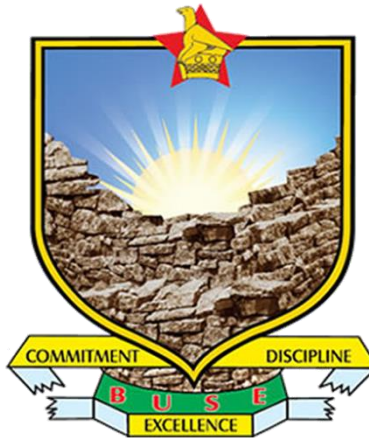


**BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION**



**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES  
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE**

**THE ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC)  
PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS IN COMPLEX AFRICAN CONFLICTS: A CASE OF  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC) FROM 2013 TO 2023.**

**BY**

**ZIBUSISO NYONI**

**(B223573B)**

**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER OF SCIENGE DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**SUPERVISOR DR. D. MAHUKU**

**DECEMBER 2023**

## ABSTRACT

*Using the DRC as a case study, this research sought to investigate the ethical dilemmas faced by UNSC peacekeeping operations in complex African complex. The main objective of the study was to critically examine the ethical dilemmas that the UNSC's peacekeeping missions in the DRC had to deal with. The principal aim of the study was accomplished through the utilization of constitutive theory and the concept of classical realism as a compass. The primary sources of information included the Military, Police, Civilian, Prisons and Correctional Services, and diplomats—who were selected for their particular experience and proficiency in peacekeeping missions. NVIVO 11 was used to analyze the collected data, and the results yielded themes that the researcher then presented verbatim. The study concluded that the primary causes of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were ethnicity, political difficulties, institutional deficiencies, geographical issues, and post-independence problems. Furthermore, studies showed that the main reasons the UNSC escalated the bloodshed in the DRC were to support Western agendas, legitimize authoritarian regimes, and further US foreign policy objectives. The UNSC peacekeeping force is confronted with several moral dilemmas, including social disintegration, human casualties, constitutional crises, and UN Charter violations that have resulted in ceaseless wars. Therefore, the study advises African nations to make security-related investments if they want to protect their national sovereignty from outside influence, reliance, and meddling. African nations must also be self-sufficient and not overly reliant on other nations to solve their own problems.*

## DECLARATION FORM

In partial fulfillment of requirements for a Master of Science degree in International Relations at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE), I, Zibusiso Nyoni, officially declare that this dissertation is entirely my own. It has not been presented in by anyone or to any institution. In accordance with the BUSE plagiarism policy, all content from other sources has been duly acknowledged.

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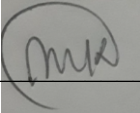
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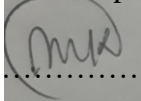
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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to all endeavors aimed at establishing enduring peace worldwide, with a focus on Africa, by methods of nonviolent peacekeeping missions. Encouraging peaceful resolution of conflicts and disagreements is crucial to improving the quality of life on Earth. Thus, with a focus on the African continent, this dissertation is devoted to international, regional, and sub-regional organizations that participate in global peace support initiatives.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of this dissertation can be attributed to the several individuals who gave up their valuable time to contribute in unique ways. First of all, I am grateful to the source of life, Lord Jesus Christ, for giving me the grace, energy, and knowledge I needed to complete this dissertation. Throughout the whole duration of my studies, I have been blessed with an abundance of unending love, grace, health, knowledge, wisdom, and supernatural interventions.

I have the privilege of drawing from my supervisor, Dr. Darlington Mahuku, who is the greatest source of information. I owe him a great deal, and I genuinely thank him for his invaluable advice, tolerance, and constant support during the entire process of doing this project. My gratitude for my supervisor's unselfish commitment, dedication, and tenacity will last a lifetime.

The UNSC peacekeepers from the armed forces, law enforcement, correctional services, and civilian sector—both past and present—deserve special recognition. I sincerely appreciate your help and advice.

I am grateful for my children, Bathabile, Lubelihle, and Junior, as well as my lovely wife Rachel, for your constant prayers and support. Throughout our academic studies, you were the rock of strength. I'm grateful.

## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
CNDP	National Congress for the Defence of the People
AU	African Union
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
M23	March 23 Movement
MNJTF	Lake Chad Basin Commission Multinational Joint Task Force
MONUC	United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MUNOSCO	United Nations Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
ONUC	United Nation Operation in Congo
SAMIM	Southern African Development Community Mission in Mozambique
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
UNHR	United Nations Human Rights
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US/USA	United States of America

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Background of the Study

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC), one of the main UN bodies, is charged with promoting and upholding international peace and security. The UNSC is empowered by resolutions to deploy peacekeeping forces to any crisis zone in order to preserve international peace and security. As a result, the UNSC has sent troops to several UN peacekeeping missions, including those in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Rwanda, South Sudan, Somalia, and many other nations. However, these UN peacekeeping missions have encountered moral conundrums in the course of their work, including the theft of host countries' mineral resources, breaching international law, abusing and exploitation of minors for sexual purposes, and using force against defenseless civilians. Consequently, this study sought to explore the ethical dilemmas of UNSC peacekeeping operations in complex African conflicts, utilizing the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as a case study. In this chapter, the researcher discusses a lot of significant subjects, such as the backdrop of the study, the issue statement, the goals, the research questions and assumptions, the importance, the constraints, and the delimitations. There is a summary of the chapter at the conclusion.

The credibility crisis that the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa are still experiencing stems from their inability to meet the security expectations of impacted people in conflict situations, as demonstrated by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Gomez 2015). This leaves the defenseless people open to reprisals from those opposed to the UN soldiers stationed there. According to Gomez (2015), UN peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are really more

concerned with protecting their own lives and advancing the geostrategic interests and values of the powerful nations that support them than they are with the safety and well-being of the affected African populations.

With 67.8 million citizens, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is the second-largest nation in Africa. Of these, 51% are women, and 48% are under the age of fifteen (UN, Women Africa Report, 2023). The DRC, ranked 186th out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index, is one of the world's poorest nations while possessing exceptional natural resources (UNDP, 2010). According to the UN Women Africa Report from 2023, more than 70% of people live below the poverty line. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is an African state that has witnessed one of the most complex conflicts on the continent.

Since 1999, when more than US\$21.7 billion has been spent on peacekeeping, the UN has faced a number of ethical challenges (UN website, 2023). The primary ethical conundrum concerns whether the mission as stated in the UN charter and UNSC Resolutions is being fulfilled. The other issue is that peacekeepers' involvement in cross-border mineral trafficking and their trade in gold and weapons with rebels have damaged the force's reputation (Escobales 2008; Tunamsifu 2012). Moreover, sexual exploitation and abuse of juveniles, female rapes, sex trafficking, and the transmission of HIV/AIDS are among the worst transgressions of international law committed by men in blue hats (Tunamsifu 2012; UN 2017).

One of the biggest moral conundrums involves UN peacekeepers is the use force against defenseless civilians. Although there have been anti-UN protests in the DRC in the past, this wave has been especially violent (Sengenya 2022). The UN has said that it is unacceptable and

irresponsible for peacekeepers to shoot civilians to death. Sengeya (2018) reports that four of the 36 fatalities wore blue helmet thus such murders are just one of several ethical dilemma situations that have been documented in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In some cases, the protector of the masses turns out to be the murderer, inciting protests as people vent their rage over what they see as a failure to defend civilians from lethal rebel attacks. Furthermore, Anders Kompass, the former director of field operations for the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, resigned, alleging lack of accountability and impunity for his 17-year tenure. Therefore, it is evident that in these situations, the UN's teachings on justice are not being followed by member nations.

Although UN peacekeeping operations are governed by the Guiding Principles for the UN Peacekeeper's Code of Conduct, peacekeepers maintain authority due to their mobility, force, and access to resources such as food, water, and money. This leads to a power disparity between the host community and the peacekeepers. While upholding the law, defending human rights, and setting an example for society are their primary tasks as uniformed personnel, they have also violated their own oaths and responsibilities, which have resulted in an issue with unethical behavior. Contract termination or repatriation, financial obligations, criminal charges, and internal disciplinary action are all possible outcomes of breaking the code of conduct. It's interesting to note that there isn't much proof that the UN is making amends. Even the UN Secretary General admits to sexual exploitation and calls for the prosecution of those who engage in it, saying

Let us declare in one voice, We will not tolerate anyone committing or condoning sexual exploitation and abuse. We will not let anyone cover up these crimes with the UN flag (Secretary-General António Guterres, 2018)

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other conflict zones, reports of sexual violence, rape, and sexual exploitation have persisted despite all of these efforts (Abu al-Haj 2013). These abuses by guys wearing blue caps have intensified the already complex and violent conflicts in Africa. According to Doyle & Sambanis (2006), the UN has developed a code of conduct for peacekeepers, however it doesn't appear that these guidelines are followed. According to UN publications on the Women Africa Report (2023), over 2 million civilians have died as a result of decades of armed conflict, while estimates of the number of women raped exceed 1 million. Women have suffered as a result of some state and non-state actors in the DRC conflict acting unethically. Articles 5, 14, and 15 of the DRC constitution establish a legal basis for policies pertaining to justice and equality; nonetheless, women now occupy only 7.2% of seats in the national parliament and cabinet, which are the highest levels of decision-making.

Up to 52% of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo claim having experienced domestic violence, while 39% of women report having been threatened or harmed. 27% of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo suffer from broken customs. Early marriage is common, as evidenced by the UN Women Africa Report (2023), which states that 39% of women in their early twenties were married or in a union before the age of 18. Generally speaking, illiteracy rates are greater and women and girls have less access to education than males and boys. There aren't many decent jobs available to Congolese women. This highlights the UNSC's shortcomings because it puts them in a difficult moral position while attempting to maintain peace in the DRC. In light of this, this essay explores the ethical dilemmas brought up by UN peacekeeping efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

## **1.2 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to critically examine the ethical dilemmas that the UNSC's peacekeeping operations in the DRC face and how they affect the establishment of a durable peace

## **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The United Nations Operation in Congo (ONUC) was first created to safeguard the country's sovereignty following military intervention by Belgium. The DRC issue has brought many immoral difficulties to the UNSC. These moral conundrums include the murder of defenseless bystanders, the mistreatment of women, and the unlawful mining of minerals. Despite the UNSC's presence, the nation has experienced widespread violations of human rights and has seen the exploitation of its abundant mineral resources. The moral conundrums raised by the UN peacekeepers' missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cast doubt on their importance and efficacy notwithstanding their mandate. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to critically analyze the ethical dilemmas that the UNSC's peacekeeping operations in the DRC face and how they affect the establishment of a lasting peace.

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The following objectives are the focus of the research:

- i. To discuss the causes behind the DRC's conflicts.
- ii. To examine how conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict.
- iii. To assess the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC

## **1.5 Research Questions**

- i. What are the causes of the DRC conflict?
- ii. How has the conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC escalated conflict ?
- iii. What are the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC?

## **1.6 Assumption of the Study**

The following presumptions form the basis of the research study:

- i. There are many other factors that contribute to the complexity of conflicts in the DRC, such as power struggles between state and non-state actors and avarice and resentment.
- ii. The DRC's violence has intensified as a result of UNSC personnel abusing women.
- iii. Long-standing mistreatment of women in the DRC is a result of the unethical decisions made by the UNSC.

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

This study aimed to benefit the following:

### **United Nations Security Council**

The UNSC might take the results into account and follow the suggestions to reduce moral conundrums during peacekeeping missions. The ramifications of ethical transgressions in UNSC peacekeeping operations will be understood by peacekeepers.

### **To the Researcher**

The research enhanced the researcher's academic knowledge and fulfilled a portion of the requirements for a Master's degree. By reading through the writings of other scholars who have written extensively on a comparable subject, studying relevant ideas, and ultimately qualitatively analyzing the study's findings, the researcher accumulated a body of knowledge.

### **To the University (Bindura State University)**

The research findings will offer valuable and significant information for students and educators alike, and they may also be utilized to evaluate the researchers' proficiency in the field.

### **1.8 Delimitations of the Study**

The focus of this study was on the ethical dilemmas that the UN Security Council (UNSC) faces when carrying out peacekeeping missions in dispute-ridden areas of Africa. The study's specific subjects will be the Eastern and Northern Kivus and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The study period spans the term of the UNSC's active intervention in the DRC, which is from 2013 to the present. Peacekeeping missions carried out in Africa or other regions unrelated to the Democratic Republic of the Congo will not be covered by the study. Two theoretical range of the topic are constitutive theories and classical realism.

### **1.9 Limitations of the study**

First of all, leaders or ambassadors in areas where data will be gathered operate in a highly politicized setting, which makes them more likely to be cautious of any researchers they encounter. It's possible that participants won't provide important information when this happens. To lessen this, the researcher would convince the different participants that this is, in fact, an academic study while taking an apolitical perspective. Respondents will be assured that their privacy and confidentiality would be respected in compliance with professional research

ethics, and that no one will face repercussions for giving accurate information. The researcher overcame these moral obligations.

Additionally, the researcher may find it challenging to integrate the results of two analyses that resulted from employing distinct outputs while using the concurrent triangulation strategy of the mixed method study (Creswell, 2009), particularly if the results are discordant. The majority of the research is qualitative since the researcher intends to address this constraint by seeing the qualitative and quantitative data as complimentary.

The researcher drew on material from other African countries as well as other respectable international organizations for the literature review because it appears that there is a lack of substantial scholarly literature on ethical challenges in the UN Security Council. To overcome this obstacle, the researcher will limit the scope of previous study inquiries to the conceptual level and use less scholarly but trustworthy sources, such as UN reports.

### **1.10 Definition of key terms**

**Ethical Dilemmas:** These relate to circumstances in which an individual or organization must choose between two or more activities, all of which may have unethical outcomes, in order to address moral imperative conflicts (Tobin, 2005).

**United Nations Security Council (UNSC):** The United Nations Security Council (UNSC), one of the six main UN bodies, is in charge of preserving international peace and security. There are fifteen members total, five of which are permanent (P-5) members with veto power and the other ten of which are rotating members with one vote each (Fendi, 2021).

**Peacekeeping Missions:** These are actions carried out in war areas to preserve security and peace by the UN or other international organizations. Schnabel, Thakur, & (2001). They typically include police, military, and citizen participants from different nations.

**Complex African Conflicts:** These speak of complex, multidimensional conflicts in Africa that are marked by a range of issues related to politics, religion, socioeconomics, and ethnicity and which frequently end in violence and instability (Berg, 2008).

**Ethical Standards:** These are recognized codes of conduct or rules that specify the anticipated behavior of personnel on peacekeeping missions. They are defined by the UN or other international agencies (Fried, 2003).

**Human Rights Violations:** These are recognized codes of conduct or rules that specify the anticipated behavior of personnel on peacekeeping missions. They are defined by the UN or other international agencies (Fried, 2003).

**Conflict Resolution:** It is the process of resolving a dispute or a conflict by providing each side's needs, and addressing their interests (Kelman, & Fisher, 2017).

### **1.11Dissertation outline**

There are five sections in the dissertation. The first chapter contains the following: the study's background, problem description, objectives, research questions, assumptions, significance of the study, limits, and delimitations. Chapter 2 covers a survey of pertinent literature as well as theoretical, conceptual, and empirical frameworks. Chapter 3 covers the methodology, which mainly addresses the population, sample, and sampling techniques in addition to the research design and methods used. Additionally covered in this chapter are data sources, data collection

instruments, and validity and reliability control. Chapter 4 covers the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of data. The topic is summarized in the last chapter, chapter five, which also offers the researcher's recommendations and conclusions about the moral dilemmas that occur during UNSC peacekeeping missions.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the study's history, problem description, research aims, delimitation, and constraints. The majority of the second chapter is devoted to the literature review, which is just an examination of academic publications written by various writers to pinpoint areas in need of further investigation. This chapter seeks to support the researcher in organizing the discussion in order to close any gaps, consult, and provide a summary of the development of the moral conundrums brought up by the UNSC in African wars. Therefore, the study objectives guide this chapter's analysis of the literature about moral quandaries in UN Security Council peacekeeping missions. Essentially, the chapter looks at what is currently known about these moral dilemmas. The purpose of this study is to fill in the gaps left by earlier researchers regarding UN peacekeeping operations in African conflicts by presenting the current state of knowledge on the subject. This section looks at essays, journals, and publications written by other authors in relation to the ethical dilemmas addressed before. When conceiving an issue, a researcher will consult data that has already been utilized by other researchers. The specialist will offer a comprehensive and clear explanation of the topic, supported by relevant models and literature.

## **2.2 Theoretical framework**

### **2.2.1 Classical Realism**

Classical realism not only ranks among the most influential theoretical frameworks for researching international relations, but it also significantly advances the conversation on morality and ethics. Thomas Hobbes, Nicholas Machiavelli, and Thucydides are a few of the proponents of classical realism. These are the major ideas of classical realism: (1) The decisions and actions of states are based on human nature; (2) The "State of Nature," or anarchical international politics devoid of central authority, influences state decisions and actions concerning moral and ethical matters; (3) The power struggle, or "concept of power," within an anarchical self-help system; and (4) The significance of ethics in global politics. Realists argue that morality has no place in international politics, whereas neo-liberals argue that morality must exist in politics and that this is why they supported the creation of institutions to regulate state behavior (Wu, 2018). When discussing the moral implications of UNSC peacekeeping operations, classical realism is still pertinent.

It is important to keep in mind that classical realism is a well-known theory that highlights human nature, power politics, and states' self-interest as the primary forces behind behavior in the international system while applying the theory to the current investigation. Realists, such as Nicholas Machiavelli, argue that states usually put their own interests ahead of the interests of the people, frequently sacrificing morality in the sake of survival and national security (Amahazion 2018). Realists in the realm of international relations are occasionally accused of having a violent and immoral worldview. But because IR realism covers such a broad spectrum of approaches, it is difficult to bolster or contradict such assertions without narrowing the scope of one's research.

Some of the most important (and unforgettable) passages in Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War is the Melian Dialogue, which "remains the starting point of discussions about the relative role of ethics and interests in foreign affairs" (Lebow 2003). Numerous additional notable components and elements are also present in the work. Qualities like justice, ethics, and morality seem to be submissive to absolute authority and force in the setting of international relations and interstate interactions. The powerful do what they like and the weak suffer as they must, as Thucydides' dictum so clearly puts it: might makes right. The DRC is home to numerous instances of injustice, unethical behavior, and immorality. This is just the most recent example. Despite the fact that their nation is home to abundant mineral resources, millions of people have died, been relocated, and the populace still lives in poverty.

The fundamental tenet of the theory is that institutions are essential in addressing the moral conundrum that lies behind lying, which keeps international cooperation at bay. In game theory analysis, this generates a situation known as the prisoners' dilemma. The objective is to create legislation that constrain states where cheaters will be found, will face immediate penalties, and will impede future cooperative efforts—rather than challenging the central realist principle that states are self-interested agents.

A closer look reveals that the primary motivations for peacekeeping operations, as promoted by the theory of classical realism, are actually the national self-interests of major UN peacekeeping mission sponsors and troop contributing countries (TCCs), not the preservation of peace. The flaws in idealism—which were seen as impractical and suggested to promote idealistic outcomes—led to the development of the theory of realism in international relations.

### **2.2.2 Constitutive Theory**

When it comes to examining and resolving the moral dilemmas that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) encounters during peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the constitutive theory of ethics can provide a useful framework. Constitutive theory is a philosophical analysis of the logical connections between actors and the social practices they engage in. It includes concepts from Ludwig Wittgenstein's writings that Peter Winch and John Searle have developed and refined (Frost 2021).

According to Frost's (2021) theory, actors and their behaviors can only be comprehended in the context of the practices that define them as certain types of actors with a particular repertoire of meaningful action at their disposal. It highlights that understanding the vocabulary used in the practices in which they occur, the endless laws that regulate them, an overall perspective of the practice, and—above all—the ethics embedded in them are all necessary to understand their actions and how to interpret them. It briefly explores the implications of such a philosophical interpretation for those trying to understand the actors and their interactions in global activities (Frost 2021). It highlights the ways in which international actors, including governments and individuals, are defined by two important international practices: the practice of sovereign states and the practice of global rights. It implies that constitutive theory could be helpful to anyone seeking a more in-depth comprehension of international relations.

The foundational theory of ethics acknowledges that moral standards and values are socially produced within particular circumstances rather than being unchangeable, universal truths. This idea holds that the parties engaged in a given circumstance are always negotiating, defining, and redefining ethical concepts. By applying this theory to the moral conundrums that the UNSC peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are confronting,

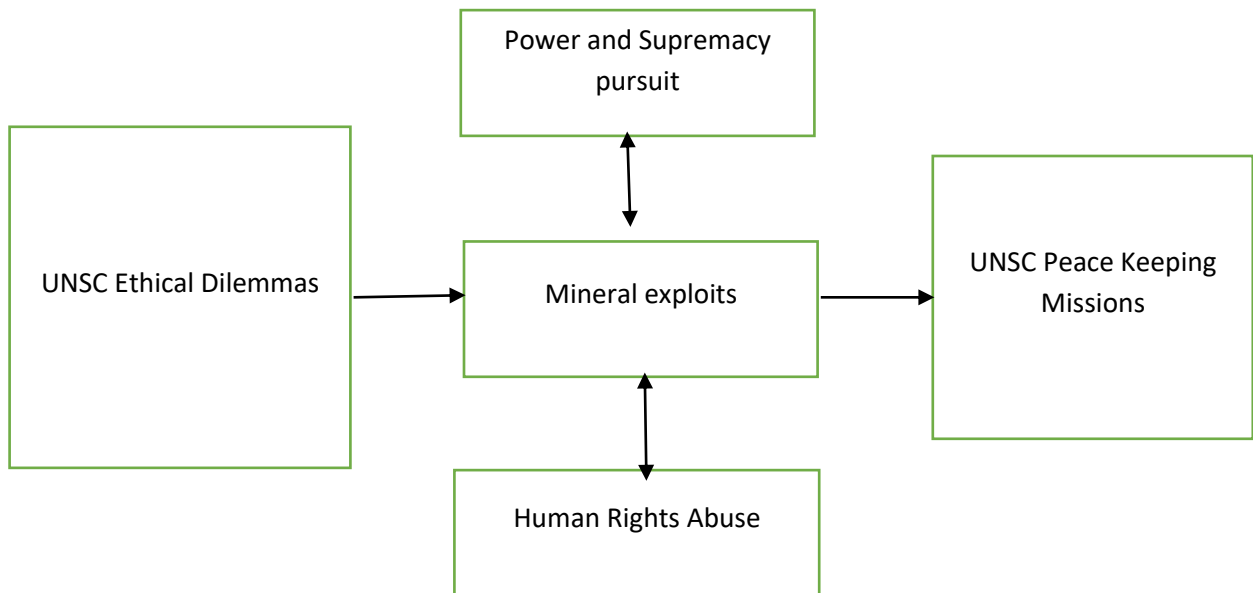
it becomes evident how important it is to take into account the opinions and values of all pertinent parties, including the local populace, the international community, and the various parties engaged in the conflict. A more detailed understanding of the ethical aspects of the situation can be attained by accounting for the social, political, and cultural elements that influence these stakeholders' moral frameworks.

The conflicting interests and values at play in the DRC must be thoroughly examined in order to apply the constitutive theory. This includes maintaining the rule of law, defending human rights, promoting stability and peace, and promoting local development, among other things. Decision-makers might benefit from the constitutive theory's helpful reminder that deliberations with pertinent stakeholders should form the cornerstone of ethical decision-making, rather than depending solely on impersonal, abstract principles.

Applying the constitutive approach, however, can be difficult because stakeholders may have divergent values and viewpoints. This can lead to difficult moral conundrums in the context of UNSC peacekeeping missions, where competing moral precepts may be present. In these kinds of circumstances, the constitutive theory highlights the necessity of continuous discussion and compromise, necessitating that decision-makers maneuver and balance these conflicting interests in order to arrive at a morally acceptable conclusion.

### **2.3 Conceptual Framework**

This current investigation is guided by the conceptual framework below, which illustrates dependent and independent variables.



**Figure 2.1:** Conceptual framework

**Source:** Researcher construction (2023)

The suggested framework shows that the pursuit of power and supremacy, the exploitation of minerals, and the violation of human rights are just a few of the many ethical conundrums (independent) that peacekeeping must deal with. Under the guise of UNSC peacekeeping missions, these have been pursued (Dependent variable). This chapter goes into great length discussion these.

#### **2.4 The genesis of peacekeeping missions**

The United Nations Charter does not contain the word "peacekeeping." The phrase itself, according to O'Neill and Rees (2005) and Hill and Malik (1996), came into use after the first armed UN operations were created and carried out in Egypt (1956–1967) and the Congo

(1960–1964). When the UN General Assembly established a Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in February 1965 to handle peacekeeping issues, the term "peacekeeping" became formally defined (Rikhye 1984 and Siekmann 1985). Lightly armed peacekeeping deployments in Egypt and the Congo differed from earlier UN observers' assignments to maintain the division between Israel and her Arab neighbors in the Middle East. The United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO), which was founded in June 1948 following the first Arab-Israeli war, is credited by the official perspective as being the first peacekeeping mission (Goulding 1993).

Most of the evolutionary changes were evident at the end of the fight as the ideological deadlock that impeded Security Council decision-making in the early years of the conflict dissolved. The reduced level of distrust between the superpowers prompted cooperation in attempts to resolve international conflicts, which in turn produced a conducive environment for experimenting with cutting-edge methods of peacekeeping that were impractical during the Cold War. The concept of peacekeeping emerged as a compromise tactic to end direct hostilities between members when opposing countries agreed to deployments. A closer look at the field's development indicates that, despite peacekeeping's increasing intrusion into the domestic political affairs of its target countries, peacekeeping has actually been used as a stand-in for Western liberal objectives in developing and emerging nations. In conclusion, the practice of United Nations peacekeeping started out as an ad hoc tool meant to help oversee the formal independence process of decolonization. Later on, it evolved into a tool used in peripheral countries to institutionalize and track a certain set of post-colonial ties. These missions served as a comprehensive tool to help restructure state-society interactions along

rigid neo-liberal lines. When necessary, they also assisted in the transfer of power among various elite groups (Al Qaq 2009).

There have been several countries and non-governmental groups involved in wars such as the First and Second Congo Wars (1996) and 1998, respectively. The DRC's ongoing conflict has lasted for nearly thirty years, despite the fact that there are numerous causes for it. Local feuds, cross-border conflicts, and the civil war have all contributed to the estimated 5,6 million additional displacements and millions of deaths (Meger, 2010).

The complexity of the war started during the Belgian colonial era before to independence. During this period in the 19th century, King Leopold II cruelly exploited the Congolese people, causing immense suffering that is still seen today. The nation's plentiful resources, like as rubber and minerals, were exploited, setting the stage for further confrontations. Years of abuse endured by the Congolese people created the conditions for a challenging period of warfare following independence. As soon as the nation broke away from Belgium in 1960, these conflicts broke out, and the first one resulted in the UN sending its first peacekeeping mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In reaction to the political unrest that erupted in 1960, not long after the nation gained independence, it was dubbed the UN Operation in the Congo (MONUC).

The United Nations' second peacekeeping mission The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was founded on July 17, 1999, by UNSC resolution 1279 of November 30, 1999, and the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (Meger, 2010). The initial goals of the mission were to maintain contact with all parties to the ceasefire agreement, to honor the pledge not to use force, and to uphold the truce.

Later, the UNSC passed a number of resolutions that broadened MONUC's mandate until it reached the current resolutions of 1925, which changed the organization's name to United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and authorized the use of all necessary means to carry out the mission related to protecting civilians, humanitarian workers, and human rights defenders from imminent physical harm as well as supporting the DRC government's efforts to stabilize and consolidate the peace (UNSC 2010). A total of 14, 641 peacekeeping personnel are deployed under MONUSCO, according to the UN (2023) website. The question is if the UNSC is still unable to bring about peace and security and shield civilians from armed rebels in spite of its increased mandate and sizable peacekeeping force.

According to a 2009 analysis by UN experts, since the rebels are still killing people and plundering the nation's natural riches, there are claims that UN Special Forces have not done enough to maintain peace and security or to curtail or end the bloodshed (UN 2009). The Congolese government has been asking for the UN's personnel to be evacuated from the country, citing their failure to maintain law and order, while MONUSCO has been under persistent criticism for its purported inability to put an end to the fighting. Reporters from around the world, such as Aljazeera (2019), CNN (2022), Princewill (2022), and Russo (2022), have covered public demonstrations against peacekeepers and the allegations that the rebels are using violence and murder against civilians while the peacekeeping forces do nothing.

In addition, the UN peacekeeping force is a well-known humanitarian organization entrusted with carrying out peace agreements. It also aids in the recovery of nations from protracted conflicts; yet, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a country marred by civil war throughout the 1990s, UN peacekeepers have been observed acting in direct opposition to the

ethical conundrums raised by this research. Tormenting individuals they were asked to protect, UN personnel have been discovered. UN peacekeepers in the Congo allegedly sexually assaulted women, pregnant them at a young age, and left their children fatherless, according to UN internal reports (UN, 2017). A generation of peacekeeper babies has been produced by the abuse, the majority of whom are now adults seeking justice and closure (Princewill 2022; Russo 2022).

The UN Security Council is one of the six main UN bodies that the UN Charter established. The United States, the United Kingdom, China, France, and the Russian Federation are the five permanent members of the Security Council. Every two years, ten non-permanent members are added to the group of five permanent members. The UN Charter gives the UNSC the authority to uphold international peace and security in line with the goals and tenets of the UN. By passing a resolution outlining the purpose and specifics of the operations, the UN Security Council is able to use peacekeeping efforts as a weapon to uphold peace and security while carrying out its mandate. When UN Peacekeeping was established, the Security Council was often immobilized by Cold War rivalries. Main responsibilities of peacekeeping included maintaining ceasefires and bringing the fighting situation on the ground under control. Additionally crucial to assisting diplomatic attempts to settle disputes amicably was peacekeeping. But now, depending on the circumstances, the mission has been broadened to include using whatever tool at hand to uphold peace and security.

The European Union (EU), African Union (AU), and other regional blocs do, however, support a limited number of security or peacekeeping operations. The largest are the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the Lake Chad Basin Commission Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF), and the Group of Five for the Sahel (G5 Sahel) Joint Force. The most recent

troops dispatched to combat the insurgency in Mozambique are from Rwanda and the Southern African Development Community Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM). Other missions in the Sahel have been joined by another EU task force, called Takuba, which is led by France.

Furthermore, a majority of UN peacekeeping missions globally are located in Africa; these include missions in Abyei, which are disputed by Sudan and South Sudan (UNISFA), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), Mali (MINUSMA), South Sudan (UNMISS), Western Sahara (MINURSO), and the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). Interestingly, the UNSC initiated the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960, initiating a massive mission that at its peak involved about 20,000 military personnel. This is how UN peacekeeping in the DRC got its start. The ONUC made clear the risks involved in trying to bring stability back to the war-torn areas of the DRC.

#### **2.4.2 Actors and Complexity of DRC Conflicts**

Numerous parties have been active in the violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is significant that there have been several phases and players in the violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The actors can be categorized into four groups: armed groups, government forces, civil society, and international actors. Diagrammatically, the parties involved in the conflict can be summarized as follows:



**Figure 2.1 : Actors to DRC Conflict**

**Source:** Researcher (2023)

**Key**

FDLR- The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

LRA- Lord's Resistance Army

CNDP- National Congress for the Defence of the People

M23- March 23 Movement

FARDC- Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

UNSC- United Nations Security Council

The current conflict is the one that gave the genesis of the second UNSC peacekeeping mission in DRC. The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is a peacekeeping operation that was created on July 17, 1999, as part of the Lusaka

Ceasefire Agreement, adopted on November 30, 1999, by UNSC resolution 1279. The initial goals of the mission were to maintain contact with all parties to the ceasefire agreement, to honor the pledge not to use force, and to uphold the truce. Subsequently, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted further resolutions that expanded the scope of MONUC, culminating in the present resolutions of 1925 that renamed the organization as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). In addition to assisting the DRC government's efforts to establish and consolidate the peace, this new mandate permitted the use of all necessary means to carry out the mission relating to protecting civilians, humanitarian workers, and human rights activists from imminent bodily threat (UNSC 2010). According to UN (2023), MONUSCO had 14,641 peacekeepers assigned as of March 2023, making it one of the biggest units.

## **2.5 The causes, impact and complexity of conflict in DRC**

The DRC war has many root causes. According to Ndikumana (2015), there are several reasons behind the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and these reasons can be grouped into four categories: institutional, economic, regional, and global geopolitical. These elements are interconnected and cannot be addressed separately in order to comprehend the root causes of conflicts, develop conflict resolution techniques, or promote economic growth after wars. The general state of the economy's weakness had a significant impact on the start of the disputes. There was a high likelihood of conflict when the anti-Mobutu war started. In particular, the deterioration of the macroeconomic environment as a whole, the mismanagement of the public sector, and the worsening of social conditions—particularly the rapidly rising rate of youth unemployment—severely undermined the state's capacity to

provide the Congolese people with security and basic necessities. This made the conditions perfect for the rise of violent challenges to state authority motivated by resentment and avarice.

Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and throughout Africa is still largely caused by the remnants of colonialism. Many scholars and specialists concur that African countries are still ruled and influenced by their former colonies; they have merely achieved political independence. This pattern is evident in the case of former French colonies accused of supporting coups for states that go against their national interests. Under the pretense of preserving democracy and the rule of law, unilateral sanctions may be applied to nations like Zimbabwe, a former British colony that the US supports, when relations worsen. The problem of colonial legacy emerged in the 1960s when the Democratic Republic of Congo's first black president advocated for reform. Walter Rodney summed up this concept in his 1972 book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by outlining how European colonial governments deliberately exploited and underdeveloped Africa.

There were two phases of colonization in the DRC. It was ruled by King Leopold II from 1885 to 1908, and then by the Belgian state from 1908 to June 30, 1960. Human rights violations, arbitrary killings, and the theft of vital natural resources were all hallmarks of Belgium's colonial government under Leopold II (Tunamsifu 2022). Edwald et al. (2004) reported that mass killings caused the Congo's population to drop by two thirds between the colonial invasion and 1924. The brutality of the colonial era includes land dispossession, unchecked resource exploitation, and inhumane treatment, including torture (Tunamsifu 2022). The DRC is a post-colonial country whose colonial legacies have been perpetuated. This has created an ethical challenge for the UNSC peacekeeping mission, as the interests of former colonizers

continue to be discussed in political discourse. Colonialism also exposed structural disparities inside the colonies with regard to socioeconomic programs, administrative center construction, and social advancement. This imbalance led to an upsurge in ethnic conflicts. In Nigeria, social development was higher in the South than in the North. Simultaneously, the Baganda surpassed other ethnic groups in Uganda, the Chagga and Haya exceeded other ethnic groups in Tanzania, and the Kikuyu, Ashanti, and Bemba achieved "progress" faster than other ethnic groups in Kenya, Ghana, and Zambia, in that order. Actually, the animosity that all other groups have for the Kikuyu has been the defining feature of interethnic relations in Kenya.

In African society, cultural plurality is a sensitive topic that frequently shows up in civil wars, interethnic disputes, and international confrontations. These aren't just the product of harsh measures or poor diplomacy. The vast majority of them have roots in endemic cultural characteristics that are present in numerous nations (Aluko, 2003). In the DRC, there are about 200 different ethnic groupings. The stories of hardships, pain, afflictions, deprivations, and sadness are common to most of the member states. The environment surrounding nations includes language trends, religious beliefs, and legal systems just as much as other factors. Ethnic conflicts have caused instability in a number of countries around the continent, including Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, in addition to other nations in the central African great lakes region.

Formal and informal political networks frequently reflect and reinforce regional economic and military linkages and sustain the shadow economy of war economies. Social networks include occupational, ethnic, and diaspora ties that support regional conflict complexes. Regional

economic networks offer channels for trade in conflict goods, smuggling, tax avoidance, and the phenomenon of displacement. Military networks supply arms and mercenaries and can also cause displacement effects (Pugh and Cooper 2004). That does nothing more than make matters worse and make it more challenging to come to a peaceful resolution. The conflict, which has involved nine African governments and is mostly focused in the eastern portion of the nation, has directly affected fifty million Congolese.

It is clear that the main source of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is economic problems associated with the country's richness of natural resources, especially in the wealthy eastern area (Olaopa & Ojatorotu, 2016). Even the UN forces who have been pilfering minerals want to make money off of the natural resources. History indicates that during the colonial and post-colonial eras, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) provided economic benefits to the former colonizers, both as individuals and as a colonizer (Olaopa & Ojatorotu, 2016). The exploitative aspect of the situation became clear when the Democratic Republic of Congo gained independence and its first leader advocated for an end to exploitative behavior, which ultimately led to his downfall and seizure of the nation. Consolidating political power is the primary driver of conflict in politics since it allows access to public finances and resources, usually for private gain. Groups with disparate political, tribal, and/or ethnic affiliations are the main causes of this conflict on both a local and national level. The Congo's exceptional wealth made several European countries want to be there (Lusignan, 2014). Naturally abundant in cobalt, rubber, gold, diamonds, and copper, it attracted the attention of numerous trading firms and companies. King Leopold received the only permit to develop the Congo privately during the Berlin Conference in 1885. While in the Congo,

Leopold established an economic system by renting out parts of the nation to different European corporations in return for a half-share of the extracted revenue.

The lessons learned from PSO operations in Rwanda, Somalia, and Bosnia are presented by Tuvdendarjaa (2022). This demonstrates how some peacekeeping operations have contributed to major causes of conflict because of weak or nonexistent political and financial institutions, tangible and intangible support from UN member states, a lack of initiative on crucial issues, disparate capacities, a lack of resources, and a lack of agreement on cooperation in mission execution and decision-making. In a similar vein, the Democratic Republic of Congo's shoddy state institutions fuel the flames of conflict. Notable disputes, with the exception of John Gultang, contend that weak structures are the root of conflict through his conflict triangulation theory. The inability of the government to maintain complete control of its security system is a major military source of conflict. The military is deeply divided, and a national army that has been connected to widespread mutiny, extortion, theft, and violations of human rights is the product of opportunism and personal corruption. The principal theaters of this battle are Kinshasa and the east. The Congo continues to be unstable and violent as a result of these several conflict-causing elements together.

Tensions between the superpowers could satisfactorily account for most armed crises as long as the East-West divide remained the distinguishing feature of the international political system. Therefore, the ownership of the nation's enormous mineral riches is the primary cause of conflict. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), more than thirty years of civil wars, regional feuds, and cross-border conflicts have resulted in millions of dead and an estimated five million displacements. Moral concerns are raised by this. Maina and Gacheche

(2022) contend that the illicit exploitation of the vast riches of the nation, which benefits the elites in the Congolese government, is the main cause of the unrest.

According to Mahmood Mamdani (2004), the US's strategy of using proxy war to "roll back," rather than just "contain," radical states was first developed in Africa with the establishment of what he refers to as Africa's first terrorist organization, RENAMO, in Mozambique. RENAMO was funded by apartheid-era South Africa and racist Rhodesia, and it also received political support from the US. The Contras' home country of Nicaragua quickly adopted the RENAMO concept. Ten African countries used to be involved in the ongoing war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The government disputes the assertions made by academics and analysts like Mearshimer (2023) and Scindwein (2023) regarding the employment of private military organizations like Wagner Group as a Russian shadow army.

## **2.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter reviewed the literature on the subject of moral dilemmas in UN peacekeeping missions in Complex African Conflicts. In this context, among other things, the literature relating to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks was studied. Guided by the objectives of the study as stated in chapter 1, the researcher proceeded with the literature review in the chapter. The empirical literature section enabled the identification of important research gaps that this study seeks to solve. As was already indicated, the purpose of the study—which was to use the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a case study to investigate the moral dilemmas faced by UN peacekeeping operations in challenging African wars—was accomplished by the literature review. The literature was also consistent with the objectives of the study, which include assessing the consequences of moral dilemmas in the area, analyzing the causes of conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and looking into the ways that

UNSC peacekeeping mission operations have made conflict worse. The two leading theories of the study were the theory of classical realism and the theory of constitutive theory. In the next chapter, we look at the research methods used for that study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Chapter Two studied the pertinent literature, following the study objectives of Chapter One as a guide. The chapter included descriptions of the theories and conceptual framework of international relations. This chapter three's primary focus is on the research methodology employed to examine the moral dilemmas the UNSC is currently confronting in the DRC. This chapter outlines the methodology that assisted the researcher in conducting the study to achieve the pre-established objectives. The following subjects are covered in detail in this chapter: population, methods for collecting data, sampling strategy, research design, and philosophy. This study's appropriate research technique is thoroughly described, and the reasoning behind the approach selection is examined. The research design for the study is presented and explained in order to place this research in the appropriate context. The data gathering techniques used in this study are presented, together with an analysis of their benefits and drawbacks. The precise sample methods applied in this investigation are explained in great depth. An summary of the results and an explanation of the research ethics that were followed are provided at the end of the chapter.

#### **3.1 Research philosophy**

The best way to characterize a research philosophy is as an entire way of thinking (Neuman, 2011). According to Mouton (1996), a philosophy in this context refers to the long-standing research traditions within a given discipline. Specifically, a paradigm may be thought of as a model or framework for observation and understanding and would comprise the established

theories, traditions, approaches, models, frame of reference, body of research, and techniques (Creswell, 2007). A philosophy, then, is a foundational body of concepts that guides study. Thus, paradigms are crucial in the social sciences. Research philosophies influence research practice, hence it's important to explain them (Creswell, 2009). The two types of research philosophies are positivism and post-positivism (Creswell, 2009). Post-positivism, or post-modernism, is defined by two sub-paradigmas: interpretivism and critical theory. The interpretivism research philosophy and a qualitative research design were employed in this study.

### **3.1.1 Interpretivism philosophy**

Based on the research questions and objectives, the best approach for this study was to combine an interpretivism research paradigm with a qualitative research technique. Through descriptions in the form of words and languages in a particular, natural context and by using natural methods, this philosophy aimed to understand the phenomenon of the ethical dilemmas in UN Security Council peacekeeping missions that were experienced by the research subject, such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others holistically (Moleong, 2014). Important steps in the qualitative research method included formulating questions and protocols, gathering particular data from participants, conducting inductive data analysis from particular topics to common themes, and assessing the significance of the findings (Creswell, 2010).

### **3.2 Research Methodology**

Numerous research approaches, including mixed, qualitative, and quantitative, are utilized to comprehend, interpret, analyze, and forecast phenomena (Creswell 2013). The three research

approaches—qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods—are described by Creswell (2014). The methodology employed in this study was qualitative.

Through interaction with study participants, qualitative research enabled the researcher to gain more insights into the participants' perspectives about the moral quandaries faced by the UNSC in peacekeeping (Creswell, 2013). Using a qualitative approach made the most sense because it yielded descriptive and individualized data that could not have been gathered from a quantitative study, which is more concerned with statistical results presented as numbers. Rather of being tested, abstractions, concepts, theories, and hypotheses were produced by inductive study (Merriam, 1998). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a qualitative research approach was most appropriate because the study assessed a variety of participant-related realities. The fact that, the participants' truths varied over time and in response to different situations meant that only a qualitative study could fully understand them and their environment. Since the study focused on the individuals' experiences and ideals rather than just their behavior, vivid descriptions were used to clarify this (Merriam, 1998).

### **3.3 Research design**

Research design is a functional strategy that connects certain research methodologies and procedures to produce a valid and reliable body of data for theoretical formulation, conclusions, and empirically based analysis. As a result, the research design provides the researcher with a clear framework for the investigation; it guides the methods, decisions, and basis for interpretation. It may also be seen as a series of specified procedures to be followed in order to test particular hypotheses in predetermined scenarios (Bless, Higson-Smith, and Kagee, 2016). Therefore, the general strategy for choosing participants and methods of gathering or producing data for a suggested study can be seen as research design (Welman,

Kruger, and Mitchell, 2009). A research design's primary purpose is to maximize the validity of the study's final outcomes and conclusions by allowing the researcher to predict what the most likely study decisions will be (Mouton, 1996). In the current study, a phenomenological research design was adopted.

### **3.3.1 Research design using phenomenology**

In this study, a qualitative approach was integrated with a phenomenological research design. Researchers can use phenomenology as a study technique to determine the nature of human experience with a given occurrence (Creswell, 2009). This qualitative study focused on the ethical dilemmas encountered by UN peacekeeping forces during conflicts in Africa. Intentionality is what defines the connection between conscious processes and the process's object of concern. In order to investigate the causes of conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a phenomenological design was used. This included an examination of how UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have exacerbated conflict as well as the impact of moral dilemmas on these missions.

Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) state that phenomenological research design has developed as a way to examine participants' perceptions of their social interactions and situations (Crotty, 1998). The main goal was to provide an in-depth study of the organizations, protocols, and frameworks that are thought to provide moral dilemmas for UN Security Council peacekeeping missions. The researcher had to put aside his personal beliefs and present the respondents' honest accounts in order to follow phenomenology.

It aimed to separate the cultural influences of the researcher while maintaining trust in the participants' accounts of their experiences (Crotty, 1998). However, it is evident that

phenomenology had some objectivity because the researcher was in charge of reporting particular themes from the participant descriptions—that is, the selection of objects from the subjects' experiences (Creswell, 2013). The goal of this was to collect and evaluate data with the least number of researcher-imposed assumptions possible. The phenomenological approach was selected because it involved a thorough observation of the moral dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The phenomenal data analyzed by Ocktavianto, Triyuwono, and Purwanti (2017) included perceptions, emotions, memories, images, thoughts, and other items present in consciousness. The goal of phenomenology was to produce a coherent discussion of the ideas, customs, and interactions around the ethical conundrums facing the UNSC (Ocktavianto, Triyuwono, and Purwanti, 2017). The goal was to identify the root causes of conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), investigate how UNSC peacekeeping mission operations there have exacerbated conflict, and assess the effects of moral conundrums on UNSC peacekeeping operations there. According to Van Manen (2016), interpretive phenomenology used both interpretive and descriptive components to have a better grasp of the nature of the essence of ordinary lived experiences. The reflections on the essential themes that describe and explain the ethical dilemmas in UNSC phenomenon through the art of writing balanced the research context by viewing each piece as a whole (Van Manen, 2016).

### **3.4 Population and Sample**

A population, according to Smith (2000), is any person or entity (analytic unit) that possesses the characteristics the researcher wishes to look at. However, the unit of analysis could be any object, group, organization, person, country, or other thing about which one wishes to draw

scientific conclusions. The study's participants were the diplomats accredited to Zimbabwe whose countries have hosted the UNSC.

There were also former and serving service chiefs in the populace who were sent on peacekeeping missions. These primary informants have firsthand knowledge of the moral conundrums facing the UNSC in the DRC. These are the individuals that are thought to be the most informed and possess the necessary data in the field of study (Campbell, 2018). Because of their extensive experience and proficiency in peacekeeping operations, thirty senior officers from the Police, Military, Prisons and Correctional Services, as well as a Civilian, were specifically selected for this assignment. Deliberate sampling was essential to ensuring that each participant in this phenomenology study had the experience that was being studied (Creswell, 2013). The staff who carried out direct tasks related to UNSC peacekeeping were the main focus of the investigation. Important informants for this investigation were diplomats and heads of security agencies, such as the Military Police and Correctional Services. Despite the sample size of 30 being chosen, only 17 respondents participated. The conclusion that they were sufficient was reached by applying the informational redundancy theory put out by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This suggests that sampling was discontinued when further units were unable to provide any fresh data.

Since the respondents' purposive sample provided more information power, a relatively smaller sample size was sufficient (Malterud, Siersma, and Guassora, 2016). The saturation principle was used to determine that the sample size was adequate. When determining whether the sample size is acceptable for a certain qualitative research project, this is without a doubt the

principle that is used the most frequently (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The idea was to observe whether any new patterns showed up as fresh data was gathered. When a follow-up interview no longer produced new theoretical insights or disclosed elements of the study's main theoretical categories, sampling was stopped (Charmaz, 2006). When there is saturation, there are no new themes, codes, or pieces of information. It has become the most widely cited "guarantee of qualitative rigor" and the "gold standard" in qualitative research (Morse, 2015).

### **3.5 Sampling Method**

Due to practical and financial limitations, social science research typically focuses on identifying behavioral patterns within certain populations rather than examining entire populations (Bhattacharjee, 2012). As a result, sampling is necessary, which Creswell (2017) described as a subset of the target population that the researcher intends to investigate in order to draw broader conclusions about the target population.

In order for the conclusions drawn from the sample to be applied to the population of interest, Bhattacharjee (2012) stressed how crucial it is to select a sample that is accurately representative of the community. The sample that the researcher chose was genuinely representative of the population in this sense.

A purposeful, non-probability sampling technique was used in the study, meaning that a researcher selects a case based on predetermined criteria. The non-probability sampling approach, according to Saunders et al. (2005), is a purposeful sampling technique that is used to deliberately select information-rich examples based on their matching criteria to the one's precondition to answering the study questions being asked. "Purposive sampling" was the

method used in this study to identify the important informants. One method of gathering informant data sources with specific concerns is called purposeful sampling.

### **3.6 Sampling Frame**

In the meantime, the researcher created a sampling frame—a list of contact details for a reachable segment of the target population—using both purposive and snowball sampling strategies (Saunders et al., 2005). "Purposive sampling" was the method used in this study to identify the important informants. One method of gathering informant data sources with specific concerns is called purposeful sampling. These are the individuals that are thought to be the most informed and possess the necessary data in the field of study (Campbell, 2018). In this instance, thirty senior members of the Diplomatic, Military, and Police Services were specifically chosen due to their vast backgrounds in peacekeeping operations. In order to guarantee that every participant in this phenomenology study received the experience under investigation, deliberate sampling was crucial (Creswell, 2013). The study's primary focus was on employees who performed direct UNSC peacekeeping tasks.

### **3.7 Data Collection methods**

The methodical process of obtaining, calculating, and documenting data for study analysis is known as data collection. It involves a variety of primary and secondary data collection techniques. Direct data collection from primary sources is known as primary data collection. The following main data sources were used in this study: Comprehensive Interviews were done, usually with just one person, and the questions were either semi-structured to allow for further discussion about the subject or structured to be asked in the same way each time. There are frequently more open-ended questions in semi-structured interviews. To collect qualitative

data, interview guides and unstructured structured questions were employed. Before being implemented, a design and test sample was carried out. Questionnaires were enhanced with free text fields so that respondents could their own comment.

### **3.7.2 Secondary Data**

According to Saunders et al. (2009), secondary data is information that has already been gathered and is easily accessible from other sources. To get secondary data, the researcher turned to earlier studies, news stories, and publications from national and international organizations, particularly those from the UN, AU, and SADC. Even while secondary data sources are readily available online, there is no assurance that the information is of high quality because some documents are just posted online without the required quality checks. In order to assure the study's authenticity, the researcher thus heavily relied on published studies and documentaries from respectable organizations like the United Nations, the SADC, the AU, and the United Nations Human Rights (UNHR).

### **3.8 Validity and Reliability**

Validity, according to Leedy (2014), is the degree to which a particular measurement yields information related to the acknowledged definitions of a concept. Quinlan et al. (2015), on the other hand, define dependability as the capacity of a specific technique to produce consistent results when applied repeatedly to the same object. It is a metric that an instrument uses to provide consistency. The researcher employed unstructured questionnaires, which are a component of the quantitative technique that fosters high dependability, to guarantee high reliability. More significantly, a pilot study was carried out by the researcher to guarantee the validity and dependability of the data collection tools. Thus, a set of guidelines might be developed that tell the interviewer to read the questions aloud, repeat them if needed, and probe

in an undirective way while accepting the respondent's hesitation to answer a question. Thus, in general, this enhanced the validity and reliability of interviews as a research instrument for gathering data.

### **3.9 Data Presentation and Analysis**

Data analysis was done using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). The interview transcripts' explicit and implicit topics were abstracted using an emergent analysis technique. Care was made to ensure that only narratives that uphold the original text's meaning were used in the study (Campbell, 2018). NVivo 11, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) tool, was used. It is crucial to stress that the program was only a tool for organizing data; it did not help with decisions about findings or code selection.

Several readings of the text were done in order to determine the participants' pure perspectives (a process known as coding); if necessary, reflective notes and memos were made on a line-by-line basis to pinpoint important details; relationships and patterns between data segments were mapped out; and major themes were tabulated (Campbell, 2018). NVivo 11 made it possible to organize recognized codes hierarchically and to automatically retrieve all related data. Reflective memoranda were written by the researchers and connected to particular data segments. The researcher was able to search, highlight, organize, and alter codes across transcripts using the list of codes. By clicking on a certain code or set of codes, the researcher was able to simultaneously identify original data segments and memos. Additionally, the software allowed the researcher to select codes and important data segments, as well as attach participant demographic, employment, and educational variables for cross-tabulations (Campbell, 2018).

The same steps that are necessary for any other qualitative data analysis also apply to phenomenological data analysis: classification, axial, selective, and open coding, as well as meaning extraction from the primary meanings of the phenomenon. As the researcher worked with the rich descriptive data, recurring themes or essences emerged (Elliott, 2018). Coding needed total involvement for the duration of the process to ensure an accurate and comprehensive representation of the phenomenon.

During open coding, the researcher reviewed the raw data several times before starting to assign tentative labels to a large number of data points that reflected his observations. This was not predicated on any preconceived notions, but rather on the significance that the facts revealed. Participants' word choices and the features of each code were recorded. The next step was axial coding, which required identifying connections and relationships between the open codes. Ultimately, selective coding was used to identify the core variable that held all of the data. As a result, the researcher went back over the transcripts and carefully coded any information pertaining to the key variable that was found (Elliott, 2018).

### **3.10 Pilot Testing**

A pilot study by Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011) claims that a group with comparable comprehension is used to test research instruments. It enhances the validity and dependability of data gathering instruments. Even though they would not be participating in the main examination, five questionnaires were distributed as part of the pilot study to Zimbabwean peacekeepers who were operating on missions in Africa at the time. They all completed questionnaires, which enabled the researcher to improve the validity and reliability of the research findings by making the required modifications to the research equipment.

### **3.11 Ethical Considerations**

What constitutes proper and improper behavior during research is the focus of science ethics (Mouton, 2001). Therefore, regardless of their research designs, sampling tactics, techniques, or methodological preferences, all researchers must take ethical considerations into account. This inquiry complied with a number of ethical standards. To perform the study in each jurisdiction, a request for authorization was issued to the Zimbabwe Republic Police. The ethical considerations of this study also included participant agreement, confidentiality procedures, safe data storage, and gaining approval from the Bindura University of Science Education. The researcher received the names and email addresses of potential volunteers from their places of employment. The mailing addresses received the first email inviting volunteers to take part in the study. Those who expressed interest in taking part were asked for their phone number after responding, and this information was used to set up interviews and validate the study's guidelines.

The participants were given the Consent to Participate form and informed that their participation was completely voluntary and that they might withdraw at any time. This information was provided to them both before the interview and at that time. The researcher reviewed every line on the consent form with each participant. Next, the researcher's office's unlabeled filing drawer held the consent documents. Nothing that may have been linked to the participants' identities was kept. The interview transcript notes had pseudonyms for each participant. The researcher retained a secret code that enabled her to determine which participant's alias belonged to them. In the digital recordings of the interviews, the only information provided for each participant was their job title and kind of organization. In this study, each participant was exclusively identified by a pseudonym. The data for the digital

recordings was transcribed by the researcher. This enhanced confidentiality and facilitated familiarization with the data for data analysis. The digital recorder was secured in a locked cabinet, and the text transcriptions were stored on a password-protected disk that was locked in a second secure cabinet that was only accessible by the researcher.

### **3.12 Chapter Summary**

This chapter provided the research methodology. There were descriptions and arguments made for phenomenological research designs, interpretivism research paradigms, and qualitative research techniques. In addition, there were explanations and reasons for the research population, methods and instruments for collecting data, strategies for sampling and determining an adequate sample size, methods and processes for data processing, and ethical considerations. The chapter explains how the study's compass was the interpretivist philosophy, which used a qualitative research approach. Using a phenomenological approach, key informants were largely contacted from the military, police, civilian, and penal services. Purposeful sampling was carried out. Using the saturation principle, a sample size of seventeen research subjects was established. This viewpoint states that chapter 4, which follows, covers data presentation, analysis, interpretation, and discussion of research findings.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This study examined how UNSC peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have exacerbated conflict, examined the causes of conflicts in the DRC, and assessed the impact of moral dilemmas on UNSC peacekeeping operations in the DRC using a phenomenological design. A qualitative research methodology was used to obtain more in-depth responses that would account for unexpected outcomes and explain unusual conditions. This chapter meticulously presented, examined, discussed, and assessed the data that was gathered from the qualitative investigation. Understanding and interpreting the data was a goal of the recording and analysis process in order to find patterns and relationships that aligned with the goals of the study as stated in chapter 1. Themes that arose from the research objectives subsequently enabled the study to pinpoint the ethical dilemmas that occur in UNSC peacekeeping operations in complex African conflicts. The results of the study were communicated through the analysis of the qualitative data from the individual interviews and the open-ended questionnaire.

#### **4.2 Response rate**

Interviews were conducted with accredited Zimbabwean diplomats in countries that had hosted the UN Security Council. Among the populace, there were also active and retired service chiefs who were deployed on peacekeeping assignments. These included members of the police, prison and correctional staff, and the armed forces. These main informants are directly aware

of the ethical dilemmas the UNSC is confronting in the DRC. Out of the fifteen interviews that were scheduled, twelve were actually conducted. This resulted in a 73.3% response rate. This was considered sufficient as the point of saturation had already been reached. Each individual in the study population was fairly represented.

### 4.3 Socio -Demographic data

**Table 4.1:** Respondents socio demographic data

<b>Socio-demographic aspect</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	7	55%
Female	5	45%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Respondent organisation</b>		
Military	2	16.66%
Diplomat	1	8.33%
Police	4	33.33%
Prisons and Correctional Services	3	25%
Civilians	2	16.66%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Work Experience</b>		
Below 5 years	2	16.66%
5-10 years	4	33.33%

11-20 years	4	33.33%
Above 20 years	2	16.66%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respondents Level of education</b>		
Secondary school	0	0%
Diploma	0	0%
Bachelors Degree	5	41.66%
Masters Degree	5	41.66%
PhD	2	16.66%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Primary data 2023

The results showed that 45% of participants were women and 55% of participants were men, as shown in Figure 4.1. This demonstrates that there was equal representation of each gender in the study. Gender equality, according to Hampell (2017), permits a range of viewpoints on the research variables and issue at hand.

The study was done among respondents with a range of work backgrounds who could offer a variety of opinions on study issues on the ethical dilemmas encountered by the UNSC's peacekeeping missions in the DRC, as demonstrated in the above pie labeled Table 4.1. According to this perspective, 16.66% of participants had served for less than five years, 33.33% for five to ten years, 33.33% for eleven to twenty years, and 16.66% for more than twenty years. Experience and duration of service in a research project enable the establishment of a diversity of viewpoints, according to McDonalds et al. (2021). The research participants'

with degrees—a bachelor's, master's, or doctorate—are shown in Table 4.1. This literacy level affects the results' dependability and consistency (McDonalds, 2021).

#### **4.4 Causes of conflicts in the DRC**

The purpose of the study was to examine the reasons behind wars in the DRC. Interviews were performed to accomplish this. Six major themes surfaced from the 12 interviews that were done. Figure 4.1 displays the interview transcript summaries as a word cloud. The word cloud below indicates that ethnicity, political and economic problems, the DRC's colonial legacy, post-independence problems, international geopolitical challenges, and institutional factors are the main reasons of conflict in the country. Hoffmann, Vlassenroot, Carayannis, & Muzalia (2020) looked into the connection between ethnicity and violent conflict in the Congo, which supports the results of this study. There are three related arguments made. In their research, they found that ethnicity—which they called "ethnic capital"—is a crucial political resource in the battles and politics of the DRC. Spittaels, Hilgert, and the International Peace Information Service (2010) state that the high political value of this ethnic capital is maintained by deeply embedded ethnic discourses and practices. By showing how discourses and practices permeate the Congolese political system and contribute to the creation of an unstable, centrifugal, and fragmented political order, they supported the findings of the current study by illustrating how people's perceptions of politics, conflict, and political identities are influenced by these factors. Understanding ethnicity as capital, according to Isaacs-Martin (2019), enables us to go beyond instrumentalist, primitiveist, and solely symbolic interpretations of the connection between ethnicity and conflict. Additionally, it destroys the fictitious dualism that separates the material world of the economy from the symbolic realm of identities. A number of authors claim that in this DRC war for minerals, the distribution of tangible and symbolic resources is in jeopardy.

The causes of conflict in the DRC are so complex that they transcend the explanations that authors may be able to provide. Had it been known, there would have been time to prevent and lessen the violence.



**Figure 4.1 :** Causes of conflicts in DRC

**Source:** Researcher (2023)

The word cloud revealed that respondents preferred the legacy of colonialism due to its large font size and centralization. The transcript and verbatim from the respondents that led to the emergent themes in the word cloud above may be found in the paragraphs below.

### **Legacy of colonialism in DRC**

Answer A1 responded as follows when questioned about the reasons of conflict in the DRC:

*“Colonial legacies remain a major contributing factor to conflict in the DRC and throughout Africa. Only after gaining political independence, African nations are still under the authority*

*of their former colonies. Colonizers are funding coups in states where their national interests are being violated”*

Regarding the reasons for disagreement, Interviewee A2 corroborated Interviewee A1's statement, which went as follows:

*"The Congo's war was brought on by its conquerors. The DRC has seen cruelty from the colonizers both during and after the colonial era, which has resulted in land dispossession, extensive resource exploitation, cruel treatment, and torture of populations.*

In support of this, interviewee A5 opined that.

*“The DRC's post-colonial history has been shaped by colonial legacies, which provide moral challenges for the UN peacekeeping deployment and keep the interests of former conquerors prominent in the political discourse. Additionally, fundamental disparities in the DRC's socioeconomic initiatives, social growth, and administrative center formation were brought about by colonialism.”*

### **Post-independence issues**

When asked about what causes conflict in DRC, interviewee A3 had this to say:

*"In exchange for independence, the post-colonial regime did not prosecute colonialists for crimes committed during the colonial era, and in the DRC, criticizing past atrocities was considered treason." The Belgian Parliament acknowledged its moral responsibility for Lumumba's murder 40 years after the assassination, but nothing was done to stop it, which fueled more wars and conflicts.”*

Interviewee A4 supported the view expressed by interviewee N3 by saying that:

*"Conflict in the DRC has been exacerbated by post-colonial challenges. Conflict recurs because of the structure of the post-colonial judicial system and the procedures used to address atrocities committed during that time. DRC did not pursue a reconciliation policy or address colonial concerns after independence since doing so would have facilitated the telling of the truth and reconciliation."*

### **Ethnicity issues**

Interviewee A11 was asked what the main causes of war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were, and he had to respond,

*"It is not only ineffective diplomacy or aggressive measures that lead to the issue of cultural plurality in the DRC, which typically manifests itself in interethnic relations, foreign crises, and civil wars. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has deeply embedded legal systems, religious beliefs, and language traditions."*

Respondent A4 held an alternative perspective. He declared:

*"The dispute is exacerbated by differences between neighboring governments' interests and vocations. The largest interstate conflict in contemporary African history is the conflict raging in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Many foreign entities, some from within the immediate sub-region and others from much farther afield, have become interested in the DRC. War has been sparked by rivalries that have exploited regional cultural differences."*

Interviewee A9 expressed the same opinion as responder A11, stating that

*"Kabila's relationship with his foreign backers soured around 1997." The president of the DRC, Kabila, issued an order for all foreign forces to withdraw in 1998. The majority declined*

*to depart. Rwandan troops "mutinied," and new Rwandan and Ugandan troops entered the DRC on August 2, sparking conflict that broke out across the entire country."*

A6 and A8, the interviewees, shared the same opinion. The answers were required to claim that *"The two states—Uganda's Mouvement de libération du Congo (MLC) and Rwanda's Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD)—were responsible for creating the DRC rebels themselves. In the DRC, these have persisted in causing massacres."*

### **Political issues**

When asked about the causes of conflict, respondent A7 had to say:

*"Political power consolidation that enables access to public funds and resources as well as personal gain is what fuels war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At both the local and national levels, this conflict is being led by groups with different political, tribal, and/or ethnic ties. Many European countries wanted to be in the Congo because of its unusual wealth. Because of its wealth of natural resources—copper, gold, diamonds, rubber, cobalt, and others—many international political leaders desired it."*

Interviewee A4 was of the same view with respondent 7. The respondent had to say:

*Seventy-five percent of the world's cobalt is extracted from Katanga, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the world's leading producers of copper. With the Democratic Republic of the Congo's independence in June 1960, European economic supremacy over this rich source of income was put in peril. The UN was under pressure to grant the Congo independence in the 1950s due to the global anti-colonial movement that swept through Africa.*

*However, as soon as the Congo earned its independence, Belgian forces launched an attack on Katanga, a resource-rich city that was the primary export hub for these enterprises. As a result, troops were sent there to defend the nation. Despite the military presence, the enterprises continued to produce in the city; interestingly, production even increased in the year of independence. The Congo's people have never truly been awarded "independence," as demonstrated by years of military involvement there, which is why the conflict still rages."*

### **Institutional factors**

The following response was obtained from respondent A5 when he was asked about the causes of conflict in DRC:

*"In the same way that the DRC has weak state institutions that contribute to the escalation of conflict, some peacekeeping operations have contributed to major causes of conflict due to inactive or weak political and financial institutions, tangible and intangible assistance from UN member states, lack of initiative on important issues, different capacities, lack of resources, and lack of consensus on cooperation in decision-making and mission execution. Militant conflict is thus driven due to the government's inability to extend complete control over its security services."*

Interviewee N8 was of the same view with respondent N5. He had this to say:

*"Deep divides within the armed forces, coupled with personal corruption and avarice, have resulted in a national army that has been linked to widespread extortion, theft, human rights abuses, and mutiny. Kinshasa and the east are the main locations where this conflict is being fought. These different conflict-causing factors taken together have resulted in ongoing instability and violence in the Congo"*

### **Global geopolitical factors**

The following response was obtained from respondent A10 when was asked about causes of conflict in DRC:

*"The fundamental point of contention is about who is in charge of the abundant mineral treasures in the nation. The violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has persisted for almost thirty years, resulting in millions of deaths and an estimated 5,6 million displacements due to civil wars, local feuds, and cross-border conflicts. This presents an ethical quandary. The Congolese elites who profit from the chaos and the illicit exploitation of the nation's abundant mineral resources are the cause"*

Interviewee A8 was of the same view with respondent A10 when asked about rehabilitation of mining sites. He had this to say:

*"The ongoing conflict in DRC, at one time involved 10 African countries remains a geopolitical conflict".*

### **4.5 The conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict**

The primary themes that have emerged from respondents about the way in which UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have increased violence are depicted in Figure 4.2. According to the word cloud below, the UNSC's actions have intensified the violence in the DRC. These actions include the US foreign policy agenda, the Western Government Agenda, and the UN forces controversy. Martinez & Eng (2016), who corroborated these findings, posited that the violent resource-driven wars and ethnic conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Africa's literal and geographical "heart," have made the country

notorious (Kabamba, 2010). In parallel, the DRC came to the attention of the UN's largest peacekeeping operation, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission (UN, MONUSCO), which has been involved for more than 20 years but hasn't succeeded in bringing about a lasting peace (Lopor, 2016). Although MONUSCO's on-the-ground operations have come under heavy fire as a result, the UN's language on the DRC may potentially have unexpected consequences for the organization's efficacy (Martinez & Eng, 2016).

Furthermore, Titeca and Fahey (2016) contended that the Western-sponsored rebel group in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), known as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), was created. According to Titeca and Fahey (2016), various players who have fought the ADF group have portrayed the rebels in a way that serves their own political and economic goals as well as their own organizational and personal constraints. The governments of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have each framed the ADF in pursuit of regional, global, and national interests, independent of their stated goals to destroy the armed group. The UN stabilization mission in Congo's (MONUSCO) understanding of the ADF was affected by organizational limitations and individual analysts' shortcomings, resulting in inaccurate assessments and ineffective policy decisions. The multiple "faces" of the ADF actually tell us more about the opponents of the rebels than they do about the ADF. The research shows how policies regarding the ADF may not be directly tied to removing a threat from rebels, but rather permit the governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda to pursue different political and economic objectives. Alternatively, they may cause the framers to pursue operational plans that are misguided, as was the case with MONUSCO.



**Figure 4.2:** UNSC peacekeeping mission operations and the DRC conflict

**Source:** Primary (2023)

### **Western Government Agenda**

When asked about how conducts of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict, Interviewee B1 opined that:

*"In order to legitimize a regime change strategy that resulted in the installation of a pro-Western administration that did not serve the interests of the Congolese population, the UN peacekeeping mission in Congo acted as a proxy force. the first ones were sent in to protect national sovereignty after Belgian military intervention. It was successful in stopping the Congo's breakup into fiefdoms and in forcing the Belgian forces to depart from the area. But it utterly failed to establish long-term self-determination, political stability, and economic*

*prosperity in the host nation, as well as to revive the fledgling democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.*

Respondents B1 and B3 held similar opinions to interviewee B9 when discussing how UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have contributed to escalating conflict. What she had to say was:

*“The Congolese government had asked the UN military force to deal with the situation that ONUC's inability to address. In its first year of operation in the Congo, ONUC did not launch any significant military or diplomatic offensives to drive out the foreign invaders. Rather, the ONUC leadership got entangled in the Congolese power struggles, which culminated to Lumumba's assassination with ONUC complicity. In the end, ONUC became the bulwark of an unelected, authoritarian, and autocratic dictatorship that was imposed to further Western agendas rather than the Congolese people's desire for self-determination.”*

### **US Foreign Policy Agenda**

When asked about how conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict, Interviewee B11 had to say:

*"Non-Western countries accused the UN peacekeeping mission in Congo of being reduced to a proxy military force for the advancement of US foreign policy maneuvers, rather than serving as a UN Security Council conflict resolution agent."*

Interviewee B6 had to say:

*“The Congolese authorities demanded that peacekeeping operations fight the invading Belgian troops and the separatist Katangese troops quickly, but they were unable to do so. Tribal and*

*ideological concerns, fanned by foreign influences, were ripping the Congolese government apart, and as a result of this failure, the UN troops faced harassment and rebukes instead of support.”*

### **Legitimizing dictatorial regime**

When asked about how conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict. Interviewee B3 had to say:

*“UN member states have not yet reached a consensus on the contentious and delicate topic of force use by UN peacekeeping operations. It is evident that the UN has always struggled to strike a balance between the idea of coercion through forceful peacekeeping or peace enforcement and its core duty of preserving international peace and security. The UN's efforts in the DRC caused a blurring of the borders between peace enforcement and robustness.”*

### **UN forces controversy**

When asked about how conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict. Interviewee B8 had to say:

*“Western countries are reluctant to provide the fighting troops and adequate logistical resources to successfully undertake such missions out of fear for the lives of their own citizens, but they support the use of force to carry out tasks given in Security Council mandates that go beyond self-defense.” The use of force by peacekeepers in circumstances other than self-defense, such as the defense of people and the upkeep of public order and security, is still permitted by the Security Council.”*

Interviewee B7 supported the notion as he said:

*"UN member states have not yet reached a consensus on the contentious and delicate topic of force use by UN peacekeeping operations. The UN has always had difficulty striking a balance between the idea of coercion through strong peacekeeping or peace enforcement and its core duty of preserving international peace and security."*

#### **4.6 The impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC**

The study aimed to evaluate the effects of moral conundrums in UNSC peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The word cloud that summarizes the factors mentioned as the effects of moral conundrums in UNSC peacekeeping operations in the DRC is shown in Figure 4.3. UN charter violations, the slaughter of innocent civilians, social decadence, constitutional crises, never-ending conflicts, and innocent civilian deaths are some of the effects of the moral conundrums facing UNSC peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Democratic Republic of the Congo's human rights situation is still dire even after more than 20 years of UN peacekeeping operations, according to Khan, Ahona, and Chakma's research from 2021. Murphy (2016) points out that despite the UNSC's existence, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has suffered grave violations of human rights, including as the killing of civilians, sexual and gender-based violence, child soldiers, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Similar to this, Diller (2016) contends that the UN forces failed to properly maintain and defend human rights because of structural issues like the bureaucratic structure of MONUSCO, the inadequacy of the budget and legal limitations of the Peacekeeping Force, and operational issues like difficulties protecting civilians and UN personnel, a lack of logistics and manpower, and gender-based violence committed by some UN personnel and peacekeepers in MONUSCO. These studies show that there are, in fact, a lot of moral conundrums associated with UNSC peacekeeping operations.



**Figure 4.3:** Impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC

**Source:** Primary data (2023)

### **Social decadence**

When asked about the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC, interviewee C1 had to say:

*The ethical dilemmas exacerbate the conflict in the DRC and have an impact on operational inefficiencies and credibility. Peace and security will continue to be elusive due to corruption, bribery, dealing in minerals, and sexual exploitation. They are preoccupied with buying illegal minerals from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, trading ammunition for ivory, and buying drugs from the rebels, failing to promote the disarmament of the rebel group, instead of peacekeepers addressing concerns of peace and security.*

Interviewee C4 supported the view by the first respondent, he had to say:

*“At one point Peacekeepers deployed in Beni, in the eastern DRC, were arrested, and suspended as part of a case involving alleged sexual exploitation and violence”.*

Interviewee C7 was of the same view as he had to say:

*"One distinguishing characteristic of the DRC's conflict-ridden area is sexual violence. There are several claims, including ones about rape. Rape and sexual exploitation by UN soldiers, aid workers, and civilian perpetrators have become more commonplace as a result of conflict-related violence”.*

### **Death of innocent civilians**

When asked about the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC. Interviewee C6 had to say:

*“During my term in office, about 1,300 civilians were killed in separate conflicts involving armed groups and government forces in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), with the violence forcing many people from their homes”.*

Interviewee C10 said the same view and had to say:

*"I am horrified by the rise in violent attacks by armed groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) against defenseless civilians, as well as by the response of the military and security services, who have also perpetrated serious crimes such sexual assault and killings. These actions are not only abhorrent and illegal, but they also undermine public confidence in political and security officials in the state.*

### **Constitutional crisis**

When asked about the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC. Interviewee C12 had to say:

*"As you recall, Ralph Bunche, the first UN Special Representative to the Congo, abruptly left the country due to disagreements with Prime Minister Lumumba over political issues. Andrew Cordier, another American diplomat, took his post. When Andrew Cordier arrived, there was a severe constitutional crisis going on, with President and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba trying to remove one another from office in turn.*

Interviewee C10 supported the same view as he had to say:

*"These communities run a serious risk of feeling forced to form self-defense groups in the absence of effective protection by state security forces, which would most likely exacerbate an already dire situation causing a constitutional problem."*

### **UN Charter violation**

Interviewee C11 had to say:

*The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) claimed that military forces from Burundi, Uganda, and Rwanda had been occupying its eastern border regions and systematically violating international law and human rights. These purported violations included the massacre of people in large numbers and the siege of a hydroelectric dam, which cut off electricity to houses, schools, and hospitals, killing patients who were critically ill and in need of life support. This clearly violates the United Nations Charter.*

Interviewee C12 was of the same view with the first respondent and had to say:

*The African Charter, which also requires the Commission to protect international law, is violated by the transgressions of international law. In defiance of the UN Charter and the rules*

*governing cordial relations between states, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been the target of an act of military aggression.”*

Interviewee C10 was also of the same view as he had to say:

*“It is believed that the Ugandan soldiers intentionally propagated HIV/AIDS among the indigenous populace through the commission of sexual assaults. The region's natural mineral richness and widespread robbery of private property were also alleged, as was the forced relocation of inhabitants from the area into "concentration camps" in Rwanda with the goal of creating a "Tutsi land.”*

### **Endless conflicts**

When asked the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC.

Interviewee C 7 had to say:

*“One of the worst internal displacement and humanitarian catastrophes in history has resulted from the Democratic Republic of the Congo's escalating conflict between rebels and militias loyal to the government”.*

Interviewee C10 had to say:

"The self-declared Islamic State and the Allied Democratic Forces claimed responsibility for the attack in North Kivu province; since 2021, Ugandan and Congolese forces have worked together to destroy rebel strongholds in the area, but attacks persist."

## **4.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter's presentation of the research findings was informed by the study objectives. elucidated and examined. The response rate was examined, the respondents' sociodemographic

details were provided, and the analysis of the qualitative data was presented as part of this section's conclusions. The study's main objectives provided guidance for the discussion. In conclusion, the study found that the primary causes of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were ethnicity, political concerns, institutional difficulties, geographical issues, and post-independence problems. Furthermore, studies showed that the main reasons the UNSC escalated the bloodshed in the DRC were to support Western agendas, legitimize authoritarian regimes, and further US foreign policy objectives. The primary moral conundrums facing the UNSC peacekeeping force include societal decay, human deaths, constitutional crises, and UN Charter violations that have sparked never-ending hostilities. Having said that, a summary of the entire study and recommendations for further research are provided in the upcoming chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter addressed this subject in connection to the research aims of Chapter 1 and had as its goal the examination and reporting of study results. Based on the data gathered, evaluations, and findings, the researcher makes recommendations and draws conclusions in this chapter. Providing a summary of the results, suggestions, and conclusions are the primary objectives of this chapter.

#### 5.2 Summary of the research

The assessments and findings from the data gathering phase serve as the foundation for the recommendations and conclusions in this chapter. The main objective of the study was to examine the ethical dilemmas that UNSC peacekeeping missions in complex African wars faced, using the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a case study. From this angle, the study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To discuss the causes behind the DRC's conflicts
- ii. To examine how the conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict, and
- iii. To assess the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC

The research's title was Ethical conundrums in UNSC peacekeeping missions in complex African conflict: A case study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Using the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a case study, the primary goal of the study was to investigate the

moral conundrums that UNSC peacekeeping teams face in intricate African wars. According to this perspective, the study's goals were to explore the reasons behind conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), investigate the ways in which UNSC peacekeeping mission operations have exacerbated conflict, and evaluate the effects of ethical quandaries in the region. The constitutive theories and classical realism served as the foundational theories for this study.

The study's compass was the interpretivist philosophy, which made use of a qualitative research methodology. Using a phenomenological approach, key informants were largely contacted from the military, police, civilian, and penal services. Purposeful sampling was carried out. Using the saturation principle, a sample size of seventeen research subjects was established. The data was analyzed using NVIVO 11, and the findings produced themes that the researcher presented exactly as written. The main causes of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are attributed to the country's colonial past, post-independence troubles, ethnicity, political concerns, institutional issues, and geographic issues. Additionally, research revealed that the UNSC's primary actions in escalating the violence in the DRC have been to legitimize totalitarian governments, advance Western agendas, and advance US foreign policy agendas. The primary moral conundrums facing the UNSC peacekeeping force include societal decay, human deaths, constitutional crises, and UN Charter violations that have sparked never-ending hostilities.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The research's primary conclusions have been outlined above, drawing from the findings presented in Chapter Four in relation to the study's goals. The conclusions that can be made are listed below.:

#### **The causes of conflict in the DRC**

- The colonial legacy of the nation and post-independence issues resulting from the failure to prosecute colonialists for crimes committed during the colonial era.
- Multiracial and ethnic identity, which usually shows up negatively in interethnic relationships
- Political conflicts resulting from the resource curse
- Institutional and geopolitical concerns.

#### **5.3.2 The conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict**

- Western countries are pursuing their agendas; the US is sponsoring indirect conflicts through the theft of minerals; and western regimes are legitimizing autocratic rule.
- The goal of regime change was supported by the UN peacekeeping mission in the Congo, which ultimately led to the installation of a pro-Western government that did not serve the interests of the Congolese people.
- The failure to bring Congo's nascent democracy back to life

- Long-term self-determination and political and economic stability have not been attained by the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

### **5.3.3 Impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC**

- Failure to uphold international humanitarian law and international human rights laws through, the massacre of defenseless civilians,
- The constitutional crisis,
- Corruption through the trade of weapons for ivory, the purchase of drugs from insurgents, corruption, bribery, and the trafficking in mineral and sexual exploitation are a few instances of social decadence.
- The breach of the UN Charter that has led to several conflicts

### **5.4 Recommendations**

This section provided recommendations based on the study. These suggestions were based on the study's conclusions, theoretical framework, and review of pertinent literature. The administrative and policy implications of the recommendations will be advantageous to African countries.

- African states must agree to uphold a standard of African value systems, and if they are violated, they can be repaired through peer review and correction rather than waiting for other foreign countries or the continent to intervene to settle African disputes.
- Africa should allocate resources towards research and development to ensure that its economic progress is not dependent on foreign technology.

- Investing in national security is vital for African nations to safeguard their state sovereignty against external influence, reliance, and intrusion. The onus of finding answers to the problems facing African countries must also fall on them. Lastly, it should be required of African countries to defend their own citizens.
- Africa's countries shouldn't overly depend on other countries to resolve its issues, especially in times of conflict and unrest.
- Consequently, it is recommended that African countries depend on their own security and peacekeeping agencies.
- The Democratic Republic of the Congo must recognize that UN peacekeeping is a profitable venture for developed countries and their multinational corporations and cease relying solely on Western assistance.
- Therefore, when approving the deployment of UN peacekeeping missions throughout the continent, African governments must always be cognizant of the genuine intentions of the superpowers. African countries must also make sure that domestic production, as opposed to importation, of the equipment utilized by their security services.

### **5.5 Areas for further Research**

Subsequent investigations could be carried out to evaluate the degree to which certain African sovereign nations, tasked with safeguarding their own population, can provide their citizens with efficient peace and security as opposed to relying on outside UNSC peacekeeping operations.

## **5.6 Chapter Summary**

The researcher methodically reviewed all four chapters of the study in this chapter, paying particular attention to the goals and purpose of the research as well as the moral conundrums those UNSC peacekeeping operations in the complex African setting face present. The Democratic Republic of the Congo served as a model case study. This chapter was summarised by the recommendations for further research, the conclusions of the findings, and other information.

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## APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE



### To Respondents

The researcher, **NYONI ZIBUSISO**, (Student Number **B223573B**) is a Master of Science in International Relations at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE). In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Science in International Relations degree programme, the researcher is required to undertake a research project. Accordingly, the researcher's area of study is **Ethical dilemmas in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) peacekeeping missions in complex African conflicts, a case of Democratic Republic Of Congo (DRC) for period 2013-2023**. The three objectives of the study are :to discuss the causes of conflicts in the DRC, to examine how the conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict and to assess the impacts of ethical dilemmas in

UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC. The questionnaire will take about 5-10 minutes to complete. Participation in this study is voluntary and you are allowed to withdraw at any stage without any consequence. All the answers you give will be treated in strict confidence, highly valuable and will be used for academic purposes only. As such, there are no financial rewards for participation but results of the study will be shared with you upon completion of the study. With your permission, the researcher hereby asks you to objectively complete the questionnaire. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor **Dr. D Mahuku** Email [darlington.mahuku@gmail.com](mailto:darlington.mahuku@gmail.com) Cell +263773115964

I thank you in advance for your maximum cooperation and assistance in this regard.

Thank You for your participation.

**NYONI ZIBUSISO**

Contact: +263 772 601511

### **Instructions to the Questionnaire**

Questionnaire contains 04 pages. A box represents an option, please tick (✓) the most appropriate answer where applicable.

#### **SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

01. **Gender**
- 1. Male
  - 2. Female

02. **Highest Level of Education**

- 1. Secondary School Level
- 2. Diploma
- 3. Bachelor's Degree
- 4. Master's Degree
- 5. PhD

03. **What is your occupation?**

1. Military  2. Police  3. Prison & Correctional  4. Civilian  5. Other  Specify Other :.....

04. **Length of service(in Years)**

- 1. Below 5

- 2. 5- 10 [ ]
- 3. 11-20 [ ]
- 4. Above 20 [ ]

**05 Have you ever served in the United Nations Peacekeeping duties?**

- 1 Yes [ ]
- 2 No [ ]

**06. If answer to 03 above is yes specify for how long?**

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07.

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**SECTION B : THE CAUSES OF CONFLICTS IN THE DRC**

**8. In your view what has caused prolonged conflicts in the DRC?**

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**09. What are the challenges that are being faced in bringing to an end the Conflicts in the DRC**

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**10. What measures by the UNSC may be taken to put to end the conflicts in the DRC**

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**SECTION C: THE CONDUCT OF UNSC PEACEKEEPING MISSION OPERATIONS  
IN THE DRC AND HOW THEY HAVE ESCALATED CONFLICT**

**11. What is the mandate of the UNSC peacekeeping in the DRC**

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**12. What are the activities of the UNSC that have undermined peacekeeping mandate in  
UNSC**

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**13. In what way has the conduct of UNSC personnel escalated conflict in the DRC**

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**SECTION D: THE IMPACTS OF ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN UNSC PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS IN THE DRC**

**14. What are the unethical practices by the UNSC in the DRC conflict**

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**15. How has the unethical practices by the UNSC in the DRC negatively impacted on the welfare of the citizens of DRC**

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**THANK YOU**

## APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE



The researcher, **NYONI ZIBUSISO**, (Student Number **B223573B**) is a Master of Science in International Relations at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE). In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Science in International Relations degree programme, the researcher is required to undertake a research project. Accordingly, the researcher's area of study is **Ethical dilemmas in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) peacekeeping missions in complex African conflicts, a case of Democratic Republic Of Congo (DRC) for period 2013-2023**. The three objectives of the study are :to discuss the causes of conflicts in the DRC, to examine how the conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC have escalated conflict and to assess the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC. The interview will take about 5-10 minutes to complete. Participation in this study is voluntary and you are allowed to withdraw at any stage without any consequence. All the answers you give will be treated in strict confidence, highly valuable and will be used for academic purposes only. As such, there are no financial rewards for participation but results of the study will be shared with you upon completion of the study. With your permission, the researcher hereby asks you to objectively answer the interview questions. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor **Dr. D Mahuku** email [Darlington.mahuku@gmail.com](mailto:Darlington.mahuku@gmail.com) Cell +263773115964

I thank you in advance for your maximum cooperation and assistance in this regard.

**NYONI ZIBUSISO**

Contact: +263 772 601511

1. Have you ever been to the United Nations peacekeeping Duties?
2. Do you understand the role of the United Nations Security Council in Peacekeeping ?
3. What are the causes of the DRC conflict?
4. How has the conduct of UNSC peacekeeping mission operations in the DRC escalated conflict ?
5. What should UNSC do to minimize the occurrence of ethical dilemma in peacekeeping operations?
6. What are the impacts of ethical dilemmas in UNSC peacekeeping missions in the DRC?

### APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM



#### **MSc International Relations**

The ethical dilemmas in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) peacekeeping missions in complex African conflicts, a case of Democratic Republic Of Congo (DRC) for period 2013-2023.

#### **Interview Consent Form**

##### **Participant Name**

.....

##### **Date**

...../...../.....

- I confirm that my participation in this research is voluntary.
- I understand that I will not receive any payment for participating in this research interview.
- I understand that most interviews will find the discussion interesting and thought provoking, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
- I confirm that the research will last in a reasonable time.
- I understand the researcher will not identify me by my name in any reports using information from this interview and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

- I have read and understood the explanation provided to me.
- I have been given a copy of the consent form.
- I wish to review the notes, transcripts, or other data collected during the research interview.
- I agree that the researcher may publish documents containing questions answered by me.

**By signing this form, I agree to the terms indicated above**

**Participant's Signature**

.....

**Date Signed**

...../...../.....

**Researcher's Signature**

.....

**Date Signed**

...../...../.....