049. Making War, Building States. Critical perspectives on conflict
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Rebellion of the "Forces Nouvelles" of Côte d'Ivoire or the violent renegotiation of the rules of political game.

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In Côte d'Ivoire, on September 19th, 2002, an attempt of coup d'état was gradually transformed into an armed rebellion which occupied north half of the country and dedicated the partition in two of the national territory. The rebels of the "Forces Nouvelles" have been in control of the north while the "Loyalist" camp kept control of the south. The hierarchy of the rebellion which is held by natives of the North was massively joined and supported by young fighters also from northern zones of the country. The MPCI (Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire), one of the constituents of the rebellion justified its military action by the will to end the social exclusion. According to its leader Guillaume Soro, the political project of President Laurent Gbagbo was marked by "ivoirité": a political ideology which produces a feeling of social injustice and discrimination that Northerners are said to endure. Moreover, it is the justifications of the MPCI that weave the backcloth of the demands of three rebel movements combined later under the naming of "Forces Nouvelles". The denunciation of the tribalism and the ethnic exclusions was then the central theme of the justifications constituting the ideological bottom of the insurrectionary movement. After several years, the search for a peaceful exit of the crisis led to a requalification of the rebellion. In the course of the various agreements the status of FN is crossed by that of " respectable rebellion " in that of the "arbitrator" of the Ivorian political game. Indeed, it seems that it is this role which was assigned to the ex-rebellion after the political agreement of Ouagadougou in 2007 and before the presidential election of October, 2010. After the violent intervention, the rebellion of the FN became a regulating element of the political game blurring the theoretical models and questioning the approach of " greed " and " grievance " usually used in the study of the rebellions. The first ones seeing in the action of the rebels the unique will to exploit resources and public goods with the aim of increasing their private gains (Addison et Murshed 2003; Ballentine et Sherman 2003; Berdal et Malone 2000; Collier et Hoeffler 2002; Fearon et Laitin 2003 ; Keen 1997 etc.). Whereas the second support that the civil wars burst because of the rarity of the resources, the increase of the disparities, the exclusion and the poverty; situations which the rebels denounce and assert wanting to change (Cramer 2003; Homer-Dixon 1999; Stewart 2000 etc.). This distinction is not bearable any more. This contribution suggests discovering the determinants of the popular support brought to the rebellion, the conditions of the institution of its authority in occupied zones as well as the evolution of its political role.