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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Musa Yerro Gassama

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Walden University
2018

Abstract

Opportunity and Sex Offending by International Peacekeepers in the Central African Republic

by

Musa Yerro Gassama

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2018

Abstract

Despite their peacekeeping role in the management of internal armed conflicts, some military peacekeepers have sexually exploited local populations in host countries, resulting in dire social and health consequences and threats to the success of international peace operations. Although researchers have examined sexual violence committed by peacekeepers, few researchers, if any, have used routine activities theory to examine sex offending by peacekeepers. The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which situational opportunities influenced international military peacekeepers' engagement in the sexual exploitation of civilians in the Central African Republic, a peacekeeping host country. Data were collected from face-to-face interviews with 15 research participants, including local witnesses, military officers, representatives of civil society organizations, and United Nations policy makers, and from public records obtained from online sources. Data were coded using an inductive coding strategy and then analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings indicated that both the local and peacekeeping conditions, including lack of deterrence and accountability mechanisms, heightened the vulnerability of local populations to sex predation and motivated peacekeeper sex offenders to engage in sex offending. Local community leaders, civil society organizations, peacekeepers, and policy makers could use study findings to promote educational programs on the institutional responsibility to protect vulnerable civilians as well as shape policies to prevent the commission of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers. These actions may also help susceptible civilians, especially women and girls, to be aware of the risks linked to their vulnerability and empower them to seek legal redress.

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Dedication

To my supportive wife, Amie Faye. To our eldest and late daughter, Habie. To our sons, Yerro, Batch, and Amadou.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Internal armed conflicts continued to threaten global peace and security (Lopez, 2015). Many countries, including Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Haiti, Sudan, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi have experienced local armed conflicts with dire humanitarian consequences (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Managing internal armed conflicts has required international intervention through peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-building, and peace enforcement programs. Since the 1990s, there have been many United Nations (UN)-led and UN-authorized peace operations, the aim of which has been to support countries as they emerged from internal armed conflicts (Lopez, 2015). However, some peacekeepers in international peace operations have sexually exploited local populations in the peacekeeping host countries (Lopez, 2015). According to Morris (2010), sexual exploitation by peacekeepers has become one of the major threats to the success of international peace operations.

Understanding and explaining the influence of situational factors on sex offending by military peacekeepers may provide new insights into the existing body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers. It could also inform the development of preventive and protective policies relating to sex offending by military peacekeepers. I collected empirical data using a qualitative case study research method and with routine activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rational choice (Hug, 2014) theories as my theoretical framework. I focused on gathering data on situational and environmental opportunities, including identifying particular places as well as routine

activities of local populations and peacekeeping organizations, and determining how each of these actors shaped their activities spatially and were in turn influenced by place-based or spatial factors.

This chapter begins with background information on the study. In subsequent sections, I introduce the research problem, state the research purpose, present the research question, discuss the theoretical framework for the study, and describe the nature of the study. In the chapter, I also define the key terms and processes relevant to my study of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations. After doing so, I discuss the assumptions, delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study. The conclusion contains a summary of the main points of the chapter and a transition to the next chapter.

Background

Internal armed conflicts have threatened global peace and security, and managing them has required international intervention (Lopez, 2015). According to Lopez (2015) and Nordas and Rustad (2013), the international community has intervened in the management of internal armed conflicts mainly through mediation and international peacekeeping operations. International peacekeeping operations have contributed to the management of internal armed conflicts through peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-building, and peace enforcement programs (Lopez, 2015; Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Since the 1990s, the UN Security Council has authorized many peace operations to support countries emerging from internal armed conflicts (Simic, 2012). International peacekeepers have proved themselves in highly volatile environments (Lopez, 2015; Simic, 2012). They have not only helped bring peace but have also kept the peace in

lawless and unstable places in many post conflict countries (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Thus, peacekeepers have contributed to the protection of local civilians, facilitated local peace processes, and contributed to peace and security in conflict and post conflict societies.

However, despite their role in the management of internal armed conflicts, some peacekeepers have sexually exploited local populations in host countries (Botzios, Haden, & Keary, 2011; Bridges & Horsfall, 2009; Nordas & Rustad, 2013; Simic, 2012). In 2014, the UN reported 51 allegations of sexual exploitation in nine UN peacekeeping operations and one UN special political mission (Code Blue, 2016). Of those allegations, 24 involved members of military contingents and UN military observers, and 13 involved UN police officers and members of UN-formed police units (Code Blue, 2015). In 2016, the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) investigated allegations of sexual exploitation against international peacekeepers in one specific locality in the CAR. OIOS identified 16 possible perpetrators from one military contingent and 25 from another military contingent through corroborated evidence (UN, 2017). In addition, OIOS recorded 139 victims, including 25 minors who reported that peacekeepers sexually assaulted them in the CAR (UN, 2017). OIOS recorded eight paternity claims against international peacekeepers as part of its investigation (UN, 2017). Associated Press (AP) reporters discovered approximately 2,000 allegations of abuse and exploitation by UN military peacekeepers since 2006 in many peacekeeping host countries (AP, 2017). In Haiti alone, AP reporters found that 139 military peacekeepers sexually exploited nine children (AP, 2017). The problem of sexual exploitation was not only rampant but also

more worrying than previously reported (AP, 2017). Sexual exploitation has become a concern for the international community and in peacekeeping host countries.

Further, sexual exploitation has led to many unwanted pregnancies and paternity issues with dire social and public health consequences (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009; Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Whalan (2017) noted that sexual exploitation committed during peach operations was a "disgrace" to states contributing troops and to the UN (p. 1). Furthermore, it has become an enigma to the establishment of rule of law in unstable places by peacekeepers (Morris, 2010). Exploiting locals was contrary to the stated goals of restoring peace and security and protecting local populations (Morris, 2010). Thus, peacekeeper sex offenders have become pain inflictors on local populations whom they were meant to protect.

The UN and troop-contributing countries have continued to face political, legal, and practical challenges in holding peacekeeper offenders accountable. The UN would be in charge of managing and commanding the troops while countries contributing troops took charge of criminal jurisdiction of their troops serving in the UN (Burke, 2012; Grenfell, 2011). Such and institutional arrangement has not provided clarity in the attribution of responsibility for sexual exploitation (Burke, 2012; Grenfell, 2011). As Bridges and Horsfall (2009), concerned member states have not undertaken judicial investigations and prosecution after receiving allegations of sexual exploitation by their peacekeepers. The UN and the troop-contributing countries have expressed their commitment to address sexual exploitation in peacekeeping through the UN Security Council resolution 1172 of 2017 (Whalan, 2017). However, cases of unpunished sexual

exploitation have continued to surface in the CAR and elsewhere with impunity (Whalan, 2017). The continued struggle to hold peacekeepers accountable for sexual exploitation of vulnerable populations remains.

Problem Statement

Past researchers (Beauregard & Leclere, 2007; Farmer, McAlinden & Maruna, 2016) have used different research methods and theoretical models to study sex offenses but not within the peacekeeping contexts. Farmer et al. (2016) used routine activities theory to explore situational motivation and how offenders could desist from sexual offending while Beauregard and Leclere (2007) used rational choice theory to explore sex offending and decision-making processes of sex offenders. Beauregard and Leclere and Farmer et al. demonstrated that environmental or situational factors could trigger action by sex offenders and that offenders exhibit a rational behavior in deciding to commit or not to commit a sex offense. They both focused on psychological factors in exploring sex offending; however, both researchers argued for the need to explore how environmental or situational factors could relate to the phenomenon of sex offending.

Researchers (Botzios et al., 2011; Burke, 2012; Grenfell, 2011; O'Brien, 2011) have indicated that a lack of deterrence and accountability mechanisms for holding peacekeeper offenders accountable has created a favorable environment for sexual exploitation in host countries. Past researchers (Cannon, 2016; Konor, 2017) also explained that lack of adequate social welfare, limited opportunities to return home to rest and recuperate, and the hyper-masculine nature of international peacekeeping were factors that might drive peacekeeper offenders to commit sex offenses. Contending that

the definition of sexual exploitation in the UN Zero Tolerance Policy against sexual exploitation was broad and not helpful, Simic (2012) advocated that researchers should seek the views of local populations regarding the phenomenon of sexual exploitation of peacekeepers.

Nordas and Rustad (2013) used a comparative empirical quantitative research model to study variations in reported sexual exploitation across peacekeeping operations over time. The authors also tested the relationship that might exist between various potential risk factors and sexual exploitation reporting (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Nordas and Rustad explained that sexual exploitation committed by international peacekeepers was likely to occur in poor countries with a prevalence of sexual violence, with less fighting, and where the peace operation was sizable and recent. Observing that their study was the first of its kind, Nordas and Rustad noted the difficulties they encountered in data collection and commented on the challenges for future researchers. They further advised that there was a need to investigate at the micro level the local and host factors to understand the attitudes of offenders and victims (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). Travora-Jainchill (as cited in Deen, 2017) argued that "an unstable place with a weak (or no) government may create a sense of lack of accountability, of power over the local population and a few individuals might feel free to engage in unacceptable behavior" (para. 1). In such a situation, the offender might perceive the peacekeeping environment as an opportunity to engage in sexual exploitation against local populations with impunity.

Though researchers have used using rational choice (Hug, 2014) and routine activities theories (Cohen & Felson, 1979) to study sex offending, none have considered the commission of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers, according to my review of the literature. Further, although researchers have examined sexual violence committed by peacekeepers, few researchers, if any, have used routine activities theory to examine sex offending by peacekeepers. The absence of the perspectives of routine activities and to rational choice theories reveals a gap in the literature.

A tenet of routine activities theory, for a crime to be committed, there must be a convergence of an offender and a target, and the absence of a capable guardianship in a specific time and location (Cohen & Felson, 1979). According to rational choice theory, individuals, including criminals, are self-interested and calculate the benefits and costs of their decisions before they take an action (Hug, 2014). Researchers conducting empirical studies have not examined the degree to which situational and environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country.

Purpose Statement

In this study, I sought to explore the degree to which environmental and situational opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host countries. I used a qualitative case study research method and focused on the CAR, which has been a host country to many peacekeeping operations. The UN, the African Union, and the French government have deployed many peacekeepers into the CAR from January 2013 to the present.

Research Question

The research question for the study was: To what degree opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders' engagement in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country?

Theoretical Framework

Routine activities theory of crime and rational choice theory constituted the theoretical basis for this study. A tenet of the routine activities theory of crime is that, for a crime to be committed, there must be a motivated offender and target and the absence of a capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hollis et al., 2013). The rational choice theory of crime is an environmental and an opportunity-based theory of crime. According to this theoretical perspective, criminal offenders, like law-abiding people, make rational decisions about when and where to offend; and they weigh the benefits and the cost of committing an offense (Hug, 2014). Each theory contributes to the understanding of the dimension of a criminal event.

Nature of the Study

Exploring the extent to which situational opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country required detailed and in-depth information and analysis of situational factors and their impact on sex offending by peacekeeper offenders. For this inquiry, I gathered data on the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental conditions of local populations in the CAR from 2013 to 2017. I sought to assess how situational factors motivated peacekeeper sex offenders and increased the vulnerability of local

populations to sex offenders. As part of my qualitative case study research method, I conducted in-depth and intensive in-person interviews using a semistructured questionnaire and reviewed secondary data. Using these data sources, I gathered detailed and in-depth information to answer the research question.

Definition of Key Terms

I drew from the literature and the secondary data in defining the following terms used in this study:

Allegation: Uncorroborated information that points to the possible occurrence of misconduct (CDU, n. d.).

Central African Republic (CAR): A country in the central African region with vast geographical expanse, 623,000 square kilometres…CAR is a landlocked African country in the middle of the African continent (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017). It shares borders with Sudan, South Sudan, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Chad, and Cameroun (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017). For much of its history, the CAR has experienced cyclical waves of violence characterized by serious human rights violations and abuses largely committed with impunity. The history of the country is one of oppression, coercion, mass killings and dispossession. (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017, p. 28). The country, rich in precious minerals and other natural resources, had experienced a short period of democracy system of governance since 1960 (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017). The CAR has hosted 13 international peace operations, including both peacekeeping and political missions and many UN-led and UN-authorized peace

operations (Martin, 2016). The UN Mapping report explained the types and nature of the peace operations in CAR from 2013 to 2017. They had the mandate to support the interim government and subsequent governments to reduce the presence and threats of the armed groups as well as to protect civilians or vulnerable groups in society (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017). The country hosted the European Union peace operation (2014-2015) and the French peace operation (2013-2016). MINUSCA a military strength of 12 000 troops in February 2017. The MINUSCA peacekeepers came from Rwanda, Pakistan, Cameron, Bangladesh, Egypt, Mauritania, Congo, Burundi, Zambia, Morocco, Gabon, Senegal, Cambodia, Peru, Indonesia, Niger, Portugal, Jordan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka (Whalan, 2017).

Host country: Any country in armed conflict or post-conflict situation that received an international peacekeeping operation (s) as the beneficiary of international support towards ending its conflict or a conflict in a neighboring country (McGill, 2014).

Investigation: A legally based and analytical process aimed at collecting and analyzing data in order to determine whether misconduct took place, and if so, the persons or entities responsible (CDU, n. d.).

International military peacekeepers: Military personnel, working in UN and non-UN peace operations (Connan, 2016).

Local population: Men, women, and children, including boys and girls, refugees, and internally displaced persons present in post-conflict communities (McGill, 2014). Simic (2012) explained that past studies, from the perspective of the UN Zero Tolerance Policy, considered the local population as "vulnerable, powerless and traumatized" (p. 10) and

living in lawless and unstable places who needed protection from sex predators. However, Simic (2012) was of the view that not all local civilians should be regarded as vulnerable because most of them could determine, on their own, their sexuality when they engaged in sexual relationships with peacekeepers.

Peacekeeper: “Military and/or civilian personnel deployed by one or more third-party states, frequently but not necessarily under the auspices of a global or regional organization, into a conflict or post-conflict situation for the purpose of preventing the resumption of military hostilities between two parties and/or for the purpose of creating an environment conducive for negotiations between two parties” (Nordas, & Rustad, 2013, footnote 3).

Peacekeeping: A "way to help countries torn by conflict to create conditions for a sustainable peace process (McGill, 2014. p. 4).

Peacekeeper offender: UN personnel in uniform as distinct from the civilians and contractors or volunteers (Connan, 2016).

Sexual exploitation: “Actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. (Nordas & Rustad, 2013, p. 2). Sexual exploitation, a form of conflict-related sexual violence, would not only be a "gendered concern" but also "a violent coercive relationship between a perpetrator and a victim" Rustad (2013, footnote 2.). It is a violent enactment of a hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity where the victim was feminized, and the perpetrator is masculinized (Skjelsbæk, 2012). Any sexual relationship between any local person and

an international peacekeeper within a situation and conditions of unequal power and vulnerability amounted to sexual exploitation. Sex trafficking, transactional sex, prostitution, abuse of minors, rape, conflict-related sexual violence, gender-based violence, and other uses of force for the purpose of advancing sexual exploitation would be within the ambit of sexual exploitation of local people by international peacekeepers. The UN Secretary-General (UN SG) explained in the report on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation (the UN SG Report), published in 2017, that "Aligning terminology is critical for data collection, monitoring, analysis and ultimately for effective prevention and accountability" (UN SG Report, 2017, p. I). The UN SG Report clarified that for adults, sexual exploitation would include rape, sexual assault, other forms of sexual violence, transactional sex, solicitation of transactional sex, exploitative relationship, trafficking for sexual exploitation and abuse, and other. (p. 40). For a child, sexual exploitation will include "rape, sexual assault, and solicitation of child prostitution, trafficking for sexual exploitation and abuse, and other forms of sexual violence against children" (p. 40). The report also included data on allegations involving non-United Nations international military forces operating under a Security Council mandate as part of sexual exploitation (UN SG Report, 2017, p. 39). The UN External Independent Review Panel (The CAR Panel) insisted that "sexual abuse perpetrated by peacekeepers is not a mere disciplinary matter, but a violation of the victims' fundamental human rights, and in many cases a violation of international humanitarian and criminal law" (The CAR Panel, 2017, p. I). However, the definition of sexual exploitation might be confusing, broadly defined, and contentious because the term might include activities that were not necessarily sexually exploitative (Simic, 2012). Simic argued that the broad definition of sexual exploitation reduced the

boundaries between the different forms of sexual relationship and sexual exploitation (Simic, 2012). The author further explained that this policy did not differentiate between a sexual relationship and sexual exploitation, between exploitative and non-exploitative sexual relationships, between coercive and voluntary relationships, and between sexual relationship and prostitution between local populations and international peacekeepers. Simic (2012) argued that broad definition of sexual exploitation within the UN Zero Tolerance Policy, though driven by feminist agenda, was inconsistent with international human rights law, misrepresented peacekeepers involved in sexual relationships with local populations as criminals, and denied women the freedom to express their sexuality.

Substantiated allegation: An allegation that has been proven through a legally based and analytical process (CDU, n. d.).

Unsubstantiated allegation: An allegation that has either been disproven by a legally based and analytical process or there is insufficient evidence to prove the allegation (CDU, n. d.).

Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations

Assumptions

The qualitative case study research method used in this study was informed by specific worldviews and philosophical and methodological assumptions. A world-view would refer to how the human being would understand the world (Gelo, Braakmann, & Benetka, 2008). A specific world-view of reality would influence how the human being would think and go about research on human behavior and social processes (Gelo et al., 2008). The subjectivists hold the view that knowledge is gained from a conscious

interaction between the individuals and their social environment (Gelo et al., 2008). In this case of the constructionists, knowledge is multiple, social, and constructed. The constructionist's and the subjectivist's views are consistent with the qualitative research method which aims to explore the understanding of human behavior and social interactions from the nature and the interactions between the individuals and their social environment variables (Gelo et al., 2008). The study assumed a constructionist and a subjectivist world-view in exploring how situational factors contributed to sex offending in a peacekeeping context.

Philosophical assumptions, which are sets of beliefs and assumptions guided the inquiry. From an epistemological perspective, there would be a mental reality that can be understood from the views of the research participants (Gelo et al., 2008). It was thus assumed that there was a subjective reality to be investigated and to be constructed as opposed to an existing object reality whose casual reality could be predicted. Further, the study assumed an axiological perspective to obtain deeper and qualitative meanings in human experiences. The study also assumed a rhetorical perspective, which required the need to explore, understand, and explain complex human experiences in research processes (Gelo et al., 2008).

Furthermore, the methodological assumptions guided the researcher in the selection of the research methods. The methodology paradigm consisted of technical research issues that guided the study on how to proceed from managing details to generalizations (Gelo et al., 2008). From the methodological perspective, it was assumed

that the processes and procedures that would guide the study, including how to gather, analyze, and interpret data as well as how to present the findings.

A qualitative research study would use inductive, naturalistic, and hermeneutics approaches as well as specific research designs to guide the study (Gelo et al., 2008). The naturalistic perspective, which underscores the need to study a social phenomenon in its natural settings, was helpful in the development of the research designs. The study further assumed a research design which connected the philosophical foundations, the methodological assumptions, and the research methods (Gelo et al., 2008). This connection provided a scientific description of the study process. It also enhanced both the descriptive, explanatory and interpretative validity. It thus increased the credibility, the accountability, and the trustworthiness of the research exercise (Gelo et al., 2008). Further, it guided my decision-making in the interpretation of the data. Furthermore, the assumptions in a case study design guided the selection of the research methods, including the selection research participants, the sampling strategies, the data collection methods, the data analysis, and the data interpretation methods (Gelo et al., 2008). A qualitative research method is interpretive, enabling this study to assume a hermeneutics paradigm (Gelo et al., 2008). A hermeneutics paradigm, which implied an understanding of a human phenomenon from the narrator's perspective, was used instead of an experimental style (Gelo et al., 2008). Based on these assumptions, I sought an understanding, an interpretation, and a contextualization of the subject under study instead of explanation and examination of the research issues. These theoretical assumptions would be consistent with a qualitative case study research method.

Scope and Delimitations

The four peacekeeping operations that the UN, the African Union, the European Union, and the French government deployed to the CAR between 2013 and 2017 constituted the case selection and the site in this study. The research covered the period from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2017. Exploring the research question, using only a qualitative case study research method also set the scope of the study. The use of the purposeful and snowballing sampling strategies defined the scope of the sampling strategy.

Due to time and resource constraints as well as the need to reduce challenges in satisfying Institutional Review Board (IRB) review, the study used only the open-ended semi-structured interviews and the secondary data collection methods (Gelo et al., 2008). Also, I did not plan to recruit protected and or vulnerable research populations, which also limited the scope of the study. The study also focused only on the environmental opportunity and not on the pathological disposition of the peacekeeper offender.

Limitations

Critics would argue that the qualitative case study research method could be weak because it could be "arbitrary", or "subjective" (Shilling, 2006. p. 29). The specific world-views, the defined philosophical, and the methodological paradigms would guide a qualitative research study. However, my professional and personal world-views might also carry weight in the research process. As an instrument of data collection and an analyst or interpreter of the data, there was the possibility of bias throughout the research process (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The qualitative research method does not take into

account the objective reality and the quantitative details that may be relevant to the study (Gelo et al., 2008). Further, my bias could inherently be a threat to the credibility of a qualitative research exercise (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006).

The qualitative case study research method has inherent limitations at the levels of sampling, data collection, data interpretation, and data analysis. Though qualitative case study research discusses sampling strategies, there seemed to be no sampling because the study did not draw the research participants from an estimated population (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The so-called sample size was a category of people who I had assumed could provide information to me. Further, the selection could be subjective because it was not based on an objective statistical formula (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Furthermore, a qualitative research method favors small sample sizes, but that would not necessarily be the best (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Again, these sample sizes would not only small but also not representative of a population (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The multiple approaches to the qualitative research method to data collection and data analysis would have made the study intensive and time-consuming.

Further, both the quantitative research and qualitative research methods would use the case study designs thereby increasing the potential confusion regarding the nature of case study approach (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016; Flyvbjerg, 2006). A case study approach can be confusing with case studies for records and case studies for teaching (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016; Flyvbjerg, 2006). This approach insists on the need for a multiplicity of data collection methods that may result in the collection of a large volume of data and thus makes it time-consuming and more intensive (Ellinger & McWhorter,

2016; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Critics argued that a case study approach lacks the rigor in its research designs, and thus weakens the trustworthiness and validity of the outcome (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016). Critics also argued that a case study approach could not generalize findings, and would not build theoretical foundations (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016). The result of qualitative case study research method would be indicative, and not conclusive on any issue (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006).

Significance of the Study

The study could provide theoretical significance. The research could add value to the body of the research literature on crime prevention by bringing a new perspective to understanding the extent to which environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation and victimization of local populations in unstable places by international peacekeepers. The application of environmental criminological and opportunity-based theories of crime in the environment from which sexual exploitation thrived might advance criminology theory especially its usefulness and relevance to international interventions in peace processes, public administration, and public policy studies.

The results of the study could also inform the development of policies aimed at preventing sex offending in peacekeeping operations (Beauregard and Leclere, 2007). As rational choice theory argues, individuals are self-interested human beings, when a behavior results in more benefit than cost, the individual would engage in the behavior. If these individual offenders are bad in themselves, then any prevention policy would focus on screening process of military personnel before the deployment to lawless and strife-

ridden places. While crime is unavoidable anywhere, exploring the influence of the environment on offenders may also inform the development of dissuasive and protective policies aimed at pursuing justice for victims and holding offenders accountable through judicial and administrative processes.

The research would be important to positive social changes at the individual, organizational, and societal levels. At the individual level, the results of this study might inform who is likely to engage in sex offending in a peacekeeping context. It might also inform the peacekeeper offender to gain interest in participating in desistance from sex offending programs.

At the organizational level, the results of the study might inform the development of practice by both the host state and peacekeeping operations aimed at addressing sex offending by peacekeepers. The findings could also support the development of educational and capacity development programs within peace operations as part of the response to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers in unstable places. At the societal level, the results of the research might help the peacekeeping community, and local communities to grasp the wider problem of sexual and gender-based violence in the CAR. The outcome of the study could bring to the fore the nature of the vulnerability of civilians, especially women and girls.

Summary and Transition

The Introduction to the study proposed to explore the extent to which environmental opportunities influence peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. This chapter explained that despite the role of international

peace operations in the management of internal armed conflicts, some military peacekeepers sexually exploited local populations in host countries. The chapter also explained that the problem of sexual exploitation was broader and even more disturbing than previously reported. The chapter acknowledged that in empirical studies, researchers have used rational choice and routine activities theories to examine sex offending; however, none examined the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers. The chapter further acknowledged that existing literature has considered the commission of sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers; however, none considered the subject from the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories. Furthermore, the chapter stated that the study aimed to discuss how situational and environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. The chapter proposed routine activities theory of crime and rational choice theory as the theoretical basis for this study. The chapter also identified qualitative research method to answer the stated research question. The chapter defined the key terms that this study used. The chapter also explained the assumptions that this study makes, delimited the scope of the study, and examined the limitations of the study. The chapter also explained that the study might provide new insights into the existing body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers. The study would be of importance to positive social changes at the individual, organizational, and societal levels.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on sex offending in general and on sexual exploitation in international peacekeeping in particular. This first section describes the

literature search strategy. The second section develops the theoretical framework for this study: crime from rational choice and routine activities perspectives. The third section reviews the research literature of sex offense from rational choice and routine activities perspectives. The fourth section discusses peacekeeping operations in host countries, including the accountability of peacekeepers' behavior in the host country. The chapter provides a summary of past studies that are relevant to this study. The chapter finally highlights the existing gaps in the literature that this study planned to remedy.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Based on the review of the literature, researchers have not examined the extent to which environmental and situational opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. In this study, I explored the extent to which situational opportunities influenced peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. For my theoretical framework, I drew from the perspectives of rational choice (Hug, 2014) and routine activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979) theories of crime.

Chapter 2 includes a review of the literature on sexual exploitation international peacekeeping. In this first section, I describe the literature search strategy. I subsequently then propose the theoretical framework for this study, which consisted of rational choice (Hug, 2014) and routine activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979) perspectives on crime. In the third section, I review the research literature of sex offense from these theoretical perspectives. In the fourth section, I discuss peacekeeping operations in the host countries, including mechanisms for ensuring the accountability of peacekeepers in the host country. In the chapter, I provide a summary of past studies that are relevant to this study. In the chapter's conclusion, I highlight the existing gaps in the literature that I intended to remedy with my investigation.

Literature Search Strategy

I searched academic electronic databases available via Walden University Library for articles to include in the study. The terms included the research question (e.g.,

conflict, *peacekeeping*, *offenders*, and *violence*) were useful for the search exercise. I also included relevant phrases such as the following in my searches: *armed conflict*, *sexual exploitation and abuse*, *international peacekeepers*, *local populations*, *peace operations*, *sex offending*, *host countries*, *the UN*, *regional peacekeeping*, *routine activities theory*, and *rational choice theory*. I also selected the alternative terms option when conducting my searches. I limited the search to cover the period from January 2010 to December 2017 and to include scholarly, peer-reviewed articles and journals.

I read each article abstract to determine its relevance to the research topic and then downloaded the article when it seemed relevant. The ProQuest Dissertations &Theses Global database was helpful for accessing many dissertation samples. The process went on until I gathered many relevant dissertations and articles for reading and critique.

Using Google search, I accessed some pertinent websites, including UN websites on peacekeeping and peace operations as well as IResearchNet, Researchgate.net, and codeblecampaign.com from which I obtained relevant information. I conducted further searches through Google Scholar and obtained relevant articles, which led me to other articles and websites. Furthermore, I used the Walden Center resources for guidance and searched for dissertations and methodology samples. The Walden librarians and my Dissertation chair were also helpful to me in locating some articles.

Reflecting the iterative nature of the search process, I then reviewed more articles and reduced the focus of the study to one research issue. In the end, I focused the literature search on understanding how situational and environmental opportunities

impacted on the determination of peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations from the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories. The results of my searches formed the basis of the literature review in this chapter.

Theoretical Framework

Routine activities and rational choice theories of crime constituted the theoretical basis for the study. Routine activities theory of crime, an environmental and an opportunity-based theory of crime, states that, for a crime to be committed, there must be a motivated offender, a target, and the absence of a capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hollis et al., 2013). These elements or factors must converge in time and space for a crime to be committed (Hollis et al., 2013). The theoretical assumption is that a crime is likely to be committed within a particular place and time when there are a willing or motivated offender and a target population, and where there is weak or no governance to protect the interest of the target population (Hollis et al., 2013). This theoretical assumption was helpful in understanding how offenders' perceptions of the environment determine the choice of their targets and what may deter them from engaging in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. I also found the assumptions helpful in examining how the presence of vulnerable local populations and the lack of or absence of a capable authority constitutes an opportunity to commit a crime in unstable places.

Rational choice theory of crime, the other theory that I incorporated into the theoretical framework, argues that like law-abiding people, offenders make rational decisions about when and where to offend; and they weigh the benefits and the cost of committing an

offense (Hug, 2014). Nagin and Paternoster (1993) studied the individual differences in self-control and the propensity of an individual to commit a crime. They argued that the availability of a suitable target, the possibility to commit the offense at no cost, and the absence of any fear of consequences for committing the crime, were relevant in the determination of the offender (Nagin & Paternoster, 1993). According to rational choice theory, the behavior of the offender is a question of choice and self-interest; the higher the cost of committing the crime, the less willing a person is to engage in the commission of the crime (Hug, 2014). This theoretical assumption also guided the study in examining how the presence of vulnerable local populations and the lack or absence of a capable authority determined offenders' choice to commit a crime in an unstable place

Each theory contributes to understanding the dimensions of criminal events. Using routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rational choice theory (Hug, 2014), I explored how the environment influenced the peacekeeper offenders while engaging in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. Past studies (Beauregard & Leclere, 2007; Farmer et al., 2016) have demonstrated that environmental or situational factors could trigger action by an offender. From the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories, pathological factors and situational factors or circumstances might explain sex offending in peacekeeping context.

Research Literature of Sex Offenses from Rational Choice and Routine Activities Perspectives

Researchers have used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to study sex offense from rational choice and routine activities perspectives but not in the

peacekeeping context. Beauregard and Leclere (2007) used rational choice theory to study the offending and the decision-making processes of sex offenders. The authors argued that though offense process and implicit theories could explain the decision-making process of sex offenders, they focused only on the internal psychological perspectives. They used rational choice theory and a qualitative research method to study the decision-making process of 69 sex offenders. The authors used open-ended semi-structured interviews to gather data. They used their prior study interview model in Beauregard and Leclere (2007) and replicated it into this study. The authors used a statistical sampling strategy to select the participants in a Canadian penitentiary. They collected investigative reports and interview data to explore the perspectives of the offenders. The authors concluded that the pathological and personal factors were not enough factors to determine the thinking and the decision-making process of a sex offender and that the situational factors would contribute to the decision-making process of the offender. They argued that understanding the decision-making process of the offender could contribute to crime prevention as well as to improve clinical practice. The authors admitted that their studies were limited to exploring the situational factors in determining the rational choice and decision–making process of an offender. They recommended that there was a need to conduct research that will take into account both the personal and the situational factors so as to obtain a greater understanding of rational choice and the decision–making process of an offender.

Farmer et al. (2016) used a qualitative research method and routine activities theory to study sex offenders and situational motivation. The authors reviewed routine

activities theory within the situational theories of criminology. They inquired into the reasons why men who committed sex crimes against children desisted from committing such offenses. The authors used the purposeful sampling strategy to select participants. They selected only those sex offenders in prison. They used McAdam's (1993) life story interview framework. The authors used semistructured interviews to collect data from interviewees. The authors also complied with ethical procedures to ensure the credibility of the research. They put the life stories of sex offenders in a qualitative dataset. The authors used the dataset to analyze the data. The authors used situational explanation, alternative interpretation, and a mixture of both methods and concluded that, with changes in situational factors, sex offenders were possible to experience desistance from sexual offending.

Researchers have used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to study the commission of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations; however, none explored how environmental opportunities influenced the behavior of the peacekeeper sex offender from a rational choice and routine activities perspectives. Both Bridges and Horsfall (2009) and Simic (2012) have used a qualitative research method in their studies. Bridges and Horsfall (2009) undertook a case study within Australia Defense Force to make a case for more female peacekeepers as deterrence to the commission of sexual exploitation and abuse of local populations in peacekeeping operations. The authors purposefully selected and interviewed 30 female personnel across the Austrian Defense Force. They used the grounded theory methodology to interpret the data and to build a theory. The authors also complimented the interview method with the

use of the secondary data from other military systems. They made a case for a gender-balanced peacekeeping and called for an increased participation of women personnel in peacekeeping operations. Simic (2012) selected and interviewed local women who were engaged in the sex industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the presence of the UN peace operation. Simic (2012) explored justification for the inclusion of all types of sexual relationships and prostitution between the local population and peacekeepers in the UN's Zero Tolerance Policy against sexual exploitation. The author argued that seeking the views of the local populations would help rethink the broad definition that the UN has used in its Zero Tolerance Policy. The author called for a rethinking on the definition of sexual exploitation. The author explained that the broad definition of UN's policy against sexual exploitation would not help in understanding the commission of sexual exploitation. Nordas and Rustad (2013) used a quantitative research method to examine variation in the reporting of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations. The authors developed a dataset and used data from peace operations that existed from 1999 to 2010. They tested various hypotheses and variables on the relationship that would exist between various potential risk factors and reports on sexual exploitation and abuse in various peacekeeping settings. The authors established a sexual exploitation dataset and used peace operations-years as a unit of observation. They explained that peace operations context and host factors or local conditions increased vulnerability conditions for local populations.

Thus, researchers in past studies have used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to study sex offense from a rational choice and routine activities perspectives. Researchers

have also used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to study the commission of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations. However, none has explored the extent to which opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders' engagement in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country from the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories.

Literature Review Related to Key Concepts

Peacekeeping Operation in Host Countries: Accountability of Peacekeepers' Behavior in Host Country

The emergence of international peace operations and its transformation into multi-dimensional peacekeeping has made it imperative for the daily interaction between international peacekeepers and local populations in lawless striven places (Simic, 2012). International peacekeepers lived with local populations and engaged in outreach to build trust and sought intelligence from among local populations (Simic, 2012). Peacekeepers facilitated access of local populations to food, water, shelter, medical, and psychosocial facilities (Afeno, 2012). The multidimensional nature of peace operations would require developing human relationship and outreach between peacekeepers and local civilian populations (Lopez, 2015). Peacekeeping operations faced asymmetrical war situations while protecting civilians against attacks by armed groups who might be operating in the same environment (Lopez, 2015). The humanitarian principles of *do no harm*, the responsibility to protect civilian populations, the use of force for self-defense to implement the mandate of the peace operation, and the consent of warring factions continued to guide peace operations in host countries (Lopez, 2015; Simic, 2012).

Dag Hammarskjold, a former UN Secretary-General had once stated that "peacekeeping is too important to be undertaken by soldiers. But soldiers are the only ones who can do it" (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009. p. 124). Soldiers have proved themselves in not only helping bring peace but also in keeping the peace in lawless striven and unstable places. International peacekeepers have proved themselves in highly volatile environments in not only helping bring peace but also in keeping the peace in lawless and unstable places in many post-conflict countries, including in many volatile, lawless striven and unstable regions (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). However, it was in these contexts that international military peacekeepers engaged in sexual exploitation against local civilians whom they are meant to protect (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). The peacekeeper offenders or perpetrators of sexual exploitation in poor countries have come from almost every nationality in peacekeeping operations (Gorur & Velituro, 2017).

Despite the role of international peace operations in the management of internal armed conflicts and peace processes, some peacekeepers in international peace operations sexually exploited local populations in the host country (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009; Botzios et al, 2011; Nordas & Rustad, 2013). The issue of sexual exploitation by international peacekeepers has gained the attention of scholars since the very first peace operations by the UN, going as back as 1992 (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). The first international peacekeepers accused of committing sexual exploitation and abuse against local populations, on record, were those in Cambodia and Somalia in 1992 (Nordas & Rustad, 2013; McGill, 2014). In Cambodia, local population alleged that with the arrival of the peacekeepers, the prostitution industry had arisen (McGill, 2014).

The UN and international humanitarian agencies have reports on sexual exploitation which continued implicating international peacekeepers in peace operations in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Haiti, Sudan, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Burundi (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). In 2001, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in collaboration with Save the Children UK, took the matter seriously and supported an investigation into allegations of sexual exploitation against the UN Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States in Sierra Leone and Liberia (McGill, 2014). The report showed an entrenched and systemic or organized sex industry that negatively affected young girls. The OIOS investigation confirmed the report of the UNHCR and Save the Children (McGill, 2014).

The scandal of sexual exploitation cases in DRC in 2004 attracted so much media attention that the UN Secretary-General had to undertake an in-depth work on the issue with a study report submitted by Prince Zeid in 2005 (Machiko, 2010). The focus on sexual exploitation by international peacekeepers continued with the publication of the Zeid report to the UN Secretary-General in Zeid 2005. The report provided details on allegations of sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers against women and girls in the DRC. The offenders offered money or food in exchange for sex, and sometimes they forced the victims into sexual relationships. The Zeid report indicated that military commanders tried to obstruct investigations of allegations of sexual exploitation against some peacekeepers. The study pushed the UN to undertake series of policy measures on

prevention of sexual exploitation, including revising existing policies and developing new ones (Machiko, 2010).

More reporting of sexual exploitation in the literature surfaced after 2005, perhaps due to the increasing sizes and the complex nature of international peace operations, and the increased UN policy and programmatic intervention measures. Over the years, a predation sexual culture seemed to have developed, forcing vulnerable local populations to provide sex by force or in exchange for food rations (Nordas & Rustad 2013). In 2009, the UN SG publicly reported 66 claims against UN peacekeepers, mainly involving minors (Burke, 2012). In 2005, the UN reported 340, and in 2006, the number went up to 357, it came down in 2007 with 127 cases. In July 2008, the UN established the Misconduct Tracking System on allegations of misconduct, including sexual exploitation and abuse (Nordas & Rustad, 2013). In that year, there were 83 formal allegations and rapes of minors constituted 50 out of the 83. By 2009, the number has risen to 112, and by 2010, the UN reported 85 cases (Machiko, 2010). The UN submitted most of the cases against peacekeepers to concerned member states for judicial action (Nordas & Rustad, 2013).

The existing literature described the UN as the depository of all cases against its troops in peace operations and as the preserver of evidence prior to action by the concerned troop-contributing state (Machiko, 2010). Anyone within and outside a peacekeeping operation could alert the Mission on an allegation (Machiko, 2010). Once the UN Secretariat would receive the allegation, it would ensure that there was sufficient information that could enable to send the information to the concerned troop-contributing

country alerting and requesting for a judicial investigation (Machiko, 2010). The UN Secretariat could initiate investigations to preserve evidence where the troop-contributing countries (TCCs) or the police-contributing countries (PCCs) delayed in undertaking judicial investigation (Machiko, 2010). The establishment of CDU in New York and a Conduct and Discipline Team in each peace operation were aimed to deter and reduce the number of sexual exploitation and abuse allegations (Machiko, 2010). The OIOS was to undertake preliminary investigations, conduct audits, and testify before international courts and tribunals (Machiko, 2010). Under the Memorandum of Understanding between the UN and TCCs, it would be the TCCs or the PCCs bored the responsibility to pursue allegations through investigations, disciplinary measures, and criminal prosecutions (Machiko, 2010). The UN Secretary-General would have an obligation to report annually to the member states on cases of sexual exploitation (Machiko, 2010).

Conceptualizing the attribution of responsibility for sexual exploitation among the TCCs, the PCCs, the UN, the host countries, and the individual civilians have been a challenge (Grenfell, 2011; Burke, 2012). Under international law, criminal responsibility for sexual exploitation was not only attributable to individuals who committed them, but also to the TCCs, the PCCs, the UN, the host countries, and the individual civilians (Burke, 2012). The courts have developed series of tests to attribute responsibility to various actors for sexual exploitation but the most important test was that of effective control, whether command and control rested with the TCCs, the PCCs and the (Burke, 2012). Burke (2012) posited that though the TCCs and the PCCs retained criminal jurisdiction over their troops, the UN retained general command and control or

operational control and authority over the troops. Burke (2012) proposed the need for dual or multiple attributions of responsibility for conduct to the TCCs, the PCCs, and the UN to address sexual exploitation in peacekeeping. Grenfell (2011) approached the issue of command and control from the concept of accountability, arguing that "using power responsibly, with the expectation of account-giving and that redress will follow in cases of wrong-doing" (p. 96). Grenfell (2011) also argued that there were similar gaps in the legal framework for the accountability of the UN Police serving in peace operations through Formed Police Units. Engdahl (2010) explained that despite the exclusive criminal jurisdiction by troop-contributing states for crimes committed by their troops within host nations, the Geneva Conventions imposed on the TCCs and the UN to comply with the principle of international humanitarian law. The TCCs and the PCCs retained exclusive criminal jurisdiction over military forces (Engdahl, 2010). Further, the exemption of international peacekeepers from local jurisdiction gave the impression that international military peacekeepers were "above the law" in these unstable and lawless striven host countries (Botzios et al., 2011, p. 217).

Despite the UN's preliminary investigations and reports of the problem, member states hardly took further actions to ensure accountability or to administer sanctions against the offenders. Haiti, for instance, reportedly took some steps when Pakistan, in the host country, prosecuted, convicted and discharged some of its peacekeepers for raping and sexually exploiting local women (Deleva, 2012). However, the Pakistani judges involved neither the UN nor the host country in the judicial process. Many studies (Burke, 2012; Grenfell, 2011; Kelly, 2014) argued that the low response by the TCCs to

allegations of sexual exploitation cases in the past has not deterred potential offenders. Though international peacekeepers would not allow prostitution, the degree of sanctions meted out to accused persons had not deterred potential offenders (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009). Though no international peacekeepers would allow prostitution, the commanders would advise the troops to use condoms while in the host country (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009). Further, Bridges and Horsfall argued that there were mixed messages to the peacekeepers by asking them to be careful and not to engage in prostitution but distributed condoms to the peacekeepers. Further, the military leaders distributed condoms to soldiers and advised them to have safe sex (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009). They concluded that the commanders in theory allowed or condoned prostitution with local populations and thus facilitated sexual violence against women and girls in the host country.

Bridges and Horsfall (2009) explained that most of the offenders in the Australian Defense Force had spouses and partners back home but as soon as they got into the host country, they would engage in this inappropriate behavior (Bridges & Horsfall (2009). Bridges and Horsfall (2009) argued that the sanctions of the Australian government against those peacekeeper offenders could hardly be effective deterrence. They explained that lecturing soldiers before or during deployment meant that either the soldiers did not understand official directives from the government or the directives were not clear. They also explained that sending offenders home without prosecution was a weak sanction or disciplinary measure.

Furthermore, concerned member states were slow to take judicial investigation and prosecution against peacekeeper offenders (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009). Mostly, the TCC or PCC would verbally sanction the accused persons and would send the offender home (Bridges & Horsfall, 209). The TCCs hardly took further measures and if it did, it would be to close the case for lack of evidence (Grenfell, 2011; Burke, 2012; Kelly, 2014). Concerns for victims would hardly become an issue for the offenders, the TCCs, and the UN (Burke, 2012; Grenfell, 2011; Kelly, 2014). Thus, despite UN's efforts and the troop contributing countries' efforts, sexual exploitation continued to feature in the literature and in research studies.

Summary and Transition

The researcher invested time to collect relevant articles. These articles helped in developing the study proposal. The chapter examined past studies from various perspectives, including examining crime from rational choice and routine activities perspectives, examining the research literature of sex offense from rational choice and routine activities perspectives, and examining peacekeeping operations and the accountability of peacekeepers' behavior in the host country. Further, researchers in past studies have examined the challenges of the UN, the TCCs, and the PCCs in holding the peacekeeper offenders accountable for their crimes in the host countries. Despite UN's efforts to address sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations, much remained to be done. The challenges related to the role and the responsibility of the UN to address sexual exploitation in peacekeeping seemed linked to the wider issues of attribution of responsibility, and the weakness and or the lack of national and international mechanisms to prevent sexual violence in peacekeeping settings. Researchers

have explained that many factors contributed to the commission of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping situations.

In past studies, researchers have used different research methods to study sex offenses using rational choice and routine activities theories; however, none examined the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers. Researchers have also used different research methods to study to the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers; however, none considered the problem from a perspective of routine activity and rational choice theories. Thus, past studies have not explored how environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. The literature review has highlighted areas of study that could benefit from further research and analysis.

There is a need to rethink sexual exploitation and future policy responses not only from the perspectives of the UN, the TCCs, and the PCCs but also by taking into account environmental opportunities. New insights on how the environment impact on the behavior of the peacekeeper offender would contribute to shaping policy aimed at controlling the behavior of international military peacekeepers in unstable places. New insights on the behavior of the peacekeeper offender from environmental perspectives could also support the development of capacity within peace operations as part of the response to sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers in unstable places.

The study would add value to the body of the research literature on crime prevention by bringing a new perspective to understanding sex offending as well as the

victimization of local populations in unstable places by international peacekeepers. The application of environmental criminological and opportunity-based theories of crime in the environment from which sexual exploitation thrived may advance criminology theory especially its usefulness and relevance to international interventions in peace processes, public administration, and public policy studies.

Chapter 3 begins with a presentation of the research design and research rationale, including the proposed qualitative research method and the case study approach. The second section defines the methodology, including the selection of research participants and the data collection methods. The third section explains the data analysis plan, including the data management, the data coding process, the interpretation of data, and the presentation of the data. The fourth section describes the role of the researcher in a qualitative research method, including discussions on trustworthiness issues and discussions on compliance with the ethical procedures. The chapter finally presents a summary of the main points of the chapter and provides a transition to the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

In this study, I explored the degree to which situational opportunities influenced peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country. I gathered empirical data on the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental conditions of local populations in the CAR from 2013 to 2017 and how situational factors motivated peacekeeper sex offenders and increased the vulnerability of local populations to sex predators.

In this chapter, I provide information on qualitative research method and the case study approach. This chapter begins with a presentation of the research design and the research rationale for my use of a qualitative research method and case study approach. In the second section of the chapter, I define the methodology, including the selection of research participants and the data collection methods. In the third section, I explain the data analysis plan for the management, interpretation, and presentation of the data. I examine, in the fourth section, my role as the researcher in this qualitative research and includes discussions of trustworthiness issues and ethical procedures. I finally present a summary of the main points of the chapter and provide a transition to the next chapter.

Research Design and Rationale

In this research, I focused on the research question: To what degree opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country?

Qualitative Research Method

In this study, I used qualitative research method to explore the deeper meaning in complex human and social processes and contexts (Gelo et al., 2008). Exploring the degree to which environmental and situational opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country required detailed and in-depth information and analysis of the environment and the peacekeeping context. Using semistructured questionnaire to undertake in-depth and intensive in-person interviews and reviewing secondary data to gather detailed information on the research question was consistent with a qualitative research approach and method (Gelo, Braakmann & Benetka, 2008). Using a qualitative research method, I answered the research question.

Case Study Approach: The Case of the Central African Republic

In this study, I used a case study approach to explore the deeper meaning of human and social experiences. A case study approach requires undertaking a study that is time-bound with determined sites for the study (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016). It also requires using multiple data collection methods (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016). A case study approach allows researchers to explore the "how" and "why" of human experience (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016). A case study approach is helpful for studies in which individual and social phenomena are explored. Researchers, using this design, can focus on an individual, an organization, or a process. (Ellinger & McWhorter, 2016).

The four peacekeeping operations and international military peacekeepers deployed to the CAR between 2013 and 2017 constituted the site for this study. Between

2013 and 2017, there were 81 allegations made in the country on behalf of 600 victims, including girls, boys, and women, implicating 174 alleged offenders from 13 military contingents of various nationalities (UN, 2017). Thus, the CAR case provided an opportunity for a case study on sexual exploitation by international peacekeepers. With the time bound-nature of the study and with determined sites for the study and the use of multiple data collection methods, I considered a qualitative research method and a case study approach to be the most appropriate for the study.

Methodology

In this section, I define the research method, including the sampling procedures, selection of the research participants, and open sources for secondary data collection. In the chapter, I also discuss the procedures for data collection. I focus on gathering data on situational opportunities, which included identifying particular places as well as routine activities of local populations and peacekeeping organizations and identifying how each of these actors shaped their activities spatially and, in so doing, were in turn influenced by place-based or spatial factors.

Participant Selection Logic

I used purposeful sample and snowball sampling strategies to recruit participants. These sampling strategies were used to define the sample size and select research participants. An assumption of the purposeful sampling strategy is that research participants have information and experience as experts or as witnesses to share with a researcher (Apori-Nkansah, 2008; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The snowball sampling strategy, which required that I identify potential participants through interviewees, complemented the

purposeful sampling strategy. Neither the purposeful strategy nor the snowball sampling strategy requires a specific number of participants to reach saturation level (Apori-Nkansah, 2008; Crouch & McKenzie, 006). The snowball sampling strategy is appropriate when the research population lives in families and communities with less social barriers and less social protocols (Apori-Nkansah, 2008; Crouch & McKenzie, 006). Research participants might willingly provide information that could help access other members of the community.

Due to time and resource constraints as well as the requirement of satisfying IRB review, I did not recruit protected and or vulnerable research populations such as convicted offenders. I based the selection of the research participants on an individual's personal or professional knowledge of such offenses, willingness to participate without any financial or pecuniary benefits, and availability and accessibility (see Appendix A, the recruitment letter). Other criteria included the interview sites and peace operations, the need for diversity in the nationalities of the research participants, and the need to take into account gender and other ethical considerations. I planned to interview approximately 25 participants, comprising five local witnesses, five representatives of civil society organizations, five peacekeepers (supervisors and commanders of peacekeeper offenders and those may know peacekeeper offenders, including peers), five UN experts, and five local experts, including defense lawyers and prosecutors.

I identified those who met the criteria for selection and compiled a list, including telephone and or physical addresses or where to find the participants. I have lived in the peacekeeping sites since 2014 and have interacted with local populations and

peacekeepers over the years. Therefore, I initially used my personal contacts in the host country to reach out to witnesses and determine who might know the research topic and who might possess the required experience to share.

As a director of the Human Rights Division of the UN Peacekeeping Operation in the CAR since 2014, I have investigated and reported on conflict-related sexual violence, including sexual exploitation. I used my contacts list of witnesses and peacekeepers to access and recruit potential participants. In addition, I accessed the UN Misconduct Tracking System. It is a global mechanism for tracking allegations of misconduct in peacekeeping operations and is accessible to the public (UN, 2017). The CDU of the UN Peacekeeping Operation in the CAR in DFS would facilitate case management and information sharing between peace operations and the CDU (United Nations, 2017). I also accessed the OHCHR database which documented cases of sexual exploitation by non-UN international peacekeepers as part of its monitoring and reporting on allegations of violations of international human rights and humanitarian law (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2017). I used the snowball sampling strategy to reach out to potential participants by asking each interviewee to help identify other research participants.

Instrumentation

In this study, I aimed to gather detailed and in-depth information and analysis on environmental opportunities, including identifying particular places (spatial factors), timeframe/frequency (timing factors), routine activities of local populations, routine activities of peacekeepers, and the influence of these place-based or spatial factors on behaviors of both local

populations and peacekeeper offenders. I used two complementary methods of data collection: secondary data analysis and interview data collection methods. I assumed that data collected from these methods would be complementary and would thus enrich the understanding of the context and the extent to which situational and environmental opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country.

Secondary data collection method.

A secondary data is any quantitative or qualitative data that exists for the purpose that is different from the study at hand (Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Lucas, 2011). In the case of the study, the secondary data could concern data on the operational and policy environment, the technical reports, and the organizational outputs on sexual exploitation. I collected secondary data, undertook document review or performed secondary analysis to address the research question. A review and secondary data analysis was a good starting point to collect data and to understand the context of a situation relating to the research question. The review and secondary data analysis provided initial knowledge and insights on broad issues relating to the research question. It also aimed to complement the interview method of data collection and analysis.

I further undertook a thematic analysis of the secondary data. A thematic secondary data analysis is a review and a second-hand analysis of a data that is already collected and analyzed with a view to developing themes and trends (Trzesniewski et al., 2011). In the analysis of secondary data, I should be careful in understanding the nature of the data and the methodology used to the collect the data (Trzesniewski et al., 2011). I was

alert in discerning credibility issues by identifying data discrepancy, data gaps, and the level of data referencing. Using local experts may help address such potential credibility issues (Trzesniewski et al., 2011). In collecting and analyzing a secondary data, I wanted to know the context, the circumstance, and the environment or the natural setting of the criminal event. This required understanding the nature of the location and the routine activities, the presence or absence of targets/ local girls and women, the presence or absence of capable guardians, the frequency of the relationship, and any contributing circumstance that could trigger the offender to commit the offense.

Secondary data analysis might be rich and cost-effective as the data already existed and thus the time for the collection of the data was reduced. It might help triangulate secondary data with the interview reports. It might, however, involve going through a huge volume of data which might not necessarily help address the research question. The data might be contradictory and might be an over-simplification of the research issues.

I used the purpose and snowballing sampling strategies in the search for relevant documents (Trzesniewski et al., 2011). An assumption that I made was that secondary data was available out there as records on the sexual exploitation of local populations that could answer the research question and gain an understanding of the research problem. Within the UN, record keeping and data tracking of allegations of misconduct began in 2006. I initially searched for documents in the following websites:

1. United Nations Conduct and Discipline Unit: https://cdu.unlb.org;
2. The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic: http://minusca.unmissions.org;

3. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: http://www.ohchr.org; and
4. Code Blue: http://www.codebluecampaign.com

The interview questions guided me in the analysis of the public records.

Interview Data Collection Method.

I collected data from witnesses, civil society organizations, defense lawyers, investigators, prosecutors, and UN experts who gave insights into the situational factors and how these factors influenced the emotional intelligence of the offenders. I focused on gathering data on situational and environmental opportunities, including identifying particular places as well as routine activities of local populations and peacekeeping organizations and how each of these actors shaped their activities spatially, and in so doing were in turn influenced by place-based or spatial factors. In addition to the introductory questions, I drafted the following questions:

1. How prevalent was sexual exploitation in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2017?
2. How does the participant see the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental conditions of local populations in the CAR from 2013 to 2017, and to what degree the situation created opportunities for motivated peacekeeper sex offenders and increased the vulnerability of local populations against sex predators such as peacekeeper offenders?
3. Were there convergences of routine activities that connected peacekeepers to the locals?

Using these questions, I encouraged, prompted, and probed the interviewee for more information on particular issues (see Appendix B, the Interview Protocol). I gathered data through intensive in-person interviews. I used the Consent Form for adults to help clarify the interview process to each interviewee. The Consent Form explained the process related to the interview. I invited each research participant to share information on the environmental situation, and how the situational factors increased the vulnerability of local people and motivated the peacekeeper offender engaged in sexually exploiting civilians in the host country. I would first find out from the research participant if he or she was comfortable for me to type responses as the interview proceeded. I would also find out from the research participant if he or she had any potential witness to introduce to the interviewer. I planned to type the data from the interviews as the interview ensured.

Data Analysis Plan

I used key strategies for the analysis of the data that I would collect. These strategies included the data organization or filing, the data coding, the interpretation of the data, and the reporting or the presentation of the data. The data analysis plan presupposed that a data management strategy would be in place. Though data analysis started from data collection, the data management process, including the filing of the data would become the first stage of data analysis and interpretation. I kept a list of records of both print and electronic data organized into folders with codes (letters/numbers/themes) as means of identifying the folders or for archival and retrieval purposes. I classified folders based on the nature or category or source of data: interviews and secondary data. I then created folders on interviews and develop sub-themes such as witness views, and

expert views. I labeled witnesses reports as W 1, W 2, W 3, etc. I labeled the secondary data as Doc 1, Doc 2, Doc 3, etc. This process helped me to sort out, classify, and processed data in preparation for the data coding processes (along topics, trends, and themes), data analysis, data interpretation, and data presentation.

I read the entire data and took notes in the form of memos or *memoing*. During this stage, I tried to make sense of the data through open coding. Open coding included the use of markers, words or letters to describe or highlight part of a data that to represent themes, trends, and patterns. I did the open coding manually on the document or along the margins of the document or outside the document. Though coding started from the data collection stage. I reduced the essence of the data using during the data coding process. I adopted an inductive approach by allowing the data to largely determine and drive the coding process. The open coding helped the categorization of the raw data from the multiple sources of data collection (see Appendix C, Preliminary and Emerging Codes).

I used PESTLE framework of analysis to guide the analysis of the data. The tool guided me in trying to understand the degree to which the political, economic, social, technological, legal and environmental factors influence the behavior of a motivated sex offender and increase the vulnerability of targets within a given time and spatial reality. I developed a matrix to analyze data using PESTLE framework of analysis. PESTLE framework of analysis helped me to describe the data and provide direct analysis and interpretation of the data. I continued to review and improve matrix and populated it with the data until saturation level or until all possible themes, relevant to addressing the research question, have been identified from the data.

I used other complementary strategies or methods to complement PESTLE framework of analysis. The situational explanation method required the use of the contextual data to acquire a situational analysis of the research subject. The alternative interpretation method required an understanding of the other issues in the attitude or the behavior of the offender that research participants use to explain the causes and effect of the research subject matter. The phenomenological strategy required understanding the research issues from the participants own narratives or perspective in their natural settings (Farmer et al., 2016). The qualitative content analysis spiral of Schilling (2006) is a whole concept of data interpretation that is useful for text-based data. These strategies provided opportunities for me to have many perspectives on the data. Further, these strategies were mutually complementary and inclusive. I read and used them together, not in isolation.

The data analysis would also require a process of triangulation, data collaboration, and a search for discrepancies and convergence in the data through the strategies of data interpretation. Every point I made in the findings relied on the data from at least two different sources. I linked the data collected to the specific elements of the research questions through the strategies of data interpretation. Through reflective and interactive processes through all the stages, I formed opinions on the data to address the research questions (see Figure 1).

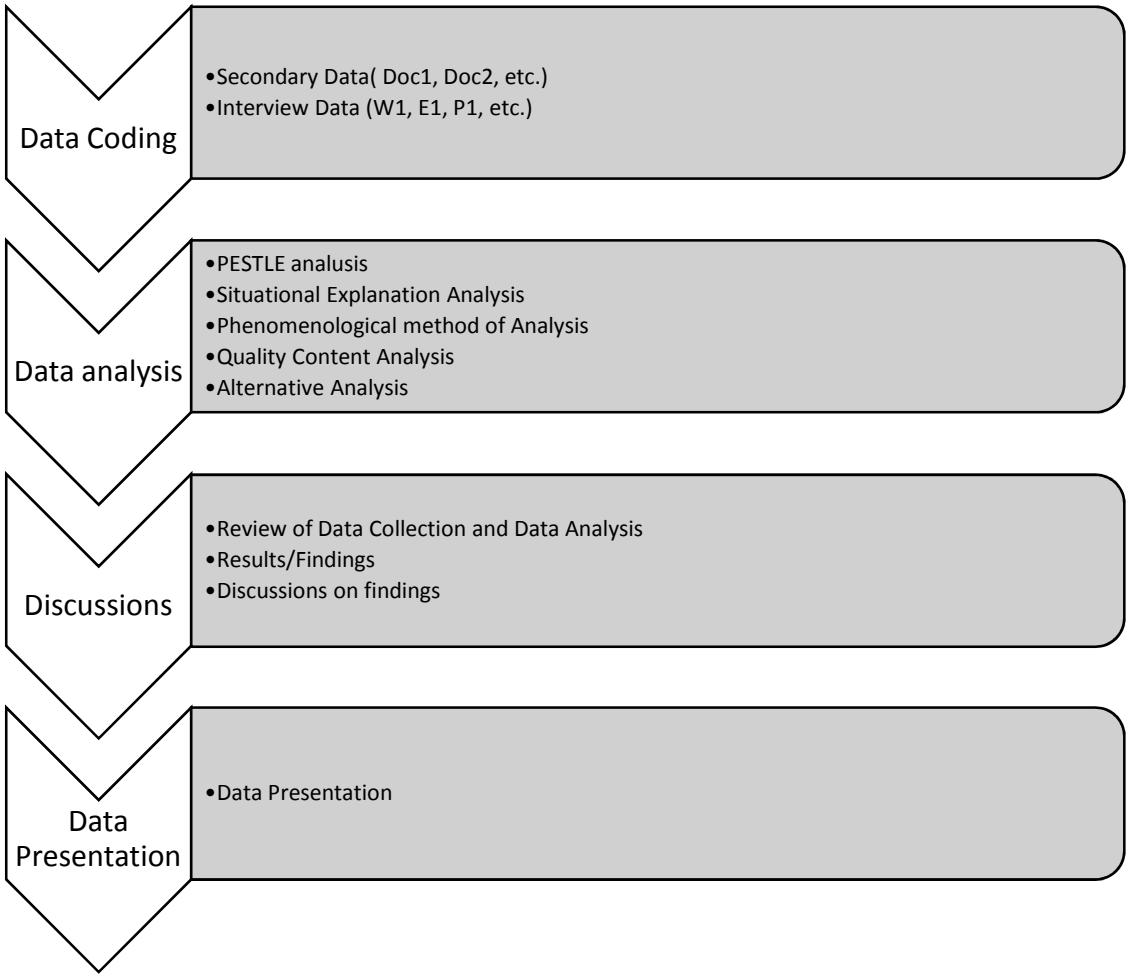

Figure 1. Data analysis plan. The process was an interactive and inductive one.

The Role of the Researcher

In this research, I took the lead from the development of the prospectus of the study to the presentation of the findings. For the study, I was an instrument of data collection and an analyst or interpreter of the data. I conducted interviews with research participants and searched for secondary data from the UN and other databases. I was conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed qualitative case study research method, especially in the development and the use of the data collection and data analysis

methods. The qualitative research method has its inherent weaknesses in data collection, especially as the instrument of data collection. Subjectivity and bias are threats to the credibility of a qualitative case study research exercise. I, therefore, used the relevant philosophical and methodological assumptions related to the qualitative research method to assess these challenges and to control the weaknesses inherent in a qualitative case study research. With this role, I was mindful of bias in the collection and in the interpretation of the data. I ensured adherence to ethical standards throughout the study. I am a professional with experience on the research issue and research setting sites. I was thus aware of the need to ensure the protection of victims and witnesses in the research process.

I also considered issues related to trustworthiness from the conception of the study to data storage and archival. Qualitative research method insists on the need to ensure *credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependence*, and *confirmability* to *validity, objectivity,* and *reliability* throughout the study period. The *credibility* required me to ensure that the findings of the study were based on the views expressed by the research participants. I ensured the validity of the data by insisting on understanding the data from the narratives of the research participants. I performed secondary data analysis to find corroboration, similarities of content, and perceptions to further ensure triangulation of data collected. I went back to the research participants during the analysis phase where possible and when necessary. I shared the draft with the experts who participated in the study to help review the opinions formulated from the data.

The *transferability* required me to provide a detailed account of the characteristics of what I investigated. I provided details of the data I collected and the variety of sources of data. I did not only explain the behavior of the research participants but also the context in which the experience occurred. To ensure *dependability*, I gave an account of the context of the study and any changes of the context that might impact on the findings. I depended on the data obtained from the research participants and the secondary documents to make the analysis, to form opinions, and to address the research question. I ensured that the terms used in the study were defined and precise. Further, I provided detail records of process of the study to secure an audit trail of all aspects of the study. I also ensured that the same issues were discussed with all research participants, and where possible, would take note of any discrepancy in the results.

To enhance *confirmability* of the study, I gave an account of the processes and procedures that led to the findings. I clarified the strategies used for the interpretation of the data. Through the interactive process, I ensured coherence between research question, data collection tools, interaction with research participants, data analysis, and data presentation. The research participants participated based on the full understanding of the rationale and the process of the study. I further enhanced the validity of the data by ensuring that participants were selected through inclusive criteria and processes. I took gender considerations in the selection of research participants.

The requirements for *credibility, trustworthiness, authenticity, transferability, dependence*, and *confirmability* would be ensured through various phases of the study and through the research methodology that this study would use. The use of multiple data

collection methods helped in the collaboration, corroboration, and triangulation of the data collected from any single source, and these strategies contribute to the credibility, trustworthiness, authenticity, transferability, dependence, and confirmability of the study. Rigor and reflexivity throughout the study process also enhanced the trustworthiness of the study. These methods gave me the chance to have different perspectives on the data. These strategies ensured the quality control, and the quality assurance on the process and on the data collected.

Furthermore, I adhered to the ethical procedures throughout the research process. During the interview process, and while accessing secondary data, I ensured confidentiality of the data as well as ensured respect to the integrity of the data and sources of the data. I also complied with the following key ethical procedures: exclusion of protected and or vulnerable research populations, obtaining the informed consent of research participants, compliance with the principles of confidentiality, and compliance with conducting research on my work setting (Walden University, 2017). I used the Walden University Consent Form to communicate the need to respect the privacy of each research participant and to ensure that each participant fully understood the study process and why he or she would be participating in the exercise. I took into account the distinction between confidential data and anonymous data and ensured proper management of each set of the data. I did not report on the demographic and sites description data of vulnerable research participants. I ensured that data would not indicate participant's physical, physiological and social vulnerability or participant's violations laws (Walden University, 2017).

Since the research to be conducted was within my professional work setting and organization, the boundaries between the research and the organizational functioning might not be clear (Walden University, 2017). Further, collecting data from my supervisors, colleagues, staff under my supervision, and friends whom I interact with daily, would likely be tainted with many methodological and ethical considerations. The responses from colleagues, staff under my supervision, and friends might be based on what such research participants would think I would want to hear to maintain social relations. My staff and friends might have already heard about my plan to undertake such study. As such, they would not want to go against my personal agenda or would want to bias response to suit my personal agenda, and this already could create bias in the minds of the research participants and may negatively affect internal validity. Also, my authority might put pressure on research participants or coerce them to participate in the research to satisfy my demands.

Based on these considerations, I did not invite staff under my supervision to participate in the study. I accessed and used only public records from the UN and other institutions records, including reports, work outputs, programs, statistics that were not linked to any staff. Using secondary data analysis would reduce the risk of bias where the data of the organizations not attributable to anyone staff, and where the information was primarily generated to address organizational goals and not necessarily the study purpose (Walden University, 2017). Also, such data would be more in tune with the organizational reflection on the issue than the reflection of anyone research participant (Walden University, 2017). Using secondary data analysis also ensured compliance with ethical issues related to data retention. These efforts helped me to address potential barriers and ethical considerations to the study.

I was also conscious of the challenges linked to data storage or data retention, and destruction of data especially electronic data (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014). I thus took into account the legal requirement relating to retention and destruction of different types of data (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014). Since the interviews and the secondary data were in the form of electronic data, I have stored the electronic data in my computer with an encrypted password, known only to me. I stored print data in a cupboard with lock and key that I would keep in a secure location.

Further, I would clear, purge, and destroy all data that the study collected in compliance with the ethical procedures (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014). This method of data sanitization would render the use of the data infeasible (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014). Since the interviews and the secondary data were in the form of electronic data, I would destroy the data by deleting the folders and files, destroying the password, and by resetting the computer device to the factory state (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014). I would, in the end, shred the print material to ensure that the use of the material would be infeasible (Privacy Technical Assistance Center, 2014).

Summary and Transition

This chapter laid out the methodology for this study. For the study, I selected a qualitative case study research method, detailed how the study would recruit participants for the in-depth interviews, and how the data collection would address the research problem and research questions. Further, the research method included a data interpretation plan. The process, the procedures, and the methodology that I used in the study ensured not only coherence between the various study components but also help

reinforce the inextricably linked requirements for credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependence, confirmability, and the quality of the research.

After the approval of Research Proposal by the University, I started the collection of the data and reported on the management of the data, the coding of the data, and the strategies that I used in the interpretation of the data. Chapter 4 describes how I collected, managed, retained/stored, and interpreted the data.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

In this study, I explored the extent to which situational opportunities influenced international military peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation of civilians in the CAR, a peacekeeping host country. I focused on the research question: To what degree opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country? I considered the extent to which situational and environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders' sexual exploitation of civilians in the CAR. The routine activities theory of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rational choice theory (Hug, 2014) constituted the study's theoretical framework.

I answered the research question by collecting empirical data using a qualitative case study research method, which encompassed the use of face-to-face interview and secondary data collection techniques. The findings indicated that there was a high prevalence of allegations of sexual exploitation of local people by peacekeepers in the CAR from 2014 to 2017. I concluded that the absence of legal and physical protection, subordination in the power relationship with peacekeepers, adverse security, political and socioeconomic conditions, technological factors, and the routine activities of communities converged with those of peacekeepers made civilians susceptible to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers. Further, I found that indiscipline and lack of welfare, dominance in the power relationship with civilians, and the daily activities of

peacekeepers, and the routine activities of communities motivated peacekeepers to sexually exploit local people.

The chapter begins with a description of how I collected data. In the second section, I describe how I analyzed the data. The third section includes discussion of issues of trustworthiness. In the fourth section, I present the results of the study. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main points and a transition to the final chapter.

Data Collection

I focused on the research question, to what degree opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country? I asked three main interview questions:

1. How prevalent was sexual exploitation in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2017?
2. How does the participant see the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental conditions of local populations in the CAR from 2013 to 2017, and to what degree the situation created opportunities for motivated peacekeeper sex offenders and increased the vulnerability of local populations against sex predators such as peacekeeper offenders?
3. Were there convergences of routine activities that connected peacekeepers to the locals?

I followed up with specific questions and some probing questions to deepen the interview and enrich the discussion with each interviewee.

On February 12, 2018, I received Walden University IRB approval (no. 02-12-18-0327968) to begin data collection. I started data collection the next day, on February 13, 2018. Data collection continued throughout the data analysis and the drafting of Chapters 4 and 5. I reached out to representatives of civil society organizations and some senior UN officials to help identify those who met the criteria for sample selection. Then, I compiled a list with the names and contact information (telephone number and addresses) of potential participants and those who could introduce me to potential participants. The compiled list had 25 names, consisting of five witnesses, five peers or supervisors of peacekeepers offenders, five representatives of civil society organizations, five national experts (lawyers and investigators), and five UN experts.

I was able to reach 15 of the 25 individuals on my list, including three witnesses, three peers/supervisors of peacekeeper offenders, four representatives of civil society organizations, one national expert (lawyer), and four UN experts (see Table 1 and Figure 2). Seven individuals were not able to participate in the study because of an eruption of violence in their residential areas during the data collection period while three individuals were out of the country and did not envision returning during the data collection period. All the interviews took place at an apartment I had rented in the study site to carry out the discussions with individual participants. The interviews lasted between 55 and 90 mins. I typed the data from each one of the interviews as each interview was conducted.

Table 1

Participation of Human Research Subjects

Category of research participants	Proposed	Accessed

Peers of peacekeeper offenders (P)	5	3
Witnesses (W)	5	3
UN experts (UN E)	5	4
National Investigation Experts (E)	5	1
Civil society organizations (C)	5	4
Total	25	15

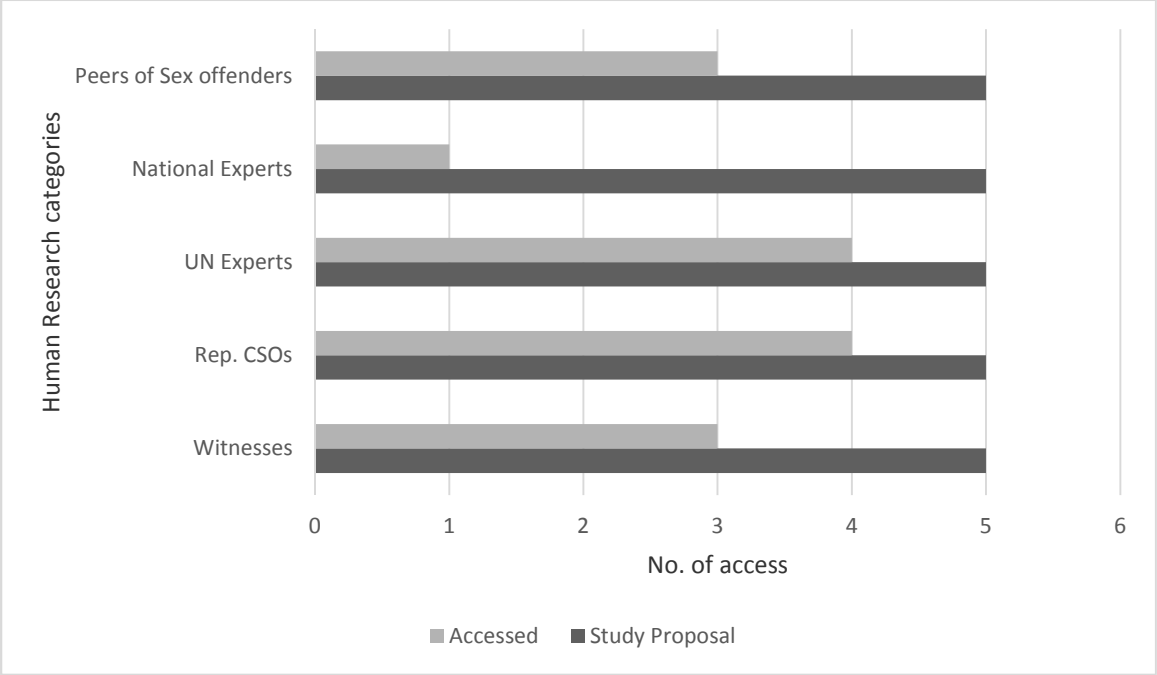

Figure 2. The distribution of the proposed sample versus the actual sample.

Between March 1 and 2, 2018, I contacted four of the 15 research participants whom I had interviewed to help in cross-checking and validating the data. The outcome of the review was helpful in validating the data and in revising Chapter 4.

Data Analysis

Data analysis and data interpretation started at the onset of the data collection and organization. I adopted an inductive approach by allowing the data to determine and drive the coding process. I used the PESTLE framework of analysis to understand the degree to which the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental factors increased the vulnerability of targets; and the extent to which the conditions influenced the behavior of a motivated sex offender within a given time and spatial reality. I developed a coding matrix to analyze and interpret the data using PESTLE analysis. The data matrix and the data interpretation strategies helped the study in the categorization process of the data and the development of the open coding of the data into topics, trends, and themes. The phenomenological or descriptive strategy of data analysis was also useful in trying to make sense of the data. This strategy required understanding the research issues from the participants own narratives and in their natural settings (Farmer et al., 2016). The qualitative content analysis spiral of Schilling (2006) also guided the study in processing the data from the secondary data and the interview transcripts (the raw data) to the development of the preliminary categorization of the data. These strategies provided opportunities for me to have many perspectives on the data. They also helped the study to provide "direct interpretation" and "naturalistic data analysis" of the data.

Themes and concepts emerged from the secondary and the interview data. They included: "prevalence of sexual exploitation", "armed conflict", "insecurity", political instability", "institutional instability", "abject poverty", "injustice", "absence of deterrence", "broken society", "conflict-related sexual violence", "gender-based

violence", "prostitution", "allegations", "investigations", " sexual exploitation", "proximity", "peacekeeping context", "host factor", "hotspots", "food for sex", "indiscipline", "welfare", "sexual relationships with local people", "dependence", "intermediaries", "influence", "impact', "convergence", "heightened vulnerability", and "crime opportunity", cultural affinity", and "unequal power relation". I further reduced these emerging themes to three main themes or concepts: prevalence of sexual exploitation in the CAR, situational factors of local populations, and motivating factors of the peacekeeper sex offender (see Appendix C, Preliminary and Emerging Codes). Identifying the emerging themes was helpful in developing the study narrative and addressing the research question.

Evidence of Trustworthiness of the Study

In this study, I based the findings on the views of the research participants to ensure credibility. I relied on the raw data to develop codes and themes. I did not notice changes in the background and conditions of study site that could affect the research subjects or that could have an impact on the findings. I depended on the data obtained from the research participants, and the secondary documents to make the analysis, to form opinions, and to address the research question. I provided details of the data collected and the variety of sources of data. I produced a detailed account of the characteristics of what the study investigated to assess transferability. I gave an account of the processes and procedures that led to the findings. I explained the analytical process that led to the results. The use of multiple data collection methods helped in the collaboration, corroboration, and triangulation of the data collected from any single

source. These strategies contributed to the credibility, trustworthiness, authenticity, transferability, and confirmability of the study. The perspectives that emerged from the data were different from my presumptions, or biased, making me examining my prior personal and professional assumptions and bias throughout the data collection, data analysis, and the interpretation of the findings. The self-examination increased the objectivity on my part and reflexivity throughout the study. Thus, I ensured adherence to requirements for credibility, integrity, transferability, dependability, and confirmability various phases of the research through the research methodology. These processes also enhanced the trustworthiness of the study.

Results

Introduction

This study was aimed to answer three main questions:

1. How prevalent was sexual exploitation in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2017?
2. How does the participant see the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and environmental conditions of local populations in the CAR from 2013 to 2017, and to what degree the situation created opportunities for motivated peacekeeper sex offenders and increased the vulnerability of local populations against sex predators such as peacekeeper offenders?
3. Were there convergences of routine activities that connected peacekeepers to the locals?

At the end of the research, I found that:

1. There has been a substantial amount of allegations of sex offending against peacekeeper in the CAR between 2014 and 2017.
2. The absence of legal and physical protection, the subordinate in the power relationship with military peacekeepers, adverse security, political and socio-economic conditions, technological factors, and the routine activities of the communities that converged with that of peacekeepers made locals susceptible to the sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers.
3. Indiscipline and lack of welfare, dominance in the power relationship with the civilians, and the routine activities of military peacekeepers that converged with the activities of the communities motivated peacekeepers to sexually exploit locals.

The following will substantiate each part of these findings. The first subsection describes the prevalence of cases of sexual exploitation in CAR. The second subsection describes the situational factors of the local population at host country. The third subsection section presents the situational or motivating factors of the peacekeepers. The fourth subsection provides a summary of the findings of what motivates sexual exploitation in the CAR. The final section provides a summary of the chapter and provides a transition to Chapter 5.

Prevalence of Sexual Exploitation Offended by Peacekeepers

Two online sources provided information about the prevalence of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers: Code Blue Campaign and the Child Rights International Network; they presented detailed public discussions on what happened in CAR from the

first claims of sexual exploitation in CAR in 2014 to date. Their information indicated substantial allegations of peacekeeper offending in the CAR between 2014 and 2017. The UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the CAR investigated and produced an internal report on sexual exploitation in CAR by international military peacekeepers. The report provided details of children, mainly boys, being subjected to repeated sodomy for days in exchange for food rations near the International Airport. In August 2014, a senior UN official received a copy of the internal report and then shared it with the TCCs concerned. On 24 March 2015, the Guardian published a leaked report on allegations of sexual exploitation in CAR by international peacekeepers. The article narrates sex offending by French troops at the Mpoko International Airport in CAR.

On 13 September 2017, Code Blue published leaked confidential documents which included 14 fact-finding investigations into allegations filed against military peacekeepers from nine different countries serving in the UN mission in the CAR. The Guardian said that these allegations offered an insight of sex offending and how the UN handled such allegations (Code Blue, 2017). On 12 August 2015, Amnesty International published another complaint against the UN forces. The international outcry and the call for judicial investigations and punitive actions against perpetrators continued through various international media channels. The High Commissioner for Human Rights added his voice by naming the concerned TCCs publicly in his public reports. The senior UN official who was under administrative sanctions resigned (see Appendices D, List of Documents and Sources, and E, List of Acronyms Used in the Study).

Witness 1 described incidents in the Mpoko International Airport IDP camp and mentioned listed 11 cases of rape involving offenders of French troops who protected the IDP camps. The witness said it would be difficult to know the number of cases and that it was impossible to give a precise figure. W 1 explained further that there were many allegations of sexual relationships between international military forces and civilians living near the military camps or near the peacekeepers work. Witness 2 narrated that there were as many as 126 allegations in Dekoa where troops of different TCCs had headquarters over the years. In the exchange below, the witness explained how peacekeepers would patrol the town and the environs at night and would bring girls into their headquarters:

Interviewer: How did peacekeepers access women or girls?

W 1: It was difficult to access the town due to the conflict. The women had to help provide water and even shelter to the soldiers in exchange for food, and their tents could not accommodate all of them, so they stayed in homes. They would then patrol the town. But any girl they met at night, they would take her to their base, and in the morning many girls would come back with some gifts.

Interviewer: This went on for how long?

W 1: It happened from 2014 to 2016.

P 3 was able to describe the likely places where sexual interactions were taking place, some of which are out of the public view:

Interviewer: Where do you think, sexual interactions take place, outside the public view?

P 3: Most of the sex offending took place in dark bushes, along food paths, near water collection points, in the armored vehicles of sex predators, and in homes of victims.

Interviewer: Did peacekeepers use force or what?

P 3: Yes, some of the soldiers would use force, their authority, and their influence as soldiers.

The witness also explained that no one documented all the allegations and but the level of prevalence of sexual relationship between local people and peacekeepers were many in town.

The UN SG report on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (A/68/756), presented data on allegations of sexual exploitation in the United Nations system for the period from 1 January to 31 December 2013. The subsequent report covered the period from 1 January to 31 December 2014. Both the 2014 and the 2015 UN SG reports never mentioned any allegation against any military peacekeeper from CAR peacekeeping operations. However, the UN SG Report published in 2016 provided data on allegations of sexual exploitation in the UN system for the period from 1 January to 31 December 2015. In this report, the UN SG stated that in 2015 that "the world shared a feeling of outrage in learning of allegations of sexual violence by foreign forces serving in the Central African Republic" (The UN SG Report, 2015, p. 2).

Further, the UN SG Report of 2016 explained that there was an increase in the number of accusations and that was worrisome. The UN SG Report attributed a significant proportion to MINUSCA. In 2016, the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) investigated allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse against

international peacekeepers in one specific locality in the CAR. OIOS identified 16 alleged perpetrators from one military contingent and 25 from another military contingent. Also, OIOS recorded 139 victims, including 25 minors, who reported that peacekeepers sexually assaulted them in the CAR. Further, OIOS filed eight paternity claims against international peacekeepers during the investigation. The demands of sexual activities involved minors and non-consensual sex with persons aged 18 or older. The MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, published in May 2017, states that:

> From December 2013 to June 2014, the United Nations documented allegations of sexual violence, including against children, involving soldiers of the MISCA the French forces, and the European Union Forces (EUFOR CAR) deployed under authorization of Security Council Resolutions 2127 and 2134, but who were not under United Nations command. At the end of 2014, allegations that sexual violence against boys, girls, and women was committed by soldiers of the French Sangaris forces and MISCA forces at the Bangui M'Poko IDP camp were further documented by the United Nations and other organizations. (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017, p. 226).

UN recorded 19 allegations against the military peacekeepers in 2015. In 2016, the UN registered 46 cases against the military peacekeepers (CDU, 2017). In 2017, the UN filed 16 claims against the military peacekeepers (CDU, 2018). UN has not documented on its website any case against any military peacekeeper for 2018 as of 28 February 2018 (CDU, 2017). However, only 16 cases allegedly took place in 2015, 15 in 2016, and nine in 2017. As Code Blue reported, some unknown number of incidents took place in 2013

and 2014 (Code Blue, 2017). The statistics show a pattern of decline of claims that the UN recorded over the past five years (see Figure 3).

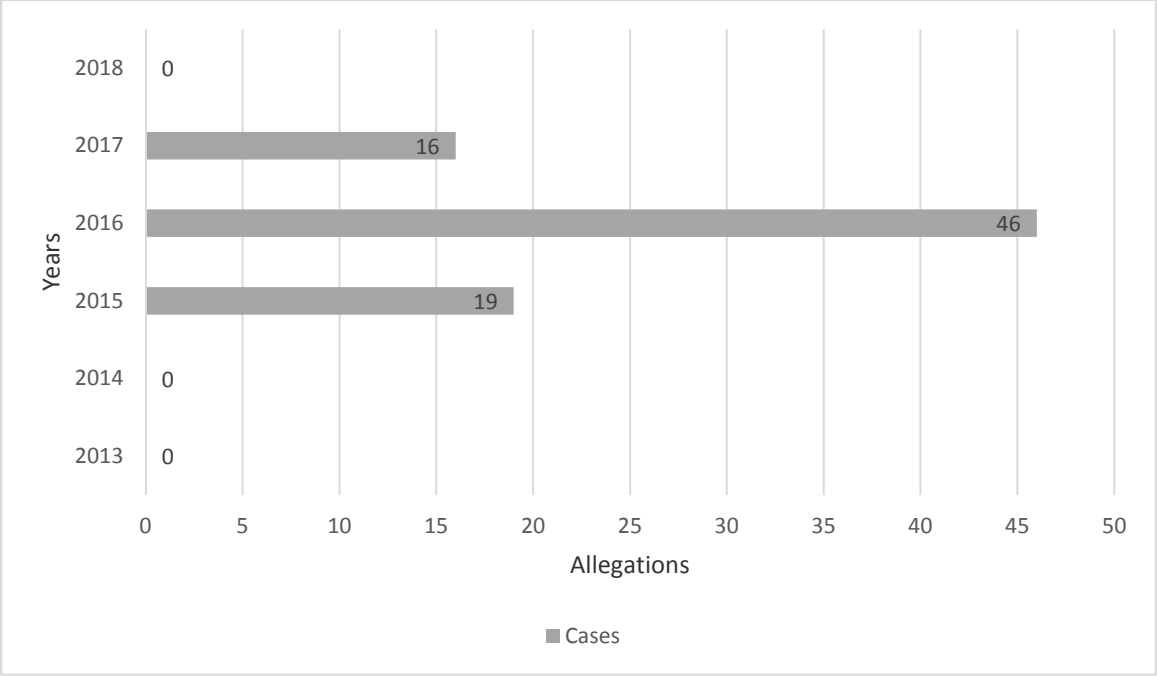

Figure 3. Case statistics for January 1, 2013-December 31, 2017.

The nature of the sexual exploitation against a peacekeeper from 2014 to 2017 included rape, sexual assault, exploitative relationship, transactional sex, and solicitation of transactional sex (CDU, 2017). In the UN records, eight victims were children in 2015, 33 were children in 2016, and six were children in 2017. The UN recorded 123 known victims and 180 alleged perpetrators (CDU, 2017). The UNs filed seven cases as substantiated and the rest of the cases either as pending or unsubstantiated (CDU, 2017).

The UN publicly accused troops of engaging in sexual exploitation in CAR from the Republic of Congo, Morocco, Cameroun, Gabon, Burundi, Mauritania, Pakistan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Niger, and Zambia (CDU, n. d.). The UN, for the first time, publicly named TCCs whose peacekeepers have allegedly exploited locals sexually. The names

appeared in the UN SG report of 2017. States and representatives of both local and international media organizations continued to express outrage against the allegations in CAR (Code Blue, 2017). Table 2 shows the number of allegations against each TCC from 2014 to 2017.

Table 2

Allegations Against Troop Contributing Countries

TCC	# of allegations
Congo	25
Morocco	15
Cameroun	9
Gabon	7
Burundi	6
Mauritania	5
Pakistan	1
Egypt	1
Bangladesh	1
Niger	1
Zambia	1

The evidence indicates that the CAR has been a host to many international peacekeeping operations from 2013 to 2017. The data reveal that the international community, witnesses, and representative of civil society organizations continue to publicly accuse peacekeepers of having committed sexual exploitation of local population while on duty in CAR. The evidence explains that the UN increased its focus not only on documenting cases of allegations and improving its tracking system but also on

examining factors that led to the prevalence of sexual exploitation of local populations by international peacekeepers. Though the statistics show a decline in the recording of cases of sexual exploitation in 2017, the data indicate that there was a high level of prevalence of cases of sexual exploitation in the CAR from 2014 to 2017.

Situational Factors of Local Population at the Host Country

In this research, I found that many factors motivated sexual exploitation of local populations by international military peacekeepers between 2013 and 2017. First, there were situational factors that increased the susceptibilities of locals to sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers. These factors include the absence of legal and physical protection, the subordinate in the power relationship with military peacekeepers, deep-rooted inequality and sexual violence, and the routine activities of local communities that converged with the routine activities of peacekeepers. Second, motivating factors such as indiscipline and lack of welfare, dominance in the power relationship with the locals, and the routine activities of military peacekeepers that converged with the routine activities communities motivated peacekeepers to sexually exploit civilians.

Absence of Host Country Deterrence and Protection Mechanisms

In this study, I found that the weakness and the absence of host country deterrence and protection mechanisms heightened the vulnerability of local communities against peacekeeper sex offenders. The MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report stated that sex offenders “enjoy unbridled impunity as a result of widespread insecurity and dysfunctional or collapsed institutions, a situation which persists to date" (p. 207). Further, the MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report examined that the protection of

victims of crimes, including sex offending "is more generally hampered by lack of a functional penal chain, including police and related social services, judiciary, and penitentiary services" (p. 211). Judicial officials had fled their areas of jurisdiction due to insecurity, political instability, and lack of supporting facilities and welfare (MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report, 2017).

The E 1 stated that international military peacekeepers were exploiting local citizens because the state was absent everywhere. The witness explained that due to international pressure, the government disbanded the military force and most of the soldiers joined the armed groups or formed armed criminal gangs. The witness argued that there was lack of protection mechanisms in place to protect local population:

Interviewer: If the country does not have any national protection mechanisms, why would the peacekeepers not assume that responsibility? Or who is responsible for the protection of the local population?

W 1: No one. First, the peacekeepers are expected to assume that responsibility to protect all civilians and all vulnerable communities but they are responsible for most of the sex offending against members of the local communities. And based on the agreement between the government and the UN and the TCCs, we find it difficult to investigate and prosecute them in situ. Secondly, the armed groups are de facto the ones in control of the large part of the territory of the country. The armed groups, too, exploit and abuse the local populations. Third, the French government, as a TCC, undertook investigations of its peacekeepers, but nothing came out of it. The French authorities did not associate the CAR government with the investigations and with the trials. Also, when someone is in

dire need of everything that is basic for life, his or her legal rights and freedoms do not mean anything.

The UN SG Report on sexual exploitation and abuse, published in 2016, explained that peacekeeping context or conditions also did not enhance any legal and protective environment and thus heightened the vulnerability of local populations against peacekeeper sex offenders. In June 2015, the UN SG created the CAR Panel to review the handling of CAR sex abuse inquiry. The CAR Panel argued that:

> When peacekeepers exploit the vulnerability of the people they have been sent to protect, it is a fundamental betrayal of trust. When the international community fails to care for the victims or to hold the perpetrators to account; that betrayal is compounded (p. I).

The CAR Panel further examined that the UN response to allegations against peacekeepers in CAR "was seriously flawed" (p. I). The report asserted that the UN failed to take measures to alert senior UN officials and did not alert or even request the Sangaris Forces to take measures that could protect the children that have been abused. The report argued that "no one willing to take responsibility to address the serious human rights violations" (p. I). The CAR Panel further explained that the UN did not cooperate with the French government to investigate the allegations. The CAR Panel argued that "by bringing a child onto the base, past guards, where civilians were not authorized to be, or by calling out to children and instructing them to approach" indicated that the perpetrators did not fear that anyone could apprehend them (p. 3). The CAR Panel also asserted that there was "break down of UN leadership on the ground" (p. 7) in the CAR,

and that there “the fragmentation of responsibility” (p. 11). The CAR Panel further explained that “the tendency of UN staff to disown responsibility for dealing with sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping forces” (p. 11). The Panel further observed that in CAR there was a system where everyone seemed responsible for addressing sexual exploitation but had created “a leadership vacuum in which no one is ultimately responsible or accountable” (p. 11). On 29 April 2015, the Guardian reported that UN had suspended the senior UN staff for leaking the internal report on child abuse by French troops in CAR. On the 29 May 2015, Paula Donovan, AIDS-Free World's co-director, described the situation in a Code Blue press release as:

> a total failure of the UN to act on claims of sexual abuse, even when they know that UN involvement might be the surest route to stopping crimes and ensuring justice. That was certainly the case here: if the UN had immediately handed over what they'd learned from the children, including detailed physical descriptions of the soldiers, the criminals might be in jail today, and untold numbers of additional children might have been spared abuse. (Code Blue, 2015).

In 2015, Code Blue further challenged the UN's willingness and readiness to address sexual exploitation scandals in CAR by publishing emails, memos, letters, statements, and other confidential documents from senior UN officials in CAR, in New York, and in Geneva. C 4 stated that there seemed to be no off limits for international peacekeepers. Troops move freely in towns even when not undertaking operations at night and they meet nigh sex workers. The witness narrated that some places in Bangui after 8 pm attracted many girls even married women:

Interviewer: Were there places you would describe as “hotspots” for contacts between peacekeeper sex offenders and local populations, and if so, was there anyone protecting local populations against any sex predation in these places?

C 4: Drinking spots, checkpoints, roundabouts, and markets were close to military headquarters or checkpoints. In these places, men were acting as intermediaries, facilitating contacts between girls and the peacekeepers. Unfortunately, we have a weak government with weak security institutions. You cannot seek protection from a local judicial or police institution that is weak or inexistent.

Subordinance, Unequal Gender Relations, and the Prevalence of Conflicted-Related Sexual Violence

In this study, I found further that deep-rooted unequal gender relations and the prevalence of conflicted-related sexual, domestic, and gender-based violence heightened the vulnerability of local populations against sex predations. The UN SG Report of 2017 further acknowledged that "unequal gender relations lie at the heart of sexual exploitation and abuse, and that the potential for this behavior poses a threat to women and the vulnerable wherever they live or work (p. 5). The MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report defined "conflict-related sexual violence" to include:

> rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men or children that is directly or indirectly linked (temporally, geographically or causally) to a conflict. (p. 206).

The MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report examined further that "conflict-related sexual violence is a manifestation of the more general discrimination, marginalization and violence suffered by women and girls in the Central African Republic" (p. 207). The report further explained that cultural practices relegated women and girls to an inferior position, thereby increasing their vulnerability to sex predation (p. 207). Further, the CAR Panel stated that sexual exploitation and abuses "are a form of conflict related sexual violence (p. I). The Mapping Report states that:

> In 2015 alone, service providers in the Central African Republic recorded 29,801 cases of women who had survived gender-based violence, including rape, sexual assault and sexual slavery. Of them, 27,977 were women and girls, and 1,824 were men and boys. Forty-four per cent of rape cases involved gang rapes, often committed in front of family members. (p. 205)

The Mapping Report further narrated that "thousands of women and girls in the Central African Republic were survivors of conflict-related sexual violence" (p. 206). The report explained that survivors of conflict-related sexual violence experienced trauma and "deprived of the means to cater for their own recovery and livelihood or that of other people under their care" (p. 206). W 1 argued that society was also broken at many levels:

Interviewer: What protection mechanisms exist at a societal level against sexual violence?

W 1: Our society is broken. At the domestic level, there is too much violence within marriages negatively affecting women and young girls.

The witness also argued that the armed conflict added to this dire cultural situation, making them destitute.

Routine Activities of Local People Converging with Routine Activities of Peacekeepers

Local people rely on the protection of military peacekeepers in many of their routine activities. The frequent contact increased their susceptibilities to sexual exploitation of the motivated offenders among peacekeepers. According to many of my interviewees, for example, local populations fetched water daily from water collection points under the control and escort of peacekeepers. This daily activity would bring together locals and peacekeepers on a daily basis. The witnesses also narrated that civilians, doing international or cross-border commerce, would regularly travel to Cameroun, Chad, and Sudan borders on commercial convoys of vehicles to and from CAR under the escort of the peacekeepers. The witnesses also stated that civilians would go about their daily activities in buildup areas in town under the protection of the peacekeepers. Also, peacekeepers guarded all public buildings and public places public places such as markets, business centers, sports venues. Furthermore, internally displaced civilians would seek humanitarian assistance from the peacekeepers.

Adverse Security, Political, and Socio-economic Conditions

In this inquiry, I also found that adverse security, political, and socio-economic conditions, including abject poverty of the local populations increased the vulnerability of local communities against sex predation. The UN Mapping Report on human rights violations in CAR described the country as "a large and sparsely populated country,

…marked by deep-rooted poverty, ethnic tensions, pervasive political instability, corruption and nepotism that led to a succession of armed conflicts…" (p. 11). According to the UNDP Human Development Report of 2017, CAR's Human Development Index was 0.352, with a rank of number 188 out of the total UN member states (UNDP, 2017).

The UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Action (OCHA) based in CAR argued that the country experienced decades of local armed conflict, its consequences remained and thus increasing the fragility of the state (OCHA, 2017). OCHA records published in 2017 on its website indicated that the 2.5 million of people are in need of humanitarian assistance including 546, 000 refugees and 688, 000 IDPs in many camps across the country. UN High Commissioner for Refugee Office (UNHCR) published on its website that the CAR has 688,700 IDPs and 54230 refugees in 2017. The UN agency described the CAR as "one of the world's poorest countries" with "fresh and fierce clashes between armed groups have wrought increasing suffering, deaths, and destruction of property" (UNHCR, 2017).

The UN SG Report of 2017 also explained that sexual exploitation by peacekeepers against local populations who "where people are hungry, displaced, desperate, and under extreme duress…" (p. 5). W 1 argued that abject poverty pushed many girls or women go after these military peacekeepers for sex in exchange for food rations and other basic needs. The witness explained that due to poverty and absence social services, parents could not take care of their wives and children, and everyone would go out to in search of basic needs-food, water, shelter, clothes, medicines, and means of communication.

Technological Factors

In this research, I found that technological factors including the increased use of cheap and easy to use social media, facilitated connections between local communities and peacekeepers, and helped keep social relationships. W 2 explained that girls who lived in the IDP camps were easy targets because their parents, brothers or husbands were not there, they had no work to do, and they saw only young military peacekeepers around them. The witness further narrated that the lonely soldiers and lonely girls would meet and chat at night, and would also fraternize with each other. This situation created conditions for a friendly and sexual relationship. In the exchange below, the witness explained further how peacekeepers and locals communicated:

Interviewer: How would local girls connect with sex predators outside the IDP camps?

W 2: With technology, it is now easy and cheap. They would exchange telephone and connect with WhatsApp and other social media contacts. Even at a distance, there were connections between sex predators and their targets through social media channels.

C 2 explained that technological factors could have influenced the sexual relationship between local populations and peacekeepers in CAR.

Interviewer: Please tell me how social media helped connect sex offenders and local women?

C 2: I know of g girl who was leading a business whereby she would collect telephone numbers of peacekeepers and then shared them with other girls for a fee. Those girls would then contact those soldiers through WhatsApp, Messenger, Viber or other social media means. They would get to know each other virtually even before they would

physically meet. They would exchange photos and remained connected day and night through the internet.

Motivating Factors of the Peacekeepers

Indiscipline and Lack of Welfare.

In this study, I found further finds that many situational or motivating factors such as indiscipline and lack of welfare motivated peacekeepers to sexually exploit locals. The UN SG Report, published in 2016 stated that peacekeeping context increased motivated peacekeeper sex offenders to engage in sexual exploitation by local people in the host country. The report explained that sexual exploitation in CAR could partly be due to the difficult conditions in which peacekeepers lived, including:

> the excessive length of the deployment for certain contingents; the living conditions of contingents, including lack of welfare and communication facilities to stay in contact with home, and camps in proximity to and not properly separated from the local population; and a lack of discipline among some of the contingents. (p. 7).

UN E 2 explained that there could be many risk factors that could have led to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers:

Interviewer: What other risks could have led to peacekeepers engaging in sexual exploitation in CAR?

UN E 2: There were many factors that could be linked to the context of peacekeeping, including the proximity of IDP camps to military camps, the lack of welfare activities for the military, lack of a comprehensive leave policy and plans for most contingents leading

to a long stay in CAR without going home. Also, there was the problem of inadequate training for the military on sexual misconduct.

The witness explained that the remoteness of some temporary operating bases without internet and other means of communication facilities, the difficult living conditions, the lack of fences around army camps and thus facilitating access of civilians into the military camps, the lack of self-control on the part of the soldiers, or even peer pressure could also lead to the crime.

Dominance in the Power Relationship with the Civilians.

In this research, I found that that peacekeepers, with their higher purchasing power with power to control physical lives of local populations, had dominance over communities and vulnerable individuals. W 3 explained in this discussion below:

Interviewer: How would you explain power relations between peacekeeper and locals?

W 3: It has been a relation of rich and poor, of unequal parties. The arrival of the peacekeepers with money infrastructure or material amenities changed the lives of many poor civilians, unskilled workers, including the internally displaced persons who were not in the camps. Poor people maintained a dependency relationship with the peacekeepers.

The witness narrated that the peacekeepers brought in some dynamics in the economy, especially in the sex industry. The witness argued that the peacekeepers came and lived in CAR with no families, no spouses, and they lived exclusively in bunkered homes employing local cleaners, housemaids, houseboys, local security guards, and cooks.

The witness also explained that the peacekeepers would frequent only highly exclusive restaurants, swimming pools, and other recreation facilities where sex workers

frequent. The witness further narrated that most of the so-called victims would only report relationships that ended badly, or where the peacekeeper had unceremoniously left CAR without a further future commitment to the relationship or where there was a failed promise on the part of the peacekeeper. The witness further explained that some relationships between locals and peacekeepers continued even after the departure of the peacekeeper and some have led to marriages. The witness further indicated that these girls would continue to look for other peacekeepers just to make ends meet. The witness explained that the everyday transactions and the everyday life of the peacekeepers and the local population created a new way of life, a new business life, and new levels of relationships which could be mutually beneficial or abusive.

Routine Activities of Peacekeepers Converging with Routine Activities of Communities.

In this inquiry, I found that convergences of routine activities of peacekeepers and the local population created opportunities to connect peacekeepers to the civilians. The MINUSCA/OHCHR Mapping Report explained the relationship between local communities and peacekeepers created "rings of prostitution within the environment (p. 207). P 1 explained that the sex offender would use his proximity to the local population to engage vulnerable boys, girls, and women. The witness further explained that "friendly relationships with local populations created the opportunity for offenders to engage in sexual advances towards a vulnerable girl and woman.

P 2 narrated that the military peacekeepers were in charge of the security of the communities in which the local populations lived and worked. The witness explained that

the international military personnel was in charge of escorting them to fetch firewood, water or food. The witness further narrated that some of the relationships were for military intelligence gather gathering, but those girls also provide sex services to the peacekeepers.

P 3 stated that the offender, during routine work, would meet the girls at bushy, dark and lonely checkpoints, footpaths, nightclubs, and water points in the absence of deterring or protective authority. P 3 indicated that some peacekeeper camps are breeding places for sexual exploitation because there are no command structures, soldiers seem idle, and discipline is lacking. The witness also explained that civilians from the nearby villages, including young boys, girls, and women who were vulnerable to sex predation had easy access to the camps and easy contact with the soldiers. P 3 stated that some public roads passed through some military camps, and these camps were without fences. The witness again narrated that some army camps had no cooking facilities, no dining facilities, and some soldiers would seek food from local populations or would have to go to the local markets to buy toothpaste, undergarments, and engaging in unnecessary contacts with local population.

W 1 said that most of the poor local populations lived in IDPs camps, even those who were not under threat did so because the proximity benefitted them in many ways-easy access to food and other basic needs. UN E 2 narrated that there was a link between the everyday activities of the peacekeepers and local populations. The civilians could not fetch water or firewood without the presence of armed peacekeepers, and this leads to fraternization. UN E 3 said that international peacekeepers would take advantage of the

vulnerability of the local girls or women who have lost touch and contact with their loved ones were nowhere to be seen, many have died, many were in the armed movements, were living in other IDPs camps, or have gone out as refugees. UN E 4 explained that there could be many threats to local girls living and working daily near military camps. The witness stated that some women opened shops and stalls near military camps and this brought them in to contact with peacekeepers daily. The witness further explained that civilians had unhindered access to military camps:

Interviewer: What could you say about the living conditions contingents in CAR?

UN E 4: Some contingents arrived with all the equipment required to live and do the work. Others peacekeepers had no equipment and arrived in the host country with no basic needs. These soldiers employed boys and girls as errand boys and girls. The soldiers would send them to town to look for things that are not available in the military camps such as toiletries and cigarettes and other basic needs. The soldiers would pay them with food and other items that the local population need. This symbiotic relationship or situation led to food for sex.

However, C 3 cautioned about making general accusations against peacekeepers for all relationships that existed between them and local communities:

Interviewer: How would you define the sexual relationship that would exist between some peacekeepers and some local people in CAR?

C 3: We have to be careful in the analysis because the close relations between the everyday activities of the peacekeepers and the local communities made it easy to accuse international peacekeepers of anything, including of sexual exploitation. The

international peacekeepers cannot alienate the local people because the armed groups live within the communities, so winning the hearts and minds of the local people is strategically and tactically important for the peacekeepers. The peacekeepers are foreigners and may not understand the terrain in which they operate, so they rely on the local populations for intelligence and guidance. Also, local communities rush to the peacekeepers whenever these communities are at risk. I am not sure if every relationship between peacekeepers and local people was for sex.

P 3 also argued that there should be a consideration concerning the cultural dynamics and affinity of some peacekeepers and local communities:

Interviewer: Any other consideration about what could explain the fraternizing relationship between the local people and peacekeepers?

P 3: We should understand the cultural links between the neighboring countries and CAR. Some contingents speak the same local languages as the local populations and sharing similar cultures. For example, the parents of some of the soldiers from the neighboring countries were originally from this country and maintained family ties with Central Africans. Some soldiers even claimed to have relatives within the CAR. These contingents were coming from the neighboring countries whose populations share the same cultural way of life and were divided only by artificial colonial borders.

The witness cautioned about describing all the sexual relationship as exploitative or abusive. Consider the discussion below:

Interviewer: What do you think could have caused sexual exploitation in CAR by peacekeepers?

W 3: But I do not think that the nature of all these sexual relationships is exploitative. Girls do engage in sex for their good. Insecurity, poverty, displacement status, the lack of protection, the high prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence are not necessarily the causes of sexual exploitation.

Interviewer: Could you help provide further explanation, if any?

W 3: I am a sex worker and part of the sex industry and in the prostitution business. I manage my girls for men in need of them, including the military peacekeepers because the peacekeepers pay higher amounts for sex. Girls in the sex industry with peacekeepers are better off now than before 2013.

The UN E 4 further explained that the statistics showed that there was a significant reduction of the disturbing cases of sexual exploitation after 2016. The witness revealed that this was due to the changes in the context and the situational factors as a result of the comprehensive policy, institutional, and programmatic changes could explain the reduction of cases. The UN E 4 argued that the opportunity to engage in sex offending was not only becoming more expensive and riskier for any military peacekeeper but even more dangerous for supervisors, the political, and civilian leaders who have an oversight role over the military peacekeepers (for interview excerpts, see Appendix F).

Findings of What Motivates Sexual Exploitation: Summary

The data show that in a situation where the state is absent or weak, and where the protectors become violators, there would be no deterrence to any other motivated offender. A motivated sex offender may take advantage of a situation to engage in

criminal conduct where there is lack of accountability or power over the local population and over criminals. The absence of capable legal institutions to protect vulnerable communities against sex predation increased the susceptibility of local women and girls to sex predation in the peacekeeping host country.

The data also reveal that CAR has been a traumatized and an impoverished society for decades. The evidence indicates that the ongoing conflict has aggravated the poor living and other environmental conditions of local populations everywhere in CAR. These conditions include state responsibility to protect, the destruction of state institutions, legal protective mechanisms, the lack of public and social services as well as the prevalence of gender-based and conflict-related sexual violence with impunity.

The data also reveal that the peacekeeping context has also impacted on the lives of local populations. The data indicate that the presence of many international peacekeepers with no social welfare, no comprehensive leave policy, not adequately sensitized on the prohibition of sexual exploitation, and fraternizing with local populations could be sources of motivation for many of those peacekeepers to engage in sexual relations with local people. Though some witnesses cautioned about describing all sexual relationship between local people and peacekeepers as exploitative, data show that there is a differential power relation between local civilians and peacekeepers which could increase the vulnerability of communities to sexual exploitation. Thus, the increasing vulnerability of local populations created opportunities for any motivated military peacekeeper to engage in sex offending of the local people. The data allude to

the possibility of cultural affinity or regional dynamics as a part of the explanation for the prevalence of sexual relationship between some peacekeepers and local people.

Figure 4 provides a PESTLE analysis of the data on the extent to which situational factors influence the peacekeeper sex offender to engage in sex offending of the local people in the host country. Both the interview reports and the secondary data describe the level of insecurity, political instability, severe socioeconomic conditions, and the absence of deterrence in the CAR from 2013 to 2017. The data also show that these conditions impoverished the local populations and thus increased their vulnerability to sex predation. The data further indicate that there were convergences of routine activities connecting peacekeepers to the locals.

The evidence shows that international peacekeepers interacted and lived with local populations, and engaged in outreach to build trust and sought intelligence from among local communities in CAR. By doing so, they increased possibilities for fraternization with local populations. The data also indicate that peacekeepers would routinely facilitate access of local people to food, water, shelter, medical, and psychosocial facilities; and these routine activities brought the peacekeepers close to the local communities. To some extent, the interaction and close relationship between local communities and motivated sex offenders transform into fraternization and sexual exploitation between a civilian in a vulnerable position, and a motivated peacekeeper sex offender. The convergences of routine activities of military peacekeepers and the local population created opportunities to connect military peacekeepers to the civilians.

To sum up, many factors motivated sexual exploitation in the CAR. First, there were factors that increased the susceptibilities of locals to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers.

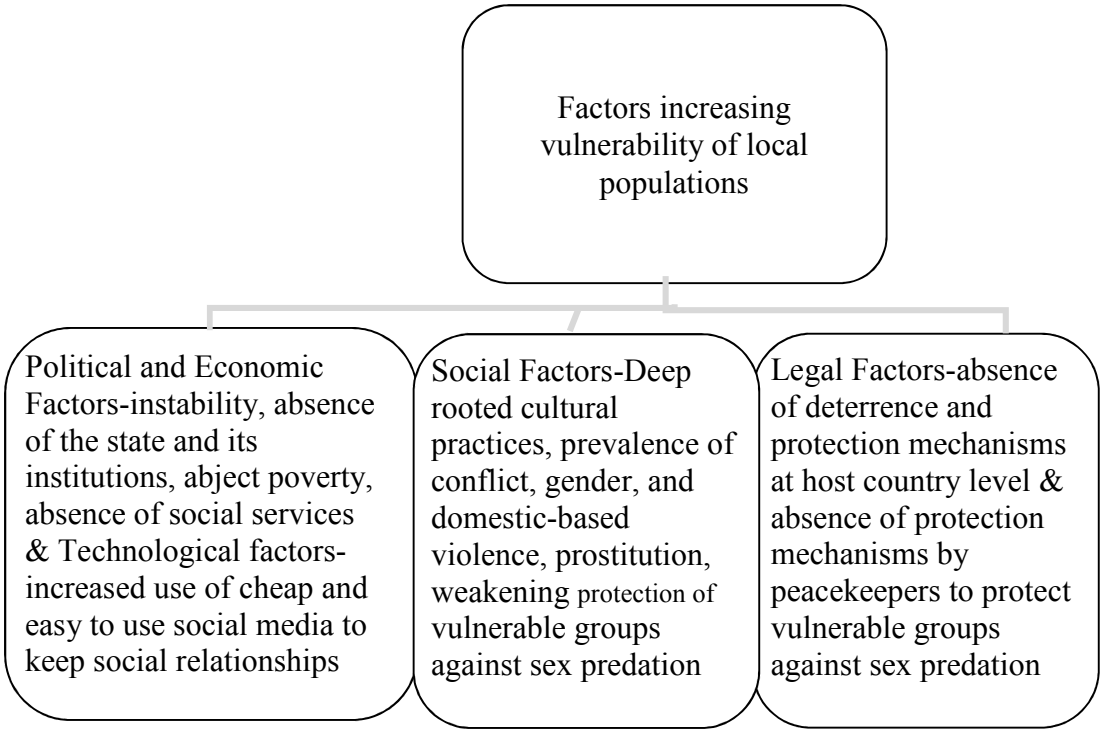

Figure 4. PESTLE analysis (a situational and causal analysis).

These factors include the absence of legal and physical protection, the subordinance in the power relationship with peacekeepers, and the routine activities of local communities that converged with the routine activities of peacekeepers. Second, factors such as indiscipline and lack of welfare, dominance in the power relationship with the civilians, and the routine activities of peacekeepers that converged with the routine activities of communities motivated peacekeepers to sexually exploit locals. Thus, the situational factors of peacekeepers and the local population interactively motivated sex offenders

among the peacekeepers to engage in fraternization and into an exploitative sexual relationship (see Figure 5).

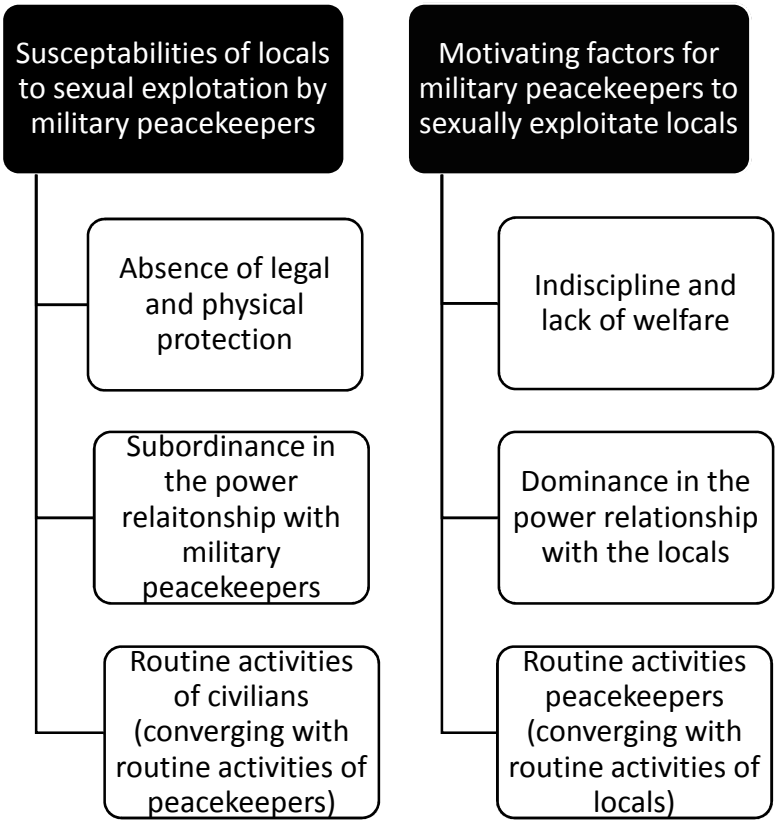

Figure 5. Findings regarding what motivates sexual exploitation.

Summary and Transition

Chapter 4 gave a brief description of how the study conducted the research. The chapter also presented the findings that resulted from the analysis. In this study, I analyzed the interview transcripts and the secondary data to answer the interview questions. The data show that there has been a high prevalence of allegations of sexual exploitation of local populations by military peacekeepers in the CAR from 2014 to 2017. The data indicate that both the host country and peacekeeping conditions heightened the

vulnerability of local communities against peacekeeper sex offenders. The evidence further indicates that both the local and peacekeeping conditions motivated peacekeeper sex offenders. Further, the data allude to the possible impact of cultural affinity or regional dynamics on the peacekeeping context in CAR. Furthermore, the data indicate that sexual exploitation of local civilians by peacekeepers seemed to be part of a bigger problem of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence in communities. Thus, the situational factors of peacekeepers and the local population interactively motivated sex offenders among the peacekeepers and the vulnerable people among the local people to engage in fraternization and sexual relationship.

Chapter 5 presents the interpretation of the findings, the recommendation, and the conclusions, including discussions on the limitations of the study, and implications. Section one will provide an introduction to the final chapter. Section two discusses the results. Section three addresses the limitations. Section four provides some recommendations. Part five explains the implications for future studies. The chapter finally captures the message of the research in the form of a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

In reviewing the existing literature, I found that researchers had not explored the extent to which environmental opportunities influenced peacekeepers' engagement in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country from the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories. In this inquiry, I remedied the gap by exploring the extent to which situational opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of civilians in the CAR, a peacekeeping host country. I used routine activities theory of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rational choice theory (Hug, 2014) as the theoretical framework for the study. I asked the following the research question: To what degree opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country?

I answered the research question by collecting empirical data using a qualitative case study research method and interview and secondary data collection techniques. The three main findings of this study are the following:

1. There were several allegations of sex offending by peacekeepers in the CAR between 2014 and 2017.
2. The absence of legal and physical protections, subordination in the power relationship with peacekeepers, adverse security, political and socioeconomic conditions, technological factors, and the routine activities of the communities

converged with those of military peacekeepers to make locals susceptible to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers.

3. Indiscipline and lack of welfare, dominance in the power relationship with civilians, and the routine activities of military peacekeepers converged with the daily events of communities to motivate peacekeepers to sexually exploit locals.

Thus, situational opportunities explained the prevalence of sex offending in CAR by peacekeeper sex offenders. Both local and peacekeeping conditions explained the heightened vulnerability of local populations and the motivation of peacekeeper sex offenders.

This chapter includes my interpretation of the findings, along with recommendations and conclusions. I also discuss the limitations of the study and consider its implications. In the next section, I interpret the results. In the subsequent section, I address the limitations of the research. Discussions on the recommendations follow. In the section that follows, I explain the implications of my research for future studies. In this chapter, I finally capture the message of the research as the conclusion of the study.

Interpretation of the Findings

In this section, I discuss the main findings in relation to the existing research literature of sex offending. The main findings of this research are that both the local and peacekeeping conditions heightened the vulnerability of local communities to sex offending and motivated sex peacekeeper offenders to engage in sex offending. The discussion of the findings focuses on the two themes in the Literature Review section of

Chapter 2: (a) peacekeeping operation in host countries: accountability of peacekeepers' behavior in host country and (b) research literature of sex offenses from rational choice and routine activities perspectives. This section demonstrates that study findings confirmed those of past studies while offering new insight to the existing body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers in host countries.

Discussion on the Findings

In the Literature Review section, I discussed peacekeeping operation in host countries from the perspective of accountability of peacekeepers' behavior in the host country. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is existing research on sex offending from the perspective of accountability of peacekeepers' behavior in the host country. Past researchers (Botzios et al., 2011; Bridges & Horsfall, 2009; Burke, 2012; Engdahl, 2010; Grenfell, 2011; Nordas & Rustad, 2013; O'Brien, 2011; Quenivet, 2007; Rastogi, 2008; Simic, 2012; Whalan, 2017) have argued that lack of deterrence and lack of accountability mechanisms for holding peacekeeper offenders accountable created a favorable environment for the sexual exploitation of local populations by international peacekeepers. Similarly, in this study, I found that the weakness and the absence of deterrence and protection mechanisms in the host country heightened the vulnerability of local communities to peacekeeper sex offenders. Deen (2017) explained that in unstable places where government was absent or weak individuals might pursue self-interest, including sex offending. In this study, the data also indicate that, in the absence of deterrence and protection mechanisms, the peacekeeper sex offender may perceive the

vulnerability conditions of local people as an opportunity to engage in sexual exploitation against locals.

Cannon (2016) and Konor (2017) explained that lack of adequate social welfare, limited chances of returning home within a reasonable period to rest and recuperate, and the hyper-masculine nature international peacekeeping could drive peacekeeper offenders to sex offending. Further, Afeno (2012) argued that in a highly masculine peacekeeping context, peacekeepers may be encouraged by peers to patronize commercial sex workers. In this research, I also found that peacekeepers fraternized with locals and sex workers.

Further, Nordas and Rustad (2013) concluded that sexual exploitation committed by international peacekeepers was likely to occur in developing countries with a prevalence of sexual violence. In this study, I similarly concluded that deep-rooted unequal gender relations and the prevalence of conflict-related sexual, domestic, and gender-based violence heightened the vulnerability of local populations to sex predations. In addition, Afeno (2012) found that armed conflicts increased the physical, political, economic, and social insecurity of local people and the vulnerability of communities to sex predation. In this inquiry, I also found that adverse security, political, and socioeconomic conditions, including abject poverty increased the vulnerability of communities to sex predation.

Afeno (2012) examined sexual offending in the CAR but did not indicate the level of prevalence of sexual exploitation in the country. The new data from my research provided insight on the level of prevalence of sexual exploitation in the CAR. Further, Bridges and Horsfall (2009) and Simic (2012) used qualitative research methods to study

sex offending by international military peacekeepers. Nordas and Rustad, (2013) also used both quantitative research methods to study sex offending by international military peacekeepers. In this research, I answered the research question by collecting empirical data using a qualitative case study research method, using the CAR as a case study. Therefore, the research confirmed existing literature on sex offending in peace peacekeeping. It also brought new insight to the existing body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers in host countries.

In the Literature Review section, I also discussed the existing research literature on sex offense from rational choice and routine activities perspectives. Beauregard and Leclere (2007) and Farmer et al. (2016) approached the study on sex offending from the pathological and personal perspectives. However, this research brought new ideas by approaching the study from rational choice and routine activities perspectives. From the theoretical perspectives, routine activities theory of crime states that for a crime to be committed, there must be a motivated offender, an available target, and the absence of a capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The evidence in this study indicates the presence of many vulnerable boys, girls, and women amidst motivated peacekeepers. The research shows the presence of many international military peacekeepers amidst many vulnerable young boys, girls, and women. The presence of many international peacekeepers with no social welfare, no comprehensive leave policy, not adequately sensitized on the prohibition of sexual exploitation and fraternization with local populations could be a source of motivation for many of those peacekeepers. Also, the

increased vulnerability of many boys, girls, and women created the opportunity for many peacekeepers to engage in sexual exploitation. The data show the impact of the convergence of the routine activities of local populations and international peacekeepers within the same geographical space and time. The evidence also demonstrates how the routine activities of local people converging with activities of peacekeepers in the same spatial reality increased the susceptibilities of locals to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers. Further, the evidence describes the absence of capable guardians within the same geographic area and time as an opportunity for motivated sex offenders. The whole state infrastructure for the protection of its populations was inexistent. The international military operations took charge of state and human security. However, some of the military peacekeepers were, unfortunately, the alleged perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse against those they were meant to protect. Thus, a motivated peacekeepers sex offender in CAR is likely to engage in sexual offending while in the proximity of vulnerable targets, and in the absence of protectors.

Rational choice theory of crime argues that, like law abiding people, criminal offenders make intelligent decisions about when and where to offend; and they weigh the benefits and the cost of committing an offense (Hug, 2014). The availability and proximity of vulnerable targets, the possibility to engage sexual offense with no pain and at no cost, the absence of any fear of the consequences of committing the crime are relevant factors in the determination of the offender. The data also show that the sexual offending took place in places where the offender did not fear any consequences, having no fear of being caught or being investigated or being punished by anyone. The evidence

also indicates that the sexual offending took place in areas where there were no institutions or mechanisms to protect those vulnerable populations. Thus, the presence of weak targets and the absence of protectors in the same geographical space and time heightened opportunities for any person who was pursuing self-desires.

Routine activities and rational choice theories of crime have contributed to the understanding of the dimension of sexual exploitation by military peacekeepers in CAR. Therefore, from the perspectives of routine activities and rational choice theories, the situational and environmental factors could influence the peacekeeper sex offender's assessment of a high-risk environment and a low-risk environment before, during, and after the commission of the crime of sexual exploitation of target in the host country. In this study, I concluded that sexual exploitation of local populations in a peacekeeping host country is, to a great extent, an environmental and opportunity-based crime. The research, thus, provided new insights into the current body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers.

Limitations of the Study

Critics argue that a qualitative study like this one relies heavily on subjective interpretations. Though the specific world-views, defined philosophical, and methodological paradigms guided this research study, my professional and personal world-views might have also influenced the research process and the outcome. Being an instrument of data collection and an analyst or interpreter of the data, I might have experienced bias in the research process. The study did not take into account the

objective reality and the quantitative details that might have been relevant to the investigation.

Further, the inherent limitations at the levels of sampling, data collection, data interpretation, and data analysis could have also limited the outcome of this study. Though this qualitative case study research discussed sampling strategies, there seemed to be no scientific way of sampling. Also, the participants' selection process was subjective and not based on an objective statistical formula.

Furthermore, in this study, I favored small sample sizes, but that might not have been necessarily the best option. These limitations thus weaken the trustworthiness and validity of the outcome. Time and resource constraints did not allow for an in-depth study on the research question. I could not access convicts of sexual exploitation to collect data. I did not collect data from accused peacekeeper offenders who are yet to be convicted by a court of law. I would, therefore, consider the result of this case study research as indicative and not conclusive of the research question. The outcome of the case study approach could not generalize findings and would not build theoretical foundations. This study is thus preliminary and exploratory.

Recommendations

I recommend further inquiry to deepen the extent to which opportunity and environmental factors influenced peacekeeper sex offenders engaged in sexual exploitation of local populations of host countries. Given the preliminary and explorative nature of this, I recommend an inquiry with quantitative and mixed research method approaches to complement the qualitative research method approach to the research

question. In this study, I could not assess the extent to which the situational and environmental conditions influenced the behavior of both the victim and the perpetrator. Thus, I recommend a study that will require more time to access restricted secondary data and to reach out to vulnerable groups, including victims and peacekeeper offenders.

Further, I did not explore the extent to which cultural affinity could influence peacekeeper sex offenders. The evidence shows that TCCs with the highest number of allegations were against peacekeepers from neighboring countries with similar cultures and traditions. Future studies could consider the extent to which cultural affinity with peacekeepers from the neighboring countries explains sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operation context. Furthermore, there is a need to examine that extent to which sexual exploitation by peacekeepers is part of a bigger problem of sexual and gender-based violence in local communities. A further understanding sexual exploitation will thus require understanding the issues of sexual and gender-based violence in local communities.

Implications

The study adds value to the body of the research literature on crime prevention by bringing a new perspective to understanding the opportunity and the vulnerability factors which influence peacekeeper sex offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations of host countries. Understanding sexual exploitation of local communities in a peacekeeping host country as an environmental and an opportunity-based crime advances criminology theory especially its usefulness and relevance to international interventions in peace processes, public administration, and public policy studies.

The findings contribute to positive social changes at the individual, organizational, and societal levels. They informed individuals of what would likely to influence sex offending in a peacekeeping context. The study could be an essential tool for the development of programs to raise the awareness of sexual offending in a peacekeeping environment. The research should be useful for policymakers and peacemaking management to reduce or prevent sex predation.

At the organizational level, the results of this study inform the development of practice by both the host state and peacekeeping operations aimed at addressing sex offending by peacekeepers. The research findings also support the development of educational and capacity development programs within peace operations as part of the response to sexual exploitation by peacekeepers in unstable places.

At the societal level, the study helps the peacekeeping community and local communities to grasp the wider issue of sexual and gender-based violence in the CAR. The inquiry brought to the fore the nature of the vulnerability of the local population, especially women and girls. Further, the research informs the contextual and situational factors that could contribute to sex offending by peacekeepers in host countries.

Conclusion

The evidence showed that past studies had not discussed to what extent environmental opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of local populations in the peacekeeping host country from the perspectives of rational choice and routine activities theories. I explored the extent to which environmental and situational opportunities influenced peacekeeper offenders to engage

in sexual exploitation of civilians in the CAR. I used routine activities theory of crime and rational choice theory as the theoretical framework. In this inquiry, I answered the research question by collecting empirical data using a qualitative case study research method, including face to face interview and secondary data collection techniques.

Thus, to a great extent, both the host country and peacekeeping conditions heightened the vulnerability of local communities against peacekeeper sex offenders. The evidence further indicates that both the local and peacekeeping conditions motivated peacekeeper sex offenders. Further, sexual exploitation of local people in a peacekeeping host country is an environmental and an opportunity-based crime. Thus, to a significant degree, opportunities influenced international peacekeeper offenders to engage in sexual exploitation of civilians in the peacekeeping host country.

The findings of the study confirmed and expanded past studies with new insight into the existing body of knowledge on the commission of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers in host countries. The results of the study could support policymakers in shaping preventive and protective policies against the commission of sexual exploitation by international military peacekeepers in unstable places. I intend to share the findings with many practitioners. These practitioners include representatives of civil society organizations working on victim assistance, local community leaders, peacekeepers, peacekeeping leaders, and UN experts. I will share the findings by email and in public fora, thereby contributing to public awareness as well as advocating for policy development to enhance individual and institutional responsibility to protect vulnerable civilians, especially women and girls against sex predation in peacekeeping contexts.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In addition to the introductory questions, the researcher will ask the following main questions and prompters:

1. How prevalent was sexual exploitation in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2017?
2. How does the participant see the political, economic, social, technological, legal, and other environmental conditions of local populations in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2017, and how the situation increased the vulnerability of local populations and created opportunities for sex offending by motivated peacekeepers?

Prompters/follow up questions:

- Has the conflict increased vulnerability of local populations?
- Has the conflict weakened the family or social system of protection of the local populations?
- What the nature the protection system in the Central African Republic during this period from 2013 to 2017?
- What legal or other means existed since 2013 to protect local populations by the host country against sexual exploitation by peacekeepers?
- What legal or other means existed since 2013 to protect local populations by the peacekeepers to protect local against peacekeeper offenders?

- What could have deterred peacekeeper sex offenders or what could have made it difficult for peacekeeper sex offenders to engage in a sex relationship with anyone in the host country?
- How do you see the power relation between local populations and peacekeepers?
- How was the sex industry organized in Central African Republic since 2013?
- Were there convergences of routine activities that connected peacekeepers to the locals? If yes, could you explain?

Prompters/follow up questions:

- Did the individual peacekeeper enjoy social welfare programs and facilities in the peacekeeping context in the host country?
- How would you interpret or assess the behavior of the peacekeeper offender towards targets?
- What strategies would the peacekeeper offender use to select targets?
- How would the peacekeeper offender choose location for the crime?
- Would the peacekeeper offender choose time for the crime?
- How would the peacekeeper offender exit the criminal event or release the victim?

Using these questions, the researcher may encourage, prompt, and probe the interviewee for more information on particular issues. The study will gather data through intensive in-person interviews. The researcher will use the Consent Form for adults to help clarify the interview process to each interviewee. The Consent Form explains the process related to the interview. The researcher will invite each research participant to share information on

the environmental situation in which peacekeeper offender engaged in sexually exploiting the local populations in the host country. The researcher will use the semi-structured interview questions specific to each category of participants for the face to face interviews. The researcher will use type writing to record data from the interviews. The researcher will find out from the research participant if he or she will be comfortable for the researcher to type responses as the interview proceeds. The researcher will find out from the research participant if he or she has any potential witness to introduce to the interviewer.

Appendix B: Preliminary and Emerging Codes

Code	Meaning
Sexual exploitation prevalence	
Prevalence of sexual exploitation	Statistical analysis and number of allegations of sexual explication in CAR since 2013
Situational Factors of Local Population at Host Country	
Absence of host country and peacekeeping deterrence and protection mechanisms	Lack of judicial mechanisms to protect local populations, absence of investigators, prosecutors, court officials, physical infrastructure; fragmented, flawed, and weak protection mechanisms of the peacekeeping operations; weak investigations by the peacekeeping operations; lack of police and military institutions and physical infrastructure
Subordinance, unequal gender relations, and the prevalence of conflicted-related sexual violence	Set of cultural practices subordinating women in society
Routine activities of local people	Routine activities of local people converging with routine activities of peacekeepers
Adverse security, political, and socio-economic conditions	Set of adverse conditions increasing vulnerability of local populations

Technological Factors	Increased use of social media to connect with others
Lack of accountability of TCCs	Lack of political will for troop contributing countries to investigate and prosecute alleged perpetrators
Political instability	Political crisis, absence of the state
Institutional instability	Absence of mechanisms for central, local governance, and public administration
Armed conflict	Local armed conflict in CAR with civilian deaths and dire humanitarian consequences
Insecurity	Lack of security of local population in CAR, massive displacement of civilians
Power inequality	Sobodinance in the power relationship with peacekeepers
Abject Poverty	Lack of basic services, including food, water, and shelter, etc.
Heightened vulnerability	Increased conditions of local populations as pray to sex predators
Crime opportunity	Low risk for sex predation
	subordinance in the power relationship with peacekeepers

Cultural factors	Deep-rooted social practices, prevalence of conflict, gender, and domestic based violence
Conflict-related sexual violence	Sexual violence against young boys, girls and women associated with the local conflict
Domestic and gender-based Violence	Cultural practice of maintaining women in inferior status
Prostitution	Sex industry in CAR
Technological factors	Increased use of social media-telephone, WhatsApp, etc.
Host country factors	Set of conditions in CAR which generate low risk for sex predation
Local conditions	Set of political, security, economic, social, technological, legal conditions in CAR
Motivating Factors of the Peacekeepers	
Indiscipline and lack of welfare	Lack of or inadequate training and lack of or inadequate social support facilities provided to peacekeepers
Dominance in the power relationship with the civilians	Physical and economic influence of peacekeepers over local populations
Routine activities of peacekeepers	Every day activities of peacekeepers connecting them to local populations

Peacekeeping context	Conditions within peace peacekeeping context which generate low risk for sex predation
Intermediaries	Local actors who facilitate contact between peacekeepers and local populations
Indiscipline	Unethical behavior of peacekeepers while on duty
Hotspots	Places where the threats or vulnerability for sexual exploitation were high
Proximity	The local populations and peacekeepers living in same spatial reality
Fraternization	Close relationship between locals and peacekeepers

Appendix D: List of Documents and Online Sources

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Appendix D: List of Acronyms Used in the Study

ASG	Assistant Secretary-General
C	Civil society representative
CAR	Central African Republic
CDU	United Nations Conduct and Discipline Unit
CRIN	Child Rights International Network
E	Expert (national)
EURFOR	European Force in Central African Republic
IDP	Internally displaced persons
MISCA	French acronym for *Mission internationale de soutien à la Centrafrique sous conduite africaine.* The African Union-led peace operation.
MINUSCA	Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic. The UN-led peace operation.
OCHA	Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services
P	Peer of a sex offender
PESTLE	Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal, and Environmental
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
PCC	Police Contributing Country
UN	United Nations

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN E	United Nations Expert
UNICEF	United Nations Children and Education Fund
UN HCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USG	Under Secretary-General
W	Witness

Appendix E : Excerpts From Interview Transcripts

Theme	Human Research participant	Excerpts from transcripts/typed notes
Prevalence of sexual exploitation	W 1	It was difficult to access the town due to the conflict. The women had to help provide water, and even shelter to the soldiers in exchange for food, and their tents could not accommodate all of them, so they stayed in homes. They would then patrol the town. But any girl they met at night, they would take her to their base, and in the morning many girls would come back with some gifts. …It happened from 2014 to 2016.
	P 3	Most of the sex offending took place in dark bushes, along food paths, near water collection points, in the armored vehicles of sex predators, and in homes of victims. …Yes, some of the soldiers would use force, their authority, and their influence as soldiers.
Situational factors of local populations	C 2	You cannot seek protection from a local judicial or police institution that is weak or inexistent.
	W 2	With technology, it is now easy and cheap. They would exchange telephone and connect with WhatsApp and

		other social media contacts. Even at a distance, there were connections between sex predators and their targets through social media channels.
	C 2	Drinking spots, check points, roundabouts, and markets were close to military headquarters or checkpoints. In these places, men were acting as intermediaries, facilitating contacts between girls and the peacekeepers. Unfortunately, we have a weak government with weak security institutions.
Motivating factors for peacekeepers	UN E 2	There were many factors that could be linked to the context of peacekeeping, including the proximity of IDP camps to military camps, the lack of welfare activities for the military, lack of a comprehensive leave policy and plans for most contingents leading to a long stay in CAR without going home. Also, there was the problem of inadequate training for the military on sexual misconduct.
	UN E 4	Some contingents arrived with all the equipment required to live and do the work. While some contingents had no equipment and arrived in the host country with no basic needs. These soldiers employed boys and girls as errand boys and girls. The soldiers

		would send them to town to look for things that are not available in the military camps such as toiletries and cigarettes and other basic needs. The soldiers would pay them with food and other items that the local population need. This symbiotic relationship or situation led to food for sex.
	W 3	It has been a relation of rich and poor, of unequal parties. The arrival of the peacekeepers with money infrastructure or material amenities changed the lives of many poor civilians, unskilled workers, including the internally displaced persons who were not in the camps. Poor people maintained a dependency relationship with the peacekeepers.
	UN E 4	Some contingents arrived with all the equipment required to live and do the work. While some contingents had no equipment and arrived in the host country with no basic needs. These soldiers employed boys and girls as errand boys and girls. The soldiers would send them to town to look for things that are not available in the military camps such as toiletries and cigarettes and other basic needs. The soldiers would pay them with food and other items that the local population

		need. This symbiotic relationship or situation led to food for sex.
	C 3	We have to be careful in the analysis because the close relations between the everyday activities of the peacekeepers and the local communities made it easy to accuse international peacekeepers of anything, including of sexual exploitation. The international peacekeepers cannot alienate the local people because the armed groups live within the communities, so winning the hearts and minds of the local people is strategically and tactically important for the peacekeepers. The peacekeepers are foreigners and may not understand the terrain in which they operate, so they rely on the local populations for intelligence and guidance. Also, local communities rush to the peacekeepers whenever these communities are at risk. I am not sure if every relationship between peacekeepers and local people was for sex.
		We should understand the cultural links between the neighboring countries and CAR. Some contingents speak the same local languages as the local populations and sharing similar cultures. For example, the parents of

		some of the soldiers from the neighboring countries were originally from this country and maintained family ties with Central Africans. Some soldiers even claimed to have relatives within the CAR. These contingents were coming from the neighboring countries whose populations share the same cultural way of life and were divided only by artificial colonial borders.
	W 3	But I do not think that the nature of all these sexual relationships is exploitative. Girls do engage in sex for their good. Insecurity, poverty, displacement status, the lack of protection, the high prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence are not necessarily the causes of sexual exploitation. I am a sex worker and part of the sex industry and in the prostitution business. I manage my girls for men in need of them, including the military peacekeepers because the peacekeepers pay higher amounts for sex. Girls in the sex industry with peacekeepers are better off now than before 2013.