PEACEKEEPERS, ATROCITIES, AND ACCOUNTABILITY:

A CASE STUDY OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC 2014-2023

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

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I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

19 August 2024



Exa Reva Amaliyah

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ABSTRACT

The conflict caused by civil war and instability in the Central African Republic escalated in 2013 and thus the United Nations decided to deploy the MINUSCA Peacekeeping Mission in order to assist the country through the conflict. Although there has been some significance in deploying the mission, there are undeniable sexual abuse and exploitation allegations in the name of the peacekeeping troops. This thesis used data of possible abuse from 2014 until 2023 and the triangle violence theory by Johan Galtung. This theory can be divided into three types of violence: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. The initial assumption that was made is that the type of violence committed by MINUSCA, which is sexual abuse is only direct violence (well-being needs) and structural violence (exploitation B). However, the final findings indicated that the violence is contained direct violence (well-being needs). structural violence (exploitation B & segmentation), and cultural violence which is a complete cycle of violence in the sexual abuse phenomenon perpetrated by the peacekeepers. It is important to notes that there are a number of things that the UN needs to overcome to fully eradicate the sexual abuse problem, like improving the impunity problem that peacekeepers currently have, fixing the abuse databases that are not transparent and also provides the victims with sufficient assistance both physically and psychologically.

Keywords: Central African Republic, the UN, MINUSCA, Violence, Impunity, Conflict

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In the beginning of 2013, the Central African Republic (CAR) experienced a phase where there was a political crisis along with destruction of law and order caused by the rebels group Seleka (Khairullin n.d.). The conflict escalated to sectarian issues, where there has been a spread of human rights violations, resulting in many people in the region losing their homes and needing to seek refuge. With human rights of the CAR people being threatened, a lot of humanitarian actors have made attempts to help the people during the crisis. One of the attempts has come from the United Nations through the establishment of MINUSCA (Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission In the Central African Republic) which deployed 10,000 peacekeeping troops to protect the civilians, particularly women and children who have been affected by the conflict.

As one of the instruments of the UN body, the UN Peacekeeping forces have faced many controversies regarding its applications and the law that binds them. The United Nations has confirmed commitments to applying humanitarian law, whether these be peacekeeping or law enforcement. Despite that, the occupancy of the UN peacekeeping soldiers does not necessarily mean that humanitarian law binds the troops, even though their presence aims to perform diplomatic and humanitarian missions in conflicted areas (Murphy 2003, 154).

Much evidence indicate that UN Peacekeeping forces have committed enormous crimes while performing their so-called “humanitarian missions” in

conflicted countries. One of the examples is how a Burundian peacekeeper deployed to the CAR committed sexual abuse acts against civilians. In September 2018, a Burundian peacekeeper was accused of raping a child in August (Francais 2019). After this case was handled by The UN's Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) and transferred to the government of Burundi, the results are still unknown and "pending," according to the UN. In December 2017, another Burundian peacekeeper who had been incorporated into the Formed Police Unit was also accused of raping a child in 2015. Just like the earlier case, the case was transferred to the government of Burundi, and the results are still "pending".

It is not just peacekeepers troops from Burundi; that have been implicated, It is known; that UN peacekeepers from Morocco, France, Congo, Gabon, Chad, and Equatorial Guinea are also main actors in these atrocities (Genovese 2018, 618-619). Women, even children, are being sexually exploited in exchange for vital resources like water, food, and money. In addition to women being attacked, young boys have also become the targets of gruesome sexual abuse. There was a report in December 2012 and again in June 2013 regarding French peacekeepers raping and sodomizing orphan boys in a camp for displaced people. While female sexual abuse cases are still a challenge, the abuse cases experienced by males are far harder to settle.

The program of peacekeeping in the Central African Republic is called MINUSCA (Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in CAR) and started in early 2014. Human Rights Watch has done research and documentation in Bambari from January 16 until 30 January 2016 (Human Rights Watch 2016). There were eight cases of sexual violence and abuse committed by MINUSCA

troops and only one victim received medical and psychological care in Bambari hospital. From the confession of all eight victims, the researcher was able to get data that the troops from the Democratic Republic of Congo are responsible for what happened to them. A battalion consisting of about 800 soldiers was deployed to Bambari province and there was a small contingent from the Democratic Republic of Congo that was assigned to protect Bambari airports.

Poor accountability management of the UN peacekeeping forces is one of the reasons why most of the cases have no follow-up. As the body that handles the rreffect of UN peacekeeping forces, the UN will create local claims review boards to deal with civilians' injuries or property damage they want to claim (Krieger 2015, 260). Known as the Board of Inquiries, it was first created in 1996 and is used by the former departments of UN Departments of Peace Operation (DPO) and Department of Operational Support (DOS) which deals with serious incidents like deaths, abductions, injuries, and loss equipment in the operations (Verma, Velazquez, and Sur 2020, 4-5). In 2005, the Board of Inquiries was labeled as inconsistent, as the completion of the target exceeded the deadline and the recommendation given by the Boards was insufficient. The main problem is that the board lacks standards.

The UN is still searching for solutions to tackle this phenomenon, including whether a significant change in the number of female troops or experts and observers is required. From the data taken from two UN missions from 2009 to 2011, the gender imbalance still preserves the domination of male personnel over women (Crawford, Lebovic, and Macdonald 2014, 261-263). Most of the time, the total number of female personnel is less than 1 percent, similar to what happens in

the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA). Of the 100,000-strong UN force, the average proportion of female employees during the 2009–2011 period was less than 4%.

The UN has taken many actions to boost the number of women participating in peacekeeping, but, it still depends on their home countries. There is also a connection between a democratic system and women's participation. According to the author, a democratic country with sufficient bureaucracy will better guarantee women's political rights and participation in an international system like the UN peacekeeping program. If the government has such a system to support women, it is easy to adapt to the UN effort to boost women troops numbers (Crawford, Lebovic, and Macdonald 2014, 261-263).

1.2 Research Question

How did violence occur in the Central African Republic during the MINUSCA Operation across the time period of 2014-2023?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To describe the type of violence that UN Peacekeepers committed in the Central African Republic; and
2. To analyze the policy and attitude of the UN in overcoming sexual abuse by UN Peacekeepers in the Central African Republic

1.4 Research Scope

The thesis focuses on the case of the deployment of UN Peacekeeping forces

in the MINUSCA operation that was established in April 2014, The time period of this research is up until 2023. In 2014, there was one official that did not take any action. Such warning or effort to hold the officer accountable cannot be found (Code Blue 2015).

The aim of this research is to identify, how the violence occured in the Central African Republic while UN Peacekeepers were deployed. The time limitation was expanded to 2023 because there was a new case in 2023 involving a unit of 60 peacekeepers from Tanzania who were repatriated from the CAR due to sexual abuse (AfricaNews 2023).

1.5 Literature Review

From the journal “Sexual Exploitation and Abuse By Intervention Forces In Central African Republic” it can be concluded that one of the key problems impeding the execution of UN peace assistance missions' mandates is still the claims of sexual assault (Mwanyika 2021, 63). According to UN record, for the past twelve years (from 2007), there has been a declining trend, but a notable increase in 2015 and 2016. MINUSCA were the subject of 40.8% of all claims made since 2015. The UN's numerous initiatives, such as the CAR investigations and the Secretary General's recommendations for prevention, enforcement, and corrective action against SEA, can be traced to the increase in reporting of allegations in 2015 and 2016. Additionally, more victims have come forward to make the charges due to increased local community knowledge and the belief that the UN policy on providing support to victims will have some financial rewards, even though the majority of them have not yet been verified.

In the journal "Opportunity and Sex Offending by International Peacekeepers in the Central African Republic" shows the writers sought to identify the common phenomenon happening between the peacekeepers and civilians. Their data showed regular activities that link peacekeepers and locals. The journal demonstrates that foreign troops engaged in outreach to foster trust, lived among the local populace, and gathered intelligence from them in the Central African Republic. They expanded the opportunities for mingling with the local populace by doing this. The data also show that peacekeepers regularly helped locals get access to food, water, shelter, medical care, and psychosocial services; these regular actions helped the peacekeepers build deep relationships with the areas they were stationed in. A vulnerable civilian and a motivated peacekeeper sex offender engage in fraternization and sexual exploitation as a result of the engagement and intimate relationship that exists between local populations and motivated offenders (Gassama 2018, 193-194).

The journal titled "Men and boys facing sexual violence in Central African Republic" provides the map of the SEA case in the CAR. Cases of sexual assault and exploitation of local communities by UN peacekeepers and other staff have persisted in the CAR despite UN efforts to eradicate such practices. In 2016, half of all UN field mission allegations were related to incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse that MINUSCA had documented (All Survivors Project 2018, 25). Nevertheless, MINUSCA received 65% of the claims in 2016 regarding acts that happened in 2015 or earlier. UNICEF notified ASP in February 2018 that, since

2014, it has documented 282 cases of alleged sexual exploitation and abuse in the Central African Republic by foreign forces and humanitarian actors.

In the three studies detailed above, the sexual abuses by MINUSCA troops were mainly in the early years of the deployment. The first study shows that there was an increase in the number of cases during the deployment of peacekeepers in the CAR. The second study explains that the abuses likely happened because of the frequency the peacekeepers engaged with civilians. The third study however, presents the entire number of abuse cases in 2016. The gap that exists in the research regards how the sexual violence occurred between 2014 and 2023 and how violence can be divided into three categories: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence.

1.6 Research Framework

Table 1. Typology of Violence

Table I. A Typology of Violence

	Survival Needs	Well-being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming	Desocialization	Repression
		Siege, Sanctions	Resocialization	Detention
		Misery	Secondary Citizen	Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration	Marginalization
			Segmentation	Fragmentation

Source: Galtung, 1990

Based on Johan Galtung's writings in Cultural Violence (1990), there are four classes of basic needs- which encompass the distinction between direct and structural violence as shown in Table 1.A. These four classes are survival needs

(ex: mortality and death), well-being needs (ex: despair, morbidity), identity needs (being alienated) and freedom needs (suppressive) (Galtung 1990, 292).

Direct violence, as mentioned in the table, included action such as killing and maiming. Both killing and maiming produce "casualties," which are used to gauge how intense a conflict is. The insult to human needs caused by a siege or blockade (classical word) and sanctions (modern term) are likewise included in the category of maiming. Some people consider this to be "non-violence" because there is no immediate or direct killing. However, for the victims, it might mean slowly but deliberately killing them through starvation and medical neglect, targeting the most vulnerable first—children, the elderly, the underprivileged, and women (Galtung 1990, 293).

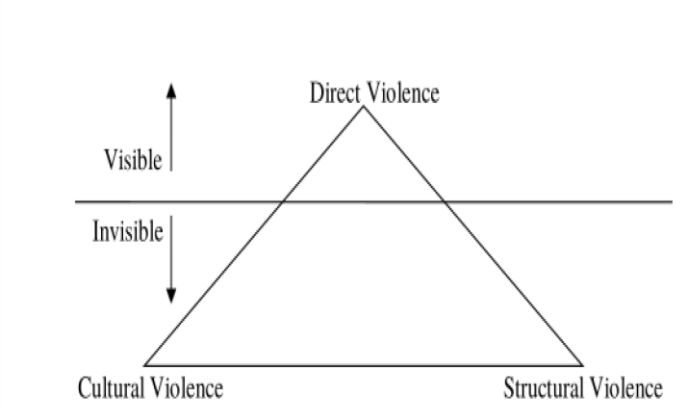
In order to identify the aspects and understand how they relate to the needs categories, we need a discourse, a vocabulary, and an image of a violent structure in order to discuss the categories of structural violence. According to Galtung, the central element of the classic violent structure is exploitation (Galtung 1990, 293-294). This merely indicates that some, the underdogs, benefit considerably less from the interaction in the system others do, the topdogs. There is the euphemism "unequal exchange." In fact, the underdogs may be so disadvantaged that it causes them to starve to death or waste away from illnesses: this is Exploitation A.

Alternatively, they might be abandoned to a lifelong, unwelcome state of suffering, which typically includes starvation and disease: this is Exploitation B. Segmentation, which gives the underdog a very limited view of events, along with penetration, which essentially implants the topdog inside the underdog, will accomplish the first task. Fragmentation, which keeps the underdogs apart from one

another, along with marginalization, which keeps the underdogs on the outside, will accomplish the second task.

It is now possible to include "cultural violence" as the third super-type and place it as an image in the third corner of a triangle representing (vicious) violence. The image invoked when the triangle is positioned on its "direct" and "structural violence" feet is cultural violence, which serves as the justification for both. The triangle represents structural and cultural sources of direct violence when it stands on its "direct violence" head (Galtung 1990, 294).

Picture 1. Triangle of Violence



Source: Paulson and Tikly, 2022

However, despite that, the three conceptions of violence have a fundamentally different temporal relationship, notwithstanding the symmetries. Cultural violence is an invariant, a "permanence"; direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs. The three types of violence enter time in different ways, similar to how different theories about earthquakes explain earthquakes as events and as phenomena (Galtung 1990, 294).

In his earlier works, Galtung (1969) mentioned the correlation between personal and structural violence and how it can persist in a system regardless of change of person. Regardless of who works there or how conscious the participants are, the typical feudal structure, which consists of a series of encapsulating hierarchies of metropole-satellite relationships, is obviously structurally violence. The violence is ingrained in the structures. There is no need for physical violence or the threat of physical violence. Additionally, there are those people—often referred to as "bullies"—who appear to be violent in practically any situation. What makes them unique is that they tend to carry their violent tendencies outside of any structural framework that is accepted by society as a whole. As a result, we can say that the two types of violence are empirically distinct from one another (Galtung 1969).

1.7 Provisional Argument

Table 2. Typology of Violence

Table I. A Typology of Violence

	Survival Needs	Well-being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming	Desocialization	Repression
		Siege, Sanctions	Resocialization	Detention
		Misery	Secondary Citizen	Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration	Marginalization
			Segmentation	Fragmentation

Source: Galtung, 1990

Based on the typology of violence by Galtung, there are four different aspects in the violence which includes Survival Needs, Well-being Needs, Identity Needs, and Freedom Needs (Galtung 1990, 293). Survival needs means some violence acts such as killing, take away someone's life which actually is natural in the war times. The second aspect, well-being needs represents a non-lethal acts but ones that still leaves misery with the victims. The attacks however, are directed at the most vulnerable groups, such as children, the elderly, the underprivileged, and women.

The well-being needs violence type is evident in the sexual abuse committed by the UN Peacekeepers in the CAR. Six young boys were interviewed by a MINUSCA Human Rights Officer in May and June 2014, in collaboration with local UNICEF workers (United Nations General Assembly 2016, 3). The children said that either they themselves had been sexually abused by foreign peacekeeping forces or they had seen other children abused. The accused perpetrators were primarily members of the French Sangaris forces. The soldiers gave the kids little gifts of food or money in return. The incidents all happened in the Bangui area, close to the M'Poko camp for internally displaced people, between December 2013 and June 2014.

Identity needs refers to acts of violence that can be identified as one of the forms of alienation (Galtung 1990, 293). Alienation in this term is how someone is desocialized from their own culture; like being prohibited to use their own culture, language or other identities that can be linked closely to their own people. This violence is also closely related to second-class citizenship where people are bullied for having the identities of certain nationalities. In the case of the sexual abuse by

the UN Peacekeepers in the CAR, the author did not find any evidence that the troops used identity violence on the CAR people in general.

The fourth aspect is freedom needs, which is closely linked to the behavior of repression or acts that takes away someone's freedom in the public sphere or in the private sphere (Galtung 1990, 293). Locking people in prisons, concentration camps, and banishing them abroad are included in Galtung's freedom needs typology of violence. Again, the author have not found any evidence of MINUSCA troops doing this kind of violence to people in CAR while performing humanitarian actions since 2014.

Looking at the second type of violence, which is structural violence, the condition mentioned is underdogs receiving less than what the topdogs receive, leaving them exposed to exploitation (Galtung 1990, 293). Based on Table 1, while survival needs being threatened, exploitation A occurs. Exploitation A happens when exploitation and unequal exchange makes the underdogs so disadvantaged that they are left in a situation of dying or starving. In the case of sexual abuse misconduct by the UN Peacekeepers in the CAR no evidence was found that the abuse caused the victims to die or starving.

The second is fall into the category of threatening well-being needs. By Galtung's definition, a threat towards well-being needs will cause exploitation B to occur (Galtung 1990, 293-294). Exploitation B is related to permanent condition that the victims may suffer, like diseases, including malnutrition or any other illness. For this aspects, the sexual misconduct of the MINUSCA troops can be included in this section because the victims were left in unwanted condition both mentally or physically.

The protection of civilians, especially women and children impacted by armed conflict, is one of MINUSCA's primary missions. Regretfully, it appears that these claims have not been adequately addressed by the United Nations or its local partners in terms of their responsibility to safeguard the minor victims (United Nations General Assembly 2016, 6). For instance, UNICEF directed the kids to a nearby non-governmental organization (NGO) partner for medical attention and psychosocial support after the interviews were over. It is now evident that the full scope of the services offered by the NGO at that time was only a two-hour session in which a social worker, assisted by legal counsel, interviewed the children and filled out paperwork provided by the organization. This is despite the local partner informing UNICEF that the children were receiving medical care.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

In this research, the qualitative method used in one in which words, explanation, and a sequence of open-ended questions were employed that needed testing and answering during the process of the research. (Creswell 2015, 16).

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

The subject of this research is the sexual abuse and misconduct committed by MINUSCA and the UN. The object is how the process of violence emerged in the middle of peacekeeping operations.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

To collect data when the subject is on mid-scale to macro levels, secondary data collection is the perfect solution for reaching a subject and object that cannot be accessed first-hand (Bhandari 2022). In order to collect the secondary data, the method used was finding existing data from online databases.

1.8.4 Process of the Research

- Preparation

  In order to create a thorough observation of the case, it was necessary to gather data related to the problem.

- Formulating the data

  In research that is dominated by a qualitative method, researchers maintain a neutral position which creates a closed background where the subject and object interact with each other while the researcher merely observes the phenomenon (Suryana 2007, 8-9).

- Data analysis

  Data reduction was needed to narrow down the information so that only the most relevant information is included (Suryana 2007, 10).

1.9 Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 introduces the problem, which in this case is the sexual violence committed by the MINUSCA personnel that were deployed in 2014.

Chapter 2 elaborates the social conditions, demographics and the issues related to the Central African Republic.

Chapter 3 analyzes the research framework implemented through Galtung's description of the triangle of violence, which is made up of; direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. The object of analysis is the MINUSCA Peacekeepers who, year upon year, are being accused of sexual abuse by the people in the CAR.

Chapter 4 contains the conclusions drawn the observation and analysis. This chapter indicates whether or not answers were found to the question of this research.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEADLY CONFLICTS INSIDE THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

2.1. The Instability In The Central African Republic

In 2004, the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR) was targeted by the government for warfare. Attacks and instability continued despite efforts to bring about disarmament and peace (Global Conflict Tracker 2023). A coalition of armed, mostly Muslim organizations known as the Seleka (or "alliance" in Sango) organized an insurgency that began an offensive against the Central African Republic government in December 2012.

Seleka's looting and abuses quickly sparked lethal retaliation from Anti-balaka militias and self-defense committees composed of ex-soldiers and civilians, while French and UN peacekeeping forces were stationed in the nation (MSF 2023). Muslims, ethnic Fulani, or those who had allied with the defeated Seleka forces were targeted in Bangui and the west of the nation; they were surrounded, hunted down, slaughtered, and exiled.

"Anti-balaka" (meaning "invincible" in Sango) coalitions of Christian fighters emerged in response to Seleka cruelty, bringing a religious component to the violence (Global Conflict Tracker 2023). These coalitions carried out retaliatory violence against Seleka militants. In September 2013, anti-balaka forces began launching huge counterattacks on civilians, mostly Muslims, prompting tens of thousands of people to escape to Seleka-controlled areas in the north. Numerous

former Seleka members launched counterattacks after the group formally split, throwing the Central African Republic into a chaotic state of warfare and humanitarian crises.

The Central African Republic remained highly reliant on French assistance even after gaining independence in 1960 (Rosenhart 2019, 2). Almost all of the CAR's leaders were installed in office by a military coup supported by France. For instance, in 2003, France supported a coup that brought François Bozizé to power because the country was unhappy that the then-president, Ange-Félix Patassé, was not dependent on the France. The UN Security Council passed a resolution in December 2013 establishing MISCA, an African-led peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic. France made the decision to launch its own Operation Sangaris in support of MISCA. This procedure was intended to be brief and was named after an African butterfly with a limited lifespan. "Restore stability in the Central African Republic and protect the population" was its stated objective.

A criminal investigation into claims that French peacekeeping soldiers in the Central African Republic sexually assaulted children and exchanged sex for food has been requested by French prosecutors (Willsher and Laville 2015). The Paris prosecutor's office then announced that it had chosen to begin criminal proceedings as its response to the UN over the claims of sexual abuse made by French soldiers participating in the peacekeeping mission Sangaris. At the time, France was facing mounting pressure and criticism for allegedly holding onto the UN report that was leaked, which detailed the alleged sexual abuse, and for seemingly taking too long to locate and prosecute the suspected soldiers.

In 2018, the condition in the CAR did not improved from the crisis in 2013. Alindao town's Catholic Mission-run IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) colony came under siege and fire on November 15th, as tensions between local anti-Balaka militias and fighters for the Union for Peace in the Central African Republic (UPC) escalated (Acaps 2018, 2). More than 18,000 people sought safety in the MINUSCA camp, other IDP camps surrounding the city, and the neighboring bushlands after at least sixty people were slain. Thirty-five thousand IDPs were housed with host families and in five camps prior to the attack: PK3, ELIM, AFAPS, the Catholic Mission, and an unidentified fifth location.

In a nearby area of Birao, Vakaga prefecture, on September 1, hostilities broke out between two competing militia groups: the MLCJ, which primarily consists of Kara ethnic people, and the FPRC, which primarily consists of Rounga ethnic people (Acaps 2019, 2). According to reports, the violence intensified when FPRC fighters killed the ethnic Kara son of a local community leader, which led to conflicts with the MLCJ. At least 20 people, including one civilian, are said to have died as a result of clashes between the FPRC and MLCJ. It was reported on September 3rd that about a thousand internally displaced people were taking refuge in the CAR peacekeeping missions complex (MINUSCA).

While the number of victims from the atrocities continued to increase, it was no surprise that the condition inside the Central African Republic government was the reason why the civil war and unrest in the country erupted in the first place. Supported by thousands of Chadian and Sudanese mercenaries, a predominantly Muslim rebel coalition from the northeast, Seleka, marched into Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, ten years ago with no opposition (Picco 2023).

President François Bozizé was overthrown, and a transitional period was initiated, but it was unable to maintain control over its armed forces. Bozizé launched an assault on Bangui towards the end of 2020, leading the Coalition of Patriots for Change (CPC), a diverse alliance comprising anti-balaka and former Seleka members. After being refused by the Central African Armed Forces (FACA) and their allies from Rwanda and Russia, the rebels withdrew into the surrounding countries of Sudan and Chad and went into rural areas. Two years later, the CAR not only still lacked stability, but also seems to be slipping into a fresh security and humanitarian crisis.

Violent clashes between communities and over natural resource control have continued even after a peace deal was signed in 2019 (Mercy Corps, n.d.). A number of armed organizations formed the Coalition of Patriots for Change, also called the Coalition des Patriotes pour le Changement, in an effort to destabilize the ongoing electoral process, which culminated in December 2020. Since then, there have been numerous violent clashes between the CPC and the bilateral and Central African forces, which have caused widespread disruptions to the nation's basic commodity supply chain and forced millions of people to flee their homes.

In the middle of December 2020, there has been a rise in violence that has resulted in over 240,000 internal displacements, with 117,000 people currently living in displacement since their towns and villages still suffer from insecurity (Acaps 2021, 2). The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Chad, Cameroon, and the Republic of Congo have received nearly 110,000 refugees. Many people in the Central African Republic (CAR) have needs in every area and are especially susceptible to the effects of violence and other disasters. Before the violence related

to the election broke out, 2.8 million of the 4.8 million inhabitants in the country were in need of humanitarian aid. There were already 623,000 internally displaced persons and 627,000 CAR refugees living abroad.

In the center, northeast, and along the Chad border, the CPC is still active. Major provincial towns have seen an improvement in security, although banditry remains a concern in urban areas, and robberies and roadblocks are frequent in outlying communities where armed actors continue to operate (Lechner and Ingasso 2023). Rebel rule over other regions of the CAR is still in place. In the southeast, the Lord's Resistance Army, a militant organization founded in Uganda, and the recently created Zande self-defense group coexist with a faction of the Union for Peace (UPC) armed group.

In the course of the upheavals that the Central African Republic has seen over the past ten years, there have been changes in both violent acts and political affiliations (MSF 2023). The Central African government, backed by its Russian allies, launched a military counteroffensive that has restored official control over the nation's major cities and highways. Even while the armed organizations have been pushed to the margins and are weaker, they are still able to cause harm, and accusations of atrocities are often made against both sides.

There have been thousands of deaths and 750,000 refugees since the crisis erupted in 2013 (Global Conflict Tracker 2023). Most of the refugees have fled to neighboring Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, while an additional 500,000 have been internally displaced.

2.2 The Creation Of The MINUSCA Mission In The Central African Republic And Its Significance Towards The Conflict

Concerned about the political, humanitarian, human rights, and security crises in the Central African Republic as well as their regional ramifications, the Security Council approved the deployment of MINUSCA, a multifaceted United Nations peacekeeping operation, on April 10, 2014, with the primary goal of protecting civilians (Peacekeeping UN 2014). Supporting the transition process, facilitating humanitarian aid, promoting and defending human rights, upholding justice and the rule of law, and assisting with the demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation processes were among its initial responsibilities.

On the day of its founding, MINUSCA absorbed the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA) (Peacekeeping UN 2014). In compliance with resolution 2149 (2014), the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA) handed over its leadership to MINUSCA on September 15, 2014.

The main goal of MINUSCA's military POC strategy was to contain armed groups. The mission has implemented a "red line" strategy to limit the movements of armed groups (Center 2016, 7). With this strategy, peacekeepers guard the perimeters of "weapons-free zones" and set up roadblocks to prevent armed groups from entering. September 2015 saw the declaration of Bambari as a weapons-free zone; nonetheless, the neighborhood's anti-balaka and ex-Séléka residents continue to carry firearms, Peacekeepers stationed there helped to avert 12 fatalities from intercommunal fighting in December of the same year. At least six people lost their

lives in armed conflicts between anti-balaka and former Séléka fighters in Kaga-Bandoro, another area meant to be free of guns, on September 16, 2016.

MINUSCA is the only UN peacekeeping force allowed to employ urgent temporary measures (UTMs) for the specific purpose of "fighting impunity and maintaining basic law and order" (Center 2016, 9). According to its mandate, the mission is authorized to apprehend or place armed actors under temporary custody "in areas where national security forces are not present or operational and at the formal request of the CAR Authorities".

Peace broke down in late 2016 for a number of reasons, including the military vacuum created by the French Sangaris Forces leaving the area and the presence of US and Ugandan Special Forces in the southeast, which were hunting the leader of the Lord's Resistance Army, Josef Kony, as part of the AU-led Regional Task Force on the Lord's Resistance Army (AU RTF LRA) (Howard, Vlavonou, and Steinitz 2020). Unlike national or regional forces, peacekeeping missions like MINUSCA are not designed to have an offensive or competent combat capability. There was a power vacuum at the time because the nation's security forces, the gendarmerie, national police, and the Central African Armed Forces (FACA), were ill-prepared to take over. Since no organization in Central Africa possessed exclusive authority over the lawful use of force, displacement and acts of violence against people returned in 2017. MINUSCA swiftly changed its response. Thus, in 2017, the UN Security Council directed MINUSCA to procure 900 more troops as well as a Portuguese Quick Reaction Force (QRF).

In early February 2017, the Coalition started an assault on Bambari. Behind the scenes, ex-Séléka profit maneuvers were in motion (Mangan, Acko, and Taha

2020, 11). A possible ethnic cleansing was brought to the surface when the Coalition attacked Fulani community members in addition to coordinating strategic attacks on important UPC positions. In an effort to protect civilians, peacekeepers from the UN mission in the Central African Republic, or MINUSCA, entered the conflict and stopped the Coalition's advances. In order to allow Darassa and his UPC allies to escape the town and cede power, the UN mediated a settlement with the UPC. Darassa was the leader of UPC itself, which being known as a mercenary from Niger or Chad. Under his leadership, the members from the Chadian Popular Front for Recovery rebel group join the fight and lent their military power and weapons during the Seleka rebellion. MINUSCA considered this agreement a major victory since it stopped the widespread slaughter of ethnic Fulani people. The UPC then gave up, left Bambari, and relocated to the town of Alindao, which is located to the east of Bambari. After designating Bambari a "armed group free zone," peacekeepers quickly retook control of the area and brought some sort of order.

Sexual assault and child recruitment have occasionally been seen to be normal occurrences of war until quite recently (Labuda 2020, 9). Peace operations have resisted this idea in agreeance with other UN agencies, and as a result, some host governments' actions have changed significantly. Establishing a Mixed Unit for Rapid Intervention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children is something that MINUSCA has helped the government of Central Africa do. Peace operations facilitate long-term strategic initiatives when host governments have the political will to do so. Examples of these initiatives include

the creation of human rights laws, the institutional reform of the military and police, or the relocation of host-state authorities to areas left vacant by conflict.

MINUSCA has provided technical, logistical, and financial support to the Special Criminal Court, a hybrid tribunal tasked with prosecuting serious crimes with the assistance of foreign judges and prosecutors working alongside Central African magistrates and police, in accordance with its powers to implement "urgent and temporary measures" (Labuda 2020, 11). Due to security concerns and a challenging investigative environment, the court has not yet had its first trial; nonetheless, hundreds of individuals have been apprehended by UN forces and turned over to national authorities for prosecution. With the help of the justice and correctional division of MINUSCA as well as other UN and bilateral donors, many of these suspects have been tried in regular courts, which have reopened in Bangui, Bouar, and Bambari.

In the Central African Republic, MINUSCA collaborates with a number of other organizations, including the World Bank and UNDP, to carry out projects meant to improve the durability of local mediation results (Zahar and Mechoulan 2017, 37). The mission's relationship with NGOs is complex, though, since NGOs have made an effort to disassociate themselves from the UN in order to avoid being linked to the mission's military component. They have also made this effort because they believe the mission lacks credibility and is biased. There is presently "no real coordination nationwide between NGOs and the UN," according to NGO employees in Bangui. However, the mission has lacked any formal mediation capabilities until recently. In July 2017, the UN sent out a senior mediator (funded

by DPKO and serving a three-month initial assignment) to support the political affairs division of the mission in mediating disputes.

The deployment of MINUSCA presents both an opportunity and a cause for concern (Barbelet 2015, 12-13). It is an opportunity since MINUSCA includes all of the policies and programs created by DPKO to operationalize mandates for the points of contact; these are policies and programs that are absent from both Sangaris and MISCA. Adding more soldiers and resources to the military is also a positive move, even though it was made relatively late in the game. However, the humanitarian sector has expressed well-known concerns in response to the force's multifaceted mandate.

In the positive light, MINUSCA has employed proportionately more women than any other current UN peace operation (albeit the number remains low) (Howard 2019). The female squad has gained recognition for its many acts of community service, from assisting locals with morning market sweeping to offering unbiased obstetric care. Regarding the negative review of MINUSCA, the group frequently criticized by interviewees for lacking legitimacy and trustworthiness. Domestically, MINUSCA is not very popular among Central Africans. Even if MINUSCA and other organizations have made efforts to stop sexual assault on a large scale, the news coverage of UN peacekeeper abuse from 2015 to 2016 stems from this deployment.

CHAPTER 3

SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION BY MINUSCA SINCE ITS DEPLOYMENT IN 2014

3.1. Direct Violence

Johan Galtung, a pioneer in peace studies, defined direct violence in 1969 and set it apart from other types of violence (Kaufman 2014, 441-442). According to Galtung, "somatic incapacitation, or deprivation of health, alone (with killing as the hands of an actor who intends this to be the consequence)" is related to direct violence. Galtung claims that physical manifestations of direct violence are associated with a definite offender and goal. As a result, he proposed the idea of a "violence triangle" and hypothesized that direct, structural, and cultural violence are all connected. Following in his footsteps, numerous academics have produced a substantial corpus of work that expands upon these definitions, occasionally debating them, but primarily strengthening them to the point where the terms "direct," "structural," and "cultural violence" are now considered essential components of the multidisciplinary field of peace research.

Killing and maiming fall into the first category of violence, which is obvious enough (Galtung 1990). When combined, they represent "casualties," which are a measure of a war's severity. However, 'war' is merely one specific type of planned violence, typically involving a government as one or more actors. The insult to human requirements caused by sanctions (a modern term) or siege/blockade (a

classical term) is also included under maiming. Some people consider this to be "non-violence" because there is no direct or instantaneous killing. However, for the victims, it can entail slowly but deliberately killing them via starvation and neglect, targeting the most vulnerable first—children, the old, the impoverished, and women.

Socialization, or the internalization of culture, is one way to describe the category of "alienation" (Galtung 1990, 293). There are two aspects to this: being resocialized into a different culture after being desocialized from one's own, and language prohibition and imposition. The two do not need to exist together for one to exist. They do, however, frequently fall under the umbrella of second class citizenship, in which the oppressed group—which need not be a "minority"—is compelled to express dominant culture rather than its own, at least in public.

The International Bill of Human Rights' dual definitions of "freedom from" and "freedom to" apply to the category of "repression"(Galtung 1990, 293). Due to their importance as corollaries of other forms of violence, two new categories have been explicitly included: confinement, which refers to locking people in (prisons, concentration camps), and expulsion, which refers to shutting people out (banishing them overseas or to remote areas of the country).

In a sharply worded independent investigation published on December 17, the UN was accused of botching and lying in response to allegations of child sex abuse in 2014 by French peacekeepers in the Central African Republic (Crossette 2015). In an apparent attempt to suppress the allegations, the report accused multiple agencies and at least three UN officials of abusing their power or covering

up the crimes. General Babacar Gaye of Senegal, the leader of the UN mission in the Central African Republic, was fired by Ban in August 2015.

Stephane Dujarric, Ban's spokesperson, described the dismissal of such a senior official as "unprecedented." He stated that since the mission was formed in April 2014 to stop deadly conflict between Muslims and Christians, the peacekeeping force in the Central African Republic has been the target of 57 complaints of potential wrongdoing, including 11 examples of potential sexual abuse (Anna 2015). In July, Ban appointed Gaye. The firing occurs one day after Amnesty International claimed that in two separate incidents this month, UN forces in the capital of the Central African Republic raped a 12-year-old girl and killed a 16-year-old boy and his father without cause.

Since the mission started in April 2014, there have been 57 reports of potential wrongdoing in the CAR, including 11 examples of "possible sexual abuse" (Wolfe 2015). In one incredibly disastrous raid. U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Central African Republic broke into a Muslim neighborhood known as PK5 in Bangui, the country's capital, early on Sunday, August 2. Amnesty International claims that during the chaos of the attacks, a 12-year-old girl was violently raped by one of the soldiers. The girl was taken to a clinic within 60 hours of the alleged attack, which is well within the 96-hour range that is suggested in order to gather useful biological evidence. According to Amnesty, a nurse there discovered "medical evidence consistent with sexual assault".

The ability of the mission to carry out its mandate to safeguard people in the war-torn nation has been seriously hampered by a spate of allegations of sexual abuse by U.N. peacekeepers in the Central African Republic (Al Jazeera America

2016). UN troops stationed in the Central African Republic have been accused of sexually abusing four children who were residing in a camp for internally displaced residents from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The four victims experienced the sexual assault in the years 2014–2015. On February 11, U.N. officials learned of the claims made by humanitarian organizations, which stated that the four children were residing at Ngakobo camp in the Central African Republic's Ouaka prefecture.

Members of the U.N. mission in the Central African Republic have been accused of sexual assault in at least 17 previous cases since 2016 (VOA 2016). The U.N. mission in the Central African Republic announced that it was looking into fresh claims of sexual assault and exploitation committed in the nation's capital by international forces and U.N. peacekeepers. The U.N. Children's Fund reports that four alleged victims, all of whom are girls, have met with its officials, who are assisting them in getting medical care and having their psychological needs assessed. The mission, known as MINUSCA, did not disclose the specifics of the claims,

A UN investigation into several complaints of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers in the Central African Republic has identified 41 alleged perpetrators among the troops (Laville 2016). The civilians reported being sexually abused and exploited by UN forces in the CAR's Kémo province during 2014 and 2015. Some were able to identify the soldiers who had allegedly mistreated them thanks to photographs and other supporting documentation, and the 41 soldiers—16 from Gabon and 25 from Burundi—were recognized as the probable culprits. Out of 130 potential victims, 83 could not provide evidence to support their claims

or identify the criminals. Three of the accounts were determined to be faulty. However, according to the investigators, 45 alleged victims were able to identify the 41 alleged claimed perpetrators. Twenty-five minors claimed that the servicemen had sexually abused and exploited them.

Following allegations of sexual abuse in the Central African Republic, three soldiers from the Democratic Republic of the Congo came before a tribunal in the DRC (Aljazeera 2016). In relation to the controversy in which more than 100 victims came forward to claim they were sexually abused by French and UN personnel, these three men from the MINUSCA peacekeeping operation were the first soldiers to be accused. Ndolo, a military prison north of Kinshasa, was the venue for the trial. The three entered not guilty pleas. In the courtroom were another eighteen DR Congolese soldiers who were charged with raping or attempting to rape citizens they were supposed to be protecting while on a peacekeeping assignment in the Central African Republic. The UN then announced that its investigators had found 108 additional victims, "the vast majority" of whom were young girls who had been sexually assaulted, raped, or used by foreign forces for other purposes.

Data that was made public also revealed that, less than ten days after the UN announced that Congolese troops would be leaving the mission due to numerous accusations of sexual abuse and exploitation, another case of sexual exploitation had been reported against the Republic of Congo peacekeepers in the Central African Republic (CAR) (Essa 2017). Nine incidents of sexual assault or exploitation by UN forces stationed in the CAR have occurred since January 2017.

Not a single case has been resolved. The UN gave investigators six months to complete their work.

Amnesty International, which conducted interviews with a victim and ten other people who had firsthand knowledge of the incident, declared that the UN needed to act decisively in response to reliable new information that showed that UN forces drugged and sexually assaulted a young lady in the Central African Republic (Amnesty International 2017). The 19-year-old woman was allegedly sexually assaulted by one or more Mauritanian peacekeepers on the evening of September 30, 2017, in the central town of Bambari, according to the organization's on-the-ground research. After testing the victim, medical personnel at a nearby hospital informed Amnesty International that they had discovered evidence of drugging and sexual assault, including semen. The woman received anti-HIV medicine and emergency contraception as treatment.

UN Secretary-General António Guterres issued an order in September 2021 for the repatriation of 450 Gabonese military personnel who were part of MINUSCA, the UN peacekeeping force in the Central African Republic (CAR) (Vojdik 2022). MINUSCA was notified of verifiable reports that troops from Gabon had abused and exploited minors through sexual means. Gabon's "demonstrated failure" to adequately look into and address the charges led the Secretary-General to decide to return the troops home. The UN's MINUSCA, had eleven Tanzanian peacekeepers accused of sexually abusing four victims (Dodds 2023). The contingent was kept inside their barracks while the investigation was underway.

Following a preliminary inquiry that discovered credible evidence that the 11 Tanzanian peacekeepers had sexually abused and exploited at least four victims, the UN announced that it was sending a unit of 60 peacekeepers from the Central African Republic home (Besheer 2023). Tanzania has roughly 1,586 uniformed personnel in the C.A.R. as part of the more than 17,000-strong operation, MINUSCA, according to the Department of Peacekeeping's website. According to Dujarric, the Tanzanian troops were stationed at a makeshift outpost in the west part of the Central African Republic.

Table 3 Direct Violence Typology In The Central African Republic

Type of Violence	Indicators	Status
Direct Violence	Survival Needs (Killing)	Exist through the killing of a 16-yeor-old boy and his father by UN forces
	Well-being Needs (Maiming)	Exists (through sexual abuse that is prevalent during the deployment of MINUSCA)
	Identity Needs (Desocialization, Resocialization, Secondary Citizens)	-
	Freedom Needs (Repression, Detention, Expulsion)	-

Source: Galtung, 1990

Based on the table 3, the survival needs (killing act) by the MINUSCA troops towards the civilians in the Central African Republic is accounted from the firing

up of UN high officials Babacar Gaye, in the name of the failure of UN forces that killing a 16-year-old boy and his father. For the maiming (sexual abuse) is still prevalent as there are many cases of sexual abuse by MINUSCA found since their deployment in 2014. For the identity needs, which related to the point where the civilians is prohibited in using their own culture, the data also nowhere to be found. The same with the identity needs, the freedom needs, includes the act of locking people in prison and banishing them out of country also cannot be found as MINUSCA has primer goals to help and maintain peace in the CAR itself.

3.2 Structural Violence

Over the past 40 years, Johan Galtung has frequently employed a broad definition of peace that incorporates the concept of structural violence (Vorobej 2008, 84-86). Structural violence, in general, is defined as violence that causes injury without a clear culprit. Thus, it is evident that systemic violence has an underlying cause. When members of a society have differing life opportunities—one ethnic group may have a significantly shorter life expectancy than another, for instance—and there is no obvious causal actor to blame for this preventable disparity, structural violence takes place.

The term "structural violence" describes the preventable restrictions that society imposes on some groups of individuals, preventing them from fulfilling their fundamental needs and living the kind of life that would otherwise be feasible (Lee 2019, 123). These restrictions, which can be legal, cultural, religious, political, or economic in character, typically have their roots in organizations that have

authority over specific topics. People often ignore these restrictions as being no more than common challenges they face on a daily basis as they are ingrained in normatively operating social institutions. For instance, it is a form of structural violence if someone passes away from AIDS, tuberculosis, or any other treatable disease in the modern world where improved therapies are available but not accessible to them.

Sometimes, structural violence is referred to as social injustice. Six elements are involved in the maintenance of unequal distributions, and as such, they can be considered structural violence's mechanisms: (Galtung 1969, 176).

1. Linear ranking order: all actors are ranked in a full manner, making it clear which actor is superior in each pair;

2. Acyclical interaction pattern: in which all actors are related, yet there is only one "correct" course of interaction;

3. Correlation between rank and centrality: an actor's place in the interaction network is more central the higher his rank within the system;

4. Congruence between the systems: the interaction networks share structural similarities.

5. Concordance between ranks: An actor who does well in one system is likely to do well in another that he works in.

6. High rank coupling between levels – representing the actor at level n-1 at level n via the highest .

According to Galtung, the central element of the classic violent structure is exploitation (Galtung 1990, 293-294). This merely indicates that some, the

underdogs, benefit considerably less from the interaction in the system others do, the topdogs. There is the euphemism "unequal exchange." In fact, the underdogs may be so disadvantaged that it causes them to starve to death or waste away from illnesses: this is Exploitation A. Alternatively, they might be abandoned to a lifelong, unwelcome state of suffering, which typically includes starvation and disease: this is Exploitation B. Segmentation, which gives the underdog a very limited view of events, along with penetration, which essentially implants the topdog inside the underdog, will accomplish the first task. Fragmentation, which keeps the underdogs apart from one another, along with marginalization, which keeps the underdogs on the outside, will accomplish the second task.

Systemic violence includes things like poverty, the denial of fundamental resources and rights, and repressive structures that abuse, threaten, and subjugate marginalized and impoverished people as well as dissenters (Council of Europe, n.d.). According to estimates from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), armed violence claims the lives of at least 740,000 women, men, youth, and children annually; the majority of those impacted are impoverished. Although armed conflicts still result in a significant death toll, most armed killings take place outside of wartime conflicts.

Poverty continues to be a serious issue in many nations around the world. It is more widespread in developing nations, especially in Africa (Okunlola and Okafor 2022, 1-2). The world's poorest countries are thought to be home to a large number of the world's poorest people. Around 10% of the world's population, or 767 million people, were estimated to be living below the $1.90 per day international poverty level in 2013. Africa has hosted more than half of the world's

poor in 2013, despite the 2013 estimate showing a downward trend in the poverty headcount ratio since 1990 (an average of 1.1 percentage points per year) at the global level.

Numerous violent battles have occurred in several of these African nations. Nonetheless, it is believed that social exclusion and poverty are the root drivers of conflict (Okunlola and Okafor 2022, 2). Contrarily, violent conflict makes people poorer by destroying property, uprooting communities and social networks, damaging institutions, infrastructure, and production; altering access to and relationships with local employment, credit, and insurance markets; lowering human development; cutting back on spending on social services; and killing and injuring people.

Africa is a highly unstable regional subsystem within the globalizing world system; attempts to enhance the region's economic performance and capability have been thwarted by widespread and ongoing warfare (Okunlola and Okafor 2022, 3). In addition, the majority of African governments exhibit a combination of authoritarian and democratic characteristics, with a significant degree of ethnic exclusivity within the ruling class. In the 1990s, the issue of extreme state failures increased and affected around 10% of African nations (Okunlola and Okafor 2022, 4).

The political susceptibility of CAR may worsen in the upcoming months and years (Kouame 2022). One of the risks is the macro-fiscal instability brought about by the official adoption of Bitcoin as legal cash (in April 2022). The desire to change the constitution to permit the president to run for a third term, demographic trends, the effects of the war in Ukraine, declining donor interest, and

regional differences in poverty and service delivery are possible additional considerations. Provinces have the lowest levels of social cohesion and trust, which exacerbates disappointments because they have the greatest dearth of opportunities.

Among the most prevalent forms of gender-based violence in humanitarian crises are domestic abuse, rape, human trafficking, early and forced marriage, sexual harassment, exploitation, and sexual abuse (Stefano 2024). Gender-based violence is a growing hazard in humanitarian contexts due to the breakdown of family and societal support networks; over 70% of women report experiencing it.

The practice has been more prevalent in the Central African Republic in recent years as a result of favorable sociocultural norms and the almost complete absence of political authority in several of the nation's cities (Stefano 2024). Data from the Gender-Based Violence Information Management System (GBVIMS) show that there were 23,644 cases in 2022 and 5,928 cases in the first four months of 2023, which is a 104% increase over the number of incidents reported in 2021. The fact that poverty affects nearly 70% of the population and that almost seven out of ten people in the Central African Republic will live below the extreme poverty line of USD 2.15 per day, as per a World Bank study, are among the main causes of this sharp increase.

In the CAR, sexual violence is much more pervasive than the protracted conflict (Fekih 2023). A small percentage of attackers (about 20%) had weapons, according to MSF's five-year analysis, while the great majority (almost 70%) were known to the victim. Due to blatant impunity, unfortunately, very few of the offenders are found guilty, and survivors must overcome severe stigma and other major challenges in order to lead regular lives in their community. Survivors of

sexual violence require access to socioeconomic support and legal counsel in order to aid in their reintegration into society and prevent stigmatization upon seeking assistance.

The UN claims, it looked into the claims in Dekoa, which attracted less attention from the media, and it also provided the women with assistance from UN agencies and partner NGOs (Kleinfeld 2018). However, after two years, IRIN's reporting exposed glaring deficiencies in victim support, an inadequate investigation that prompted an internal UN review, and fresh claims from women who had been silent in the past out of fear of being stigmatized. As of right now, all of the victims' cases are still listed as "pending" in the UN victim database.

The chief investigator for the UN, Swanson, questions some of the women's testimony (Kleinfeld 2018). He said to IRIN that "with a high degree of confidence, the soldiers identified were not the fathers of the children they were alleged to be," according to DNA testing done "on around 20 victims and their children." The public has not been informed of these DNA results. The insider claimed that once the investigation got underway, Swanson unexpectedly dispatched a former member of the London Metropolitan Police who had no prior CAR expertise to Dekoa to take charge of the probe. Months of preparation were given to the former police officer, but applicants who had been working on the case for months were not given the same opportunity.

The probe was probably delayed even more because swabs from women and troops engaged in paternity claims were handled improperly and had to be repeated when lab tests failed to extract DNA (Kleinfeld 2018). The work of Burundian and Gabonese investigators, who, according to IRIN's source, lacked

competence in interviewing traumatized victims of sexual abuse, soon alarmed UN staff. A United Nations guidebook on interviewing trauma survivors emphasizes the significance of "empathy," "rapport," and steering clear of "retraumatization." Nonetheless, the former investigator said that the Burundian and Gabonese were "trying to protect their country's reputations" by vigorously cross-examining women and young girls in Dekoa.

According to the Code Blue, there were eight occasions where the purported survivors were not questioned (Aljazeera 2017).. According to Code Blue, ten of the 14 incidents are not listed on the UN website, which is where information regarding cases of sexual misconduct is often made public. Burundi, Cameroon, Egypt, Gabon, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Republic of Congo, and Zambia were among the peacekeepers listed by Code Blue. Additionally, the UN was charged with suppressing evidence and failing to respond to situations involving its troops in a timely or open manner (Essa 2017).

For almost 20 years, the UN has fought to prevent the sexual abuse and exploitation of peacekeepers (Vojdik 2022). In 2002, Save the Children Fund and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees revealed allegations of child abuse against local NGO staff, peacekeepers, and humanitarian workers in refugee camps in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone. Not unexpectedly, SEA (Sexual Exploitation and abuses) has continued despite the UN's zero tolerance policy, giving rise to additional reform attempts that have not succeeded in resolving the problem. For example, in 2004, over 150 women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) accused UN personnel of rape, forced prostitution, and sexual exploitation. The majority of survivors are women and girls, and they frequently

suffer from physical and psychological injuries, including despair, trauma, forced pregnancies, and STD risk.

Table 4 Structural Violence Typology In the Central African Republic

Type of Violence	Indicators	Status
Structural Violence	Survival Needs (Exploitation A)	-
	Well-being Needs (Exploitation B)	Exists as the poverty is the main cause of the susceptible conditions of CAR civilians. There is an absent of government authority caused by the prolonged conflict and thus sexual abuse is counted as something trivial in the eye of law.
	Identity Needs (Segmentation)	-
	Freedom Needs (Marginalization, Fragmentation)	Exists through the stigmatization by UN investigators that lead to silenced victims

Source: Galtung, 1990

Based on the table, the Structural Violence that occured during MINUSCA deployment is violence that threatens well being needs (exploitation B) and freedom needs (marginalization). Exploitation B happens when there is a situation between the top dogs and underdogs that creates injustice, due to the unbalanced structure that results in a state of suffering and disease, in this manner is the poverty conditions in the CAR. The civilians in CAR was faced with political crisis and also

economy insecurity and thus made many of them internally displaced and in need to live in the refugee camp. The refugee camp also proof to be unsafe living conditions as many of the soldiers are also presents and the lack of education about sexual abuse can cause in the exploitative sexual abuse (involving money or food as the payment). In terms of the victims of sexual abuse by MINUSCA, the victims were left with the possibility of STDs, forced pregnancy and trauma. Structural violence happened and there are also the same cases of sexual abuse in different UN peacekeeping missions so the phenomenon has been around for a long time with no clear resolution.

On the other hand, marginalization happens when the victim was being marginalized from the society because of certain conditions that they imposed to. For instance, many of the sexual abuse victims was silenced due to the fear of being stigmatized by others. In the case of the sexual abuse by MINUSCA, one of the investigators, Swanson, questions some of the women's testimony (Kleinfeld 2018). He said to IRIN that "with a high degree of confidence, the soldiers identified were not the fathers of the children they were alleged to be," according to DNA testing done "on around 20 victims and their children." The public has not been informed of these DNA results. While in fact the swab was being done incorrectly and in the hurried manner so that it means that the statement from the investigators was entirely discriminative towards the victims. The victims that feels being accused of lying about their conditions will stay silenced as the fear of the same treatment from investigators will happen again in the future.

3.3 Cultural Violence

Generally speaking, one can trace a causal flow from structural to direct violence via cultural factors (Galtung 1990, 295). We are indoctrinated by the culture to either regard exploitation and/or repression as commonplace and unavoidable, or to not notice them at all (especially not exploitation). Indeed, labeling the victim of structural violence who throws the first stone as an "aggressor" and placing him in a glasshouse instead of allowing him to escape the iron prison is a key kind of cultural violence practiced by the governing elites. Such cultural violence ought to be made visible by the structural violence category. The plan's reasoning is straightforward: pinpoint the cultural component and demonstrate how it might, in theory or in practice, be utilized to justify structural or direct forms of violence.

In armed forces and groups, sexual violence can be used to legitimize hostility and cruelty (Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz 2007, 11). As a "morale booster" or "reward for bravery," it can be applauded or accepted. More focused cultural views may also serve as a driving force behind its use. A notion that the rape of a virgin conferred magical powers and invincibility apparently led to acts of sexual violence by an armed group in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It should be clear from this allusion to certain "cultural beliefs" that acts of sexual violence committed during times of war are rooted in a complicated web of cultural stereotypes.

The motivations of those who commit acts of sexual violence during times of conflict are a reflection of their own understandings as well as collectively created social understandings, particularly with regard to gender roles (Bastick,

Grimm, and Kunz 2007, 11-12). For instance, what it means to be a "man" and a "warrior," what it means to rape and what it means for one's "manhood," or what it means for a community when its members are raped. According to Seifert, "rape is not an aggressive expression of sexuality, but a sexual expression of aggression... a manifestation of anger, violence, and dominance," as evidenced by a number of rape studies. However, in other cases—such as when a humanitarian worker compensates a woman for her sexual services—sexual violence may occur without any overt use of physical force. However, there is no denying that sexual violence is directly linked to the offenders' perceptions of masculinity—both their own and that of others—as well as the femininity or masculinity of their victims (Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz 2007, 12).

Understanding gender roles is essential to figuring out the underlying causes of sexual attacks (Robertson 2016). Sexual assault include both male-on-male and female-on-female interactions in addition to male-on-female ones. Therefore, culturally-driven gender norms that pit the feminine (weak, subordinate, inferior, emotional) against the male (strong, dominant, controlling, powerful) are what sexual assault is really about, not sex. Different academic disciplines define masculinity in different ways. For instance, the kind of masculinity that is encouraged in the military society, according to professional psychologist and therapist Dr. Mic Hunter, is severe and claims that it's hypermasculine.

Morris examined the prevalence of rape in both civilian and military settings, contrasting it with other violent crime rates (Rosen, Knudson, and Fancher 2003). She discovered that military members commit violent crimes at a lesser rate than civilians. Though the military rate was somewhat higher than anticipated, there

were smaller variations in rape rates between the armed forces and the civilian population than there were in the cases of other violent crimes. Morris came to the conclusion that the comparatively higher rate is connected to a hypermasculine culture that is associated with military life and involves the denigration and objectification of women.

The Central African Republic is rife with ethnic violence and gross human rights violations, according to an assessment of the situation by independent U.N. experts (Schlein 2023). Children are subjected to horrific abuse and brutality at the hands of armed groups, defense and security forces, and private military and security firms. In 2022, child recruitment and usage continued to be the most frequently reported and verified infraction. Although males were most impacted, females were also enlisted, utilized as bargaining chips, and most of them experienced sexual assault while they were involved. After the rape, a few of the girls got pregnant. The deputy special representative of MINUSCA, the U.N. peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic, Mohamed Ag Ayoya, issues a warning: armed groups and security forces continue to recruit, kill, maim, and rape minors with impunity. There aren't any active criminal courts. Rape is therefore frequently tried as a trivialized, minor crime. That puts an end to efforts for security and peace.

It is not just about individuals breaking the law; it is also about how peacekeepers manage their daily relationships with locals while residing in host towns (Westendorf 2022). People in "peace-kept" communities that were interviewed for research frequently discussed sexual misconduct by peacekeepers, especially exploitative sex, as well as complaints about local staff pay differences,

how secretaries and housekeepers were treated, and perceived racism against locals in daily work and social situations.

The likelihood of sexual abuse is increasing as peacekeepers in the Central African Republic develop close connections with residents. Due to the large number of internally displaced citizens, there are scenarios when civilians must live in refugee camps while also having their security threatened by the large number of parties present in the camp. The situation deteriorated further due to the prevalence of gender-based violence and hypermasculine culture. As a result, there have been several cases of sexual abuse by UN soldiers since 2014, and because of wars and a lack of the rule of law, those who commit sexual abuse are able to escape punishment for their crimes.

BAB 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

Even though United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission In The Central African Republic (MINUSCA) did contribute to stopping the rebel's movements in the country, peacekeepers have been charged with Sexual Abuse and Exploitation since the deployment of the mission in 2014 (Wolfe 2015). The earliest report was received during the attack in PK5 Bangui, where Amnesty International found evidence of a young girl being raped by UN soldiers. In order to analyze the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation by MINUSCA, the triangle of violence theory by Johan Galtung has been used in this study to identify ways to improve the current situation and uphold peace in the Central African Republic.

Table 5. Three Type of Violences During MINUSCA Deployment

Type of Violences	Categories	Status
Direct Violence	Killing	Exist through the killing of a 16-yeor-old boy and his father by UN forces
	Maiming	Exists (through sexual abuse that is prevalent during the deployment of MINUSCA)
Structural Violence	Exploitation B	Exists as the poverty is the main cause of the susceptible conditions of CAR

		civilians. There is an absent of government authority caused by the prolonged conflict and thus sexual abuse is counted as something trivial in the eye of law.
	Marginalization	Exists through the stigmatization by UN investigators that lead to silenced victims
Cultural Violence	Exist through the existence of hyper-masculine culture that caused gender-based violence like sexual abuse	

Source: Galtung, 1990

Based on the theory, we can divide the violence into three types: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Both direct and structural violence have the same categorizations of violence: survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs, and freedom needs. However, cultural violence acts as the final stages of the triangle of violence and is the product of both types of violence happening at the same time (Galtung 1990, 294). The findings regarding direct violence in the Central African Republic violate survival and well-being needs. Survival needs, or act of killing happens while there are UN forces that proved to killed a 16-year-old boy and his fathers during the conflicts. Well-being needs are threatened, through acts like maiming or in this case include sexual abuse. Much of the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation committed by MINUSCA has targeted children

and women (Wolfe 2015). The earliest report of the abuses is an example of this, the peacekeepers were present in the middle of conflict areas and reported assaulting a girl nearby. As Amnesty International claimed, they found biological evidence from the events, meaning the abuse affected the girl physically.

Structural violence often called social injustice, is seen by many as a normal phenomenon within the conditions of a country (Lee 2019, 123). There is also no real culprit and it is really difficult to trace the cause because the violence is coming from a violent structure. It is also connected to somewhat preventable restrictions that society applied to some group of people or a country as a whole. In the case of the sexual abuse by MINUSCA, we can see that the phenomenon is actually preventable, through application of improved in law enforcement and decreased immunity of the guilty peacekeepers (Crossette 2015).

Research findings, however, have mainly found that the forms of structural violence happening in the Central African Republic are Exploitation B and Freedom needs (marginalization). Exploitation B happens when many of the civilians in the CAR are under poverty and political crisis, make them susceptible to the direct violence such as sexual abuse. The victims of sexual abuse might receive physical and psychological injuries, like trauma, forced pregnancy, STD risk, and despair. It is also important to note that the sexual abuse has not just happened in the peacekeeping missions in the Central African Republic, but in other countries such as Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone (Vojdik 2022). Even though sexual abuse in peacekeeping mission has been ongoing for more than 20 years, there has been no significant change until today, which is the fault of the poor UN system.

Marginalization, or the event which creates the situation where the victims will be keep outside of the system, marginalized (Galtung 1990, 294). In the case of sexual abuse in the CAR, there is an occasions where the victims were being questioned by an UN investigators but being accused of lying as the paternity claims were counted incorrect to the perpetrator. While in fact, there are misconduct on the investigation process where the test was done improperly and the fault was on the inexperienced investigators. Due to this event, many of the victims was face with a fear of being stigmatized and thus leaving them with silenced over the same while they also face with a reality that they need to bear the burden as someone who already being "used"“by the UN peacekeepers.

Cultural violence, acts as the final stages of both direct and structural violence. Cultural, in this case, means there is a certain behavioral and interaction pattern in the society that regards exploitation and repression as an unavoidable situation while it is actually preventable (Galtung 1990, 291-292).

The likelihood of sexual abuse is increasing as peacekeepers in the Central African Republic develop close connections with residents. Due to the large number of internally displaced citizens, In armed forces and groups, sexual violence can be used to legitimize hostility and cruelty (Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz 2007, 11). As a "morale booster" or "reward for bravery," it can be applauded or accepted. More focused cultural views may also serve as a driving force behind its use. Morris came to the conclusion that the comparatively higher rate is connected to a hypermasculine culture that is associated with military life and involves the denigration and objectification of women (Rosen, Knudson, and Fancher 2003).

4.2 Recommendation

The identification of the three types of violence is one way to uphold peace in the middle of society in the Central African Republic (Dayal and Huvé 2018). Thus, there are several things that need to be considered so that sexual violence and abuse can be eradicated.

1. Providing uniform data-collection procedures throughout missions and time. The UN must create and implement a precise, well-defined data-collection plan that can be used for all missions, and it must be implemented for a number of years.
2. Carrying out external evaluations. Even though different components of the UN system are separated by bureaucracy and geography, the UN should not act as the accused, the primary investigator, and the judge in the same case when UN personnel are accused of misconduct. In the end, allowing other parties to corroborate and support reporting and investigations will improve our understanding of SEA and the UN's capacity to address these violations.
3. Boosting accountability. Nations providing troop support should collaborate with the UN Secretariat and the Office of the Victims' Rights Advocate at the UN to reinforce internal policies that permit SEA offenders to be prosecuted. SEA offenders in UN peacekeeping missions should therefore be prosecuted in national capitals to the greatest extent of the law.

Even though this research has discussed the three types of violence set by Johan Galtung, there are some limitations of this study. During the analysis of the three violence, only one type of direct violence; well-being needs, and two types of structural violence; Exploitation B and Segmentation, were identified. It is yet to be determined if there are other types of violence that might have happened during the deployment of MINUSCA. This is a result of a lack of data and the possibility of underreported cases. Moreover, it is important for future research to analyze the same cases and expand the timeline in order to identify further escalation of sexual abuse and violence that might have happened along with the concern that MINUSCA might still continue as the mandate will be renewed on July 2024.

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