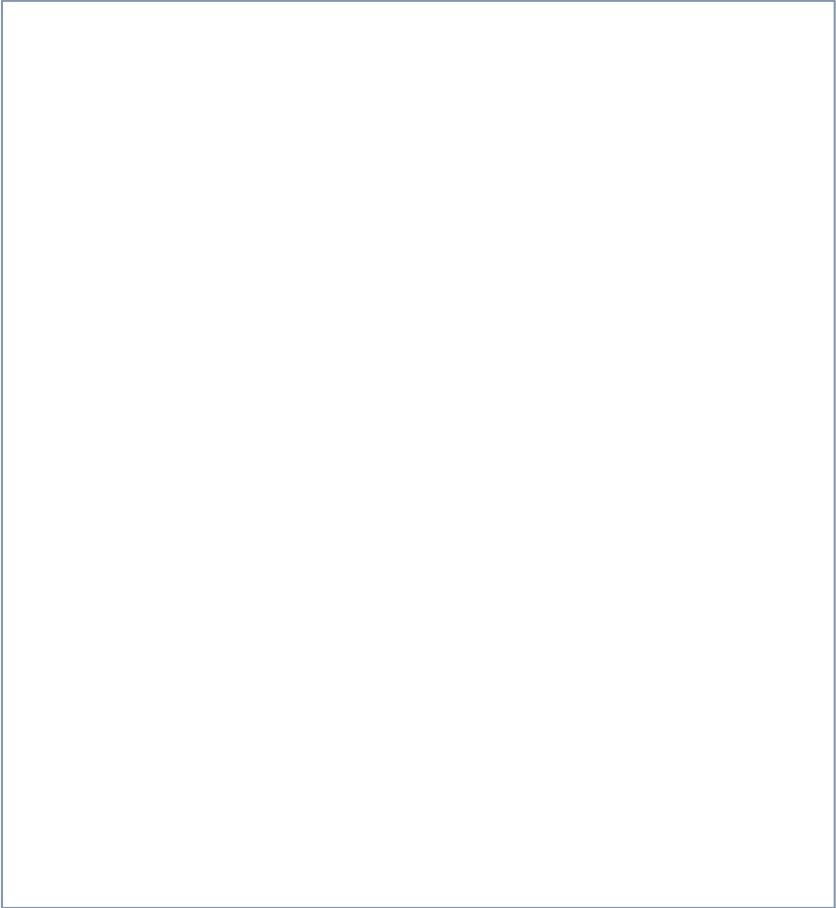
Section of Questionnaire		Focus
Zone 1	Abidjan	The capital city which was dramatically affected by the 2010 post-electoral crisis and has active programming in peacebuilding and education and experienced
Zone 2	West (Montagnes, Bas Sassandra)	Zone with high level of tension, violence and intercommunal clashes fuelled by political discourse, also affected by the post-electoral crisis. High programmatic activity for peacebuilding and education
Zone 3	Center (Sassandra-Marahoué, Haut Sassandra)	Zone of active programming
Zone 4	East (Comoé, Gôh-Djiboua, Lacs, Lagunes, Woroba, Yamoussoukro)	Zone with little to no programming
Zone 5	North (Denguélé, Woroba, Savanes, Vallée du Bandama, Zanzan)	Disadvantaged area in term of social services including education. ³⁹ Effectively cut-off from the South during the civil war. Nevertheless, little to no programming on peacebuilding and education.

In order to achieve this sample, a multistage cluster sampling procedure was used. First, 160 enumeration areas (EA) were randomly selected among those randomly chosen for the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) in Côte D'Ivoire, allowing the study to benefit from the enumeration conducted by the National Institute of the Statistics in Côte D'Ivoire. The EAs are based on an update of the latest available census data.

The enumeration areas are distributed across regions as follow: 30 EA in the zones I, III, IV and V, and 40 EA in the zone II. The selection was done using a multistage sampling strategy, proportional to the population of each zone. In each EA, 16 households were randomly selected using

geographic sampling strategy. In each household, only one person was interviewed, randomly selected among household members of one of the targeted categories 1) adolescent 12-17 years old or 2) youth 18-26 years old. In each EA, eight adolescents (4 girls and 4 boys) and eight youth (4 girls and 4 boys) were interviewed. Figure 2 (map) illustrates the geographic distribution of the sampled EAs.

Figure 2: Regions and distribution of enumeration areas



At the second stage, each EA was geographically divided into 2 quadrants, and each team of 2 interviewers (one male and one female) was instructed to randomly select four dwellings to interview. Male interviewers were assigned to male respondents at one of the two selected dwellings, and female interviewers were assigned to female respondents at the other selected dwellings. In each selected dwelling, interviewers randomly selected one teenager (12-17) or one youth (18-26) in the household to be interviewed from a list of all eligible respondents. Three attempts were made to contact a household or individual before replacing them with another. In total, a minimum of 16 interviews were conducted in each EA.

Interviewers approached a total of 3,019 dwellings. Residents were away in 276 cases (9%), refused to participate in 85 cases (3%) or were dismissed for other reasons in 97 cases (3%). In total 2,561 (85%) dwellings were included in the sample. In these dwellings, a total of 2,953 respondents were identified; 276 youth were away and could not be located (9%), 85 refused to participate (2%), and 69 were dismissed for other reasons (2%). Interviews were conducted with 2,561 youth out of the 2,953 approached (88%), with one interview conducted per selected dwelling. Figure 3 below illustrates the sampling recruitment steps.

Figure 3: Sampling recruitment (youth)

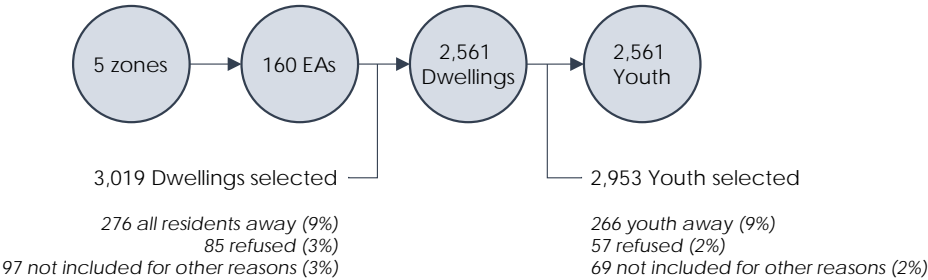


Table 3 illustrates the distribution of the sample by zones, age groups, and gender.

Table 3: Sample distribution

Region	Target sample				Actual sample			
	12-17 years old	18-26 years old	TOTAL	Gender (% women)	12-17 years old	18-26 years old	TOTAL	Gender (% women)
I. Abidjan	240	240	480	50%	242	239	481	51%
II. West	320	320	640	50%	318	322	640	49%
III. Center	240	240	480	50%	241	239	480	50%
IV. East	240	240	480	50%	240	240	480	50%
V. North	240	240	480	50%	240	240	480	50%
TOTAL	1,280	1,280	2,560	50%	1281	1280	2561	50%

Because of the complex design, the data were weighted to compensate for unequal probability of sampling across zones, age groups, and gender. A weighting factor was computed using known population figures derived from the Central Statistics Office. The weight is applied to all analysis of the youth data unless otherwise specified.

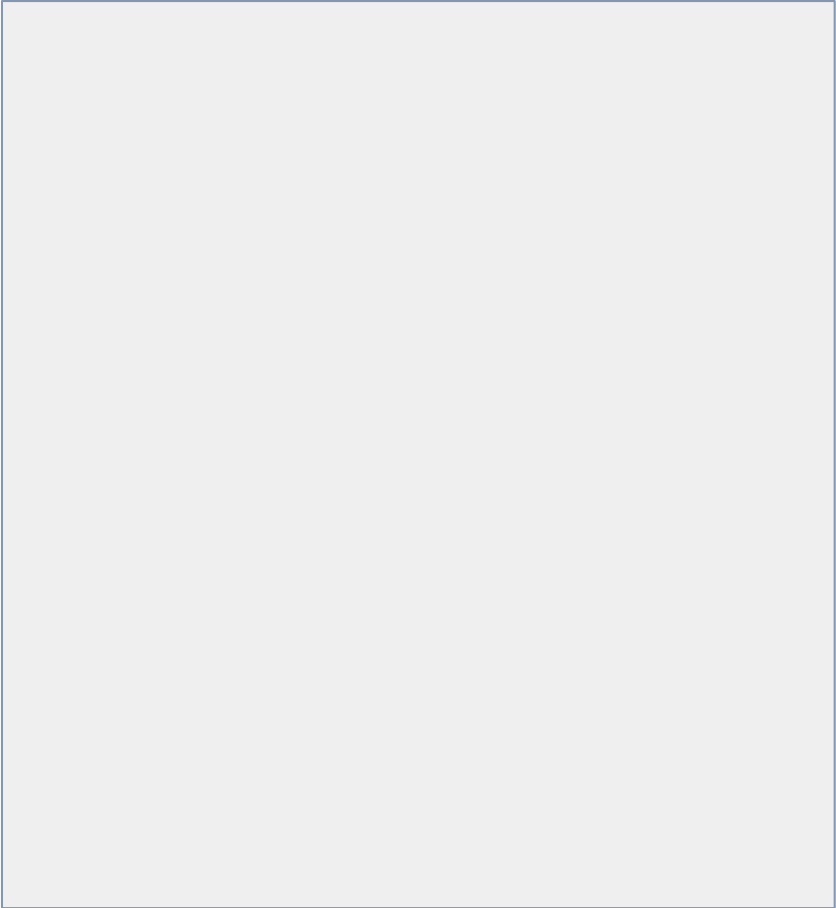
3.3.2. Survey of mothers

The second survey component sought to compare characteristics and outcomes of interests among mothers who are members of mothers' clubs, a PBEA activity in the area west of the country, and a similar control group of mothers randomly selected in the community and who were neither part of such clubs nor involved in community center activities implemented by UNICEF partners. The Western region was selected because it was targeted by UNICEF in its programming.

The survey was conducted among 433 mothers, including 217 who were members of Mothers' clubs and 216 who were not and were randomly selected in the community. In mothers' clubs a total of 220 women were approached, and 3 were absent or could not be located during the

survey. In the community, interviewers approached 228 mothers, among whom 9 were absent or unavailable, one refused to participate, and 2 were not included for other reasons. Figure 4 (map) illustrates the geographic distribution of the sampled Mothers in the West region where mothers' clubs activities are concentrated.

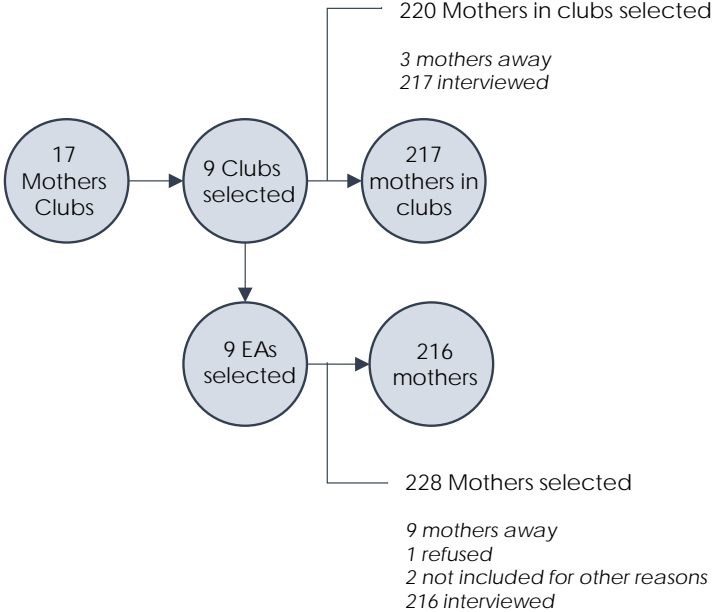
Figure 4: Mothers sample geographic distribution



For the selection of mothers in mothers' clubs, a two-stage sampling procedure was used. First, out of 20 functioning mothers' clubs active in

the Western part of the country, 17 were included in the sampling frame. Three clubs had been recently created and did not have sufficient completed activities to warrant inclusion. Nine of the eligible Mothers' clubs, were randomly selected proportionately to membership size. At the second stage, 24 participants were randomly selected among a comprehensive list of all participants of each club. The selection included a reserve when possible. UNICEF provided the participant lists. Caritas, UNICEF partner, or a community center person, (e.g. the person responsible of education) helped locating interviewees. Figure 5 below illustrates the sampling recruitment steps for the mothers' sample.

Figure 5: Sampling recruitment (mothers)



Non-member women households were selected using a geographic sampling strategy in communities of the mothers' clubs. In each randomly selected dwelling, only one woman was interviewed, randomly chosen if several women were eligible. Eligible non-member

mothers had to 1) be minimum of 17 years old; 2) not be a member of a Mothers' clubs; 3) not participate in community center activities providing early child development program (supported by UNICEF); and 4) living in the communities close to Mothers' clubs' communities.

3.4. Data Analysis

Once all of the data were collected, the two survey databases were imported into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 21 for data analysis. Data cleaning was conducted to identify outliers and correct errors that had been reported in the field (e.g. assigning the wrong EA code). When possible, manual entries in response to open ended questions were recoded for analysis. Basic frequencies and descriptive analysis were computed. In addition, bivariate analysis was computed to compare survey results by program participation status for mothers, and by gender, age group, and region (zones) among youth. For youth, all analyses and test of significance based on percentages and proportions were carried out with weighted data.

After analysis, all of the results were imported online in an interactive, online map platform to enable users to browse detailed results stratified by zones and age groups. (See www.peacebuildingdata.org).

3.5. Ethical Considerations and Limitations

This research adhered to basic ethical principles and guidelines for research with human subjects, especially children. The protocol and questionnaire were reviewed by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at Partners Healthcare in Boston, Massachusetts and received the equivalent review in Côte d'Ivoire through ENSEA. Approval to conduct interviews was also obtained from national (ministry), provincial, and local authorities at survey sites.

Consent for participating in the research was obtained verbally. For children aged 18 or less, ascent was obtained from the child and consent was obtained from their guardian, typically the mother. Among other information, respondents were told about the aims of the study, organizations involved and sources of funding, the voluntary, confidential and anonymous nature of the interview. Neither monetary nor material incentives were offered for participation.

The consent form and overall protocol were further designed to establish rapport, trust and elicit candid participation from the respondents, with the objective of accurately representing the views of the population. However, face-to-face interviews are not without limitations. A key concern is the risk of social desirability bias – the tendency to respond in a manner that makes the respondent ‘look good’ and avoid controversial answers. Similarly, recall biases can impact the data collection. However, the survey instrument and probes were designed to enhance respondents ‘comfort, gain trust and encourage respondents to talk openly and truthfully. The questionnaire was designed to gradually introduce challenging and personal questions, but starting with simpler items. Recall period where tested to ensure they could easily be recalled by respondents.

The aim of the two surveys was to collect representative data among mothers and youth. While response rates are relatively high in comparison with acceptable response rates in the social science, about 10% of the individuals selected for participation could not be interviewed. It is uncertain how responses from individuals who could not be interviewed would have differed from those of the sampled individuals. However, the sampling approach was designed to reduce any potential for selection biases, and the non-response rate is minimal.

The aim of the surveys was also to explore the complex relationship between education and peacebuilding in the context of on-going activities. Comparison between groups is possible. However, in the absence of a baseline and other control mechanisms, any change may not necessarily be directly attributed to project activities.

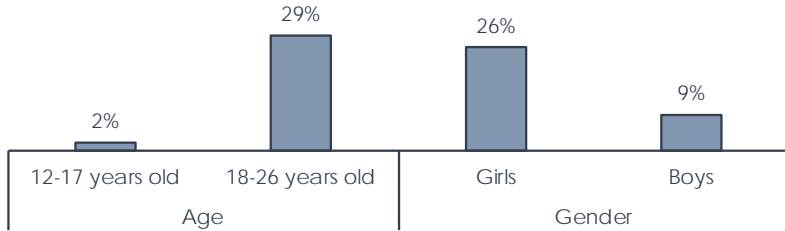
4. YOUTHS SURVEY RESULTS

4.1. Profile of youths

This first section provides basic demographic information about the randomly selected youth, including information on age, gender, marital status, education level, and employment circumstances. Additional details on the household and children are provided.

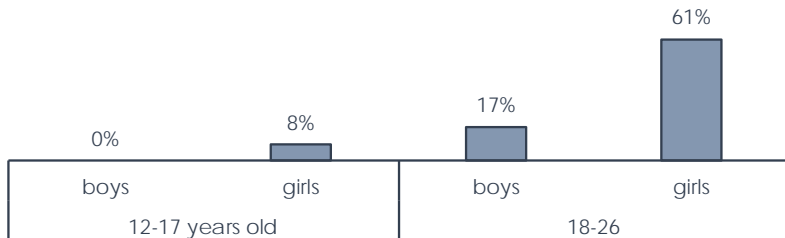
- By design, we interviewed two groups of youth: teenagers aged 12 to 17, and youth aged 18 to 26. This corresponds to a common categorization between teenagers (12-17) and youths 18-26) and corresponds to education cycles. After weight adjustment (see Sampling and Recruitment section), the average age among the 12-17 was 14.2 years old (sd 1.7). The average among the 18-26 was 22.0 years old (sd 2.6). For the entire sample the average age was 18.8 years old (sd 4.4).
- Also by design, interviewers selected an equal number of girls and boys for interview, closely mimicking the population distribution.
- As expected, a majority of youth (83%) were single and had never been married. However, the survey found evidence of child marriage: 2% of all the 12-17 years old and 4% of the girls in that age group were married or in a relationship. This percentage compares to 29% of all the 18-26 years old (41% of the girls in that age groups). Looking at gender shows that girls are significantly more likely to be married or in a partnership (26%) compared to boys (9%).
- In line with the marital status, 2% of the 12-17 and 30% of the 18-26 identified themselves or their spouse as head of household. Most identified a parent as head of household.

Figure 6: Marital status of youth - percentage married



- Overall, one in four youth indicated having children (25%). The percentage was highest among the 18-26 (40%) compared to 4% among the 12-17 group. Importantly, however, when accounting for gender, 8% of the girls 12-17 had at least one child compared to less than one percent of the boys that age, and nearly two out of three girl aged 18-26 had at least a child (61%) compared to 17% of the boys. The percentage of girls with at least one child was highest in the West (12%) and in the North (10%).

Figure 7: Early parenthood – percentage with at least one child

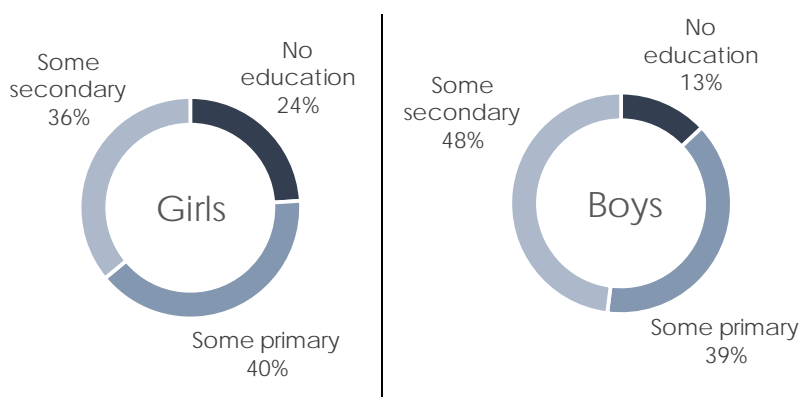


- In terms of education level, 18% of the youth reported having no formal education. The percentage was highest in the North (28%) and the Center (23%) regions. The lack of education was more frequent among the 18-26 (23%) compared to the 12-17 (13%) – The relatively high level of education, however, confirms the positive

effects of the emphasis on primary education for all. However, girls remain twice more likely to have no education than boys (24% v. 13%).

- Importantly, youth educational status was strongly correlated with their parents'. 27% of the youth with an uneducated mother had no education either, compared to less than 6% of the youth with an educated mother (at least primary).

Figure 8: Education level among youths, by gender



- About half the youth reported being in school at the time of the interview (46%). The others were mainly employed in agriculture (14%), in trade (11%) or unemployed (8%). Not surprisingly, the 12-17 were more frequently in school than their older counterparts (71% v. 29%). When not in school, girls tended to be more frequently involved in trade than boys (17% v. 4%) while boys tended to be more frequently involved in agriculture than girls (23% v. 4%). Unemployment among youth was most frequently reported in the East (14%) and Center (17%) regions.
- The wealth of households was estimated by assessing ownership of 12 non-productive assets such as table, chairs, or mobile phones. A factor analysis was used to compute weights and the overall wealth

score. The results suggest that the percentage of households in the poorest quartile is highest in the Center region, and lowest in Abidjan. Youths' education level was correlated with wealth: 37% of the youth with no education belonged to the poorest wealth quartile, compared to 17% of the youth with at least some secondary education.

Summary and key points:

The profile of youths shows that major improvements in education have been achieved over time. The youngest are typically better educated than the older generations, especially compared to mothers. However, gender and socio-economic inequalities continue to undermine the performances of girls and/or the poor in school. - These results mirrored those of previous studies.⁴⁰ Early marriage and parenthood is relatively prevalent, especially among girls, for whom pregnancy is a major impediment for attending school. Early parenthood was especially frequent in the West and the North. The north was also the region with the highest percentage of youths who did not attend primary schools.

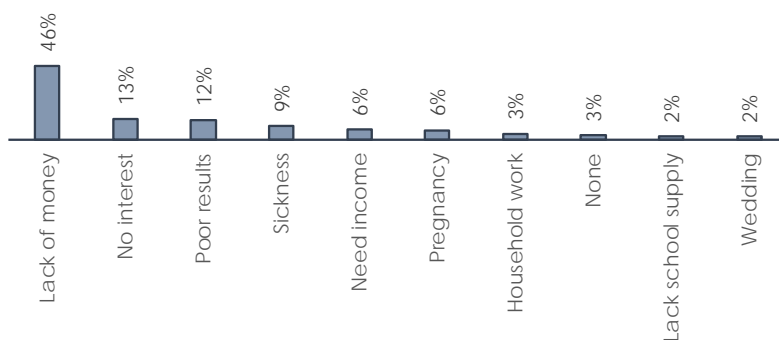
4.2. Education experience and beliefs

In this section, we examine youths experience and views about education.

- As noted in the youths' profile, 18% of the youth reported having no formal education, with higher percentage of uneducated youth found in the North and the Center regions. Another 39% had at least some primary education, and 42% had at least some secondary education – the North and Center regions also had the lowest percentage of youth with at least some secondary education.

- Also as noted above, about half (46%) of the youth were registered in school at the time of the survey. However, just 33% reported having had their studies interrupted. The main reasons for the interruption were a lack of money (46%), loss of interest (13%), and poor results (12%) among others.

Figure 9: Factors interrupting youths' own studies



- Perception of obstacles to education when thinking about others was different than individuals' own experience. The lack of money remained seen as the primary constraints, but for girls, pregnancy and weddings were emphasized among leading causes of interruption of education.
- In response to these challenges and in order to enhance education quality and attendance, youths recommended opening school cafeterias (38%), making school equipment freely available (30%), and building more schools (30%).
- Despite the challenges, desire for education is strong: About two-thirds of youth (62%) wished they could continue their education beyond their current level. The desire for education was lowest in the West (53%). Considering the age of respondents, the 12-17 were more likely to want to continue in school (79%) compared to the 18-26 (49%). This is not unexpected, but the fact that nearly half the 18-26 wished they could go on with their education is a significant

percentage. Girls were almost as likely as boys to want to continue with their education, even though they were significantly less likely to be educated. Significantly, education called for education: 82% of those with at least some secondary education wished to go beyond their current degree, compared to 60% among those with some primary education, and 13% among those with no education. This is confirmed by the finding that 93% of the youth in school at the time of the survey wanted to continue their education, compared to 34% of the youth who were no longer in school. Youths in wealthier households were also more likely to want to continue their education.

- Overall, youths value education. Five items exploring the perceived value of education were used to build a value score. The score was similar among the 12-17 and 18-26 age groups. Boys, however, valued education slightly but significantly less than girls (7.8 v. 7.5). Educated youth valued education more than those with no education. Geographically, education was least valued in the Center region.

Table 4: Perception of value of education

	(% agree)	All youths
It is not important to go to school, best to look for job		16%
School is boring		5%
School is important to have a better future		86%
School prepares to get a job		74%
School prepares to make decisions		69%
School value score (higher score is higher value)		7.7

- Perception of education equality was measured using 7 items, which were used to compute a total score (higher score means higher perceived equality). The results show a general sense that girls and boys must be treated equally when considering education opportunity. But on several items, a significantly large percentage

found unequal treatment acceptable (e.g. sending boys only to school if there is a lack of money). Overall girls supported equal opportunity in school more than boys (score 6.8 v. 6.0). Higher education was associated with higher perception of equality. Geographically, the perception of equality in school was lowest in the Center and North regions.

Table 5: Perception of gender equality in school

(% agree)	Community
Boys and girls must contribute equally to household choir	48%
It is more important for boys than for girls to go to school	29%
Boys are more successful in school than girls	42%
If you can't afford it, it is best to send boys to school rather than girls	38%
Girls should be sent to school only if they don't have to help at home	13%
Boys should be sent to school only if they don't have to help at home	9%
Teachers treat boys and girls equally	68%
Equality score (higher score is higher equality)	6.3

- The survey further explored the perceived contribution of school to peace using five items. Overall respondents were positive about all items, with over two third of youths judging positively the contribution of school and education to managing conflicts peacefully, respecting others, or living in peace. The resulting score was similar across age groups and education status. However, girls tended to judge the contribution of education to peace more positively than boys. Importantly, respondents in the West were most positive about the contribution of education to peace. It is also an area of investment in peacebuilding and education. The measure of the contribution of education to peace was strongly associated with the perception of the value of education.

Table 6: Contribution of schools to peace

(% agree)	Community
School prepares students to manage conflicts without violence	61%
School prepares students to respect other groups	70%
School prepares students to live together in peace	71%
In general education contributes to people living together in peace	73%
Education contributes to a peaceful future	62%
Score	6.7

Summary and key points:

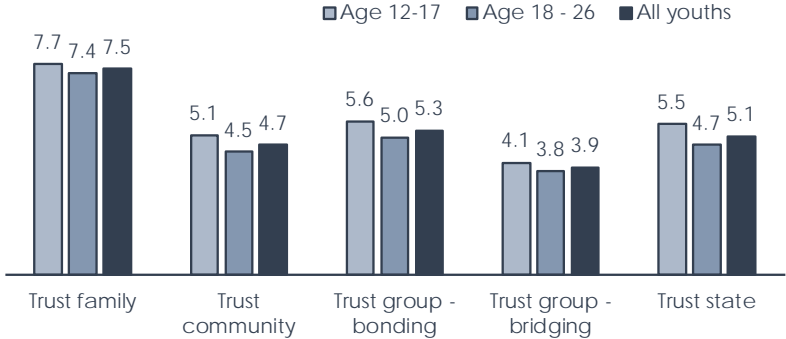
Education is highly valued among youths. Financial resources and, among girls, pregnancy and weddings, are the most significant barriers to continued education. Perception that education may be equal across gender is also strong. Most youth (about 2 in 3) positively value the contribution of education to peacebuilding, including the management of disputes and social cohesion. Geographically, the Center and North regions stand out for low educational achievement, perception of limited value of education, and a sense that inequality in education is acceptable. This may reflect historical and cultural differences between regions.

4.3. Social Cohesion

Social cohesion can be defined as “the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper”⁴¹; or that which binds together larger social units. Among youths, the survey focused on the specific aspects of respect and trust (tolerance). Trusting behaviors are associated with higher levels of social connection, and are a good proxy measure of social cohesion. The survey assessed generalized trust by examining the level of trust among respondents toward 25 actors. These actors could be grouped in 5 categories, (1)

Trust in family (parents, siblings...), (2) Trust in the community (neighbors, friends...), (3) Trust in groups – bonding (trust within ethnic, religious or political groups), (4) Trust in groups - bridging (trust cross ethnic, religious or political groups), and (5) Trust in the state (trust in government, local authorities...). For each trust category, a score ranging from 0 (no trust) to 10 (extreme trust) was computed. The results show that trust in family was highest. Trust across groups was lowest. The result also show that younger respondents had on average higher levels of trust toward all groups and that boys tended to have higher levels of trust towards all actors than girls.

Figure 10: Trust scores among youth

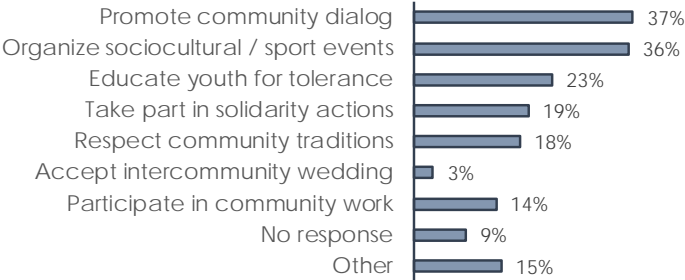


Geographically, trust toward all categories was lowest in the Center region. There, as well as in Abidjan, trust across groups was especially low. Nevertheless, when asked directly about their level of comfort in the presence of members of any other ethnic group in a range of situation, youths were very comfortable. When asked what could be done to improve relations, youths privileged promoting community dialog (37%), organizing cultural or sporting events (36%), and educating the youth (23%) were the most frequent answers.

The level of solidarity was also assessed using 10 items and computing a score ranging from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest perceived level of solidarity. Overall the score was relatively low (4.9). Similarly, the level of support was relatively low. The most significant differences were found

between regions, with Abidjan and the Center regions having the lowest average score. In Abidjan, the solidarity score was lowest, at 4.1 compared to an average of 4.9.

Figure 11: measures to improve relations (% respondents)



The trust and solidarity scores were significantly associated with education levels: youths with higher levels of education showed on average lower levels of solidarity and trust toward all actors. Older and male respondents also had on average higher trust and solidarity scores compared to younger / female respondents. The trust and solidarity scores were positively correlated with the perceived value of education and the contribution of education to peace.

Summary and key points:

The analysis of social cohesion indicators shows that youths trust highly their family, and trust other groups (ethnic, religious...) the least. Trust and solidarity are associated with the perceived value of education. However, respondents with higher levels of education tended to have lower levels of trust and solidarity. The ethnic distance scale nevertheless suggests relatively high level of comfort in social interactions with other groups. Trust and relations were ranked most negatively in Abidjan and in the Center regions. It is also in these two regions that the level of solidarity was lowest.

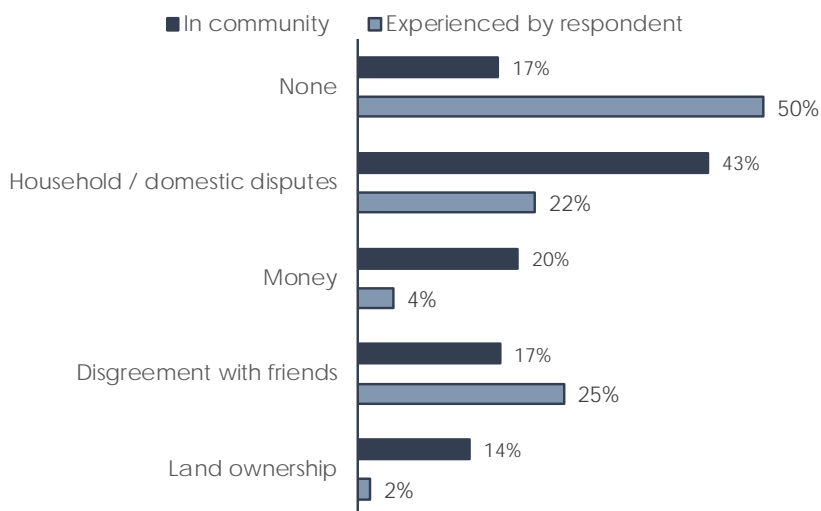
4.4. Disputes and violence: experience and behaviors

Youths may experience various forms of violence at home, in school and in the community. This section first explores various potential forms of exposure to violence, then examines how youths handle these conflict, including measures of resilience.

4.4.1. Disputes

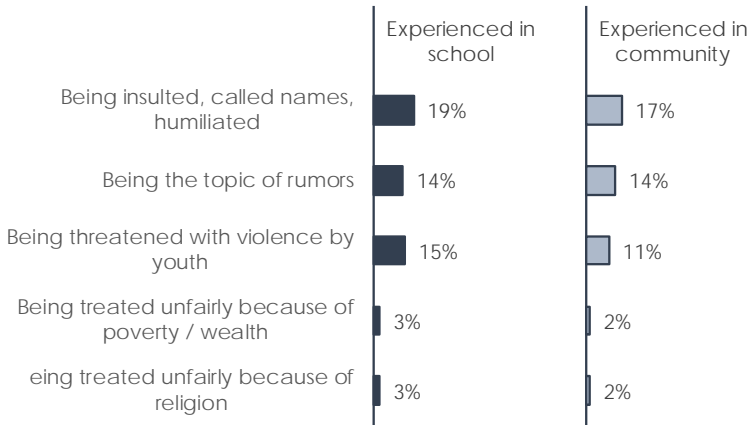
Conflicts reported by youths arguably reflect their own position and interactions in the community. Instead of land disputes for example, which mainly concern older adults, youths focus on interpersonal disputes whether at home, in schools or in the community – this includes disputes at home, disputes with friends, and disputes at school.

Figure 12: Most common disputes reported by youths



The survey also assessed different forms of stigmatizing experiences that youth may have had in school or in the community. The result show that such experiences are relatively infrequent, but occur nevertheless. They are most frequent in the Center and Abidjan regions.

Figure 13: Exposure to stigmatization among youths



The youth data suggest that experience of trauma either in school or in the community is associated with significantly lower levels of trust on all trust indicators (family, community, inter and intra- group, and toward the state.) It is also associated with lower levels of solidarity.

4.4.2. Orphanhood

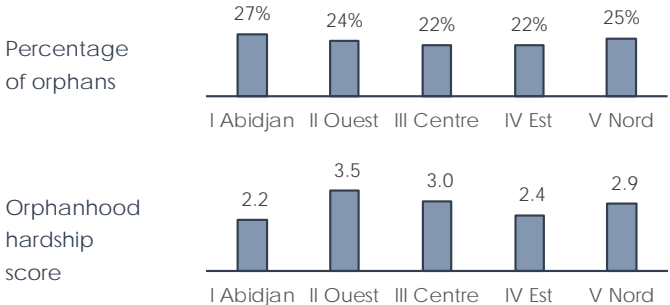
There is evidence that orphanhood matters for education and development outcomes of children. Orphans may also face specific forms of stigmatization. According to the survey, 24% of youth had lost at least one parent, including 16% who lost their father, 4% who lost their mother, and 4% who lost both. The percentage of single and/or double orphan in the population was highest in Abidjan.

The analysis of orphanhood in relation to wealth and education shows that youth who lost their father are worst off, with higher percentage of them belonging to the poorest wealth quartile and having no education. Perhaps surprisingly, double orphans, on average, were more likely to be educated and own assets compared to orphans of father. It is possible that double orphans end up being taken care of by relatives, as opposed to orphans of father who end up in a single female-

headed household, a factor typically associated with poverty and vulnerability.

In addition, we computed an orphan hardship score reflecting, for example, the frequency of stigmatization for being an orphan. The scores suggest that hardship is highest in the West and the North. The hardship score was also significantly higher among girls compared to boys (3.5 v. 2.1) and among respondents with no education compared to others (3.5 v. 2.5 among those with at least some secondary).

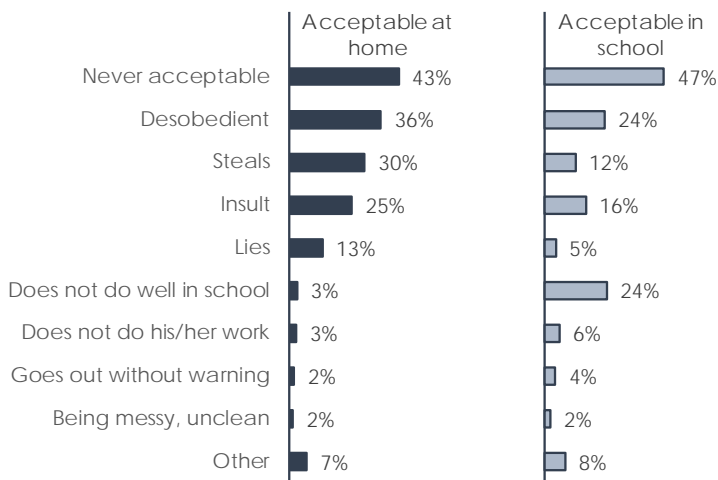
Figure 14: Percentage of orphans and hardship score



4.4.3. Violence against children

About two thirds of youths (68%) indicated they had been severely beaten at least occasionally by their parents. One-tenth (13%) said it happened often or very often. For about half, it is never acceptable for a parent and/or for a teacher to beat a child. However, one in three find it acceptable for a parent to beat a child who does not follow orders, and 25% find it acceptable for a teacher to be beat a child who does not do well in school.

Figure 15: Circumstances under which beating a child is acceptable



4.4.4. Conflict resolution and violent behaviors

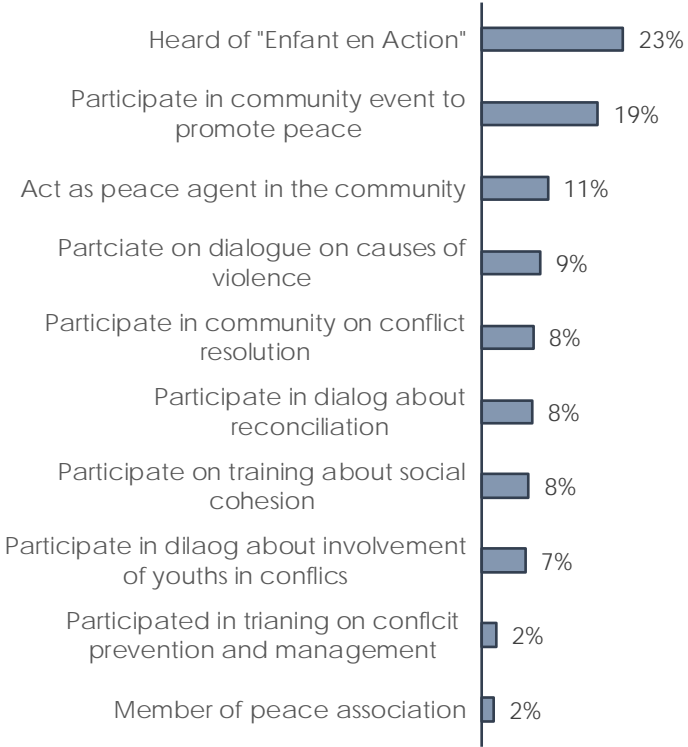
Youths have the possibility to participate in a number of peace and conflict resolution and management training and programs. The most frequently mentioned were having listened to radio programmers and participation in community events for conflict resolution. Youths of all age had the same exposure. However, youth in the north and east were twice *less* likely to have been exposed to such programs. This reflects the geographic focus of UNICEF interventions and, arguably, the broader focus of international assistance to peacebuilding and education in Côte d'Ivoire.

At the bivariate level, participating in such programs was not associated with significant changes in key social cohesion outcomes. However, the analysis suggests an association between participating in these programs and how youth value education and the contribution of education for peace.

Beyond participating in peace training, various conflict management behaviors were examined to see whether youths were most likely to

engage into avoidance (isolating one-self, avoid thinking about the conflict...), whether they were solution oriented (trying to find a solution alone or with other, thinking positively), or whether anger dominated (being angry, using violence).

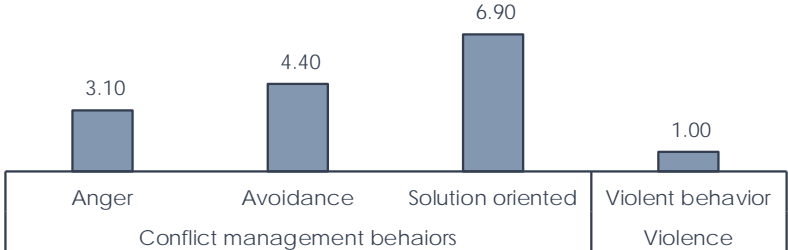
Figure 16: peace and conflict resolution training for youths



The solution oriented approach scored highest (6.9), followed by avoidance (4.4.) and lastly anger (3.1). Violent behaviors were seldom acknowledged (score of 1.0). Among youths, we find an association with participation in peace training and outreach activities and conflict related behaviors. Participants in peace training scored higher on the solution oriented approach compared to those who did not participate in such training (7.4 v. 6.8), inversely they scored lower on anger and

violent behaviors. Geographically, violent behaviors and anger as a response to disputes scored higher in the center region and in Abidjan.

Figure 17: Conflict management scores among youths



4.4.5. Resilience

The final measures from the survey among youths are selected dimensions of resilience at the individual level. There is a burgeoning literature on the concept of resilience and its measurement, especially in relation to peacebuilding.⁴² In this study, we focused on two psychological dimensions associated with forces and strengths that enable individuals to cope with, recover from, and transform in response to shocks and adverse conditions – these are:

- self-esteem, which was constructed to measure aspects of confidence in an individual’s own general abilities; and
- sense of coherence, which was designed to measure an individuals’ perception of his or her ability to comprehend, manage and respond to what may happen in the future

The self-esteem score averaged 6.6 and the sense of coherence score was 7.0. These factors are associated with strengths and resources that make individuals more resilient. The survey shows that both self-esteem and the sense of coherence were lowest in the Central region and in Abidjan. Importantly, the sense of coherence was shown to be positively

associated with exposure to peace programs, and negatively affected by stigmatization.

Summary and key points:

Among youths, experiences of disputes are directly related to interpersonal relations - issues such as land disputes are not frequently noted. Overall, however, exposure to dispute is low, and so is exposure to various forms of stigmatization in school and in the community. However, such events when they occur appear to be associated with lower levels of social cohesion. Orphanhood and related stigma also affected such outcomes. In response to dispute, youth appear to engage most frequently in positive solution seeking as opposed to avoidance or anger. This was especially true among youth exposed to peace programs. Peace programs appear to be associated with higher measures of resilience. Stigmatization, on the other hand was associated with lower measures of resilience, highlighting the potential negative effects of social dynamics on individual resilience.

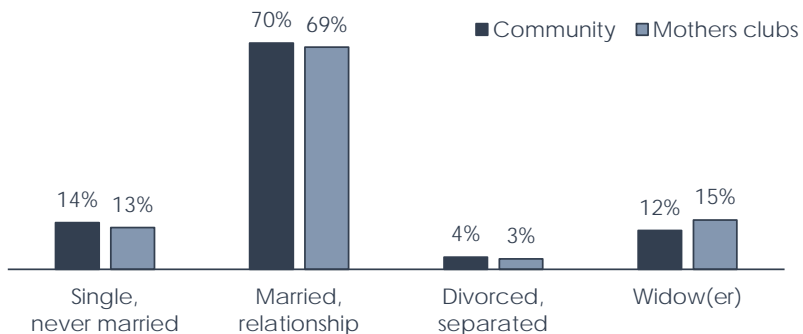
5. MOTHERS' SURVEY RESULTS

5.1. Profile of Mothers

This first section provides information on age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, education level, and employment circumstances of women respondents in the survey of mothers. Additional details on the household and children are provided.

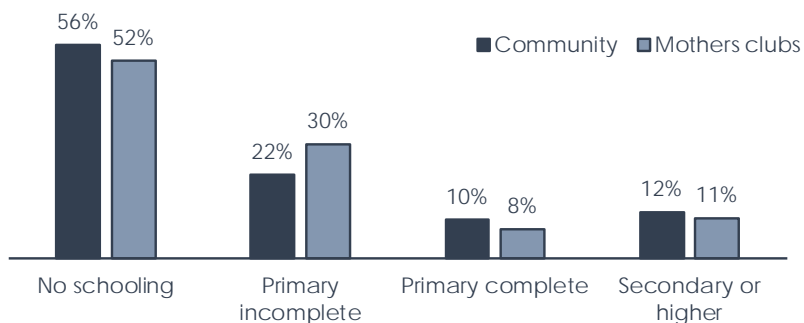
- Mothers in mothers' clubs ranged in age from 20 to 70 years with a mean age of 43.2 (s.d. = 11.0). This was significantly older than the average age of mothers randomly selected in the community (mean age of 39.6, s.d. 13.0)
- The ethnic composition among mothers in clubs and in the community were similar.
- 69% of the mothers in clubs and 70% of the mothers in the community were married or in a marital relationship; 13% of the mothers in clubs and 14% of the mothers in the community were never married. Mothers who were single and never married were on average younger than their married counterparts. The following figure illustrates the marital status of mothers.

Figure 18: Marital status of mothers



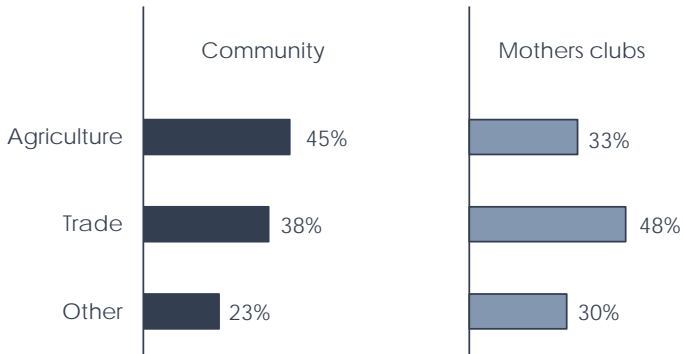
- In line with the marital status, 67% of the mothers in clubs and 72% of the mothers in the community indicating being the spouse of the head of household. Women in clubs were more likely to identify themselves as head compared to women in the community (24% v. 16%).
- In terms of education level, more than half the mothers had no formal education – 56% in the community, 52% in mothers' clubs. Another 22% in the community and 30% in mothers' clubs has only incomplete primary education. This is consistent with findings from the 2011-2012 Demographic and Health Survey for the West region, and significantly lower than the rest of the country according to that survey. At the same time, these results are significantly worse than education levels noted among youths, including girls, again confirming the positive effects of the emphasis on primary education for all.

Figure 19: Education level of mothers



- Almost all mothers reported some form of employment outside of the household. Among mothers in the community, 45% mentioned employment in agriculture and 38% mentioned trade. Among mothers' clubs, 33% mentioned employment in agriculture, and 48% mentioned trade. The difference was also in the overall household source of livelihood.

Figure 20: Mothers occupation



Considering the mothers' households composition, the survey found the following:

- Mothers had on average over four biological children, whether in the community (4.4) or in mothers' clubs (4.8)
- The mothers' household ranged in size. Mothers club respondents reported an average 8.6 household members (s.d. 4.6), significantly more than community mothers (7.6, s.d. 3.7). However the number of children below 12 was the same across both groups (average 3.2 children below 12).
- As many as 33% of the households in the community and 37% of the households among mothers' clubs had four or more children aged below 12.

The wealth of households was estimated by assessing ownership of 12 non-productive assets such as table, chairs, or mobile phones. A factor analysis was used to compute weights and the overall wealth score. The result, however suggest no difference between households in the community and in mothers' clubs. Self-reported income, however suggest that 42% of the community households live with less than \$1.25 a day, compared to 37% of the mothers' clubs households.

Summary and key points:

The analysis of the profile of mothers reveals that the majority of the households considered are relatively large two-parent households in which mothers play an active economic role. The comparison between the profiles of mothers randomly selected in mothers' clubs and mothers randomly selected in the community suggest that women in mothers' clubs are on average older, have a larger household and are more likely to engage in skilled and trade labor rather than agriculture. The differences may reflect the fact that women who are a bit older, more educated, and are trader or skilled laborer may be more likely to have the time, resources, and interests to engage in mothers' clubs. However, it is also possible that mothers' clubs have had a positive impact on livelihood activities as directly suggested by respondents. This may be the result from learning and social opportunities, as well as support within the group.

5.2. Parenting Beliefs and Actions

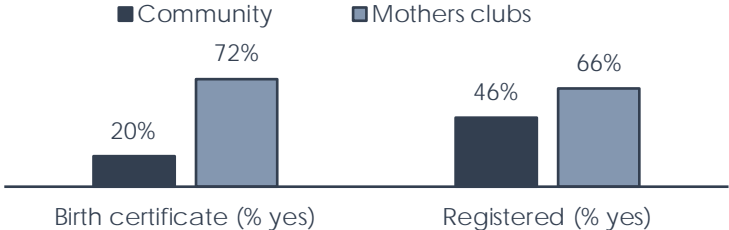
Parenting beliefs and practices arguably reflect the specific settings and situation of western Côte d'Ivoire. In this section, we explore mothers' general views on parenting with a specific focus on child rearing philosophy. This section sets the context for subsequent discussions linking peacebuilding and education.

5.2.1. Registration

The survey shows that in the community, just 40% of the mothers with children aged 3 to 5 years had a birth certificate, and 46% had the birth registered. Among mothers in clubs with children aged 3 to 5, however, 66% had a birth certificate, and the same percentage had the birth registered. This is a significant difference arguably reflecting the effect

of mothers' clubs on registration. The lack of a birth certificate can affect a child's ability to attend school.

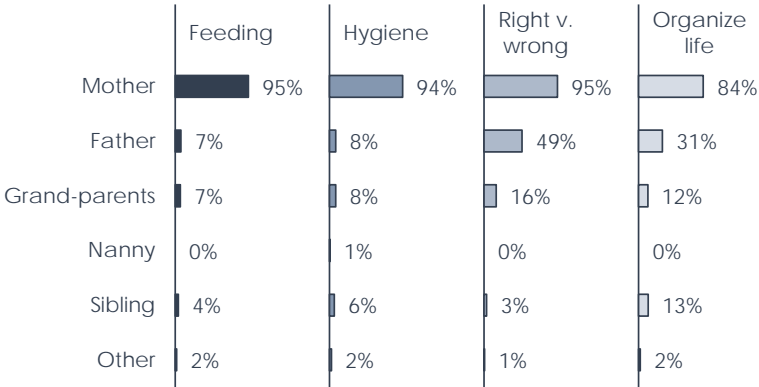
Figure 21: Birth certificate and registration for children 3-5 years old



5.2.2. Caretaker

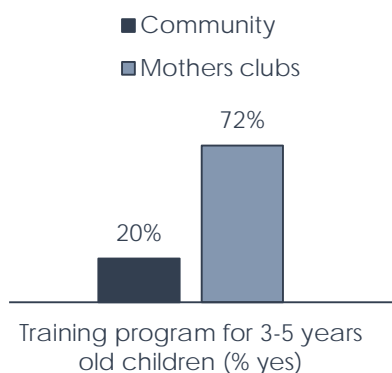
There is a strong sense that mothers are the caregiver, teacher, and organizer of young children lives. Mothers were about the only adult seen as responsible for feeding children and taking care of their hygiene. They are also overwhelmingly seen as the one person responsible to teach behaviors and social skills, and broadly organize the life of the child, although fathers are also frequently mentioned. There were no differences in responses among mothers selected in the community or in mothers' club. The following figure presents the results for women selected in the community only.

Figure 22: Caretaker (community mothers)



In the community, few children aged 3-5 are part of a training or learning program. Only 20% of mothers in the community with children in that age group indicated being part of such programs, compared to 72% of the women selected in mothers' clubs. This is significant as it shows the importance of the clubs in providing early development activities and services with little to no similar services available or accessible to mothers outside of the clubs. On a negative side, however, since early development activities are available in all mothers' clubs, the fact that just 72% use them is relatively poor

Figure 23: Early child development education opportunities



5.2.3. Parenting style

The survey instrument included 30 items meant to identify mothers' parenting style. The scale distinguishes between three parenting styles: (1) permissive or lenient and non-directive parenting style, which places few demands, rules or controls on the child, (2) supportive, which involves setting clear goals, rules, and limits and helping the child achieve them, and (3) punitive, in which rewards and punishments are heavily used. Mothers ranked each item based on whether they agreed or not. Below are results for selected items under each category. Based on these items, three scores were computed corresponding to the parenting styles.

Table 7: Parenting style

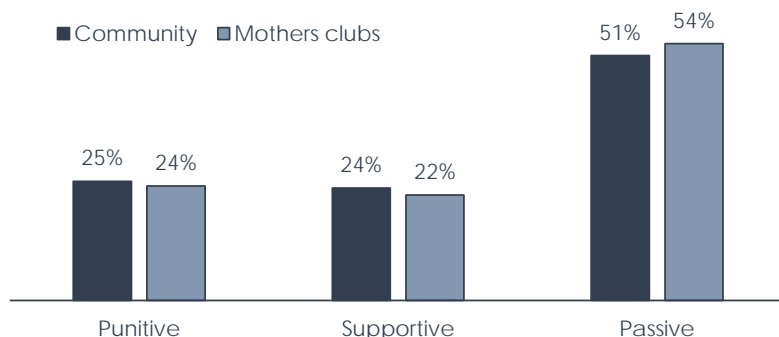
	Community	Mothers' clubs
Permissive		
Children do whatever they want even when told not to	71%	66%
My child has no chore at home but will occasionally helped if asked	79%	78%
Supportive		
Within the household everyone has agreed to their chore, even children	74%	77%
Generally I give clear instruction to my child about what to do	91%	91%
Punitive		
Children need painful punishments to learn	39%	38%
I have to threaten my child with punishment at least once a week	60%	59%
Average scores		
Permissive parenting score	13.1	12.8
Supportive parenting score	11.5	11.0
Punitive parenting score	10.8	10.9

Using whichever score was highest on the three scale for each mother indicated the overall dominating parenting style. The following figure illustrates the percentage of mothers with selected parenting style. The results show that:

- The permissive parenting style is the most frequent - 51% of the mothers in the community, 54% among those in mothers club. This means a high proportion of mothers who have a good relation with their child but enforce few rules, leaving open the potential for conflict.

- There are no significant differences in parenting scores or categories between women in the community and women in mothers' clubs.

Figure 24: Parenting style category



- Further analysis based on mothers' profiles show significant differences in parenting style based on (1) *education level*: 54% of the mothers with no formal education adopted a passive parenting style compared to 47% of mothers with at least some secondary education; and (2) *wealth*: the percentage of mothers adopting a punitive parenting style is highest among households in the poorest wealth quartile.

Summary and key points:

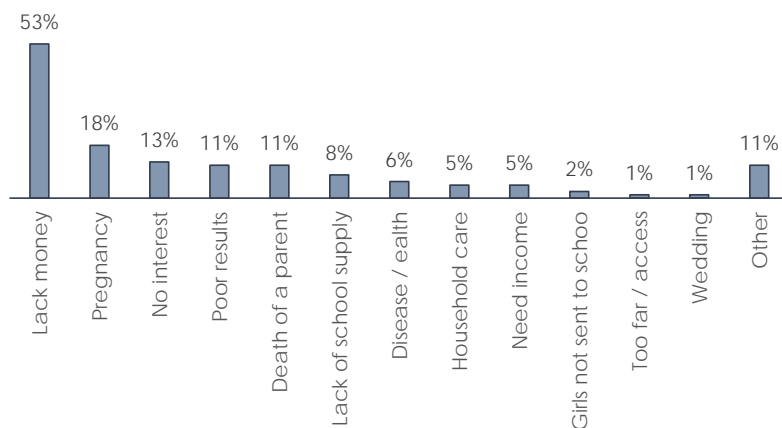
Mothers selected in mothers' clubs were significantly more likely than those selected in the community to have birth certificates and/or registration for their children aged 3 to 5 and to engage in early childhood education opportunities. Parenting style, however did not differ between groups. What the survey shows is that more than half the mothers adopt a permissive parenting strategy overall, and that mothers with little to no education are more likely to adopt such a strategy compared to more educated mothers.

5.3. Education experience and beliefs

In this section, we focus specifically on mothers' attitudes, experience, and behaviors related to formal education. It starts with exploring mothers' own and their children's experience in school. The mothers' views are explored in relation to their experience with mothers' clubs. These clubs do not directly support formal education but nevertheless, it is anticipated that the learning, dialogue and social interactions promoted in the clubs would shape education experience and beliefs.

- As noted in the mothers' profiles, less than half the mothers had at least some level of education – 44% in the community, 49% in mothers' clubs. This includes 22% in the community and 30% in mothers' club who had only incomplete primary education.
- The main reasons mothers mentioned for having interrupted their education were the lack of financial resources and to a lesser extent, pregnancy, and the loss of interest. Results were similar for mothers in the community and mothers' clubs.

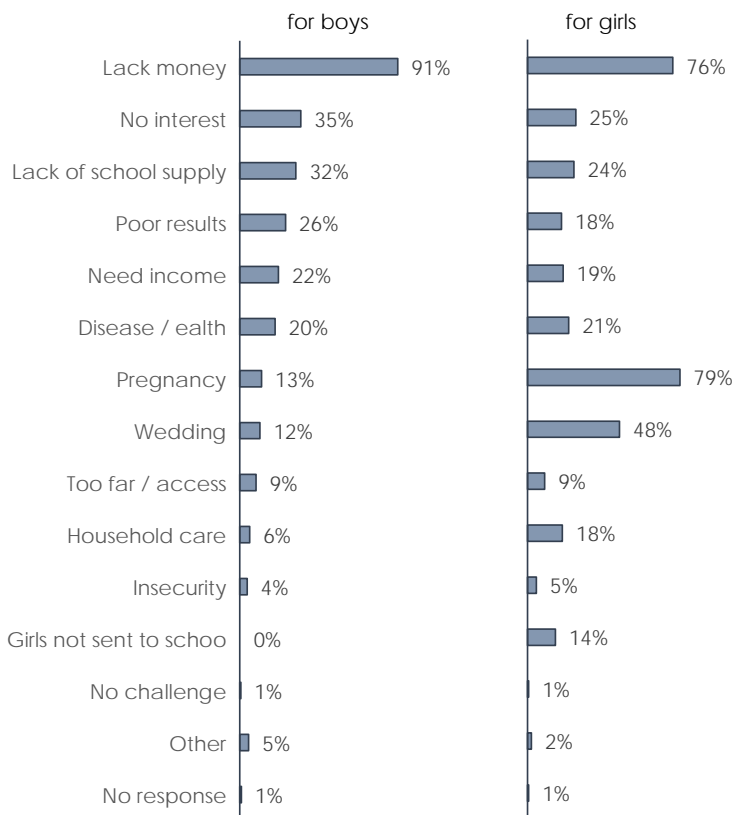
Figure 25: Factors interrupting mothers' education (community)



- When considering more general barriers to education for girls and boys, mothers in the community again emphasized the lack of

money. When considering girls specifically, mothers noted pregnancy and wedding as the first and third main obstacles to continued education, along with financial issues. Mothers in mothers' clubs provided similar answer although financial obstacles were less frequently mentioned, possibly reflecting their higher socioeconomic status.

Figure 26: Perceived obstacles to education (mothers in community)



- These results must be seen in light of the survey carried among youth showing that 8% of the girls aged 12-17 years old had at least one child compared to less than one percent of the boys that age. The

percentage of girls with at least one child was highest in the West (12%) and in the North (10%).

- In response to these challenges and in order to enhance education quality, mothers in community recommended to make school equipment freely available (79% in community), to build more schools (48%) and cafeterias (47%). Responses were similar among mothers in clubs – a set of measures similar to what youths proposed.
- Overall, mothers, like youths, value education. Five items exploring the perceived value of education were used to build value score. The score was similar among mothers from the community and mothers’ clubs. Mothers in the richest wealth quartile valued education significantly higher than mothers in poorer quartiles (8.8 v. 7.7 among poorest quartile).

Table 8: Perception of value of education

(% agree)	Community	Mothers’ clubs
It is not important to go to school, best to look for job	11%	9%
School is boring	3%	2%
School is important to have a better future	87%	91%
School prepares to get a job	83%	83%
School prepares to make decisions	80%	80%
School value score (lower score is notes agreement)	8.4	8.3

- Perception of education equality was measured using a similar approach to the assessment among youths: 7 items were used to compute a total score (higher score means higher perceived equality). Overall, the results show a general sense that girls and boys must be treated equally when considering education opportunity, although about one in five mothers noted that when financial resource lack, it is preferable to send boys to school. The results show few difference between mothers in the community and at mothers’ club. However, perceived equality was lower among mothers in the poorest wealth quintile compared to wealthier households. This is also reflected in lower perceived equality among

mothers with no education compared to those with at least some secondary education. This may explain the small differences observed between mothers in clubs and mothers in the community.

Table 9: Perception of gender equality in school

(% agree)	Community	Mothers' clubs
Boys and girls must contribute equally to household choir	54%	62%
It is more important for boys than for girls to go to school	16%	16%
Boys are more successful in school than girls	23%	19%
If you can't afford it, it is best to send boys to school rather than girls	25%	20%
Girls should be sent to school only if they don't have to help at home	9%	9%
Boys should be sent to school only if they don't have to help at home	7%	3%
Teachers treat boys and girls equally	94%	89%
Equality score (higher score is higher perception of equality)	7.1	7.1

- Considering the youth data from the West, where mothers were interviewed, the results suggest that youths perceive education less equally than mothers do. Significantly, just 69% of the youth believe teachers treat boys and girls equally, compared to 94% of the mothers in the community.
- The survey further explored the perceived contribution of school to peace using five items. Overall respondents were positive about all items, with over two third of mothers judging positively the contribution of school and education to managing conflicts peacefully, respecting others, or living in peace. A value for peace score was computed, showing no difference in scoring between mothers in the community and mothers in mothers' clubs.

Table 10: Contribution of schools to peace

(% agree)	Community	Mothers' clubs
School prepares students to manage conflicts without violence	71%	71%
School prepares students to respect other groups	72%	74%
School prepares students to live together in peace	73%	72%
In general education contributes to people living together in peace	73%	73%
Education contributes to a peaceful future	69%	73%
Score	7.1	7.1

Summary and key points:

Education is highly valued among all mothers, who identify financial resources and, among girls, pregnancy and weddings, as the most significant barriers to continued education. Perceptions that education may be equal across gender is also strong, as is the view that education contributes to peace. However, none of these views were associated with exposure to mothers' clubs. Instead wealth and to a lesser extend educational achievements appears to be associated with how education is perceived.

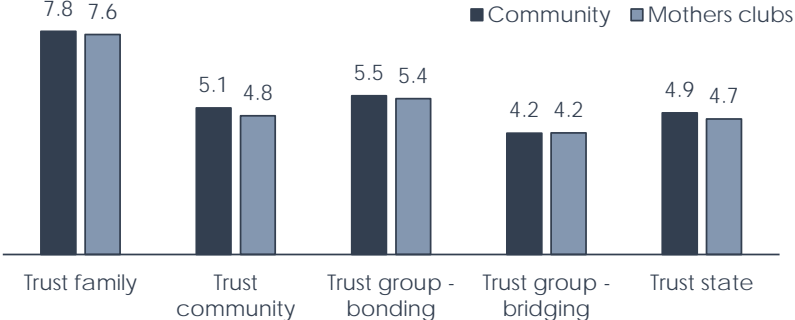
5.4. Social Cohesion

5.4.1. Trust and relationships

The survey assessed generalized trust by examining the level of trust among respondents toward 25 actors. These actors could be grouped in 5 categories: Trust in family (parents, siblings...), Trust in the community (neighbors, friends...), trust within ethnic, religious or political groups, trust across ethnic, religious or political groups, and trust in the state.

For each trust category, a score ranging from 0 (no trust) to 10 (extreme trust) was computed. The results show that family is the most trusted, followed by trust within groups (ethnic, religious or based on political opinions). Inversely, trust was lowest when considering trust across ethnic, religious or political groups, and when considering the state. While the differences were small, mothers from clubs tended to have lower score than mothers from the community on all trust scales. The trust scores did not vary significantly by wealth or education level, except trust in family which was highest among mothers in the richest wealth quartile.

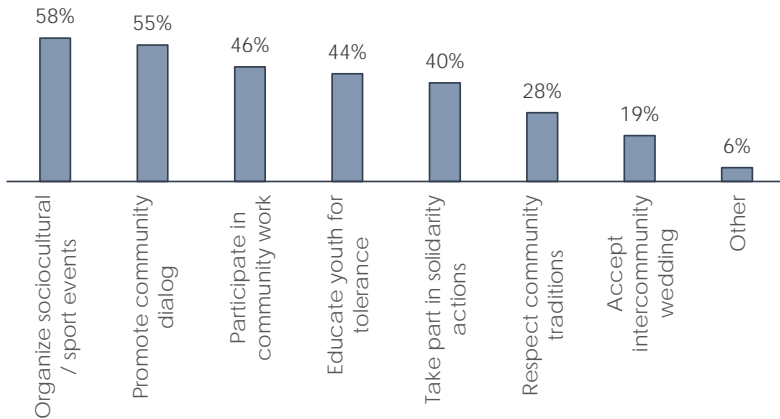
Figure 27: Trust scores



A relationship score was also computed using self-reported ranking of relations with selected actors (family, neighbors, community, within and across ethnic groups). The score averaged 7.8 among mothers from the community, and 7.9 among mothers from clubs. There were no differences across wealth or education background.

Looking at relations across ethnic and religious groups, a majority of mothers (90% or more) indicated being comfortable with other groups in daily situations such as living in the same neighborhood or sharing a meal. Mothers proposed a range of activities when asked what could be done to improve relations. With the most common answer among mothers from the community and clubs being to organize events, promote community dialogue and participate in community work.

Figure 28: Measures to improve relations



5.4.2. Solidarity

The level of solidarity was also assessed using 10 items and computing a score ranging from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest perceived level of solidarity. Overall the score was relatively low (5.8 among mothers in the community) and did not vary across wealth or education levels. Reports of direct support did not vary significantly by mothers' group (6.1 in community v. 5.9 among mothers in clubs), but did however vary by wealth and education status. Mothers with low levels of education and/or less wealth reported lower levels of support compared to other mothers. Differences in specific items such as support for work may reflect differences in employment type and status.

Figure 29: Solidarity and support scores

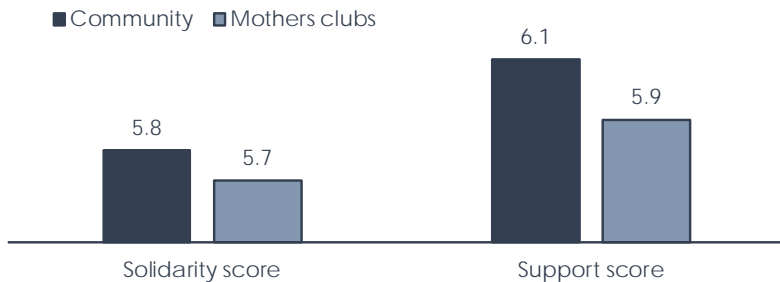


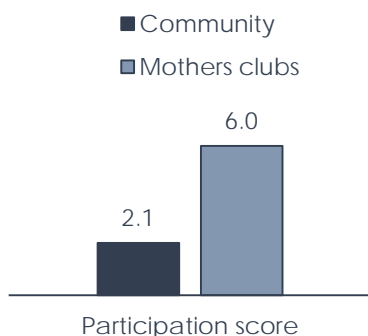
Table 11: Selected solidarity and support questions

	Community	Mothers' clubs
Solidarity		
People here do things together (% agree)	67%	69%
People here are ready to help each other (% agree)	70%	65%
People here would come together somebody who needs assistance (% agree)	68%	68%
Support		
Someone gives you advice (%often – very often)	73%	71%
Someone helps you with work (% often – very often)	51%	39%

5.4.3. Participation

Mothers' engagement and participation in groups, associations and civic activities is an indicator of social cohesion. The survey assessed mothers' engagement in various groups and associations (mothers' clubs, peace committees, trade associations and other) and in civic activities (voting, community meetings, and organized protests). The information was combined in a participation and civic engagement score ranging from 0 (no engagement) to 10 (strong engagement). As expected, mothers in clubs have a significantly higher participation score (6.0) compared to mothers in the community (2.1).

Figure 30: Participation score



The difference suggests that it is not just the engagement in the mothers' clubs that is additional, but rather that mothers in mothers' clubs also tend to be involved in other associations and civic activities compared to other mothers in the community.

Mothers in mothers' clubs identified the benefits of participation in such clubs as the social value of building relationships and solidarity (36%), the effect on livelihoods (34%), or alphabetization (32%). However, the measures of social relations and solidarity did not differ between mothers engaged in clubs and those who are not.

5.4.4. Perception of services

Social cohesion relies not merely on horizontal social cohesion embedded in the relationships between people or groups, but also on the vertical cohesion which speaks to the relationship between people and the state and other societal institutions. How individuals perceive services, especially state services, may reflect the overall relation between the state and the population. Several items were explored to assess satisfaction with services.

Table 12: Perception of services

(% good – very good)	Community	Mothers' clubs
Housing	47%	57%
Access to water	43%	46%
Access to food	35%	46%
Access to health services	26%	69%
Access to education	57%	78%
Road / transportation	21%	27%
Job opportunities	19%	24%
Access to information (national news)	35%	54%
Service Score	4.6	5.4
Government performance score	5.7	6.1

Overall, the survey shows a relatively low level of satisfaction concerning most items, especially among mothers in the community – mothers in clubs tended to be more frequently positive about services. This is also reflected in the total score which ranges from 0 (very dissatisfied) to 10 (very satisfied.) In Clubs, the average score was 5.4, significantly more than the average score among mothers in the community (4.6). In addition, wealth and higher level of education were associated with positive perception of services. Mothers in clubs tended to also be more positive about the government performances in improving these services, fighting corruption or represent the interests of the people.

Summary and key points:

The analysis of social cohesion indicators shows that mothers who are members of a club have a higher overall participation and civic engagement score than mothers randomly selected in the community, beyond participating in the club itself. This may either reflect the fact that women in mothers' club were already more engaged or the fact that clubs promote further engagement. However, these engagements do not appear to translate into significantly different scores on trust, relationship, support, or solidarity. Such changes were arguably anticipated effects of participating in the trainings and other activities offered to mothers in clubs. This may point to the challenge of changing beliefs and behaviors in relation to trust and social cohesion. More generally, social cohesion indicators, especially on trust, suggest that trust is strong within family and to some extent within groups, but trust toward other groups (ethnic, religious) was lowest, followed by trust toward state institutions.

5.5. Disputes and violence: experience and behaviors

In this section, we first examine various forms and experience of disputes and violence that mothers may have experienced. This information serves to contextualize mothers' experience with peace and conflict resolution programs and their overall behavioral response to violence.

5.5.1. Disputes

Mothers confirmed the importance of land as the most contentious issue and source of conflict. Three out of the four most frequent disputes were about land (ownership, boundaries and use). Responses were similar for mothers selected in clubs and in communities. The figures below are for mothers selected in the community. Domestic issues were also frequently mentioned as frequent in the community. However, when asked about their own experience of disputes in the last year, mothers overwhelmingly mentioned domestic disputes. They also frequently said having experienced no disputes, and few had experienced land disputes in comparison with the overall importance of land disputes, possibly because such disputes traditionally involve men. There were no significant differences between mothers in clubs and in the community.

Figure 31: Most common disputes in the community

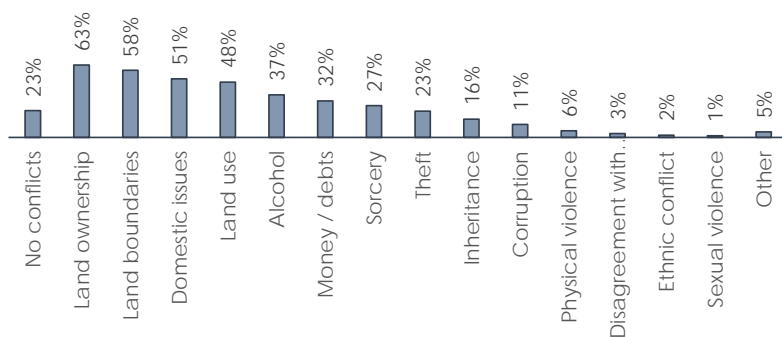
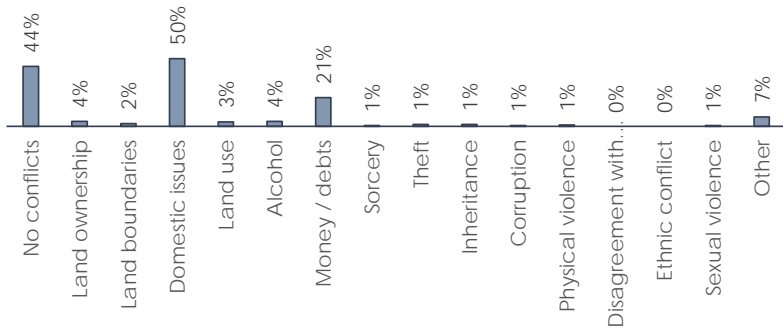
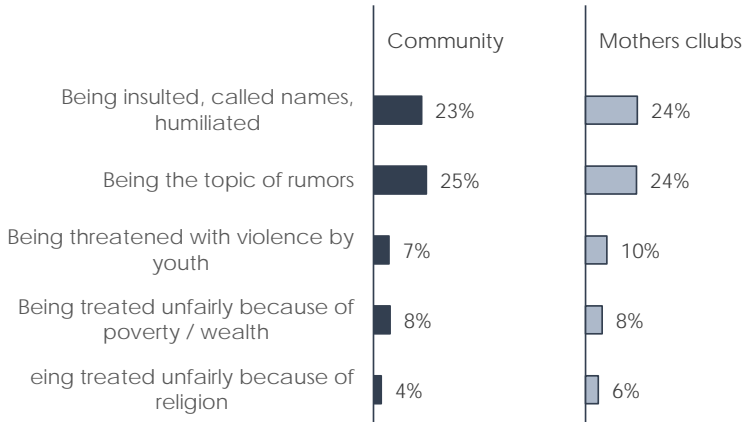


Figure 32: Most common disputes experienced by mothers in clubs



Beside disputes, potential exposure to community-based stigmatization was examined.

Figure 33: Exposure to selected community-based stigmatization



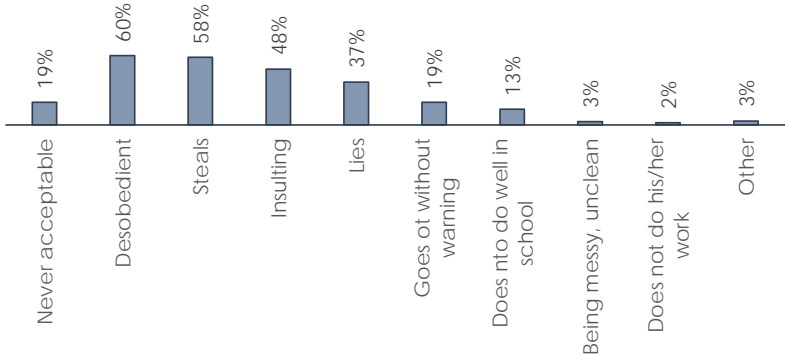
While the types of stigmatization explored here can be traumatic and affect behaviors, the analysis of the survey data did not find evidence of an association between stigmatization and trust, solidarity or support. However, mothers who experienced stigmatization had on average a

lower participation score (3.9) compared to mothers who did not have such experience (4.4).

5.5.2. Violence against children

For most mothers, beating a child is acceptable under a wide range of circumstances. Just 19% said it was never acceptable, although a larger percentage, 45%, said they themselves had never beaten their child. The odds of having beaten a child increased with wealth and educational status. It was not associated with participating in mothers' clubs or other peace and conflict resolution training. These results need to be further investigated to understand the relation between wealth and the acceptability of violence against children. The finding is not new in the literature and it is possible that higher expectations and social pressure create conditions for violence to occur.

Figure 34: Circumstances under which beating a child is acceptable

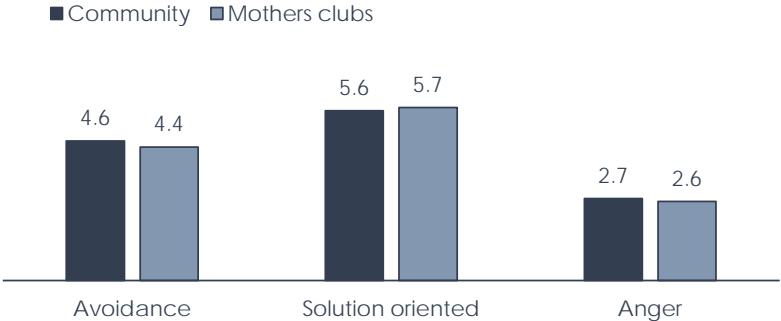


5.5.3. Conflict resolution and violent behaviors

As expect given the programmatic support given to mothers' clubs, 55% of mothers in clubs were also member of a peace committee and 65% had participated in conflict prevention training. Among mothers selected in the community, the percentages were significantly lower, at 9% and 4%, respectively.

As one of the key outcomes, we explored various conflict management styles that respondents may use. We scored three approaches: avoidance (isolating one-self, avoid thinking about the conflict...), solution oriented (trying to find a solution alone or with other, thinking positively), and anger (being angry, using violence). Among all mothers, the solution oriented approach scored highest, followed by avoidance, and anger. However, the behavior did not differ significantly between mothers in the community and mothers in clubs. What this suggests is that participating in the clubs does not appear to be related with the use of specific conflict management approaches.

Figure 35: Conflict management approaches



Looking specifically at mothers who participated in training on conflict resolutions shows higher score on avoidance and anger among conflict resolution course participant, indicating a more frequent use of these approaches. This may be counter-intuitive in relation to the objective of the training and warrants further analysis.

Looking at violent behaviors yield similar insight. A violent behavior score was computed looking at patterns of violent outbursts (being angry, shouting or fighting with others, threatening others with violence, engaging in fights...). The result shows that engaging in violent behavior is overall very rare, but that individuals who are members of peace committees or participated in conflict resolution are more likely to do so

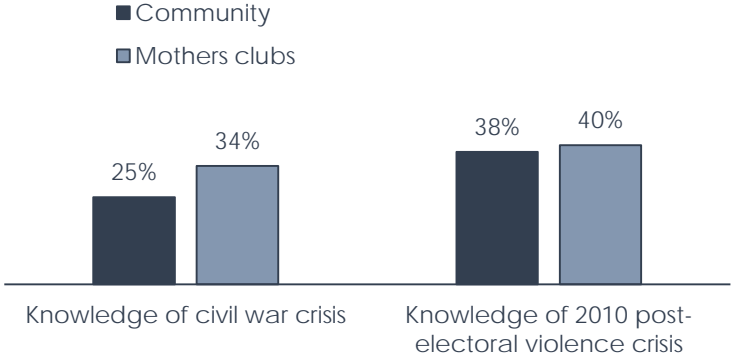
compared to mothers who did not. The use of weapons, however, was almost never found to be acceptable under any circumstance.

Again these results are counterintuitive, but it is possible that because of their role as conflict mediators and involvement in peacebuilding activities, respondents were more at risk of violent outbursts.

5.5.4. Transitional justice

The survey included a short section on transitional justice in relation with the civil war and the 2010 post-electoral violence. This is not directly related to programmatic interventions supported by UNICEF, but it was nevertheless assumed to be a topic of importance in the context of Côte d'Ivoire, and an important element of peacebuilding. Overall, mothers reported relatively low levels of knowledge of these crisis, although a large majority indicated talking at least occasionally about both crises with family and/or neighbors.

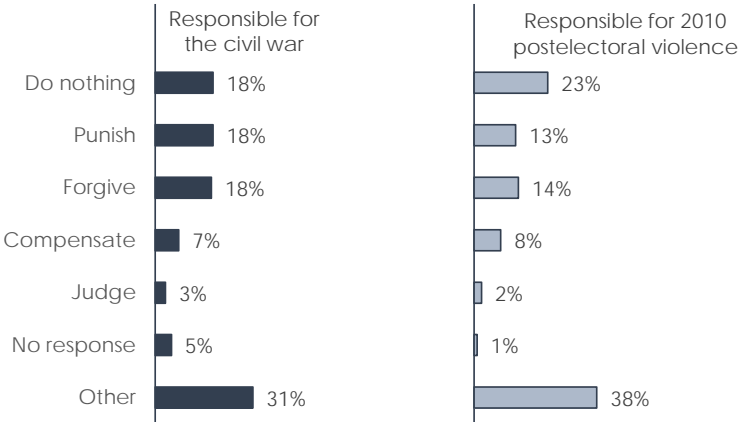
Figure 36: knowledge of specific crises (% good – very good)



Mothers in clubs self-reported a good knowledge of the civil war more frequently than others, possibly reflecting age differences as they were on average older. About two-thirds of mothers in both groups said some form of accountability was needed, however. But the views on what specifically needed to be done were mixed, with a wide range of response that could not be coded simply. Common answers include

punishing and forgiving those responsible for the violence. Responses, however, were not significantly different between mothers selected in the community and in the clubs.

Figure 37: What should be done with those responsible for the violence



5.5.5. Resilience

The final measures from the mothers’ survey are selected dimensions of resilience at the individual level. The measures of self-esteem and sense of coherence among mothers are significantly lower compared to youths, even when considering the West region only. The self-esteem score averaged 5.7 among mothers in the community, and 59 among mothers in clubs, compared to 6.6 among all youths. The sense of coherence was 6.1 among both groups of women compared to 7.0 among youth. The results find no significant differences in either measures between mothers selected in clubs and mothers selected in the community. However, the results also show that self-esteem was associated with wealth and higher education among mothers.

Figure 38: Individual resilience measures



Summary and key points:

The survey finds no evidence that mothers in clubs experience less conflict, engage more frequently in solution oriented approaches to conflict resolution, have less frequent violent behaviors or are more resilient. In fact, the survey finds that mothers who participate in peace committees and/or participated in conflict resolution classes were more likely to use anger in reaction to disputes or engage in violent behavior. It is possible that participants in such committees and training are more at risk of violent outbursts because of their role in conflict mediation. It is also possible that individuals more prone toward violence are channeled through such committees and training.

6. KEY FINDINGS, CONSIDERATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Key findings

This report presents the results of two surveys about peacebuilding and education conducted in Côte d'Ivoire:

- (1) A survey of 2,561 youth aged 12 to 17 years old and 18 to 26 years old randomly selected throughout Côte d'Ivoire. The survey was designed to provide representative data for 5 regions.
- (2) A survey in the Western region conducted among mothers randomly selected among mothers participating in mothers' clubs supported by UNICEF and its partner, and a comparison group of mothers selected in the community. In relation to peacebuilding, the clubs offered opportunities for women to become leaders in peacebuilding through joint learning, social interactions and dialogue about key issues. A total of 433 mothers were interviewed

The goals of the survey were (1) to assess youths and mothers' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors in relation to the informal and formal education experience of mothers and youth respondents and (2) to collect data on social cohesion, resilience, human security and conflict resolution which are seen as crucial elements in building peace. The overall objective then was to examine the relation between these two factors (education experience and peacebuilding dimensions).

This study further offered an opportunity to examine the changing context and the effects of UNICEF's support to peacebuilding and education in Côte d'Ivoire. Within the limits of a cross-sectional survey, causal changes cannot be attributed to UNICEF's interventions. The

results nevertheless may challenge assumptions about the effect of the program.

Among youths, the survey results confirm the positive impact of policies that ensure universal access and participation in primary school. However early marriage and pregnancy remain a leading cause for women to drop out of schools, along with financial pressure. Early parenthood was especially frequent in the West and the North. The north was also the region with the highest percentage of youths with no formal education.

The analysis of social cohesion indicators shows that inter-group trust is the lowest, despite the fact that most people report being comfortable in social situations with members of other groups. Trust and relations were ranked most negatively in Abidjan and in the Center regions. It is also in these two regions that the level of solidarity was lowest. Trust, solidarity and other measures of social cohesion were negatively associated with experience of disputes and stigmatization. In response to dispute, youth appear to engage most frequently in positive solution seeking as opposed to avoidance or anger. This was especially true among youth exposed to peacebuilding programs.

Among youth, we find evidence that participation in peacebuilding training and outreach programs is associated with more positive perceptions of education and positive social cohesion and conflict management outcomes. We cannot fully attribute the impact to UNICEF support. However, a number of dynamics suggest potential avenue for intervention and articulation of theories of change that link exposure to such programs, the effect it has on how disputes and relations are handled, how this in turn helps build trust and ultimately resilience. A cross sectional survey does not clearly establish that such a path exists, but it is in line with existing literature and research.

Among mothers, the survey showed that participants in mother's clubs tended to be older and employed in trade rather than agriculture compared to mothers who are not members of such clubs. Participation

in a mothers' clubs tend to be associated with increased probability of having a birth certificate and that the child is involved in early learning opportunities. However, this survey finds no evidence that membership is associated with differences in overall educational and child care strategy. Similarly, club membership did not appear to be associated with difference in perception of the value or equitability of education.

Club members have a higher score on overall participation and civic engagement, but do not show significant differences in other domains of social cohesion such as trust and solidarity. Overall, trust is low, especially considering inter groups relations. Finally, compared to mothers in the community, mothers in clubs do not appear to engage more frequently in positive solution oriented conflict management. In fact, mothers who participate in peace committees and/or participated in conflict resolution classes were more likely to use anger in reaction to disputes or engage in violent behavior. It is possible that participants in such committees and training are more at risk of violent outbursts because of their role in conflict mediation. It is also possible that individuals more prone toward violence are channeled through such committees and training.

Overall, the study among mothers finds that club membership is associated with improved economic and livelihood factors, but we failed to find an association between club membership and outcomes concerning child rearing philosophy, social cohesion, or conflict resolution approaches. It is possible that the comparison group (mothers not member of the clubs) differed from the mothers' members of a club so that, in the absence of a baseline, we cannot ascertain impact. Nevertheless, women reported a positive experience and benefits not only for their livelihoods but in terms of social relations.

6.2. Regional consideration

The analysis of the youth survey at the regional level reveals geographic patterns that must be considered and possibly explored further. The

Center and North regions showed the lowest educational achievements, including perception that inequality in education is acceptable. Perhaps more importantly, the Center region and Abidjan appear to have the lowest levels of trust toward all actors and institutions considered as well as lower levels of solidarity and other measures of social cohesion and resilience. Given the limited range of activities in this region and the likely association between social cohesion and other elements of peacebuilding, further analysis may be needed to understand what undermines trust and the lack of solidarity in order to inform programming.

Figure 39: Geographic distribution of key indicators

Trust in family Trust inter-groups Solidarity

6.3. Recommendations

Considering the findings from this study and the affirmation of educations’ potential for peacebuilding as an avenue to enhance social cohesion and build resilience we offer the following recommendations to the government, the international community, and national and local agencies:

1. The government must adequately invest in schools and infrastructure to ensure that access to education is not hindered

by socio-economic factors, especially for girls. These investments should be made alongside programs to fight child marriage, reduce early pregnancy, and eliminate gender biases in access to education. These efforts must be implemented nationwide, but emphasize underserved areas, especially in the North and Center regions. International and national organizations must support these efforts especially through community outreach and capacity building in schools.

2. In response to the strong desire for continued education, the government must develop effective and transparent mechanisms to provide youth with opportunities to continue beyond primary and secondary levels, including scholarship programs especially targeted for underserved communities, youth at risk, and economically disadvantaged families. International and national agencies should complement these efforts through targeted scholarship and other support opportunities.
3. The government must support and mainstream programs aimed at preparing children with life skills, especially as they relate to conflict management, respect, social cohesion or solidarity. Such programs appear to be effective and strongly correlated with the overall perception of education as being valuable as well as with measures of trust and solidarity. Such programs should be designed to strengthen abilities to seek positive solutions as opposed to avoidance and anger when confronted with disputes – these behaviors appear themselves to be pathways toward intolerance and violence. The international community and local partners must support and provide the required expertise to develop such programs and continue to invest in pilot projects to identify effective programs and best practices.

4. Despite the measured association between peace training and social cohesion, higher levels of education appear more generally to be associated with lower levels of trust and solidarity. It is possible that more educated respondents perceive more acutely frustration and grievances, which in turn undermine trust and solidarity. Greater age also appears to be associated with lower levels of trust, suggesting that social and political capital may be eroded over time. The government with the support of the international community must develop a comprehensive strategy to rebuild trust and social cohesion as a core component of building peace in Cote d'Ivoire. This should include but not be limited to:
 - a. reviewing the role of teachers and schools to take advantage of the peace and education programs throughout the entire curriculum
 - b. confronting the past in a transparent manner and mainstream the outcome in peace education activities.
 - c. identifying and engaging with key groups, including those with higher levels of education, especially those who may have broad influence on community actions and perceptions.

5. Interpersonal relations within households and families are the most common form of disputes, and alongside other forms of disputes and stigmatization, contribute to undermine social cohesion and resilience. School-based and community-based mechanisms to support youth who live in violent and/or conflicted households must be supported. Given the perceived value of role models, mentorship and peer-to-peer networks should be explored as avenues for social support. International and local organizations should develop and invest in such projects in a pilot phase to draw lessons learned and work with the government toward scaling up successful strategies.

6. Mothers' clubs should be supported as an avenue to foster community participation and economic support. The survey however finds little evidence that such clubs have an effect on trust, social cohesion, or conflict management skills. More research is needed but it is possible that mothers' clubs are not the appropriate avenue to engage in conflict management, or that changing behaviors may take time. Given the effects on registration and early education, such clubs could serve the purpose of strengthening parenting styles to reduce gender biases and enhance supportive care which involves setting clear goals, rules, and limits and helping children achieve them. National and international organizations should support pilot programs in this area and build lessons learned for broader implementation in case of success.

The above recommendations are based on consultations and the survey results outlined in this report. A more rigorous monitoring and evaluation framework is nevertheless needed to document best practices and better understand causal links between peace and education.

7. NOTES

1. In the context of the PBEA program, resilience is defined as ‘the ability of children, communities and systems to anticipate, prevent, withstand, adapt to and recover from stresses and shocks advancing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged’. (Working definition in the draft UNICEF Position Paper on Resilience, UNICEF, Learning for Peace. Key Peacebuilding Concepts and Terminology.) It could also be defined as ‘... the ability of an individual, community, society or system exposed to a threat to resist, absorb, adapt and recover from its effects in a timely and effective manner.’ Regional offices for Latin America and the Caribbean of UNICEF and RET – Protecting through Education, Actions for Children and Youth Resilience. Guide for Governments. UNICEF Panama City, 2013, p. 13-14 and Noël Brou Kouakou et al, Rapport d’Etat du Systeme Educatif National (RESEN 2015), Abidjan, 3 juillet 2015.
2. ‘Social Cohesion refers to the quality of coexistence between the multiple groups that operate within a society. Groups can be distinguished in terms of ethnic and socio-cultural origin, religious and political beliefs, social class or economic sector or on the basis of interpersonal characteristics such as gender and age. Quality of coexistence between the groups can be evaluated along the dimensions of mutual respect and trust, shared values and social participation, life satisfaction and happiness as well as structural equity and social justice.’ UNICEF, Learning for Peace. Key Peacebuilding Concepts and Terminology.
3. Human security is framed as ‘an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people” and acknowledges that all humans are “entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential’ (UN resolution A/RES/60/1, cited in UNICEF, Learning for Peace. Key Peacebuilding Concepts and Terminology.
- a. Harris, Ian M. and Mary Lee Morison. Peace Education. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013.
4. For details on history, see Phuong Pham and Patrick Vinck, Fragile Peace, Elusive Justice: Population-Based Survey on Perceptions and Attitudes about Security and Justice in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire. Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2014
5. Rinaldo Depagne ‘La Côte d’Ivoire a disparu des radars, pourtant rien n’y est réglé’, International Crisis Group, Dakar, 16 April 2013, available at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/west-africa/cote-divoire/op-eds/depagne%20cote%20ivoire.aspx>

6. The concept of 'Ivoirité' proposed a distinction between the "truly" Ivorian or those from Ivory Coast and the others or people who's origins were from other countries. The concept was fluid but in reality favored certain ethnic groups such as the Agni, the Baoulés, and the Betes, while discriminating against the Dilouas and the northerners. Magali Chelpi - den Hamer in collaboration avec ROCARE Côte d'Ivoire, *Quand la guerre s'invite à l'école : Impact des crises ivoiriennes successives en milieu scolaire, Réponses gouvernementales, Stratégies pour accompagner le processus de réconciliation nationale*, p.12 It also limited participation in Ivorian politics to those who were "truly" Ivorian. In 1995 and 2000, Mr. Ouattara was banned for running as president in the national elections based on "questionable nationality". See, Oumar Ba, "Who is Laurent Gbagbo and why is he on trial at the ICC?", *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, February 03 2016.
7. Gbagbo was facing a rebellion led by Soro, who would become leader of the Forces Nouvelles, which objected to the exclusionary citizenship policies. Soro controlled the northern half of the country from 2002 until 2006. At that point, the Ouagadougou Accords ended at least some of the violence and stipulated that Soro become prime minister in a transition government led by Gbagbo. These same accords enabled Ouattara to run in the 2010 elections.
8. Different regions or ethnic groups were supporting different candidates. The Lakes region inhabited by the Baoulés supported the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire – PDCI). The Savannes, Woroba and the Denguele regions and its inhabitants Dioula were for Ouattara and the Rally of the Republicans (Rassemblement des Republicains – RDR), whereas the Sassandra-Marahoue (Daloa) and the Cavally regions supported the Bete Gbagbo (Front Populaire Ivoirien – FPI). (See: "Elections en Côte d'Ivoire: le pays va-t-il oublié ses vieux démons?" *Jeune Afrique*, 23 octobre 2015, available at <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/272503/politique/election-en-cote-divoire-le-pays-va-t-il-oublier-ses-vieux-demons/>).
9. Reported at 9.8% in 2012 and an estimated growth at 8.7% in 2013. See 'Pour une société plus équitable dans un pays émergent. La situation de l'enfant en Côte d'Ivoire' (SITAN), 2014, p. 27
10. CrisisWatch Database, International Crisis Group, Côte d'Ivoire, 2 Nov. 2015, available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/crisiswatch/crisiswatch-database.aspx?CountryIDs=%7bACB2D1F7-8CB1-432E-ABFB-76436AE72921%7d#results>
11. Rinaldo Depagne "Côte d'Ivoire: The illusion of Stability", International Crisis Group, Dakar, 24 October 2015.
12. Rinaldo Depagne "Côte d'Ivoire: The illusion of Stability", International Crisis Group, Dakar, 24 October 2015, available at

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/west-africa/cote-divoire/ops/depagne-cote-d-ivoire-the-illusion-of-stability.aspx>

13. Ibid
14. IDMC, Observations des situations de déplacement interne, Côte d'Ivoire: De nouveaux engagements offrent une lueur d'espoir aux 300 000 personnes encore déplacées dans le pays, Conseil Norvégien pour les Réfugiés, 26 février 2015, available at www.internal-displacement.org
15. Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected contexts Programme, UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, 2013 Annual Report, p. 14.
16. Côte d'Ivoire Great West: Key to Reconciliation. International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 212, 28 January 2014 (Dakar/Brussels, translated from French).
17. Ibid
18. International Crisis Group updates, 2014-2016, available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/crisiswatch/crisiswatch-database.aspx?CountryIDs=%7bACB2D1F7-8CB1-432E-ABFB-76436AE72921%7d#results>
19. Human Rights Watch, "Turning Rhetoric Into Reality: Accountability for Serious International Crimes in Côte d'Ivoire," Human Rights Watch, April 2013
20. Drissa Traore, "Will justice be done for victims of Côte d'Ivoire's postelectoral crisis?," The Africa Report, 10 December 2013.
21. The New York Times Coverage of Ivory Coast, January 28 2016.
22. <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/ivorycoast/index.html>
23. They are charged with four counts of crimes against humanity including murder, rape, others inhumane acts or attempted murder, and persecution allegedly committed during the postelectoral crisis between 16 December 2010 and 12 April 2011. International Criminal Court, Situations and Cases, The Prosecutor v Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Ble Goude, available at https://www.icc-cpi.int/EN_Menu/icc/situations%20and%20cases/situations/icc0211/related%20cases/icc-02_11-01_15/Pages/default.aspx
24. Côte d'Ivoire: Simone Gbagbo condamnée a 20 ans de prison, Radio France International Afrique, published 10 march 2015, revised 11 march 2015, available at: <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20150310-cote-ivoire-simone-gbagbo-condamnee-20-ans-prison-michel-vagba-faussignaux-dogbo-ble/>
25. The conflict-drivers reflect those identified by the ROCARE (Educational Research Network for West and Central Africa) in its 2012 conflict analysis. Those were 1) political abuse and promotion of violence among children and youths; 2) intercommunal tension linked to land conflicts especially in the West; 3) politicization of student unions; 4) institutional weakness of the education system; and 5) adverse living and working conditions. See, Quand la guerre s'invite a l'école.

26. For additional details on conflict-drivers and objectives, see UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts Programme, CO 2015 PBEA Workplan Proposal Guiding Template, Last updated 13 February 2015; see also, Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected contexts Programme, UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, 2013 Annual Report.
27. See *Quand la guerre s'invite à l'école*, p. 38; see also SITAN 2014, p.25.
28. UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts Programme, CO 2015 PBEA Workplan Proposal Guiding Template, Last updated 13 February 2015.
29. SITAN 2014, p. 26
30. Ibid
31. The information on strategies is based on UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts Programme, CO 2015 PBEA Workplan Proposal Guiding Template, Last updated 13 February 2015 and discussion with PBEA Côte d'Ivoire staff as of February 2016.
32. UNICEF WCARO and UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, Case Study: Peace Clubs, Participatory Video and Most Significant Change Evaluation Côte d'Ivoire 2015.
33. See, ENSEA/ MENET/ UNICEF, *Enquête sur les enfants et adolescents en dehors de l'école*, Abidjan, 2015.
34. Interview with SFCG, December 11 2015, Abidjan.
35. For details on the study and its results, see *Obstacles à la cohésion sociale et dynamiques de violence impliquant les jeunes dans l'espace urbain. Les voix des populations des communes d'Abobo, Treicheville et Yopougon dans le district d'Abidjan. Rapport de recherche participative*. Indigo Côte d'Ivoire et Interpeace, Abidjan, juillet 2015.
36. On December 15 2015, Charles Konan Banny, CDVR president gave his report to the President Ouattara. The report includes consultations of 72.483 victims, 28.064 women and 757 children. The report has not been released to the public yet. See, *Remise du rapport final de la CDVR: Charles Konan Banny recommande des journées nationales de la mémoire et du pardon*. December 15 2015, available at http://www.gouv.ci/actualite_1.php?recordID=5153
37. UNICEF WCARO and UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire, Case Study: Transitional Justice, Participatory Video and Most Significant Change Evaluation Côte d'Ivoire 2015
38. Since 2007, the authors have developed KoBoToolbox, a set of tools to facilitate electronic data collection – www.kobotoolbox.org.
39. Compared to 95% and 68% at the national level, the gross and net enrollment rates in the north and the northwest are 63% and 76% and 50% and 56% respectively. The percentages of women and men without education are 83% and 58% in the northwest and 75% and 62% in the north.

- See, Enquête démographique et de santé et a indicateurs multiples (EDS-MICS), 2011-2012
40. ENSEA/ MENET/ UNICEF, Enquête sur les enfants et adolescents en dehors de l'école, Abidjan, 2015; Ministère de la Santé et de la Lutte contre le Sida (MSLS), Institut National de la Statistique, Ministère d'État, Ministère du Plan et du Développement (MEMPD), Enquête démographique et de santé et a indicateurs multiples (EDS-MICS), 2011-2012, République de Côte d'Ivoire, Juin 2013
 41. Stanley D. What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 2003: 28(1), 5-17
 42. Simpson G, Makoond A, Vinck P, Pham PN. *Assessing Resilience for Peace: A Guidance Note*. Interpeace. 2016.



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