Assessing UN Peacekeeping Mission in Central African Republic through the Lens of Pakistani Peacekeeping Troops: Perceptions and Challenges

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ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of UN peacekeeping, the research surrounding the effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs) is being carried out. The literature available varies in defining the parameters of success to provide an overarching view of UNPKOs success based on the state and mission's dynamics but not from the peacekeeper experiences. This research aims to highlight the effectiveness of a mission from the UN peacekeepers point of view. Pakistan is one of the largest contributors of Troops to UNPKOs therefore has a huge reservoir of peacekeepers that have served in different missions. There is a greater need to explore and analyze effectiveness of UNPKOs and in doing so, this research focuses on the on-ground challenges and surrounding environment experienced by the troops.. This research focuses on assessing the challenges and perceptions of Pakistani-UN Peacekeeping Troops in achieving the underlying objectives of United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Central African Republic (MINISCA). The assessment is founded in the primary data collected from Pakistani UN peacekeepers based on their in-field challenges, motivations, perceptions, experiences and training. The study endeavors to highlight the contribution of Pakistani Troops to achieving global peace while facing numerous challenges.

Keywords: Peacekeeping, global peace, impediments, challenges, multi-cultural troops, UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Peacekeeping has been one of the fundamental instruments utilized by the UN in managing conflicts and reestablishing or protecting peace and security in the world. Since 1945, the UN has significantly evolved in its ways of bringing about peace and stability; embracing ways to deal with peace that stretch out past military concerns. Without a doubt peacekeeping missions, as powerful instruments of conflict diminishment, are the need of the hour which to a great degree explains the advancement toward multidimensional missions and the exceptional number of peacekeepers deployed in the most recent decade. As a result, the developing significance of peacekeeping effectiveness has started another influx of research that empirically investigates challenges faced by the peacekeeping troops deployed in different areas of the world to achieve worldwide peace. Pakistani troops that frame one of the biggest reservoirs of peacekeepers remain unstudied in this regard.

Peacekeeping operations were initiated as an instrument keeping in mind the end goal to help nations and their kin with managing conditions for peaceful situations. The UN Charter declares that its fundamental aim is "to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war". (UN Charter) In this regard, Peacekeeping operations started under UN banner in 1948 with the arrangement of an unarmed military group following the cease-fire between Israel and its Arab neighbors. In the initial years, the UNPKOs were tasked to fulfill three functions. Firstly, it was expected of the peacekeeping forces to maintain impartiality in their conduct with the parties in conflict. Secondly, it was necessary up

until the 1990s that the parties consented to involving the UN peacekeepers in the resolution of the conflict. Lastly, the UN peacekeepers were tasked to avoid the use of force. (Krasno, 2005) It is conceivable to characterize peacekeeping operations as missions, which were deployed with or without the compliance of aggressive parties, depending on international legislation and mandate to sustain and implement a peaceful environment impartially and without using combat arms, if not necessary.

However, in the course of time, the definition and characteristics of peacekeeping operations underwent changes, and the importance of the evaluation of peacekeeping operations attracted more attention due to expenditures, costs and more importantly, effectiveness. In spite of the abundance of research on international peacekeeping operations, studies rarely address or assess the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations through front line peacekeepers.

Over the period of time, peacekeeping operations have evolved to include a wide range of mechanisms, strategies and resources that the UN rationalizes in support of peace and security. A multi-national force of trained individuals is made functional to bring about peace in the world by upholding the mandate of UN. In this vein, Pakistan has ascended to assume the role of one of the largest reservoirs of peacekeeping troops in this multi-national force that contributes to global peace by offering specialized military services. Pakistan has thus far participated in forty-three missions in over twenty-six countries with a contribution of over one hundred and seventy-two thousand uniformed personnel. It is currently involved in seven missions with a contribution of five thousand and eighty-one personnel. Pakistan ranks on number four as the largest TCC in the world, whereas it is the second largest contributor in terms of its military deployment. Moreover, Pakistan is

the sixth largest police contributor in the world. For the international policing duties, it has also sent its paramilitary personnel.[1]

Despite the proactive role that Pakistan plays in contributing to global peace under the banner of UNPKOs, the in-field executants remain unapproached in regards to understanding the challenges they face. There prevails a gap between the understanding of actual and perceived challenges faced by Pakistani troops that impact the effectiveness of a UN peacekeeping mission like MINSCA and their understanding of effective peacekeeping. Hence, paving way for an opportunity to study the challenging aspects of UNPKOs through the lens of UN-Pakistani peacekeepers to conceptualize and assess individual and military level setbacks.

The rationale behind the choice of this topic is the lack of literature in assessing the success of UNPKOs from the view point of Pakistani-UN peacekeepers. Additionally, Pakistan being the largest contributor of peacekeepers has huge reservoir of peacekeepers that have served at various missions. Therefore, assessing the perspective of peacekeepers in understanding effective peacekeeping is a tool utilized in this research. Moreover, the way peacekeepers perceive effective peacekeeping as an instrument to bring global peace provide a deeper insight into their motivations and overall discussions on peacekeeping. The rationale behind focusing the research on results from the UN mission in Central African Republic can be divided into three reasons; 1. The mission started in 2014; hence it is a relatively new as compared to other UN missions. 2. Its

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[1] Data accessed from the Department of Peacekeeping Training, Centre for International Peace and Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad, Pakistan on May 21st, 2018.

unique 'peace enforcement' and 'robust' mandate as compared to other mandates of peacekeeping missions; and 3. Pakistan has the largest troop deployment as compared to other nations deployed in the area. This directed research on one mission helped in better understanding the operational and social challenges faced by the peacekeepers in the field as the duration of the mission was defined, the focus remained on a single mandate and geographical location of the mission was demarcated.

The findings of this research aim to greatly facilitate the process of laying out mission guidelines and policies in UN Peacekeeping mission through the perspectives of Pakistani-UN Peacekeeping troops. It also elucidates important implications for both in-field troops and decision makers. The results are expected to facilitate Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in significantly refining their strategies and policies to facilitate and improve the overall effectiveness of a peacekeeping mission.

The study highlights the need for assessment of UN peacekeeping operations to better recognize the weaknesses and strengths of Pakistani peacekeepers in missions aimed in achieving the will of UN. This will help both, executants of global peace and decision makers; recover from their short comings to ensure the best strategic peacekeeping. Moreover, this research may benefit UN in reforming UNPKOs policies. Moreover, Peacekeeping Training Department (PKT) in Islamabad, Pakistan might utilize this research to improve the training of peacekeepers. Whereas, Pakistan's foreign office may utilize this research to evaluate its contribution in UNPKOs effectiveness.

Pakistan being one of the largest contributors of peacekeepers in UNPKOs needs to be highlighted in its willingness to send its soldiers in harm's way to attain global peace and uphold the concept of humanity. This research not only highlights Pakistan's

contribution, but is also utilizing its massive pool of troops in recommending suggestion to enhance the UNPKOs results.

This research is a compiled narrative of Pakistan's vehemence to restore international peace and stability through its participation in UNPKOs. Moreover, this research aims to fill gaps in the existing literature surrounding the challenges of UNPKOs by viewing it from the perspectives of peacekeepers. Also, the aforementioned advantages will heavily rely on primary data as it includes the perspectives of peacekeepers with insights into the ground realities of peacekeeping. Therefore, this research endeavors essentially to be a pioneering effort which will aid in (re)forming future peacekeeping engagements.

1.2 Research Questions

This study addressed the following questions:

- How peacekeepers view *affectivity* of peacekeeping operation(s)?

- Do the UN peacekeeping operations help in attaining global peace?

- What are the challenges faced by UN peacekeepers during the operation(s)?

- How do these challenges impact the effectiveness of a mission?

1.3 Research Objectives

The research was formed around the following goals and objectives:

- To find the social, political and operational challenges faced by Pakistani UN troops during UN missions.

- To analyze the contribution of UN peacekeeping toward global peace from the standpoint of Pakistani UN peacekeepers.

- To suggest suitable recommendations derived from the data collected for improving the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

The thesis is divided into four further chapters. The following chapter (chapter 2) details important definitions, history and Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping missions. It also briefly outlines the challenges to effective peacekeeping and peacekeepers mentioned in the literature. The third chapter deals with the case study of MINUSCA (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic) chosen for this research. The fourth chapter is ascribed to explain the method of research and outline the themes identified through primary data. The fifth chapter is responsible for drafting out any suggestions or recommendations to (re)envision or (re)form further UN peacekeeping missions. It also concludes the research and paves out avenues for future research in the similar arena.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Peace

If peace is the goal of peacekeeping, and more broadly peace building, what is the vision or specific description of peace being sought? Richmond reviews differing definitions and visions of peace, demonstrating it is a contested concept (Richmond, 2008). He notes that peace has been viewed as a utopian ideal that cannot be attained, or as simply the absence of war, and much in between. He points out that while the supposed goal is peace, much of the work in the field of international relations is focused on war, reflecting an assumption that war leads to peace (Richmond, 2008).

Galtung (1996) discusses negative and positive peace, a distinction which is widely used in peace literature. In this dichotomy negative peace is simply the absence of war whereas positive peace includes a vision of a more just society characterized by cooperation and conflict transformation and an absence or significant diminishment of structural violence. This distinction becomes quite important in terms of the evolution of peacekeeping, as traditional peacekeeping missions focused primarily on negative peace have become less common. Today's peacekeeping missions are usually multidimensional with more expansive mandates, and typically include numerous elements meant to build a particular vision, which some think of as positive peace (Durch, 2006). This shift is related to the call for peacekeeping to lead toward positive peace and include elements related to governance, human rights, and justice, and thus peacekeeping has become intertwined with peace building. This version of a peaceful society is discussed as if it is

universal and intended to serve the interests of people in conflicts, but whether it does is not yet clear, as the particular version of "positive peace" being promoted is contested. For the purpose of this thesis, the goal of peacekeeping will be taken to be a version of negative peace that is an absence of armed violence between belligerents or directed at civilians. Peacekeeping works to keep open sufficient safe political space for positive peace to occur. This is not arguing that negative peace is sufficient, that ending violence (or physical security) must come first, nor a rejection of the possibilities of more positive peace, but reflects the usage found amongst peacekeepers, who were almost exclusively concerned with preventing violence and protecting people in the places where they were working.

2.2 Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is a phrase which is also constructed to carry different meanings. The term is not always defined, similarly to the word peace, it appears to be assumed that we know what peacekeeping is, or that the definition is simply what that particular project or mission is doing. The literature suggests the term originated with the UN Emergency Force in the Suez (Schweitzer, 2010) which was described as a peacekeeping mission. UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacekeeping in 1992 as an activity of the UN emphasizing deployment of military and police personnel, while noting the frequent inclusion of civilians, to prevent conflict and make peace (without defining what he envisioned as conflict or peace). At the time his definition also included the expectation that this deployment was "with the consent of all parties concerned" (Boutros Ghali, 1992). A recent UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) manual on peacekeeping refers to peacekeeping simply as "…a technique

designed to preserve the peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers. … working together to help lay the foundations for sustainable peace." (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, 2008).

Definitions of peacekeeping have changed over time. The use of the same phrases to describe quite different interventions is thought to normalize the greater use of force and emphasis on global governance over state sovereignty (Pugh, 2004). As Fortna and Howard point out, earlier definitions referred to peacekeeping as taking place in an international setting, using no or light force, and requiring the consent of the countries affected (Fortna & Howard, 2008). As the contexts and purposes of peacekeeping missions have changed, some definitions of peacekeeping have become broader and more encompassing. Some use the term peacekeeping operations rather than peacekeeping missions, restricting the word missions for those engagements that have more limited goals and that use no or very limited force (Durch, 2006). The UN now uses the phrase multidimensional peacekeeping operations, acknowledging that peacekeeping activities are now intertwined with efforts that lie outside of peacekeeping and are often thought of as peace building, such as improving governance, human rights and economic development (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2013). The UN, in this description of peacekeeping, still discusses consent of the parties and the use of force only for self-protection, though some of the operations have in fact occurred without the consent of all parties (Rowlands & Carment, 2006), and have been authorized to use all force necessary to protect civilians within their capabilities (Nasu, 2011). Fortna and Howard define peacekeeping as "the deployment of international personnel to help

maintain peace and security" which is a very broad definition and leaves undefined 'peace' and 'security' (Fortna & Howard, 2008).

Pugh (2004) describes traditional peacekeeping as including a multinational force, to neutrally monitor and patrol in areas of recent conflict, having only light arms, being impartial, and with the consent of those affected. While not necessarily undertaken by the UN, he suggests the word conjures the image of soldiers in their blue berets. He questions the usefulness of using the same word when describing coercive interventions to enforce the domination of powerful international interests, as it continues to inaccurately connote humanitarianism, impartiality, and a non-politicized version of peace.

A broader definition of peacekeeping, more in line with both traditional UN missions and with unarmed civilian peacekeeping is found in Schweitzer (Schweitzer, 2009). Using Galtung's definition of peacekeeping as "efforts to stop the destruction of other people, things and even themselves" the author focuses on peacekeeping as action to prevent violence by controlling or influencing belligerents (Galtung, 1996 as quoted in Schweitzer 2009). This definition is in a sense both broader and more focused. Interventions here can be undertaken by many different kinds of organizations, leaving room for others besides states and organizations of states to initiate peacekeeping. On the other hand, the interventions would primarily consist of peacekeeping actions for the purpose of stopping violence, rather than the broader functions of peace building. Much of what is currently included in peace operations functions to support peace building – that is the emphasis on post-conflict state building that includes governing institutions, justice systems, voting, human rights and economic development.

For the purposes of this thesis, peacekeeping is understood to be organized action by third parties to prevent violence, protect civilians, and support local problem-solving by controlling or influencing belligerents and/or their proxies, as well as local people. This reflects the emphasis peacekeepers put on the need to support local efforts, which can be understood as influencing local people to engage in peace building work. Rather than passive recipients of peacekeeping, it recognizes the agency of local actors in reciprocal processes. In this way, while primarily focused on preventing violence and protecting people, peacekeeping can contribute to peace building indirectly, through helping to create sufficient safety and relational support of local efforts to address conflicts nonviolently. This study solely focuses on the peacekeeping understood by military or armed UN peacekeepers and does not involve the concepts and perceptions of unarmed civilian peacekeepers or the police.

2.3 History

The historical review of modern peacekeeping usually begins with the development of peacekeeping by military and police under the auspices of the UN and other multi-national institutions, intervening in armed struggles since the end of WWII. The literature reviewed in this section primarily reflects a positivist approach and neo liberal analysis which assumes their narrative is neutral or objective, that military peacekeeping interventions are conceptually a good and necessary practice, and that the United Nations is conceptually a good institution even if it needs some reforms. The literature takes a problem-solving orientation, framing the short comings of peacekeeping missions and the institutions that host them as problems to be solved rather than problematizing the institutions and their agendas.

The UN launched its first peacekeeping efforts, somewhat simultaneous to Gandhi's efforts to create a peace army. According to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) the first efforts began in 1948 with the creation of a process to supervise truces and the military observer mission between India and Pakistan (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping). Most authors however cite the Sinai Peninsula mission in 1956 as the first peacekeeping mission (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). Named the United Nations Emergency Force, this mission took up positions in the Sinai when the French, British and Israeli forces pulled out of positions they occupied when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. This mission served as a buffer between Israeli and Egyptian forces and lasted until 1967.

These early UN efforts were justified on the basis of Chapter VI in the UN Charter which calls for the peaceful resolution of conflicts (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). Some commentators have seen this as a creative effort, while others see it as evolving from the failures of diplomacy (Sartre, 2011). The phrase 'peacekeeping' came into usage in the 1960's as further peacekeeping missions, both short and long term, were initiated in places as diverse as Cyprus, the Congo, the Middle East and Lebanon, the Dominican Republic and West New Guinea (Bellamy, Williams, & Griffin, 2010; United Nations Department of Peacekeeping). Until the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping missions are described as being limited by Cold War politics played out particularly in the UN Security Council (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). UN and other multilateral institutional peacekeeping are described as emerging as a practical response to particular situations (Durch, 2006). Early peacekeeping developed a set of basic tenets or principles for interventions, assumed to apply to all peacekeeping missions (Ryan,

2000). These include impartiality, consent of the parties, and the non-use of force except to protect peacekeepers. These interventions were staffed primarily by military who were not from the major powers and who were lightly armed only for their own protection, or by unarmed military observers. This is now described or referred to as traditional or first generation peacekeeping.

With the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping has become more complex, including military, police and extensive civilian components, with more ambitious goals (Durch, 2006). Durch (2006) cites the UN mission to Namibia in 1989 to assist with the transition to independence, as the first of these more complex missions, sometimes called second generation missions. As international relations emerged from Cold War politics, UN missions have undergone further changes. Missions today are most likely to be involved with intrastate conflicts and peacekeepers may now be armed with heavy weaponry, and authorized to use force necessary to protect civilians. Current missions routinely include soldiers, police and civilians and address not only preventing violence, but include elements associated with peace building such as the creation of stable democratic states, free market economies, reformed judiciary systems and institutions that can uphold international standards of human rights, frequently referred to collectively as liberal peace (Carnahan, Durch & Gilmore, 2006). Peacekeeping missions are now often referred to as multidimensional peacekeeping or peace support operations, reflecting this expansion of expectation and mandate (Bellamy, Williams, & Griffin, 2010). Additionally peacekeeping and peace operations may be undertaken by regional security or other multilateral organizations, other than the UN. These newer operations, sometimes referred to as third generation peacekeeping, may be based on Chapters VII of

the UN Charter, which allow for the use of force to maintain peace and Chapter VIII which allows for regional associations to be involved in peace and security operations (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). Additionally there have been a number of missions authorized by the UN though carried out by others, such as in Libya and Afghanistan, where there was no peace agreement or ceasefire. Rather the UN authorized external intervention to enforce a particular set of conditions. These missions are referred to as peace enforcement, security and stabilization, or peace support operations (Ministry of Defence, 2004; New Zealand Defence Force, 2008; NORDCAPS, 2007). By 2009 the UN had undertaken 69 peace missions since the end of the Cold War (Franke & Warnecke, 2009), and many commentators credit international peacekeeping with a significant contribution to the drop in the number of armed conflicts and the deaths attributed to armed conflict.

The changes in missions are theorized to reflect, in part, changes in the kinds of violence that peacekeeping has to address. While traditional peacekeeping was developed to deal primarily with interstate conflicts, today most peacekeeping missions are launched to address intrastate conflicts. The belligerents may include the government and one or more other armed group. In fact there may be several armed groups fighting each other as well as fighting the government, and the armed group itself may fracture into factions (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). Additionally current armed conflicts frequently target civilians, and while there has been an overall decrease in deaths attributed directly to armed conflicts, there has been an increase in the proportion of deaths of civilians, compared to wars during the Cold War period. Pivotal moments in this literature are described as including the civilian massacres in Srebrenica and Rwanda, during which

UN troops failed to protect and prevent mass civilian killings (Tardy, 2011). In response to public outcries and critical evaluation, UN peacekeeping mandates today frequently include requirements to use the force necessary to protect civilians. This is referred to as third generation peacekeeping and sometimes described as more robust or muscular peacekeeping (Kreps & Wallace, 2009; Tardy, 2011). Intrastate wars and the targeting of civilians create a set of conditions that peacekeeping operations now address such as internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees needing resettlement, disarming and reintegrating armed groups, and rebuilding governments that are perceived to have lost both credibility and the infrastructure necessary to function (Durch, 2006). These conditions also create what has been called a permissive environment in which UN troops themselves may become a significant problem, distorting the local economy, and engaging in sexual exploitation and abuse, as well as other criminal activities (Aoi, De Coning & Thakur, 2007). These issues have become an embarrassment and challenge for the UN and other peacekeeping organizations to manage.

The period since the end of the Cold War has also seen a shift in the ascribed purpose of peacekeeping in this literature. During the Cold War, the primary goal of peacekeeping was understood to be stabilizing and preserving state sovereignty, upholding the Westphalian perspective of the primacy of the nation state (Bellamy, Williams, & Griffin, 2010). The charter of the UN talks about the need to protect state sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs (Morrison, Cumner, Park, & Zoe, 2008). Wallensteen (2011) suggests that one of the major challenges for the UN is the shift in norms and assumptions, from state centric politics to global governance. Today state sovereignty may be infringed upon by the UN, in order to protect civilians, using the principles of

responsibility to protect (Bellamy, Williams, & Griffin, 2010). And when the UN fails to do so, some consider the very legitimacy of the UN to be in question (Holt, Taylor, & Kelly, 2009). These changes are reflected in practice. Peacekeepers are now more likely to be in contact with local communities and their behavior to have more impact on local people and local economies than was the case during earlier eras (Aoi, De Coning & Thakur, 2007).

These changes continue to cause much debate and disagreement within the UN. This debate and disagreement in part circles around the discussion about the need for robust peacekeeping (that is peacekeeping which uses greater force) and responsibilities to protect civilians (R2P), the difficulty at times in distinguishing between robust peacekeeping and peace enforcement (that is interventions which enforce a settlement on non-consenting parties), and how this is or is not warranted by the particular circumstances (Tardy, 2011). Other tensions relate to the difficulties of carrying out the mandated integrated missions, fielding sufficient staff, as well as the interplay of internal UN politics and politics in the countries where interventions occur.

Other regional international organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the African Unions (AU), the European Union (EU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also began implementing peacekeeping missions since the end of the Cold War. The EU and NATO's first missions were in Bosnia, ECOWAS began peacekeeping in 1990 in Liberia, and the AU in Burundi in 2004.Similar issues have affected these regional peacekeeping missions.

There has been a trend toward strengthening mandates, not requiring consent of the host country, the use of heavier weaponry and the authorization of the use of force to protect citizens.

The composition of those employed in peacekeeping has also changed as peacekeeping has become more complex and multi-functional. As Schirch points out, there are civilians involved with rebuilding political institutions, civilian police who are sometimes unarmed, civilian monitors and in some EU countries there are now civilian peace services whose members are employed in various peacekeeping and peace building tasks (Schirch, 2006).

Other significant changes since the 1990's have included an increase in the number of missions, the fielding of several very large missions such as MONUC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and a shift in troop contributing countries so that by the mid 2000's almost all the peacekeeping soldiers came from the global south.   In 2011 there were 98,972 uniformed UN peacekeepers (Sherman & Gleason, 2012). Including those in non-UN missions there were 263,118 peacekeepers in total. The largest troop contributing countries to UN missions were Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, though Sherman and Gleason note that looking at per capita as well as overall numbers, Ghana, Nepal, Rwanda and Uruguay are in the top ten. Italy is the top global north troop contributing country to UN missions, and is fourteenth on the list of the top twenty countries (B. D. Jones, 2012). The only other global northern country that makes the list is France, at number nineteen. This shift in troop contributions to the global south for UN peacekeeping is attributed to the concentration of NATO troops in Afghanistan (Durch, 2006), as well as a preference for global north countries to provide funding and

technological support to missions, rather than risk the lives of their troops (Howard, 2008). Pakistan, despite being involved in internal conflicts send its troops in harm's way to add its contribution in global peace and is widely recognized for the professionalism of its military peacekeepers. Pakistan's motivation to send its troops for peacekeeping stems from its foreign policy objectives that the leader of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah laid at the inception of the country.

"Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and goodwill towards all the nation of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.4" (February, 1948).

2.4 Pakistan's Contribution

Pakistan has played a pivotal role in establishing peace amongst disputed parties worldwide ever since the creation of the United Nations in moral, diplomatic, and materialistic ways. During the periods of war and peace, the United Nations persistently remembers Pakistan in all its missions and endeavors. Pakistan's role in bringing about peace in the world is proven by the mere fact that it is one of the most hefty troop contributors in the world. Pakistan's history is fashioned red with its sacrifices to bring about peace not only amongst its own people but also in conflicted regions of the world under the umbrella and even without that of the United Nations.

Pakistan became part of the United Nations in the year 1947 and has since then taken keen interest in UN peacekeeping missions. It's major contributions lie within the realms of the following countries; Kosovo, Western Sahara, Somalia, Congo, Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, East Timor Haiti and Georgia. Currently, 8200 troops are deployed, aligned and focused in these countries to stand ground for the peace of these regions ultimately leading to a harmonious philanthropic world (Krishnasamy, 2001).

There is no doubting Pakistan's contribution to the peacekeeping missions worldwide through the United Nations and otherwise as well. Hence most of the peacekeeping missions are led by the Pakistani militants under the posts of Secretary General and Force commanders which is remarkable and pride of the nation being stigmatized for its terrorist activities. UN'S Secretary General Ban Ki Moon visited Pakistan himself to inaugurate Center for International Peace and Stability (CIPS) in the year 2013 at National University of Sciences and Technology and acknowledged Pakistan's efforts in peacekeeping missions. Overall, Pakistan has endeavored in 41 peacekeeping missions whereby 142,542 Pakistani military personnel were deployed initiating with the mission in Congo. Pakistani troops are still deployed in the Congo and provide surveillance for maintaining mandate in the region. Pakistan also contributed 1500 of its best soldiers in the year 1963 to monitor the ceasefire during the transition of West Irian from Dutch rule to Indonesians (SARAS : South Asia Research and Analysis Studies -- Politics. (2018). Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai in a rare occasion of absolute amazement and resolve is quoted to have said: "The only example in UN history, when United Nations force had

gone in…performed its role honestly and came out, was Pakistan's military contingent to Indonesia."

Also nine vessels were manned by 110 soldiers deployed by the Pakistan Navy for escorting security forces for surveillances and obligations. General Zia-Uddin was appointed as the first commander of the UNSF. In efforts to resolve the conflict in Yemen, Pakistan sent defenseless militants as part of the United Nation's Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) to monitor and observe the interactions between Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The next 25 years, Pakistan remained relatively dormant in its involvement in the United Nations peacekeeping mission due to its own internal conflicts. Pakistan was also involved in catering to disputes in regions of Cambodia and Somalia (Krishnasamy, 2002).

Since the end of cold war, Pakistan started to give greater attention to peacekeeping activities, with a view to identifying itself as part of the larger international community. Concomitantly, the idea of becoming a good international citizen gained popularity in successive government's foreign policies. In 1994, former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto pointed out in one of her speeches that "(Pakistan) is proving that (it is) willing to commit (its) prestige, energy, resources and above all, the lives of its citizens, to fulfil its international responsibilities". Also in 1994, defense minister, Aftab Shahban Mirani reinforced 'Pakistan's unwavering support for an active role by the UN for the preservation of international peace and security' (The Muslim, 1994).

The growing emphasis on the UN and the international community as a whole led to Pakistan pursuing a proactive approach to UN peacekeeping in the early 1990's. This new activism, was in line with its identification of UN peacekeeping as a top priority in

its foreign policy. Speaking in the general assembly's special committee on Peacekeeping in 1992, Pakistani delegate Mateen-ur-Rehman Murtaza pledged Pakistan's increased support to United Nation's activities in the area of Peacekeeping around the world (Frontier Post, 1992).

Furthermore, showing its alliance with UN in bringing international peace, security and stability, at the inauguration of an International Seminar of peacekeeping operations in 1994, President Farooq Leghari pointed out that: 'Pakistan not only values Peacekeeping operations for the maintenance of general peace and security but has a commitment towards the role that Pakistan plays' (The Nation, 1994).

In 1995 the government also extended full support to the secretary general's agenda for Peace, endorsing the Ideas of strengthening the UN's peace and security apparatus. In 2000, reiterating Pakistan's continued commitment to UN peacekeeping, Shamshad Ahmad, Pakistan's Permanent Mission to the UN, supported the Brahimi report's recommendation of developing a workable 'peace strategy' aimed at resolving disputes by addressing the root causes (The Nation, 1995).

In line with its new commitment, Pakistan has deployed approximately 18,000 soldiers in more than a dozen Blue Helmet peace operations, mostly in war-torn societies. While mulit-faceted international responses normally involving a combination of political, humanitarian and military roles at various levels of operation are a major departure from traditional peacekeeping operations, eliciting support and cooperation in these societies for their implementation may not always be an easy task. The present-day operational environments are complex not only because they are highly militarized but also due to an overwhelming presence of subjective elements, such as perceptions, attitudes, cognition,

psychological elements and personal experiences, which negatively shape local behavior and actions. "Local communities' bitter experience of everyday conflict situations intensifies these subjective forces". Modern, 'dirty' wars have a severe impact on the lives of civilians and this, in turn affects the way civil communities behave, relate and react towards one another and also towards UN peacekeepers. Therefore, it is equally important to focus on such challenges and to develop and adopt suitable field strategies for re-establishing a favorable operational environment in mission areas (United Nations, 2000).

2.5 Parameters for Effective Peacekeeping

Before discussing challenges to peacekeeping and peacekeepers, it is critical to highlight the term effective or successful peacekeeping encompasses. The success or effectiveness criteria can be divided to into tactical level, operational level and strategic level success. Tactical and operational level success depicts a short term success whereas strategic level success refers to success at the state level, forwarding the mission into the attainment of sustainable peace. Several authors have viewed effective peacekeeping through different standards and definitions.

Paul Diehl in his book *International peacekeeping* (Diehl, 1993) identifies two criteria for evaluating peacekeeping operations: limiting armed conflict and promoting conflict resolution. Diehl employs these two standards to measure the success of peacekeepers in six UN missions from 1956 to 1984.

From this analysis, Diehl deduces that peacekeeping operations are effective when the parties to the conflict consent to the peacekeeping operation, when the peacekeepers are lightly armed and stick to the United Nations' fundamentals of 'Neutrality'. Most

significantly, the operations are comparatively successful when they are interstate rather than intrastate.

Since Diehl's book is one of the first publications on the evaluation of the success of peace operations, there are several critiques of his work and the criteria he used. There are some doubts about Diehl's methods and conclusions, but also understandings of different possible frameworks for analysis and standards for evaluation.

According to Johansen, another aspect holds critical importance. Scholars and journalists should no longer measure peacekeeping against an ideal state of peace (for example, no armed conflict after deployment) or against an ideal form of conflict resolution (for example, settlement of long-standing animosities). To do so is normatively unfair and scientifically unproductive.

Johansen instead suggests that in order to find the utility of peacekeeping, we should (1) assess the effect of peacekeeping forces on local people affected by their work, and (2) compare the degree of misunderstanding, tension, or violence in the presence of UN peacekeepers to the estimated results of balance of-power activity without peacekeeping.

Duane Bratt formulated four indicators to address the effectiveness of a mission at the operational level: fulfillment of the mandate, facilitation in resolution to the conflict, containment of the active conflict and lastly limiting or reducing the casualties of civilians, combatants and peacekeepers (Bratt, 1996).

UN was established after two great wars to minimize the threat of and to limit the extent of wars. Success in this purpose is accounted by the ability of UN to fulfill their mandate in short term or to incorporate justice, world peace and minimize suffering in broader terms. It is a holistic process that is not only restricted to ending violence but also

eradicating the possibility of deaths, economic and social prosperity, stable political scenario, promoting conflict resolution and reforms in health and education sectors. These are the criteria that decides the success or failure of the missions. It has been observed that no region is particularly resistant to or conducive to conflict resolutions. It is important to look at both local and international determinants of conflicts in combination to determine the effectiveness of the peacemaking missions.

Pushkina (2011) in the article, "A recipe for success? Ingredients of a successful peacekeeping mission" further highlights what determines the effectiveness or success of the most acknowledged UN endeavor. The author explains that a lot of different factors are relevant to how the missions operate, which prove their success or failure according to various studies and researches. UN peacekeeping missions are more likely to succeed when the level of commitment is gauged to be high in terms of timely supply of resources and troops. It is deemed unsuccessful in managing civil conflicts when the parties involved have a political or military backing. It was found out that there exists no consequential evidence to support the success of a peacekeeping mission if a major power takes the lead in a specific scenario.

Findings of the study indicate that there exists no major relation between association among UN officials and regional organization cooperation. Whereas, such missions are more likely to succeed when they are handled with effective diplomacy and negotiations. Studies have indicated that there are more chances of UN in succeeding in their mission when level of consent of the warring parties is higher. It has been analyzed that missions are more inclined towards success when all the warring parties are of the opinion that the disputes should be settled without any violence. Whereas, relative military equality was

not seen as a strong contributor in determining the success of UN missions. The duration of deployment of UN troops for dissolving conflict is not related to the success or failure of missions according to observations. The kind of mission cannot predict the success of any mission. Performance of UN missions does not have a strong relationship with strong enforcement capabilities.

All in all, it is difficult to generalize the methodology incorporated in various peacekeeping missions for determination of success or failure of the overall missions whereas there are a certain amount of key indicators that should be kept in mind while conducting such missions to enhance the probability of achieving UN mission mandates as they are complex in nature and need to analyzed from various angles while keeping in mind the certain complexities of differing situations.

2.6 Perceptions and Challenges

Apart from Diehl's suggestion, devouring literature reveals that determinants of effectiveness of a peacekeeping mission is majorly involved in either making it challenging for peacekeeper to perform their duties or helps them overcome the challenges they face in the field.

According to Hedlund and Soeters (2010) in the article "Reflections on Swedish Peacekeepers' Self-image and Dilemmas of Peacekeeping", the importance of peacekeeping attempts at sustaining peaceful resolutions to conflict is reflected in the amount of resources, personnel, and international attention that such efforts require. While there are a number of challenges that peacekeeping troops face in the field, there are certain determinants that reflect effectiveness of the mission on the whole. One of such determinants is self –image of the troops and their confidence in themselves as

peacekeeping personnel. Self-image is one of the few motivations that can help achieve or give up on goals. In the study, it was observed that the Swedish Armed Forces are subjected to operations being conducted in various regions for which their perceptions about themselves need to be evaluated as their self-image projects into the way they tackle different tasks that are appointed to them, especially during peacekeeping operations. The idea of self-image used to be restricted to the difference between war-fighters and peacekeepers but it has evolved to state that no distinction exists between the two because of changing war styles of today.

According to the article, Swedes have been found to be better at peacekeeping as compared to their American counterparts or any other countries for that matter, as they have high levels of motivation and ambition. Their motivation revolves around accomplishing something good for other peoples' sake and to seek adventure. Another aspect is the high level of formal education that is acquired by them which is a contributing factor in enhancing various skills that are required of them. A great amount of civilian professional experience is also seen as a competitive advantage as soldiers from other forces lack such a distinct learning experience because all their education is acquired through military training. Increased level of positive personal traits is also observed in such soldiers which is attributable to the culture of Swedes. They are ethically and morally sounder, having sociable and friendly personalities and an enhanced awareness of personal hygiene. All these self-image factors taken together explains why Swedes are great at the peacemaking missions that they are involved in but this also involves a few inconsistencies with what they believe and how they behave.

Dilemmas refer to situations that have no perfect solutions, this can be illustrated when there is a conflict between the self-image of Swedes as peacemakers and combating required in war zones, when the high moral and ethical standards of Swedish soldiers makes them appear to be hostile and insensitive to host nationals and enhanced levels of hygiene may cause a separatist mentality among the Swedish soldiers against the local people and may contribute to a negative portrayal of them within the local community.

UN missions have often taken precautionary measures to mitigate the negative effects of policies which have not always been positive as self-referential policies can end in failure. For example, inhibiting interactions with locals may manifest negatively; as a learning opportunity is lost when no information sharing among the hosts and the guests take place, thus there is a trust deficit among them. The self-image of Swedes may render their abilities to perform even better as they may believe there is no room for improvement. For better performance, it is of extreme importance that UN is more conscious of the complexities surrounding the host countries and the national community and the image one projects of himself and how it is manifested in his daily behavior and how it shapes social interactions.

In light of this article by Hedlund and Soeters, the level of awareness one has about his own capabilities and competencies is known as self-image which influences effectiveness of a mission greatly. It is seen that the self-image propagated by the army personnel differs depending on the region he belongs to. All in all, it is seen that Swedish soldiers as the most suitable peacekeepers owing to their selection process and the self-image that is constructed by them, which can be rendered as one of the determinants in peacekeeping effectiveness.

Janja Vuga (2010) provided a Slovenian perspective in the same topic regarding success or effectiveness of a peacekeeping mission from the standpoint of troops performing their duties. According to the article "Cultural differences in multi-national peace operations: A Slovenian perspective" the author emphasizes that to increase the efficiency and performance of any task force especially one which is involved in maintaining peace, it is of tantamount importance that the force is integrated as one in terms of language, culture, norms, values and practices. When it is a multinational composition, the need to cooperate and collaborate among each other becomes even more significant as it is of vital importance for people working together to avoid conflict and civil war and being on the same page regarding achievement of goals. The forces and military units of various nations operate on many of the same dimensions and principles but even with countries residing in the same region, the differences can be drastic.

These differences rise because of the dissimilarities associated with language, culture, heritage and values; to name a few. It is difficult to quantify and generalize these behaviors as these are liquid concepts and are difficult to categorize. Nations themselves are comprised of varying degrees of culture and customs and are not fully a homogenous composition. These components exist in the personalities of people even when they are no longer restricted to the geographic area from which they belong to. These values are incorporated in their jobs and daily routines. The same assumptions have been applied to study the Slovenian society and their differences with Italians.

According to the author, the Slovenian society is largely mono-ethnic with only a few groups of people with different sets of norms and ideologies. Slovenia has a high-power distance which is in line with military environment but this is not the case for Slovenian

contingents involved in the mission where the distance shrinks, which is due to the special mission culture that minimizes the influence of national culture. A relaxed relationship is also observed among the officers and subordinates which is attributed to the smaller sizes of such contingents that promotes intense socialization and interaction among the members. In terms of gender, Slovenia is one of the most gender-balanced countries, which entails that the soldiers are not only interested in the war waging capacity but also in negotiations, conflict avoidance, peacemaking and other such goals. It also incorporates women among its ranks. Slovenia is also a collectivist society which believes in a connected social environment and effective communication among its citizens. This is a beneficial factor in terms of forming contingents as they also thrive on the principles of social interaction, comradeship, devotion and loyalty. In this way the Slovenian Armed forces, SAF has been open to alternative solutions and is flexible in its dealings. Owing to all of this, the compatibility of Slovenia with Italy is not significant, this does not indicate to be a problem as the differences can be used as an opportunity to learn from each other and in terms of balancing one another. The UNIFIL II is a testament to this as it shows that Italians and Slovenians are able to cooperate among themselves very efficiently without any relation to the differences they may have. It has been observed that Slovenians largely operate on already shaped stereotypes of different nations in their minds and it shapes their attitudes and behaviors, but according to the findings of UNIFIL II it was analyzed that many of the Slovenian contingent members overcame their stereotypes and formed positive perceptions owing to various forms of interaction. It can therefore be deduced that such missions can help mitigate biases and stereotypes and help international cooperation and understanding of one and another.

Slovenians try their best not only to learn to speak English but other local languages as well, this may be an indication for their motivation to attain professional efficiency and to familiarize themselves with the locals in a comfortable manner. It is not easy to operate while keeping such differences in mind but they prove to be more beneficial than harmful. In the end it is up to the constituents of every such group to use the differences to their advantage.

This shows that it is critically important for UN peacekeeping missions to first address underlying in-field challenges by looking at the determinants of effectiveness or success indicated by troops with first-hand experience of peacekeeping.

Reflecting the increasing role of civilian police in peacekeeping, police deployments in the UN have increased dramatically (Sherman & Gleason, 2012) and the top five police contributing countries are Bangladesh, Jordon, India, Nepal, and Pakistan. This mixture of soldiers and police from many cultures is seen to raise a number of operational issues of command and integration, and these challenge efficiency (Woodhouse, 2010). Peake (2011), notes that this diversity in police raises issues of quality and capability. There are a number of on-going organizational challenges identified in this literature which are seen to affect current peacekeeping efforts. In addition to the substantive challenges raised in debates about tying peace to liberal visions of democracy, the use of more robust force, interventions without full consent, and state sovereignty versus R2P (responsibility to protect), more operational challenges including the use of new technologies , figuring out the best mandates are discussed as problems to be solved. There are insufficient resources generally and specifically high quality resources (both human and material) to meet the needs of peacekeeping operations. Thus most, if not all peacekeeping efforts are stretched

thin and suffer from this situation (Durch, 2006; United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, 2010). Even if there is consent from the government, it may be marginal or decrease over time, which affects what programs are possible (see Chapter Four for further discussion of consent). Within peacekeeping organizations themselves (whether large and multilateral or small NGOs) there are struggles with issues of organization, hierarchy, integrating people from different cultures into the same mission and insufficient training of soldiers, police and civilian peacekeepers.

Chapter 3

Conflict and Peacekeeping in Central African Republic

3.1 Introduction

The continent of Africa is known for its never ending armed insurgency, civil unrest and instability. Many countries within the continent have witnessed war at some point in their history, either prior to, or after independence (Arieff, 2014). The Central African Republic is considered to be one of the countries that are most affected by war in the continent. The major events in the history of the Central African Republic have been highlighted in this chapter. It has been said that these events have led to the deteriorating state of affairs in the country. This chapter will briefly describe the Republic's existence and emphasize on the instability and vulnerability since the up rise of Seleka, calling for international forces to step in and eventually pave way for UN Peacekeepers to be sent to take control of the situation.

The United Nations (UN) launched its first peacekeeping mission in Africa in 1960. Since then, over 20 operations have been authorized throughout the African continent. The UN operation in the Central African Republic (CAR) represents one of the last threads of security for many Central Africans as officials warn of genocide (Welz, 2014).Over the past two decades, the United Nations (UN) has launched three peacekeeping operations in CAR. The latest, called MINUSCA, was established in 2014. Going back to where peacekeeping in CAR began, it can be observed that since 2013, various troops have been sent in to try and manage the situation. In July 2013, the African Union Peace and Security Council authorized the deployment of the African-led

International Support Mission in the CAR (MISCA). Deeply concerned about the deteriorating security situation despite the adoption of MISCA and ongoing human rights abuses in the Central African Republic (CAR), the Security Council in 2014 approved the establishment of a nearly 12,000-strong United Nations peacekeeping operation to protect civilians and facilitate humanitarian access in the war-torn country. This became known as MINUSCA and was adopted in 2015 (Siradag, 2016).

Before digging into details of the UN peacekeeping arrival in CAR, following is a general overview of what the chapter entails:

Timeline:

Muslim Rebel Coalition	The Central African Republic conflict began in 2012 when the Seleka, a Muslim rebel coalition, attacked different cities in the country in order to overthrow the regime of President Francoise Bozizé (Welz, 2014).
Anti-Balaka Up-Rise	The main opposition group to the Seleka is the coalition known as Anti-Balaka, formed principally by Christian fighters (Käihkö&Utas, 2014).
Ceasefire Agreement	In 2014, Seleka rebels and Anti-Balaka forces agreed to a tentative ceasefire agreement (Käihkö&Utas, 2014).
Governmental Interference	The Central African Republic conflict started again in 2015 when the government rejected the agreement by Seleka and Anti-Balaka forces (Welz, 2014).
Conflict Repercussions	The Central African Republic conflict has displaced 466,000 people, who are now refugees in other countries. Since 2013, when the conflict started, more than 935,000

	people have been internally displaced and about 60 percent of them are children. It is estimated that 3,000 to 6,000 people have been killed in the conflict (Williams, 2017).According to the U.N., nearly 2.5 million people are facing hunger in the country. Reports by human rights groups and the United Nations suggest crimes have been committed by both Seleka and Anti-Balaka. Different allegations of sexual abuse have been made by the United Nations, making the conflict worse inside the country (Arieff, 2014).
International Response to the Crisis	The International World has tried time and again to resolve conflicts. The role of France and UN however stand the most important of all. The MICOPAX mission, MISCA and MINUSCA are discussed briefly in this chapter (UN, 2017).

3.2 Background of Crisis

The Central African Republic, as its name proposes, is a country in the middle of the continent between the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Cameroon, Sudan and South Sudan. Slightly smaller than the size of Texas, The Central African Republic is often referred to as a country that is failing miserably. This is because CAR has been precarious since its liberation from the French rule in 1960. Although the country is rich in resources like precious stones, gold, oil and uranium, it has one of the world's poorest populaces. The abundance in resources attracts the self-benefitting interests of powerful countries around the world, leading to political unrest. In this way it can be said that CAR is a resource cursed country (Arieff, 2014).

CAR's notoriety lately has been that of a failing state overflowing with agitation and struggle. This is happening in the midst of an expansion of civil rebel gatherings (Welz, 2014). The nation is no stranger to internal and external strife. Its history has been portrayed by political clashes, state failures and violence in spite of various attempts at peace agreements. Clashes in CAR are a reoccurring phenomenon and have incited peace keeping attempts from many different types of global organizations. However, such endeavors have not been successful despite consistent efforts (Carayannis & Fowlis, 2017).

The current study is a take on the Peacekeeping Mission MINUSCA sent to handle the unrest in CAR by the United Nations. In the context of this mission, the crisis highlighted in this chapter began in 2012.

The Central African Republic stumbled into unrest in 2012 when Muslim rebels from the Seleka umbrella seized control in the Christian dominant part of the nation. A counter force in the form of Christian volunteer armies, called the Anti-Balaka, ascended to combat the Seleka in 2013. Seleka surrendered power to a transitional government in 2014 under the constant pressure from global forces. Despite this, long stretches of violence still took place after and the nation was viably apportioned (Carayannis & Fowlis, 2017).

3.3 Major Conflicts & Instability

In 2012, the Seleka, a coalition of rebel groups from the north of the Central African Republic (CAR), propelled a noteworthy riot from the north-east of the country against the Bozizérulers. Alliance was sought in the form of fighters from Chad and Sudan,

countries that supported the assault. They took control of a few towns in the east and progressed up to Sibut (180 km from the capital, Bangui) (Arieff, 2014).

Following the Seleka crisis, President Bozizé and the Seleka coalition consented to the Libreville arrangement to set up a Government of National Unity. In 2013, the Seleka rebels completed a coup, assumed control over the capital, and moved into the western part of the country. Bozizé fled to Cameroon, after which Michel Djotodia, pioneer of the Seleka coalition, declared himself president. He broke down the Government of National Unity and the National Assembly.

Michel Djotodia remained Minister of Defense while political turnovers resulted in presidency for him. He formally broke up the Seleka coalition, yet this political declaration had no genuine impact regarding finishing the crisis created by the Seleka rebels and the supporters of previous President Bozizé (Welz, 2014) (Williams, 2017).

3.4 International Response to the Crisis: MISCA, ECCA, Sangaris

Under these circumstances, The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2127 approved the organization of an African-driven International Support Mission to the Central African Republic, known as MISCA. This mission intended to balance out CAR, adjacent to the French Force Operation Sangaris, which consisted of 2,000 troops. The unrest caused by the Seleka contenders impelled a horrendous reaction from the opposing group known as the Anti-balaka. Contradictory to Seleka governance, the Anti-balaka volunteer armies did vast scale retaliations against essentially Muslim minorities, giving the contention a partisan movement. The subsequent violence resulted in the murder of thousands of civilians and left several thousand dislodged. On 5th December 2013, the

Anti-balaka facilitated a horrendous assault against the Muslim population in the capital, where many innocent lives were claimed (Käihkö&Utas, 2014).

In 2014, Michel Djotodia and his Prime Minister, Nicolas Tiangaye, were forced to leave following an ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States) meeting in N'Djamena. On 23rd January, The Transitional National Council chose another between time head of state; Catherine Samba-Panza. After Michel Djotodia ventured down, cycles of backlash against the Muslim populace increased in Bangui and in the south-west of the nation. Fierce assaults by Anti-Balaka state armies forced a huge number of Muslims to escape to neighboring countries. Meanwhile, Seleka troops withdrew towards the east towards supporting countries like Sudan or Chad (Siradag, 2016).

3.5 MISCA to MINUSCA: Transition of UN Peacekeeping Mission

On account of expanding levels of violence, in September 2014 the UNSC approved the organization of a UN peacekeeping mission (the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the CAR, MINUSCA) and encouraged the nation to hold elections as quickly as possible. The time permitted was no later than February 2015. The CAR parties, under the support of the President of the Republic of Congo; Denis Sassou Nguesso, consented to the Brazzaville Arrangement on the termination of Hostilities (Welz, 2014).

MINUSCA authoritatively substituted the universal support (MISCA), as per UNSC Resolution 2149 (2014). An up-rise of violence in and around Bangui prompted talks between the global negotiator Denis SassouNguesso and CAR parties engaged in the fighting(Siradag, 2016) (Welz, 2014).MISCA transferred authority to a new United

Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Central Africa (MINUSCA). As violence continued unabated, in December 2013, the additional deployment of the French Peacekeeping Forces, known as operational Sangaris, was authorised. A few months later, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) – a regional economic group – decided to send in extra 1500 troops to reinforce security in the capital Bangui. MINUSCA now has 10,000 military personnel, 1,820 civilian police officers, and 1,400 police personnel (Siradag, 2016).

The general overview of how MINUSCA came into being shows that in 2013, after the upheaval of the rebel religious groups, the already failing state of CAR became even more vulnerable. Consequently, the UN Security Council resolution 2121 (10 October 2013) welcomed the AU decision to establish MISCA, a mission oriented for continued conflict resolution processes around the civil war torn area. When MISCA seemed inadequate to deal with the constant unrest, security Council resolution 2149 (10 April 2014) called for a transition of peacekeeping from AU to UN hands after only nine months of MISCA activity, effective 15 September 2014. MISCA and the UN Integrated Peace building Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA) were absorbed into a new 10,000-troop operation, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). MINUSCA's ambitious objectives were outlined as POC, extension of state authority, electoral assistance, and support for reconciliation processes, humanitarian access and human rights monitoring (Carayannis & Fowlis, 2017).

MINUSCA's mandate was revised in July 2016 to adapt to the changing situation on the ground. A new president had been elected in March. The French military operation,

which had played a key role in preventing violence against civilians, was scheduled to withdraw. In order to maintain an adequate security level, the UN strengthened the MINUSCA mandate, authorizing the use of robust actions to protect civilians, and promote and protect human rights. MINUSCA was tasked to "maintaining a proactive deployment" with "active patrolling", and charged to help the government restore its authority throughout the country (Carayannis & Fowlis, 2017).By allowing the mission to reduce threats posed by armed groups, MINUSCA had acquired a peace enforcement dimension. While the fundamental framework of the UN doctrine underpins the principle that the UN does not wage war, MINUSCA, on paper, has been granted offensive powers to deal with violent armed groups that threaten the safety of civilians (Käihkö & Utas, 2014).

In conclusion, many years of poor security arrangements by the state and the centralization of intensity in the hands of some has encouraged communal tensions along religious and inborn lines, which some political on-screen characters are presently controlling for their own personal motives (Käihkö & Utas, 2014). The state's fragility in the east and north-east, and the powerlessness of CAR's military to secure the population have long been exploited and played into the hands of rebel groups. This has exacerbated neighborhood conflicts, while leaving nearby networks progressively helpless and feeble (Williams, 2017). Various components have weakened various networks' abilities to react to conflicts and make advancements in living together peacefully. The ability to go into a helpful exchange with the authorities has also been compromised. Such factors incorporate tension inside and between networks, instigating rivalry over resources (land,

financial, political and managerial).It also results in the annihilation of customary ties and an absence of trust in the authorities (Käihkö & Utas, 2014).

Despite the strong mandate, MINUSCA has brought mixed results. On the one hand, the people of CAR were able to peacefully and democratically elect a president in March 2016, and a Special Criminal Court is in the process of being established to investigate and prosecute human rights violations. On the other, the number of displaced people has risen to over 530,000 due to spiraling violence, and roughly half the population needs humanitarian assistance to survive (Carayannis & Fowlis, 2017).

3.6 Criticism on Peacekeeping Interventions in CAR

The presence of Sangaris mission in Central African Republic under the role of peacekeeping, in parallel with African Union peacekeeping mission, MISCA, that was later taken over by UN to from an integrated mission. This integrated stabilization mission included the French and US forces not as part of the UN military deployment but under the same flag of peacekeeping. The presence of forces from regional and world power in the Central African Republic have been widely criticized for prolonging the conflict and creating situations of unrest and instability that serve their own vested national interests in the African continent.

In this veiw, Bruno Charbonneau (2016) argues that the French security policy in Africa sought out two main objectives since the Second World War. First it had to serve its own national interests and maintain grandeur. For doing so, it provided security umbrella to its allies in Africa and maintained stability in return of strategic resources and markets, grandeur, power and African support for its policies on an international stage. France

provided the security and protection under the superficial discourse that Africa cannot develop without French protection. The Second objective, much in line with its first objective, the argument of French historical responsibility, role, and mission to help African states and societies. As the birthplace of liberty, and as an old colonial power, France has had the duty to help Africa. The civilizing mission might have changed its name and its image, but to this day it remains implicit when not explicit in France's African policy. These policies might seem appropriate from a superficial worldview but when these theoretical statements are matched with the empirical facts they tend to lose coherence. Historical record of explicitly depicts that since decolonization, France has been unable to bring either peace or development to its former colonies. Indeed, some have argued that the situation is even worse than it was prior to French intervention (Verschave and Hauser 2004).

These two dimensions should be underlined and given their proper importance because, from this perspective, French security policy can be considered as a factor of instability and as a reproductive mechanism of systems of dependency, domination, and subordination that have over the time evolved by the French from coercive to consensual, from national to regional, and from bilateral to multilateral. However, the exploitative and dependent relationships remain largely based on the coercive apparatus of the French military in Africa. French military presence in Africa has never been one of an impartial arbiter or of an honest broker whose main goal was to favour peaceful resolutions to indigenous conflicts. France has always been and continues to be partial. That is, French policy in Africa is more than anything else the result of transnational elites whose main objective is to maintain and to reproduce the social conditions that privilege them.

Chapter 4
Methodology and Results

This chapter explains the methodology adopted to assess UN peacekeeping mission in Central African Republic through the lens of Pakistani-UN peacekeeping troops. In this chapter, the research design utilized to gather and interpret primary data is explained. Following the general overview of the method, primarily qualitative, the major primary themes that originated through the interaction of the investigator with the peacekeepers is done. These themes are further effectively explained using sub themes and secondary data analysis.

4.1 Methodology

Ten semi structured interviews were conducted in 2018 to collect the peacekeepers take on the challenges faced by them on the ground and its relation with mission's effectiveness. The perspectives of peacekeepers were gathered on peacekeeping as a tool for global peace and their understanding of peacekeeping and assessing themselves as peacekeepers. The questionnaire designed was very extensive and comprehensive encompassing major in-field challenges learnt through literature review and pilot interviews with participants who had served in various peacekeeping operations. It included questions ranging from operational to social and psychological challenges. It also had questions regarding their perception about peacekeeping and recommendations. On average the interview lasted for about 45 minutes to one hour. Most of the interviews

were conducted face to face while a few were conducted through a telephone call. The interviewed participants varied in their ranks and duties.

The study endeavored to cover all the ranks from Junior Commissioned Officers (JCO) to Brigadier level as sector commander in the field. As the foremost representative population sample determinant, saturation of answers was reached. By the 7th interview, the data saturation was evident however; three more interviews were carried out to get more opinions and comprehensive answers for a better understanding. Military Operations directorate was contacted to provide the contact details of the repatriated peacekeepers from MINUSCA for this study.   Another aspect of the research was taking what peacekeepers say at face value, responding to and interpreting information and insights they shared as being true for themselves at the time they were speaking. While no particular efforts were made to verify what peacekeepers reported in their interviews, many of their thoughts are reflected in the literature reviewed elsewhere in this thesis. The interviews were conducted face to face whereas they were transcribed later with the help of recorded audio clips during the interview. The transcribed scripts were then analyzed, coded and clustered various themes. The themes were finally seen in light of the available literature which revealed that the interviews did, to a great extent, correspond to the literature.

4.1.1 Limitations of the Study

Only the peacekeepers who had served in Central African Republic were chosen for this study so the pool of peacekeepers eligible for the study was limited. There has been no female deployment in Central African Republic from Pakistan so far. Hence, there was no possibility of interviewing a female peacekeeper for this research. Therefore, this

study has a limited scope in assessing challenges as it lacks gender diversity in the participants. It is however a reality that the challenges faced by women in peacekeeping would add more valuable insights in assessing the on-ground situation. The interviews reflect thinking and feeling at particular moments of time, not necessarily what the same person would say on a different day. It is impossible in the written form, to convey the emotions expressed in people's voices. All the participants of the study are kept anonymous due to their personal preference. All the respondents before participating in the research were requested to sign the consent form that detailed the overall research and usage of the recorded interview. For the purpose of maintenance of transparency and confidentiality, pseudo-names are assigned to the participants of the study.

4.2 Results

Challenges:

Since the birth of United Nations in 1945, world leaders have joined hands in political matrimony to encourage peace and security throughout the world. While the drafters of the UN charter envisioned a thorough spectrum of conflict management and resolution, over the years many challenges have surfaced. Some of the hurdles seem purely conceptual; conflicts today involve internal political clash, ethnic disputes, and state struggles. Peacekeeping is one of the most essential cornerstones of the United Nations, however, due to the emergence of new actions and challenges, the 21st century has brought an evolution in the challenges faced by peacekeepers. The shift from inter-state conflict to intra-state conflict has completely changed the dynamics of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping of today is different from the peacekeeping of the cold war era. This new

change in conflict dynamics has spurred peculiar challenges that have left UN with a new dilemma of tackling these predicaments.

The challenges mentioned by the peacekeepers in my interaction with them are divided into four main themes: operational, social, multinational force and psychological. These themes are further divided to give a comprehensive assessment of challenges.

4.2.1 Operational Challenges

Inept Mandates and Ambiguous Rules of Engagement

For a successful proceeding, peace keepers rely on three avenues: a mandate, a peace agreement, and a UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution. The UNSC is trusted with the responsibility of providing a germane mandate that lays out the focus regions of the operation. The mandate underscores the tasks to be performed during this process. However, mandates drafted by the UNSC are rarely utilized as a part of the political solution and instead are seen as alternatives to political solutions. Consequently, this aspect might be troublesome in areas where there is little peace left to keep. Additionally, council politics might influence the mandate itself, as compromises are required between parties. As a result, mandates may be drafted in a way that leaves room for interpretation and ambiguity. The obvious danger of such vagueness is that the mandate becomes directionless and confusing for peacekeepers.

Moreover, in recent years clarity and concision of the mandate have become an exception. In cases where the mandate is vague, such as when political discord prevents a unified agreement on an end state, the entire mission may become destabilized from the very beginning. Nowadays, it has become common for mandates to be lengthy and

tedious, distracting from core priorities and rather focusing on trivial tasks. Moreover, mandates should mirror current political environment. In other words, strategy formulation focuses on contemplation before action. Unfortunately, due to volatile events on the ground, the council rarely finds the opportunity to draft a strategy before formulating a peace mission. Resultantly, most operations are influenced by the political and organizational climate of the day. As a result, such missions jump from one crisis to another, unable to strategize or resolve matters at hand. For example, Brigadier Adam notes that when stakeholders act independently, it becomes challenging to maintain the sanctity and efficacy of the mandate.

On the other hand, streamlined and up to date mandates might look good on paper, but can also come with their own set of problems. For example, mandates with too many diverse tasks may become too heavy for peace keepers. Evidently, it may become difficult to keep track of all the tasks or even prioritize them according to different phases of the mission. Brig Jamal notes that mandates today are more explicit than the mandates of 1980s. Everything is laid out clearly and cogently, therefore, there is little room for interpretation. Mandates are often embellished with diverse tasks such as human rights, women empowerment, criminal justice, or preservation of cultural diversity. While these tasks are vital and noble, they might not be pressing at every state of the mission's lifecycle. As a result, they might divert attention from critical core tasks.

Lack of Resources

In addition to a lack of trained personnel, many peace keeping operations have also been plagued by budget cuts. While peacekeeping is cheaper than its opponent, war, it requires hefty finances that require judicious handling. All member states are required to pay a

fixed amount towards the annual budget, however, for some developing countries; this may not always be feasible. Additionally, with new conflicts, arms, troops and monetary resources may be sub-directed elsewhere mid-mission. This aspect can greatly jeopardize the momentum of the peace mission. Moreover, a dearth of critical equipment required to fulfill United Nations mandates can create a gap between expectations and performance. Moreover, failure to resource crisis struck areas with the correct development tools can foster spite in civilians. As such to address the lack of professionals that are needed for lasting socioeconomic development is vital. Therefore, without the proper provisions, discord between objectives and lack of resources could undermine the mission's credibility as projected by the literature and from the primary data collected from interviews.

As Brigadier James narrates:

"Whichever mission there is, whether it is pertaining to CAR or otherwise, the mission never has enough resources to address all the factors that need its help and to fully fulfill the requirements of the mandate. At many places there are many fold less troops deployed than the requirements of the area. Then the civilian and military leadership needs to decide where to focus the help on, where the trouble lies. So the concentration of troops would be there. Mission sources are never ever adequate and in terms of compatibility also. There is no communication infrastructure. There are no roads in the country. If one has to travel from the south route to anywhere, you can't go there via roads because there are none. There is no road connecting places. There is jungle terrain in between also that hinders communication even further. These are major factors that affect the mandate and why it is not implemented." (Personal interview, 6th June, 2018)

Captain John recounts:

"Our hands were tied behind our backs, we had old equipment, and we could hardly shoot back, if push comes to shove, we would have given it a good go, but we lacked the equipment and training and manpower. We were an army…assigned to go do a job without the equipment and training... one of our tasks was providing protection to a convoy, but our vehicles were too slow, so we got left behind. It was very frustrating, personally and professionally." (Personal interview, 13th June, 2018)

4.2.2 Social

Culture shock from entering into a new territory can be overwhelming for peacekeepers. Differences in social, cultural, and religious setting can be hard to accept for certain members. From dressing codes, eating habits, to social interactions, any pronounced differences may become a source of anxiety for peacekeepers, especially if there is a lack of training before deployment. These differences can reflect on job performance as well as morale. For instance, in areas where alcohol consumption is considered legal, troops from areas where it is considered a vice may become troublesome. Peacekeepers may become prejudiced and biased towards one faction based on these differences and as a result spoil mission integrity. In addition to these differences, language can also become a source of disparity between troops. Language is a powerful tool for coherent interaction and understanding, gaps in this vessel can lead to misunderstandings and false assumptions

Communication Gap & Cultural Shock

Druckman and Stern (1997) suggest that one of the most important determinants of effectiveness of a peacekeeping mission is smooth negotiation. Negotiation and

mediation play a pivotal role in peacekeeping missions as these missions give preference to communication for crisis control over the use of force.

Karlsrud, (2015) believes "The experiences contingents deployed in African territories and elsewhere have shown that sending personnel who are trained but not fluent in the administrative and local language may hinder the success of peacekeeping missions."(Page number) This implies that not only are peacekeeping missions affected by language barriers but remain dependent on fluent communication for better negotiations and hence, success of the mission.

UN mission, MINUSCA, faced similar challenges in regards to communication gap and cultural shock due to the language barrier holding back Pakistani casques bleus to interact with the locals and build friendly relations for better negotiations. The Pakistani contingents deployed to Kaga-Bandoro while the town was under siege by Seleka rebels saw the long-suffering civilian population presuming them as new non-French speaking armed men or simply rebel reinforcements, and began violently demonstrating against them – because the UN had not taken the time to explain its peacekeeping mandate to the very people it had apparently come to protect. The Pakistanis could not speak up for themselves as they had no language in common with the Central Africans. This communication gap, coupled with cultural shock actually hindered the effectiveness of the mission (Dorussen & Gizelis, 2013).

According to one of the interviewees, Captain Brad, "Not being able to communicate our stance due to language barrier only meant aggravating the sentiments of the non-Muslim rebel forces. We could not entirely integrate into CAR culture due to a huge language

barrier as opposed to the French forces, which implied that we were perceived as supporters of the Muslim rebel group. This further reinforced the tension between the fighting parties rather than bringing the crisis under control, ultimately impacting negatively on the effectiveness of peacekeeping agenda."(Personal interview, 3rd July, 2018)

4.2.3 The Blow of Psychological Trauma

Peacekeeping missions can range from silent civilian monitoring to serious anti-rebellion law enforcement. As a result, missions can sometimes take a dangerous turn and peace keepers are required to be vigilant for any stressors that may be encountered during operations. Well trained soldiers can quickly adapt to evolving roles and will readily respond to threat with skill; however, untrained soldiers may not be able to comprehend the severity of the situation. Bartone et al (1998) notes that these unqualified militants may use brute force on civilians or open arms when faced with threats. While most of the circumstances warrant grave actions, these instances come with a burst of psychological trauma for the peacekeepers. It may be hard pill to digest for trained personnel, simply because many enroll under the pretense of preserving peace and reconciliation in a land, unaware of the challenges that lie in demanding missions. As a result, it is critical that soldiers, health care professionals, and leaders have a clear idea of the objectives and procedures of the mission.

Psychological Trauma of Home State Conflicts

Additionally, Shigemura, Jun, and Nomurapeace (2002), note that keepers may face other stressors during the missions. For many soldiers and militants, operations away from home can a challenging feat, especially in dangerous terrains. For many the psychological

trauma stems from being cut off from friends and family members for extended periods of time. For example, Pakistani troops on peace keeping mission faced a major heartache on 16th December 2014, after the Peshawar School Massacre. Many soldiers were left in shock, scared at the idea that their own families and countrymen were in danger while they were serving in a foreign land. Overall, peace keepers might be burdened by the dilemma of whole-heartedly fulfilling obligations of foreign missions especially from countries that are overwhelmed by conflicts themselves. The isolation from families, coupled by heart wrenching incidences back home may elicit depression or severe anxiety in certain personnel. Additionally, lack of training for dealing with psychological trauma can result in confusion as well as hostility in soldiers.

Health Issues

In addition to above mentioned stressors, soldiers and peace keepers are also required to be vigilant about health conditions of mission areas. Unfortunately, most missions are conducted in areas where health care systems have broken down and facilities are meagre. Despite precautionary measures, soldiers may find themselves suffering from common ailment, and in rare incidences serious diseases. In addition to the anxiety and stress from the particular disease, affected personnel may be isolated from healthy soldiers as a precautionary measure. This aspect may foster loneliness, depression, and apprehension in peace keepers. It may also divert attention and hinder the operations success. In rare cases, suffering individuals may not survive and fellow soldiers are faced with the dilemma of proper disposal. In such critical incidences, peace keepers may be faced by predicament of following protocol which may not align with their personal, religious, social, or ethical grounds.

For example, one interviewee notes that missions in Congo were particularly difficult due to the prevalence of Ebola, Congo fever, Lassa fever, and Aids. Many soldiers are required to keep hand sanitizers to minimize risk of contact through hand holding. Additionally, he notes that Lassa fever was common and bodies had to be burned in order to contain the virus. However, soldiers from faiths that bury their dead might become demoralized with such protocols and therefore, revised protocols need to implemented in such situations to boost morale of the soldiers

Depression and Low Morale

Due to the nature of such missions, it is not uncommon for soldiers to face frequent depressive episodes as well as a myriad of other psychiatric problems. Many soldiers may also suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) after dangerous missions, especially in cases where the death of fellow soldiers or civilians is involved. Moreover, in lengthy missions, boredom may also take a toll on the personnel. It is therefore an important task for leaders to boost morale of the soldiers and engage them in rewarding tasks frequently. Moreover, for operations that require high activity over extended periods of time, personnel may feel over worked and exhausted. As a result, work performance may suffer. In countries such as Pakistan, the incidence of depression and anxiety is lower than other states. Many leaders attribute this finding to the two month vocational break given to soldiers after lengthy operations of 6 months or more. This paid leave allows soldiers to relax, visit friends and family, and reboot, which is beneficial for their psychological well-being.

4.2.4 Multinational Force

Cultural Differences and Diversity

The UN peacekeeping missions frequently employ trained personnel from various ethnicities and backgrounds. Researcher Duffy Tamara (2000) notes that in order for peaceful operations, leaders need to acknowledge cultural diversity within troops and find common ground between parties. Additionally, these multi-cultural troops are faced with a diverse number of tasks and therefore, require strong management skills. As a result, lack of communication can create a gap between performance and expectations, and reflect badly on the mission's success.

In the book, Blue Helmets and White Armor multi-nationalism and multi-culturalism among UN peacekeeping forces by Efrat Elron (2008), the researcher notes multi-national peacekeeping forces are often plagued by cultural discords and require inclusion of a variety of experiences. It may be possible that enforcement laws and procedures vary in soldier's home countries and therefore they are not familiar with particular customs in the new land. These barriers require effective communication and awareness from the leaders. Additionally, interests of soldiers may not be aligned with the peace keeping mission if certain cultural backgrounds get in the way.

If the troops and leaders do not share a common language, being on the same page throughout the mission and its various phases can become a difficult feat. For example, many troops come from developing nations unable to afford basic education and may not have English as their first medium. This creates a language barrier that disrupts the mission.

Captain Brad narrates "Now that I've gone there and come back I can say that Waziristan is an easier mission than the UN mission we went on. The level of mental tension over there was much higher than in Waziristan. If I were given an option to choose where I was under greater tension, Waziristan or the UN mission I'd say the UN mission...especially because it was the first mission that lacked coordination and resources".(personal interview, 3rd July, 20180

Uni-national Force as Compared to a Multinational Force

When a singular national army is appointed in an area the all come from the same background and follow the same rules and regulations as their fellow compatriots. There is no cultural or language barrier between them so it is much easier to communicate and cooperate with one another to follow an implement the mandate. The chain of command and hierarchy or command is the same and understood clearly by all officers and troops. There is no ambiguity during conflicted times as to who to report to or seek orders from. The army works as a single unit and there is harmony between the soldiers and troops. There is less chances of miscommunication and misunderstandings.

When armies from different nations come together, it is in a way bringing the countries together and also works for a greater cause to bring world peace and not just peace in the conflicted area (David, E., & Engdahl, O. (2013). When different nations come together on a single platform to bring peace there is a sense of competition which creates better check and balance between the armies. The officers are cautious and intimidate by their fellows and seniors so they follow the rules and regulations more. The chain of command is less likely to be broken in this scenario. The atmosphere of criticism brings out

competition amongst the soldiers and they try to outdo one in another in times of battle and hardship which is very fruitful in fulfilling the mandate

4.3 Perceptions and Understanding

Oxford dictionary define perception as 'The way in which something is regarded, understood, or interpreted' or as 'Intuitive understanding and insight'. Formation of perception regarding a particular subject is an involuntary psychological function that results from a person's individual experience. Looking deeper into these perceptions can give insights into the peacekeepers motivations and experience. Perceptions or concepts shape a person's action on ground. In the section below, peacekeeping perceptions have been assessed under three themes; their understanding of peacekeeping, their perception about peacekeeping contribution to global peace and Pakistani's as peacekeepers.

4.3.1 Peacekeeping for Peacekeepers

Peacekeeping is primarily conceptualized by peacekeepers who were interviewed, as work by third parties, focused on preventing violence, protecting people and supporting local problem-solving and/or making space for local people to find their own solutions. In general people tend to emphasize one aspect more than others, but included references to several aspects of peacekeeping in their reflections. This is an area of apparent disconnect between many of the mandates of peacekeeping with the orientation, understanding and experiences of peacekeepers. Mandates from UN tend to be broad, reflect assumptions that peacekeeping is about creating stable sovereign states, and in support of a specific peace agreement which may require efforts to prevent violence and protect people. The mandates are focused at a national level for implementation.

Peacekeepers, being rooted in the places and with the people with whom they work, have a more immediate, everyday focus on the practice or actions that contribute to decreasing violence, increasing protection, and for those who assumed that local people can and will solve their own conflicts if it is safe to do so, providing support to local initiatives.

Another aspect that frequently came up during the interviews was how the peacekeepers considered peacekeeping a noble and honorable job. Their motivation to go on a peacekeeping mission reflected in their perception of high moral duty to serve humanity.

Major Matt mentions 'Peacekeeping for me is a noble cause of protecting innocent people who are being killed in the name of religion, ethnicity or for attaining power. My job was to protect them and reduce their suffering.' (Personal interview, 26[th]June, 2018)

Despite the popular criticism on UN for ineffectiveness, Hultman, Kathman, Shannon (2013 and 2014) notes the presence of UN military troops in active conflicts reduces the number of battlefield civilian deaths. Peacekeepers also mentioned that their mere presence in the field deterred rebels from committing atrocities against the civilians.

Major John said 'by our presence we deter violence and destruction of property, but if you look deeply at what we do, the primary goal is really, we give voice to civilians, to give them that level of confidence…' (Personal interview, 13th June, 2018)

Captain Brad: 'when you go there, that's when you understand what a major thing you've done, how you've been saving people but only if you're playing a sincere game.' (Personal interview, 3rd July, 2018)

4.3.2 Contribution to Global Peace

UN is widely criticized for the peacekeeping missions as reflecting a narrative that comes out of neo liberalism and serves the hegemony of western powers. Current peacekeeping is described as operating to stabilize the status quo so that the corporations of wealthy countries can exploit the resources and people of the developing world (Duffield, 2010), without the drawbacks of their governments actually occupying them (Human Security Report Project, 2010). Military peacekeepers echo some of these concerns, in the discomfort they describe at times when they perceive their work as imposing unwanted solutions and their sense of powerlessness and disappointment that they feel unable to do much that is good for local people.

Major Matt relates 'In my personal opinion, the P5 deploy a UN mission where they want to extract the resources from.'(Personal interview, 26th June, 2018)

Captain Brad comments that 'If there are no UN peacekeeping missions we may have more causalities than we've seen in previous years. But in the beginning when the French went there they were the ones who carried this out, perhaps if they hadn't gone none of this would've happened. The thing is, they set a ground there and then obtain their gains from there. The scope of this matter is much larger than my comments can explain.' (Personal interview, 3rd July 2018)

When the frontline peacekeepers were questioned regarding the contribution of peacekeeping missions to global peace and weather these missions should be continued. Majority of the peacekeepers were of the view that it saves lives and reduce human sufferings and thus contribute to world peace. They also mention the peacekeeping

missions that achieved recent success like mission in Liberia and Sierra Leone. According to most of them these missions should be continued.

4.3.3 Pakistani Troops as *Better* Peacekeepers

Pakistan not only ranks amongst top troop contributing country but also has the capacity to meet some of the challenges faced by peacekeeping on the ground. Pakistan's experience with 'war on terror' on its western border and the deployment at Line of Control in Kashmir makes Pakistani armed forces is a well-trained military to tackle operational challenges. Pakistan's military civil-military cooperation strategy post-Somalian crises to deal with on-ground issues in intrastate conflicts make it a suitable force for peacekeeping missions (Krishnasamy, 2002).

The editor of the Bosnian news magazine, *Djanana Islamovic*, wrote that: Pakistani Battalion (PAKBAT) in Bosnia has not only protected us from brutal assault of Serb Offensive but also has infused a new spirit into our lives. They have given us all sorts of humanitarian help, taught us the values of Islam and above all have given us a constant medical care in form of their hospital' (Pakistan military document, Rawalpindi: Inter-Service Public Relations, 1995).

Pakistan armed forces by the constitution of country are bound to participate in Aid and relief operations in emergency situations including natural disasters. Pakistani troops have been actively involved in relief activities during the times of floods and earthquakes. Pakistani's perceive themselves better peacekeepers because of their military operation against terrorists in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and their hands-on

experience with managing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and their rehabilitation and reintegration later.

Brig James mentions 'Pakistani soldiers and all the armies that have combat experience they are more effective peace keepers. They know the challenges of the fields and how to overcome those challenges, they are more physically fit and they are prepared as far is equipment is concerned. As compared to those forces which lack the combat experience. According to preparation, as well as their interaction with the state institutions and the locals' (Personal interview, 4th June, 2018)

Chapter 5
Discussion and Conclusion

This work began with a curiosity about how frontline peacekeepers understood effective peacekeeping. The study was started with a belief that people who do peacekeeping on the ground, in the frontlines, would have a different perspective and knowledge than people who theorized about that work from other positions. The literature on effective peacekeeping or the success of peacekeeping rarely includes the views of frontline peacekeepers. Pakistan being one of the largest troop contributing country (TCC) has major edge in adding the views of peacekeepers in the literature. This reservoir of Pakistani peacekeepers remains utilized in this regard. Thus, it seemed important to address this gap by adding the voices and experiences of frontline Pakistani peacekeepers to the literature. The assumption that frontline peacekeepers face challenges that the higher officials and policy makers have not anticipated is seen through the idea of annual 'chiefs of defense conference' and 'force commanders briefing' to elaborate the challenges faced on ground by the peacekeeping forces. This Ban Ki-moon Chiefs of Defense Conference began in 2015 in response to the advice of Military advisor to Under Secretary General, Lieutenant General Maqsood Ahmed, a Pakistani General. According to Lt Gen (Retd) Maqsood Ahmed 'The idea behind this conference was to gather the military Generals of the troop contributing countries on one platform and discuss the challenges faced by their respective militaries on the peacekeeping missions abroad and to provide suitable suggestions. The purpose of this conference was mainly to bridge gap between the Security Council and their expectations from the troop contributing

countries' (personal interview, 15ᵗʰ August, 2018) This conference that was in held in 2015 for the first time has now become a regular practice of the council. The idea of this conference validates my hypothesis that there lies a gap in understanding of peacekeeping operations between the men on ground sent by troop contributing countries and the Security Council.

In the course of this study, the author of this thesis had a chance of being a part of direct interaction with the Under-Secretary General (USG) for peacekeeping operations Jean-Pierre Lacroix during his visit to Pakistan this year. During this interaction he answered the questions regarding the pertinent issues faced by the peacekeeping of today. He began with paying respect to the peacekeepers from Pakistan who have laid down their lives in peacekeeping operations and expressed gratitude to the peacekeepers who have served or currently serving in the UN missions abroad. Answering to the first question regarding the United States cut in funds to the budget of peacekeeping he argued that financial pressure is not something new to UN. Cutting in funds forces the UN to re-evaluate its practices and move towards more cost effective mechanisms of keeping and enforcing peace on the ground. The use of new technology is this regard is one solution. Although, the assessment of primary and secondary data suggests that UN lacks resources on ground which hampers the effectiveness of a mission greatly. Almost all the responds criticized the deficiency of resources weather human or material resources on ground.

The next issue highlighted was of safety and security of UN peacekeepers. The question is very relevant to Pakistan's case as Pakistan has the highest number of troop fatalities moreover internationally as 61 peacekeepers were killed as a result of hostile acts in 2017, the highest number since 1994. This increase in number can be attributed to the

deployment of missions in active conflicts and challenging environments. to this issue the USG responded by mentioning the development of a plan of action that identifies concrete ways to improve the safety and security of UN personnel. He reinforced that safety of peacekeepers is UN's first priority. Other emphasized challenges during the interaction in parallel with the literature included the mechanisms to increase woman participation, reaching the goal 20% woman in the peace force and curbing the sexual exploitation and abuse case by strict measures at UN and national level furthermore by strengthening the investigation protocol.

 All these overarching challenges are expressed in various forms on-ground. In addition to other challenges that are only faced at the practical level. These additional in-field challenges might not have grave implications but hamper the overall effectiveness of a mission. The challenges, outlined through the assessment of interview transcriptions, are divided into four main themes: operational, social, multinational force and psychological. These themes are further divided into sub themes give a comprehensive assessment of challenges.

The operational challenges include inefficient mandates and ambiguous rules of engagement. Formulation of a right mandate for a mission is vital to its success. It should refer to all the requirements of the area and should not be over crowded. It must convey its purpose clearly. The mandates of today are widely criticized for their peace enforcement nature due to their legal legitimacy. Such mandates create ambiguity on ground as the rules of engagement are in contrast to the mandate requirements. The other major operational challenge is the lack of human and material resources. Sufficient

resource can increase the reaction time of troops on ground and can also prevent casualties of peacekeepers and civilians.

The social challenges refer to hindrance building good relationships with the local population. These relationships foster acceptance of the peacekeepers and provide support to them in fulfilling their mandate. To develop decent relationship ties, understanding of the local culture and language is a prerequisite. Pakistani peacekeepers struggle with this aspect as they are unable to speak French which is local language therefore suffer many situations that can be negotiated in the absence of a language barrier. This section also discussed the issue of personal bias came into play due to the nature of conflict being religious. Amongst the two warring parties, one shared the religion Islam with Pakistani peacekeepers. Therefore, Pakistanis faced the struggle of remaining impartial in all situations despite the personal biases. However, this practice of remaining impartial was found to be a key factor in nurturing trust and acceptance amongst the local populace towards Pakistani peacekeepers

The multinational force challenges refer to the issues faced by serving in multinational force, such as the effect of cultural diversity amongst the contingents and the lack of unity and coordination inside the force. However, this section also dealt with the benefits of such culturally diverse organization of force in terms of vast military experience and better accountability.

The psychological challenges refer to the emotional trauma due to being away from home in a chaotic environment. The psychological disturbance arising from poor security situation back in the home country and the responsibility troops bear towards their own

nation mounts up. More so, the presence of fatal diseases in the peacekeeping host nations can also add to psychological trauma. It also referred to the psychological pressure because of various accusations on the peacekeepers.

This research is further expanded by assessing the perceptions of peacekeepers while performing their duties. In this section peacekeepers' perception are assessed under three themes; their understanding of peacekeeping, their perception about peacekeeping contribution to global peace and Pakistanis as peacekeepers.

Peacekeepers perceptions indirectly reflect their motivations and passion to serve on a UN mission. Pakistani peacekeepers in general view peacekeeping as a noble job and relate it to reducing human sufferings. Most of them believe it contributes to global peace despite the popular criticism on UN's intentions to deploy a mission; however such concerns are also mirrored in their responses. Moreover, Pakistanis consider themselves as better peacekeepers due to their active involvement in peace operations in their home country.

To conclude, this study has aimed to fill the literature gap by assessing the in-field challenges and perceptions faced by the frontline peacekeepers belonging to one of the largest troop contributing country. There is room for extending this research into other missions as the scope of this study was only limited to one mission. Another important aspect in further research could be the comparison of challenges faced in different missions and finding what mechanism worked where and why. In this study, there were no female police or civilian peacekeepers as a part of the sample group. Adding this diversity could give deeper insights and improve the efficacy of peacekeeping missions.

Every challenge has a solution. However, in the real world where multiple factors shape a certain situation, single solution – such as UN peacekeeping missions – is not the answer. In most cases the appropriate solutions are not applicable due to the various other dynamics contributing to the problem. Nevertheless, some suitable recommendations have been listed under the next heading. Most of these recommendations are already under consideration at different platforms.

Recommendations

Mission Specific Training: In view of the myriad of operational challenges within the mandate of UN, one solution is not feasible for all deployments. Hence, there is a need to create training modules specific to and within the framework of parameters laid down by the UN for each mission. A detailed regimen in line with parameters laid down by the UN is desired, having clear syllabi encompassing theory (ROEs, mandate etc.) and practical handling of scenarios likely to be encountered by the peace keepers in the field. Training with reference to cultural sensitivity underlining all the major norms and customs of the deployment area

Language Training: Peace keeping mission requires intricate interaction between peace keepers and the local populace. The efficacy of the mission is hampered on daily basis due to communication barrier amongst local populace and contingent members. Thus, effecting the overall performance of the troops on ground. The above mentioned problem can be tackled by adopting following course of actions:-

a.   Language classes specific to the region of contingent's deployment should be undertaken with an emphasis upon training of junior leaders and soldiers.

b. Language specialists having same nationality as of contingent members either created within the army or attached from civilian institutions.

Formulation of Training Teams: Experience has no alternative and it's nowhere as pronounced as in the realm of military affairs. The experience earned in-field by troops should not be lost due to mismanagement of manpower. It is desirable that the concept of training teams and master trainers be exercised for the conditioning of troops to be employed as a contingent. There is a need to earmark trainers from a de inducted unit to train the troops which are to be employed in same geographic locations in which trainers have operated employment in operational area in FATA.

Collective training of the multinational force:

This can at least be done at the commander level to better coordinate their task on ground and keep a cohesive chain of command.

Use of modern technology

This should be done to meet the challenge of resource deficiency. Moreover, new technology should be incorporated in the UN mission to reduce the peacekeepers foot print.

Rules of Engagement (ROEs): The consent of the local parties, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defense should remain the bedrock principles of peacekeeping, impartiality should not imply lack of action. There is a need for the UN to own up the peace keepers by providing favorable operating environment to the peacekeepers through laying down clear cut rules in sync with local authorities. The practice to leave certain aspects in grey area to be dealt with troops on ground and then holding them accountable

with knowledge of the hind sight not only reduces the output of troops but also limits their initiative.

Developing Intelligence Mechanisms: The importance of intelligence gathering and sharing cannot be over emphasized may it be peace keeping or peace building. In view of the increased fatalities of peacekeepers and their deployments in active conflicts intelligence mechanisms needs to be focused upon that can alarm the peacekeepers about the imminent emergency. An intelligence fusion cell should be established on priority. This would reduce the time for incoming commanders and troops to adapt with the local environment as readily available information regarding dissident elements and local sources will be available.

Psychological Issues: Prolonged employment in challenging often threatening and environment of cultural shock coupled with the distance from family creates lots of psychological pressure on troops. Every individual is different from the other in his response to such stressors some are more adaptable however for some this can be exhaustive. Apart from the physical health of troops the state of their mental health needs to be assessed on regular basis to keep the outfit at maximum operational efficiency. To this end a psychologist should accompany the contingent to gauge the mental health of individuals and to provide expert opinion / counselling regarding the special cases.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A – Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Name of Project: **Assessing UN Peacekeeping Mission in Congo through the Lens of Pakistani-UN Peacekeeping Troops**

Investigator: Ayesha Ishfaq
Masters Student
Centre for International Peace and Stability,
National University of Sciences and Technology.

Date: ……………………………………………………………………………………

- I acknowledge that complete details, methods and nature of this research have been explained to me, and I have been given a written research project information sheet to keep.
- I understand that my participation will involve an interview and I agree that the researcher may use the findings as described in the information sheet.
- I have been informed that with my consent the data provided will be treated strictly confidential and will be safely stored in a locked office cabinet.
- I understand that my name, organization and designation will be kept anonymous and confidential.
- I understand that my responses in this study are anonymous and confidential and will ONLY be used for the purpose of this study.
- I understand that my participation in this research project is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any stage of the project without any penalty or prejudice from the researcher.
- I have been informed that there is no financial benefit for my participation in this research.

I hereby agree to be involved in the above research project as a respondent. I have read the research information sheet pertaining to this research project and understand the nature of the research and my role in it.

Name: ……………………………………………………………………..

Signature: ……………………………………………………………………

NB: This study adheres to the Guidelines of the ethical review process of National University of Sciences and Technology. Whilst you are free to discuss your participation in this study with project staff, if you would like to speak to an officer of the University not involved in the study, you may contact the Admin Officer at 051-90856790.

Appendix B - QUESTIONAIRE

Name

Year of Deployment

Mission Dynamics

1. **For how long were you deployed in the mission area?**
2. **Do you think that the duration of deployment is suitable for the effectiveness of a troop and the overall mission?**
3. **Do you think the duration of deployment in any way impacts the overall effectiveness of a mission?**
4. **In general, do you think the mandate was suitable to the requirements of the area?**
5. **Do you think the Rules of Engagement were in any way too restrictive or limiting?**
6. **Do you believe, the personal bias in any way hinders in practicing of 'neutrality and impartiality' in the mission. Do you have any incident to quote?**
7. **A soldier is trained to be a combatant and not as a peacekeeper. In Pakistan's perspective, how do you think the Pakistani soldier interacts with the civilian structure and civilian population?**
8. **Do you think the mission was sufficient in its resources? How the lack of resources contributed to the overall effectiveness of the mission.**

Local Political and Social Environment

1. **Do you think the political environment and the bureaucratic hurdles in the host country impact the mission's effectiveness?**
2. **Do you think the WHAM campaign is effective for a UN mission? Were there any WHAM campaign efforts conducted by your contingent? How effective were they?**
3. **Do you think the language and culture barriers impacted the effectiveness of a mission? How?**

Multinational Force

1. **Do you believe there is any difference in the performance of troops in a multinational force as compared to the uni-national force? Which is more effective?**
2. **Did you face any cultural and language barriers within the force? How did they effect in fulfilling the mission's mandate?**
3. **Where there any specific standardization of rules to cope up with the language and cultural barrier?**
4. **In your opinion, does the inter relationship of states impact the performance of peacekeeping mission by their respective contingents?**

5. **Do you believe overall stereotypes about other nations influence your interaction with them?**
   Does it change after coming back from the mission?

Psychological

1. **Does being in a distant land, foreign culture, lack of resources and overstretched mission have any psychological impact on the troops.**
2. **Does changes in security situations at home impact your performance in the UN mission abroad?**
3. **Did the SEA accusations on peacekeepers in anyway hinder your interaction/relationship/trust building with the local population?**
4. **Does the risk of catching diseases impact your responses in any way?**

Recommendations

1. **Was there any difference in your perceptions about the mission prior to the deployment and after coming back?**
2. **Do you think the training given to you was sufficient? How can it be improved?**
3. **In your opinion, how can a mission be made more effective in fulfilling its mandate.**
4. **Generally, do you think UN peacekeeping contribute to global peace?**