



Assessment of Conflict Dynamics in Mercy Corps' Area of Intervention (Nana-Mambéré Prefecture)

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Table of contents

List of Acronyms.....	3
1) Introduction and Acknowledgements	4
2) Executive Summary	5
3) List of Recommendations.....	8
4) Understanding the local context.....	9
5) Conflict Analysis of the Bouar Region.....	14
6) Consequences of the conflict.....	25
7) Recommendations	33
8) Annexes	36
Mission schedule	36
List of meetings.....	36
Map of zone	40

List of Acronyms

AB	Anti-Balaka (armed group)
ASPIRE	Advancing Solutions for Peace through Intercommunity Reconciliation and Engagement
BIRP	Bouar Interreligious Platform
DDR	Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration
EUTM	European Union Military Training Mission
FACA	Central African Armed Forces
FDPC	Democratic Front for the People of the Central African Republic (armed group)
FNEC	National Federation of Central African Livestock Producers
MINUSCA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MPC	Patriotic Movement for the Central African Republic
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
UN	United Nations
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
CAR	Central African Republic
RJ	Revolution and Justice (armed group)
3 R	Return, Reclamation, Rehabilitation (armed group)

1) Introduction and Acknowledgements

The overall objective of this study is to improve Mercy Corps' understanding of the conflict dynamics at play in Nana-Mambéré prefecture and evaluate whether the theories of change underlying ASPIRE which focus on inter-religious dynamics are appropriate and relevant to the region. The ASPIRE project enables community leaders, women and disaffected youth of all faiths and ethnicities to work together to manage tensions that arise between and within communities peacefully; rebuilds community cohesion; and strengthens pluralism in Bouar and the Nana-Mambéré prefecture. The 2 year ASPIRE program ends in November 2017.

The ASPIRE program promotes a holistic people-to-people approach that: 1) facilitates inclusive, community-led processes to mitigate current and future conflicts; 2) increases economic cooperation across lines of division; and 3) positively changes attitudes towards tolerance and non-violence. The area of intervention is the town of Bouar and neighbouring communities along several roads within a 40-km perimeter around Bouar (Bouar-Garoua Boulai, Bouar-Baoro, Bouar Bozoum, Bouar-Nièm, Bouar –Bocaranga, Bouar-Ndongue.)

The mission was organized in three phases:

- Briefings with Mercy Corps' team and interviews with relevant interlocutors in Bangui
- Field work at Mercy Corps' base in Bouar which manages operations in the Nana-Mambéré and Mambéré-Kadei Prefectures
- Additional interviews in Bangui and debriefing with the Mercy Corps team

Organizing the mission into three phases initially allowed the consultant to prepare the ground for research. The first phase in the capital city helped to understand Mercy Corps projects and its approach in the field of social cohesion as well as establishing preliminary ties with national actors with social networks in the research area before going to the field. At the end of the mission, the goal of the final phase in Bangui was to cross-check information collected on the field with representatives from the capital (including actors from Nana-Mambéré who were in Bangui) and exchange thoughts on the main findings of the research with Mercy Corps' country office for the Central African Republic. These discussions helped to confirm some findings with additional evidence and to cross-check information gathered on the ground.

The study was led by Thierry Vircoulon, a consultant who carried out interviews from July 18 to August 15 in Bangui, Bouar and four rural localities in Nana-Mambéré (Nièm, Yelewa, Zoukombo and Baboua). Basing the research on a broad definition of possible stakeholders, 79 individuals were interviewed. Almost every category of international actor active in the Central African Republic (including UN agencies, NGOs, donors and missionaries) was interviewed. Likewise, a wide range of Central African stakeholders were consulted: the staff of government departments, politicians, security sector actors (including authorities from the prefecture, the judicial sector, the police and customs), municipal authorities, district and village

leaders, armed groups, religious leaders, civil society organizations, professional bodies, businessmen and others.

Field research in Nana-Mambéré focused on conflict hotspots and areas where Mercy Corps is actively intervening. The Niem, Yelewa, Zoukombo and Baboua rural localities were chosen because of the current security context, as well as and the presence of open conflict and relevant stakeholders. Even though Mercy Corps' ASPIRE program does not extend to Ouham Pende, this prefecture was included in the original scope of the study, however the security conditions made it impossible to pursue research on the ground in the area. As the consultant had previously done research in Ouham Pende, he addressed the constraints posed by the current security situation by acquiring information about this area from a range of actors in Bouar and Bangui that are closely following developments in Ouham Pende in their professional capacity (including UN, NGOs and government officials). The research covered both urban and rural localities. It allowed the study to explore links between the two from the perspective of social tension and conflict as well as to place within their geo-economic context the problems of insecurity present in Mercy Corps' area of program intervention.

The approach of the study is resolutely qualitative. All the interviews were carried out in-person, with or without the presence of Mercy Corps staff. Small group interviews were also organized (including with local committees for peace and reconciliation in Bouar and Yelewa,¹ members of armed groups such as the FDPC in Zoukombo and the AB in Bouar, and inter-religious platforms in Bouar and surrounding villages). Those interviewed made no request for confidentiality. The consultant was also present as an observer at the special meeting convened by the Bouar Inter-Religious Platform to address rising tensions in the Niem Yelewa municipality.

I would like to thank Mercy Corps' team in Bangui and Bouar for welcoming me throughout the course of the research. They made possible the travel necessary for the study and managed logistics both in the different districts and the capital. They made their contacts available to me, shared their knowledge and relationships, and explained their methodology and challenges. In this regard, the team in Bouar deserves a special mention. Despite a busy schedule, they welcomed, guided, and helped me do the field research and our constant discussions at their base in Bouar were an invaluable source of information for the analysis that followed.

I would also like to thank all the Central African actors involved in Mercy Corps' social cohesion program (including members of ASPIRE, *pères éducateurs*, members of the peace committees and others). They work under difficult circumstances, but freely accorded me their time, patience and trust.

¹ The peace committees gather the civil society representatives in order to prevent and manage local conflicts. They were created by international NGOs in an ad hoc manner in 2014 and the government has now designed a peace committee policy. Sometimes these committees coincide with pre-existing dispute resolution community structures. Thierry Vircoulon, « A la recherche de la paix en Centrafrique : médiations communautaires, religieuses et politiques », Notes de l'Ifri, Ifri, June 2017.

2) Executive Summary

The research area is a border zone with a specific history and geo-economic context. The space is characterized by ethnic diversity and dominated by a long-term rivalry between two groups living in Cameroon and the Central African Republic: the Fulani and the Gbayas. It is no longer accurate to speak about a conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims (Christians/Animists) in this region. It is a conflict about the return of herders and the transhumance of cattle which unfolds in a context of lawlessness and socio-ethnic rivalry between Gbayas and Fulani. This rivalry is mitigated by common interests, social and economic exchanges, and a form of acculturation developed through their history.

However, the ongoing conflict has eroded these mechanisms of interethnic coexistence, processes of “interethnic accommodation”, and put back into the forefront the two communities’ old antagonism played out through armed groups. The analysis of the militia present in the research area indicates that two armed groups are responsible for the bulk of the unrest: Sidiki’s 3R (a Fulani militia which emerges from a long tradition of warriors and self-defence groups) and “General” Ndalé anti-Balaka (AB), a majority Gbaya militia. The two armed groups are engaged in a **war over territorial control** with frequent clashes and outbursts of tension and each controls a part of Ouham Pende and Nana-Mambéré.² Livestock theft by the AB is at the core of the conflict dynamic in the region because the thefts justify the existence of a Fulani militia and provoke indiscriminate attacks against villagers as reprisal. This violent dynamic has created no-go zones which impede the movement of people, feed local hysteria and focus violence on the Fulani livestock-rearing community of Niem Yelewa; the veritable frontline between the AB and the 3R and the conflict within the conflict.

The geography of the guerrilla war is on its own very illustrative. This **small-scale cattle war** which first started in Ouham Pende unfolded along the Cameroonian border where livestock-rearing municipalities (Gaudrot, Niem Yelewa, DeGaulle) as well as Fulani refugees are found. The war over livestock affects three prefectures along the border with varying degrees of intensity: Ouham Pende, Nana-Mambéré and Mambéré-Kadei. The guerrilla conflict is aggravated by pressure from Cameroonian and Central African pastoralists belonging to the same ethnic group (Fulani) and wishing to regain the use of grazing land in the CAR. Open access to land was drastically reduced by the domination of the AB in 2014 and criminalisation of anti-Balaka groups who have rooted themselves in certain areas in the west of CAR, have a loose chain of command and develop illicit activities thanks to the complicity of certain local authorities. Nevertheless, though transhumance plays a fundamental role in the political economy of the conflict in the zone studied, the battle around the control of artisanal mining sites cannot be neglected in a region where gold and diamonds have been mined for decades.

The consequences of this **rural criminality with economic ends** are: an **armed peace** in the Nana-Mambéré Prefecture with incidents of tension such in late August and early September; the upsetting of local structures of power and governance; the

² See map in annex.

emergence of mafia-like system; the strong feeling of collective insecurity that generates community support for the armed groups; a deep sentiment of victimisation within the Muslim community; the slowing of refugee returns; some patterns of discrimination and segregation; and public claims similar to the rest of Central Africa which are articulated as an expectation of security and employment opportunities.

Armed peace prevails in this region: armed groups closely watch each other more than they actually fight each other. In this tense context, the main agent of peace is the **Bouar Interreligious Platform**. It represents one of the rare neutral local actors accepted as impartial and with enough legitimacy to “represent” the population irrespective of religion and ethnicity. It has some influence over the population but, by its own admission, it has hardly any influence on the armed groups. Its good will should not lead to overestimating its influence and scope of action in the conflict.

This study provides an analysis of the actors, the interests involved, and drivers of conflict in the Bouar region and it makes recommendations aimed at de-escalating the conflict in order to turn the current state of armed peace into a peaceful coexistence. **De-escalation** requires the reestablishment of the rule of law at the local level and improving socio-ethnic relations between Fulani and Gbaya communities. The recommendations are divided into three categories:

- recommendations that target the region’s main security challenge (the theft of cattle and the resulting insecurity).
- recommendations that target the causes and consequences of conflict (including the psychological consequences) regarding the relationships between muslim and non muslim communities
- recommendations on a socio-economic aspect.

With that in mind, preparation for the next cattle migration which starts at the end of this year is crucial to avoiding a surge of violence in an already tense security environment. **As long as the return of herders takes place within a violent and lawless context, the Nana-Mambéré prefecture will not know peace.**

3) List of Recommendations

Security Recommendations	Stakeholders	Timeline
Prevent livestock theft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MINUSCA - Government authorities 	Short term (begin immediately)
Prepare for the next transhumance by organizing meetings between local and prefectural authorities and representatives of livestock farmers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Livestock farmers' representatives - Local and prefectural authorities - Local peace committees - Religious Platform 	Short term
Include FDPC combatants in Zoukombo in the pilot DDR program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MINUSCA - Government authorities 	Short term
Initiate dialogue between Niem and Yelewa communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peace committees - Religious Platform - NGO 	Short term
Recommendations on Muslim and non-Muslim relations		
Restore illegally occupied housing and property	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bouar Municipality - Local peace committees - Religious Platform - NGO 	Medium term (2018)
Ensure the equal treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims by the administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local peace committees - Religious Platform 	Short term
Socio-economic recommendations		
Develop a labour intensive program for youth from areas with a high militia presence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGO - MINUSCA - Local authorities 	Medium term
Begin a communication campaign emphasizing the complementarities between the activities of farmers and livestock herders and their shared interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local Peace Committees - NGO 	Medium term

4) Understanding the local context: Northwest historical and geo-economic specificities

The Central African Republic's current conflict is closely linked to the geo-economic dynamic and the history of the region. Ouham Pende and Nana-Mambéré prefectures which form the north-west region of the country constitute a border space between Cameroon and Chad. Its history is inextricably intertwined with Adamaoua, the neighbouring Cameroonian region conquered and populated by the Fulani coming from Nigeria in the 19th century.³

Ouham Pende and Nana-Mambéré had previously served as ports of entry for several populations in what would later become the CAR: Gbaya and Mboum from northern Cameroon in the 19th century; followed by the Fulani a short while later; western colonisers in the beginning of the 20th century, as well as subsequent waves of Cameroonian, Chadian and even Nigerian migrants, among others.

In the 19th century the north-western part of Central Africa was under the influence of the Fulani kingdom of Ngaoundere, the capital of Adamaoua. This kingdom played the role of commercial intermediary between the Sokoto and Yola kingdoms of



Central Mosque of Bouar (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Bouar, July 31 2017)

Nigeria and the north-western region of Central Africa. The Ngaoundere chieftaincy prospered, progressively extending its influence toward the east specifically, by organising the trade in slaves and ivory and claiming tribes as vassals, notably the Gbaya who paid tribute to the chieftaincy. Before it was halted by German colonial troops in 1901, the expansion of the Ngaoundere kingdom

was evidenced by the creation of outposts for slave raids in Northwest Central Africa (such as Kounde in the Baboua sub-prefecture), as well as the cultural and commercial integration of certain Gbaya and Mboum in the Fulani system of power.

Since the 19th century this space has been a zone of contact, exchange and acculturation between the Fulani and other local tribes, the biggest of which is the Gbaya who spread between the Central African Republic and Cameroon since borders were drawn by French and German colonial authorities. The Fulani played a major historical role in the introduction of livestock farming and Islam, and the structuring of trade links with Nigeria and the Central African Republic. Cohabitation

³ Philip Burnham, *The politics of cultural difference in Northern Cameroon*, 1996.

between the Fulani and other local tribes (mostly the Gbaya and Mboum) had an acculturating influence on ways of life and religious beliefs. There were many intermarriages between Fulani and Gbaya (including into the ranks of royal Lamidos).⁴ Most of the Gbaya speak Fulfulde (the language of the Fulani) in addition to their own dialect, some converted to Islam and were accepted by Fulani herders which allowed them to acquire small herds and become both livestock and crop farmers. Those contacts intensified after the Fulani herders settled down in CAR in the 1920s. Their cattle came into Ouham-Pende and they first settled down in the Bocaranga area. Then they moved south to Sabewa, Niem and Bouar and were encouraged by the colonial authorities to move to the center of the country, in the Bambari region.

The north-west of CAR has three main very lucrative sources of income: the agro-pastoral sector, minerals (gold and diamonds), and cross-border trade along several routes (the most important amongst them being the Bangui/Bouar/Garoua Boulai route). Besides being the country's only tarred road, this route feeds the capital city, and is strategic and vital to the economy of the west of the Central African Republic. Bouar, the biggest town in the region, is a commercial nexus which services the north-west (through the Bouar/Bocaranga/Paoua route) and the south-west (through the Bouar/Carnot/Berbérati/Nola route) using the tarred road. Its location and temperate climate made it an important colonial town founded on the three pillars of commerce, Christian missionary establishments and the military base. In the colonial period two sizable missionary establishments were headquartered in Bouar (one Catholic and one Lutheran), and the French army was present in Bouar till the late 1990s. With the demarcation of state borders in the 20th century, the regional economy was boosted by border market towns between Cameroon and CAR, as well as significant trade flows and opportunities for trafficking between the two countries.⁵

Ouham Pende and Nana-Mambéré are so agriculturally fertile as to be considered the country's breadbasket. The region is agro-pastoral: it combines an extensive and quite diverse agricultural sector⁶ with livestock farming which is rooted in the history and is very important to the region. In the 1950s, there were only two areas for cattle farming in CAR: the Bambari region and the area between Bouar and Bocaranga. However this activity has been severely affected by the crisis. Livestock farming in the area has several particularities:

- It is **regionalized**: While Central African livestock farmers may or may not practice minor transhumance,⁷ the Chadian and Cameroonian herders also use the space as pasture during the dry season. Since the colonial era, the two prefectures have been the location for major cattle migration: this cross-border seasonal and annual movement takes place between November and

⁴ The Lamidos are traditional chiefs that make up part of the Fulani aristocracy.

⁵ As an example, the market town Ngaoui on the border between the CAR and Cameroon was initially a camp for herders, then became a trading post and is now an important commercial centre.

⁶ Settlers introduced cotton cultivation as a commercial enterprise in Ouham Pende as well as in the north of Cameroon where it remains one of the main economic activities.

⁷ The major transhumance refers to long-distance and cross-border livestock movement, while minor transhumance refers to short distance cattle movement within the country.

April from west to east, but also from north to south as far as Sangha Mbaere prefecture.

- Though cattle rearing was introduced by the Fulani, it now also concerns crop farmers: there is a significant number of **agro-pastoralist farmers** in the north-west of Central Africa. In this region farmers have cattle to support the practice of animal-drawn cultivation. This form of farming was developed over the last several decades, notably because of the work of the National Agriculture Development Agency which trained farm workers and provided ploughs.
- Pastoralists and crop farmers have a complimentary **system of agro-pastoral exchange**. The former purchase cassava, millet, maize, etc., in exchange the latter receives milk, meat and cattle for animal-drawn cultivation. The ties between crop farming and cattle rearing have been developed for a long time.
- In line with the colonial practice of allocating land to Fulani chiefs, after independence some **specific territorial entities** (livestock rearing municipalities) were recognized as a means of settling down pastoralists along the Cameroonian and Central African border. Since their creation in the early 1960s these municipalities have had the singular characteristic of being led by the *Lamidos* (members of the Fulani aristocracy). In fact, the leadership structure of these municipalities is dynastic: power passes from father to son. The research area includes three livestock rearing municipalities at the border: De Gaulle, Gaudrot and Niem Yelewa (the first livestock rearing municipality created in 1962 and managed by the Idje family).⁸ As the purpose of these municipalities is to develop livestock and welcome the cattle of transhumant herders, these municipalities tend to be rich.⁹

As demonstrated by the multi-ethnic populations of the livestock rearing municipalities, the Fulani and Gbaya population in this region have cohabitated and mixed with each other for quite some time. The historical rivalry between the two is mitigated by certain social practices such as *soobaajo* which refers to friendly relations and mutual support between Gbaya and Fulani. In the language of those interviewed the concept can be articulated as: “in the village, every Fulani has his Gbaya friend, and every Gbaya his Fulani friend”. In practice a Gbaya villager will help their Fulani neighbour build their home and barns, while the latter will gift their Gbaya neighbour with cattle (generally livestock of little commercial value). Consequently, the sociology of livestock farming is complex: the dichotomy of the Muslim pastoralists and the Christian crop farmers is not relevant in an area where non-Muslim pastoralists and Muslim Gbaya can be easily found. Furthermore, livestock rearing communities can be both urban and rural: the Mbororo Fulani who live in rural areas are not the only cattle owners, the Muslim merchants who live in towns (Hausa, Fulbe, etc.) and are well off also frequently own cattle. They are called “the neo-pastoralists”. Before the conflict the pastures around Bouar were used by

⁸ There are 7 livestock rearing municipalities in the CAR: two in the East, Ouro-Djafun and Ewou-Yambele in the center and Kouï, Niem Yelewa and Gaudrot in the North-West.

⁹ Fees are paid to local authorities by herders during the transhumance.

many cattle (for example the rural municipality of Herman Brousse next to the town of Bouar), but these fields no longer welcome cattle.¹⁰

The population's ethnic diversity was further accentuated by the draw of trade along the main routes and region's abundant mineral resources. The flow of immigrants from Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria (one of the two Muslim neighbourhoods in Bouar is called the Hausa neighbourhood, named after the ethnic group in Nigeria) and even from West Africa has a long history and is constant while the spread of Islam followed regional trade routes. The cities were the centre of this African migration: the business districts of Bocaranga, Bozoum, Bouar, etc., were made up of Muslim natives and Muslims from foreign origins who had firmly settled in the area.¹¹ Nevertheless, some foreign traders also settled in rural areas.¹² As with the livestock sector, the gold panning sector (an activity mostly located along the river Nana and developed during the dry season) is dominated by Muslim merchants who buy gold and diamonds from the local diggers and sell them in Cameroon. The mining sites have attracted many foreign labourers, particularly Cameroonians.

The last important element of the historical context is the fact that this region has witnessed many episodes of violence and insecurity throughout its history. The Gbaya who were subjected first to the Fulani expansion in the 19th century and later to colonial expansion sometimes took up armed resistance such as during the Kongo Wara rebellion (1928-32) also known as the "Gbaya War". The research area is the starting point of the rebellion led by the prophet Karnou. Known as "he who can save the world", Karnou who incited a Gbaya uprising against Fulani and French domination lived in a village between Bouar and Baboua.¹³ In 1991 and 1992, on the other side of the border, interethnic battles pitted Fulani against Gbaya in the Cameroonian city of Meiganga. Before the emergence of the Seleka in 2013, the north-west of CAR had already experienced the banditry of the Zarguinis gangs. These highway bandits attacked border traders between the Central African Republic and Cameroon, kidnapped the families of herders and stole cattle. The Zarguinis were composed of Fulani and Arab Chadians who used to set up camps near the borders of Cameroon, Chad and CAR. These rural gangs were made of the poor village youth as well as the residual fighters of old armed groups and past rebellions.¹⁴ Faced with the government's inability to properly secure the region,¹⁵ rural criminality pushed communities to form their own self-defence groups. For instance, prominent Fulanis created vigilante groups called the "Fulani archers" to

¹⁰ Before the crisis one of imams from Bouar owned nearly 1 000 heads of cattle.

¹¹ As an example, one of the mayors' deputies in Bouar and a district leader is a third-generation Cameroonian. Before him his father already held the position of district head. During the colonial era, trade was developed by the Portuguese settlers, thus there is an old tradition of foreign merchants in the region.

¹² An example being Chadians in the Niem Yelewa municipality.

¹³ Raphaël Nzabakomada-Yakoma, *L'Afrique centrale insurgée : la guerre du Kongo-Wara 1928-1931*, 1986.

¹⁴ Christian Seignobos, *Le phénomène zargina dans le nord du Cameroun*, Afrique contemporaine, 2011.

¹⁵ Contrary to Cameroon where the authorities deployed special armed forces to deal with the Zarguinis problem.



fight against livestock thieves.¹⁶ Led by the lamidos, these groups received occasional support from the Patassé and Bozizé presidents. As the CAR is presently stateless and lawlessness prevails, these community self-defence mechanisms are key for understanding local governance and the conflict dynamics.

¹⁶ An interview with the mayor of Besson, Bangui, August 2017. Fulani archers benefited from a magical protection created by a witchdoctor owning a powerful talisman.

5) Conflict Analysis of the Bouar Region

The analysis in this chapter is broadly focused on the Bouar region where the Mercy Corps base is located and the ASPIRE program operates.

Background: the crisis in Bouar in 2013-2014

Before the conflict, the town of Bouar was home to Christians and Muslims. The latter lived in two neighborhoods (Hausa et Mamadou-Sara) and played a key role in the economy of the town and the region. Muslims consulted in the study admit that the crisis first took a relatively less violent form with fewer human losses (less than twenty people were killed), however it was profoundly traumatising to the town's Muslim community and those in the surrounding area. Contrary to Bangui and other towns, in 2013 the presence of Seleka rebels in Bouar (and in Nana-Mambere in general) did not manifest in a surge in violence, pillaging and property destruction. This was done by the anti-Balaka (AB). The peak of the violence in the region took place from December 2013 to the end of January 2014 as the AB retaliated against the Muslim community after the departure of the Seleka rebels at the end of 2013. This was the case in most towns in the west of the CAR and in Bangui.¹⁷ The AB violence forced a part of the Muslim community to seek refuge in places of worship (the main mosque in the Hausa neighbourhood¹⁸, the Christian churches, the Saint Laurent Seminary, etc.) and another part of the Muslim community to flee into Cameroon and the frontier town of Garoua Boulai.



Infrastructure destroyed during the conflict in the Mamadou-Sara neighborhood (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Bouar, July 31 2017)

Following the violence, the Mamadou-Sara neighbourhood was completely emptied and the Hausa neighbourhood was partially stripped of its population. The difference is due to the fact that

Mamadou-Sara was a neighbourhood populated by "Arab" Muslims (Chadian, Sudanese, Mauritians, etc.) who had ties to Seleka forces (the imam of the neighbourhood was from Chad), while Hausa was populated by Muslims from the CAR and Cameroon with whom the

¹⁷ International Crisis Group, *Central African Republic : the roots of violence*, 21 September 2015.

¹⁸ At the height of the crisis the mosque sheltered 8 000 people. See photograph.

Seleka combatants had fewer social interactions. It remains unclear whether relations between Seleka combatants and “Arabs” from Mamadou-Sara were relations of complicity or simply relations created by sharing a similar language, but their interaction proved fatal to Mamadou-Sara’s Muslim community who fled when the Seleka fled.¹⁹ Unlike Hausa, Mamadou-Sara remains emptied of its population, with squatters living in abandoned homes. A similar phenomenon unfolded in rural areas such as Abba and in the town of Bocaranga in Ouham Pende where Muslim residents fled, essentially halving the area’s community.²⁰

For almost all of 2014 the Muslims of Hausa found themselves trapped in the neighbourhood and could not move freely in Bouar. In rural areas, Fulani livestock farmers who lived on the outskirts of Bouar were hit hard by the crisis: they lost their livestock, suffered great human losses and a massive number fled to Cameroon where they still make up most of CAR’s refugee population.²¹ From the end of 2013 to the end of 2014, the AB launched a systematic campaign of cattle raiding in the entire western region of the CAR. As a result, livestock farming declined considerably and cattle can now only be found in livestock rearing municipalities while the cattle population has drastically declined since the conflict has started.

During the transitional period (2014-16), the security situation progressively normalised, notably as a result of French military intervention in Bouar and the interreligious mediation platform. Despite the presence of an armed AB group in Bouar (led by “General” Ndalé) in the Zo kwe Zo neighbourhood,²² the Muslim population is no longer under siege and can currently move freely in the town. This is due to the combination of the improvement of the urban security situation, the activism of the interreligious platform and the SVC and ASPIRE programs. The conflict has changed: from an urban confrontation, it has become rural but it still impacts the town of Bouar. The conflict has moved from Bouar to certain rural areas and the livestock rearing municipalities. The new geography of violence is fundamental to understanding the current conflict dynamics. This shift is analysed in the following chapter.

The conflict today: a contagious small-scale cattle war in Northwest CAR

After the height of the crisis (2013-2014) and while the United Nations, local and international NGOs and religious platforms carried out initiatives to promote peace in the conflict zone, the dynamic of the conflict altered and is now profoundly linked to the control of local resources, the most visible being livestock. According to a member of Bouar’s local peace committee “*the theft of cattle is the main reason why there still is a war*”. After some brief clashes between the AB and the Seleka from December 2013 to January 2014, the AB executed a massive hold-up on the region’s

¹⁹After checking with witnesses, some Chadian merchants living in Bouar joined the ranks of the Seleka. This can be explained by the fact that some traders in the CAR were ex-rebels or former members of Chad’s armed forces. They probably recognized fellow “brothers-in-arms” in the Seleka combatants. As a form of reprisal, their property in Bouar was completely destroyed. See photograph.

²⁰ Interview with the representative from the Muslim community, Bocaranga, August 2016.

²¹ Author’s observation at camps in Garoua Boulai and Biti, Cameroon, 2014. Interview with UNHCR in Bouar, August 2017.

²² For an analysis on the various armed groups, see profiles of armed groups in Nana-Mambéré.

livestock sector in 2014. The AB raids forced the Fulani to flee to Cameroon and the AB became then fully aware of the financial value of cattle. As a result, the theft of cattle is now at the center of the conflict in the region. The conflict pits the AB against the 3R and herders (most, but not all, are Fulani) and it triggers a “militianisation process”²³ of Fulani and Gbaya communities with damaging implications for intercommunity relations.

A guerrilla war for livestock in a context where pastoralists are set to return

From a security perspective, Ouham Pende Prefecture is more volatile than Nana-Mambéré. In fact, insecurity in Ouham Pende spills into Northern Nana-Mambere. In this way, Nana-Mambere is the victim of Ouham Pende’s troubles.

Ouham Pende is a major location for the migration of livestock from Cameroon and Chad which makes it an essential port of entry for cattle into CAR. In addition to that, the prefecture is crossed by an important trade route linking Cameroon (through the market town of Mbaiboum) to CAR with significant cross-border trade. Hence, there are a few more armed groups in this prefecture than in Nana-Mambéré: the 3R, AB, MPC and RJ. These groups have positioned themselves and are in competition to benefit from the considerable resources of Ouham Pende: control of the major cattle migration corridors, control of trade routes and small-scale mining.

In the beginning of July MPC forces under the leadership of General Allas took control of the Bang-Ngaoundaye area controlling the strategic border post of Bang with Cameroon and thus an important trade route for the two countries along Chad’s border. Taking control of this economically important zone sparked acts of banditry²⁴ and clashes with the AB.²⁵ On July 6, the AB launched a counter-attack targeting positions held by a MPC/RJ coalition in Bang. Two members of the MPC/RJ coalition were killed and three injured. The tension between the 3R and the AB reached a climax when the 3R took over Bocaranga in October. This forced the MINUSCA to react and push Sidiki’s fighters out of town.

It is necessary to note that the upsurge in tension greatly affects the activities of NGOs in the region. The AB in Bocaranga hindered the activities of NGOs, including stalling the landing a United Nations Humanitarian Air Service airplane and looting an international NGO truck in July. On July 25, 2017, the AB intercepted and stopped two trucks belonging to an international NGO in the village of Pakalé about 10 km north-east of Bocaranga. The passengers were kept for several hours before being released. The AB intercepted the vehicles as a means of putting pressure on

²³ The cause of this “militianisation process” of communities is insecurity. Throughout their history communities have experienced periods of extreme insecurity and the current “militianisation” is not a new phenomenon. International Crisis Group, *Central African Republic: the roots of violence*, 21 September 2015. Also read International Crisis Group, *Double edged sword: vigilantes in African counter-insurgencies*, 7 September 2017.

²⁴ In September, 3 Central African traders going to Mbaiboum using the Bocaranga-Bang road were killed.

²⁵ On July 4, members of the MPF confront the AB in the village of Nzoro about 20 km south of Ngaoundaye. The armed confrontation forces villagers to flee toward the village of Mann and toward Cameroon’s border.

MINUSCA to regain confiscated arms and the release on one of their members apprehended by MINUSCA and handed over to the gendarmerie. As recently as September, the AB intercepted humanitarian workers on the Kouï/Bocaranga route and temporarily occupied the Cordaid base, only surrendering it after mediation from the mayor.²⁶ The AB in Bocaranga are even more active since the death of their leader Abba Rafa, killed during an argument over the division of loot with some of his troops. Since his murder there has been a leadership vacuum amongst the AB in Bocaranga and they have turned to harassing humanitarian organisations. Note that Bozoum is a city completely under AB control: neither local prefectural authorities nor MINUSCA are present. According to a source who visited Bozoum, the only Muslim left is the town's butcher.²⁷

The insecurity which reigns in Ouham Pende makes the return of Muslims impossible and is the result of competition amongst armed groups for local resources. Amongst these resources, livestock take the first position. Cattle theft is constant and has been met with two responses over the last two years: on the one hand Chad's armed forces frequently enter CAR to recover stolen cattle and punish the alleged wrongdoers; and on the other hand, Fulani herders in Cameroon and CAR turn to a self-defense militia (the 3R) led by "General" Sidiki.

In Ouham Pende the proliferation of armed groups since 2014 has made large scale transhumance extremely hazardous. With access to grazing land in the CAR essential to livestock populations in Chad and Cameroon, the challenge for the herders of these countries and those of western CAR is to secure the movement of herds within CAR. This security function is occasionally played by Chad's armed forces and permanently taken on by Sidiki who prolongs the Fulani tradition of the archers and is said to have worked with Baba Laddé.²⁸ As 2014 was particularly dramatic for herders with massive raids on cattle by the AB, Sidiki emerged in the Kouï sub-prefecture in 2015 claiming that he wanted to protect herders against cattle thieves.²⁹ Since then, an open guerrilla war for cattle is being waged by the AB and the 3 R. This conflict has spilled over from Ouham Pende to the north of Nana-Mambere.

The spill over of insecurity to Nana-Mambere

²⁶ RJDH, Centrafrique : des ravisseurs anti-balaka libèrent la base de Cordaid à Bocaranga, 14 September 2017.

²⁷ Interview with a World Food Program staffer, Bouar, August 2017.

²⁸ Baba Laddé (which means "father of the bush" in ffulbe) was a Fulani militia chief active during Bozizé's presidency and self-declared protector of cattle. He was arrested in Bangui in 2009 and sent to Ndjamena because he was Chadian. Baba Laddé advocated for a federal Fulani state and was the self-declared defender of the "Fulani cause". After being appointed as a representative by Chad's president, he was almost arrested and fled to the CAR. He was hunted by both Chadian and CAR forces in 2012 and was finally arrested by MINUSCA in Kabo in 2014 and extradited to Chad in January 2015. He is still in prison in Chad.

²⁹ Sidiki is not the only Fulani heading an armed group in the CAR. There is also Ali Darassa, one of Baba Laddé's former combatants and an ex-Seleka commandant who leads Unity for Peace in Central Africa (UPC). UPC does not operate in the area covered by the research.

In Nana-Mambere though there are pockets of insecurity in several sub-prefectures,³⁰ the dynamic of conflict is most clear and crystalized in Niem Yelewa, the municipality of livestock farmers. The detailed conflict analysis in the following chapter highlights the stakes and interests behind the Niem Yelewa conflict.

Nana-Mambere is home to two armed movements (FDPC and 3R) and numerous AB groups, but in terms of violence only two groups demand attention: the 3R and the AB under “General” Ndalé. On the security front the Bouar region has been held hostage by a gang of cattle thieves. According to rumour in the political space and everyone interviewed (whether Muslim or non-muslim), Ndalé’s AB group are responsible for most large-scale cattle raids in the region. These thefts lead to reprisal attacks by Sidiki’s armed group whose stated reason for existing is the protection of cattle in the region. Sidiki is paid by cattle owners on both sides of the border who contribute in cash and in kind for the upkeep of the self-defence militia. He occasionally allows his troops to steal cattle. As said by a local employee of the ministry of Agriculture in Bouar: “*all armed groups are livestock thieves*”.

Thefts are carried out in rural areas by “General” Ndalé’s AB. In the last mass theft which resulted in the murder of some Fulani herders in late April, thieves got away with about 600 heads of cattle. The theft triggered a reaction from the 3R who descended on Niem on May 2 killing more than ten people including a pastor. Since then, Sidiki Abass has threatened Ndalé’s AB in Bouar with a reprisal attack if a similar incident is repeated. The 3R’s violent reaction prompted the voluntary displacement of the population of Niem toward Baboua and Bouar (nearly 95% of the population of the city Niem fled into the bush), which made it necessary for MINUSCA to deploy a temporary force to Niem and triggered a wave of panic in Bouar. It also fueled longstanding local political contention amongst representatives of the Niem Yelewa municipal council. A new incident was reported at the time of writing this report. In August, the 3R’s spokesperson was killed during an ambush by the AB. In response, the 3R organised another raid on Niem on August 30. The AB set up barricades in Bouar on September 12, carried out military demonstrations on the Bouar-Bocaranga route and killed two Fulanis in Yongoro. These incidents and tensions increase the disquiet of Bouar’s population who fear an offensive from Sidiki and see the AB mobilizing in town.³¹

The theft of cattle leads sometimes to the kidnapping and murder of herders. Ransom demands of several million FCFA are then demanded. The theft of Fulani cattle then justifies indiscriminate attacks against villagers. For instance, on June 21, 2017 two villagers were kidnapped, one was later released and the other is yet to return after Fulani groups from Cameroon launched an armed incursion into the village of Kpetene situated in the sub-prefecture of Baboua.³² Incursions into CAR from Cameroon under the guise of reprisal are quite frequent. The geography of violence reflects the geography of livestock farming in the Nana-Mambere prefecture. In this way, the two livestock rearing municipalities (Gaudrot and Niem Yelewa) are

³⁰ See map.

³¹ Radio Ndeke Luka, RCA : la ville de Bouar sous tension ce jeudi, 14 September 2017.

³² Mercy Corps, *Rapport de monitoring : protection et réponses dans la Nana-Mambere et Mambere-Kadej*, juin 2017.

particularly affected, as are the Nguia-Bouar and Sagani areas where Fulani herder have returned.³³

Understanding the conflict within the conflict: Niem Yelewa

Though the conflict may appear supremely local, unrest in the Niem Yelewa municipality eclipses all Nana-Mambere's other security problems because the stakes are particularly high and have an important historical dimension. This conflict drives a collective hysteria in Bouar and the Niem Yelewa municipality constitutes **the front line** between the Sidiki's 3 R and Ndalé's AB in Nana-Mambere. Since the



Focus group discussion in with local community members (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Yelewa, August 5 2017)

beginning of the year, two retaliation missions by the 3R have taken place in Niem (in early May and late August).

The livestock rearing municipality is not simply a legal entity particular to the Central African Republic's territorial system, it is the **modern version of the Fulani traditional chieftaincy in the CAR**. Its starting point is chieftaincy held by the Idje family, the pioneering family who were the first to successfully introduce livestock farming in CAR and with whom the other aristocratic families managing livestock rearing communes have relations of dependence. The lamido who founded Niem Yelewa (Idje from the Faranko'en sub-clan in the Jafun clan)³⁴ rejected the position of vassal state to Ngaoundere, and settled for several years on the border of Cameroon and the CAR. He decided to finally settle in CAR in the 1920's with the accord of the colonial authorities who wanted to encourage the development of livestock farming. Later, lamido Idje sent members of his family to Bambari in center of the country to create another livestock rearing community. Livestock farming municipalities created

³³ See map.

³⁴ The Mbororo are divided into several clans. The main clans in Adamaoua and in the west of the CAR are: the Jafun, the Wodaabe, the Daneeji'en and the Ba'en.

after independence are the direct heritage of colonial policies which encouraged livestock farming by allocating pockets of land to Fulani pastoralists.³⁵

The incursion of the AB and the 3R in Niem Yelewa municipality is directly linked to a conflict between Gbaya and Fulani at the local municipal level. Traditionally run by the same royal lamido line family since 1962, Niem Yelewa is a multi-ethnic municipality (60% Gbayas and 40% Fulani) made up of two zones: a majority Fulani zone around Yelewa close to the Cameroonian border and a majority Gbaya area around Niem and close to Bouar. The nomination of the mayor/lamido (Issabi Idje) to the National Transition Council in Bangui in May 2014 and his staying in that role in the Touadera government³⁶ did not create a power vacuum. But it triggered a power struggle between his first and second deputy, from Niem and Yelewa respectively and each belong to the two different ethnic groups in the municipality. This rivalry echoed the Gbayas' resentment against the Fulani superior position in the community's social, political and economic life and the will of local Gbaya leaders to be free from it. In the leadership of the municipality, the Gbaya are traditionally occupying the position of the first deputy to the mayor. They dispute this position of second-in-command in the municipal political system. For several years and with the support of their local representatives, the Gbaya have been promoting the idea of seceding and forming a second commune which would allow them to escape Fulani domination imposed by the system of lamido/mayors. It is thus not surprising that the detonator of the crisis was the choice of the second deputy to the mayor (a Fulani) as the interim mayor in 2014. From that point on, the Gbaya first deputy who believed he deserved the post began to protest the system and mobilise support.

In the absence of the lamido/mayor, the brewing rivalry between the two deputies drove each to seek the support of the armed group of their respective ethnic grouping: In 2016, the 3 R took position in Yelewa and the AB in Niem. The first deputy even lobbied the government to support the breaking up of the municipality into two or that it be transformed into a sub-prefecture. He also ordered a biased inscription on Niem's city hall which failed to mention Yelewa.³⁷

For allowing the 3 R access to the municipality, the minister of the Interior suspended the second deputy for three months. The presence of armed



³⁵ During the colonial period, the French in the Central African Republic (CAR) created the town hall of the "Commune of Niem," which omits the rejoinder Yelewa. (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Niem, August 5 2017)

³⁶ He is the President's counsellor about intercommunity conflict.

³⁷ See photograph in appendix.

groups divided the territory of the municipality into two, hindered the movement of people between Niem and Yelewa. Thus the Fulani access to the Catholic hospital in Niem (the only health facility in this area) was restricted. The death of the first deputy in March 2017 would have calmed tensions between the two sections of the municipality, but Sidiki's reprisal attack in early May revived unrest and led to Gbaya representatives from Niem fleeing to Bouar.³⁸ The response to the threat of violence was the deployment of blue helmets to Niem and community outreach campaigns led by the Bouar Interreligious Platform that visited the area on June 1, 14 and 15.

As it has constituted the dark epicentre of the prefecture's security concern since 2016, the conflict is followed closely by MINUSCA, prefectural authorities and the Religious Platform which has completed several missions in the municipality. The idea of organizing an intercommunity dialogue to tackle the security problem and appease the Fulani/Gbaya long-term rivalry has been mentioned since the end of 2016 and the terms of reference have been set with the support of Mercy Corps. Even if the intercommunity dialogue will not solve the armed groups problem, it is seen as part of the solution by the people. Though local populations hope the initiative will materialize soon, it is crippled by the unstable security environment; Ndalé and Sidiki's refusal to meet in the prefecture; and divergent views between partners (MINUSCA/NGOs/local peace platforms) on the organisation of the proposed dialogue. Insecurity in Niem Yelewa has increased to the point that on August 9, the Bouar Interreligious Platform decided to convene a special meeting to discuss the issue with all religious authorities, relevant civilian and military actors and civil social organizations. The idea of an intercommunity dialogue which could take the form of a joined reconciliation ceremony between residents of Niem and Yelewa was again put forth at the meeting.



Interview with Bello (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Bouar, August 12 2017)

The problem in Niem Yelewa illustrates how interethnic resentment, local power struggles and armed groups can interact to generate local conflict. In Niem Yelewa a local struggle for power opened the gates to armed groups unlike in Gaudrot, the other livestock rearing municipality, where neither the 3R nor the AB have established a permanent hold. To serve their own agenda, local leaders mobilized armed groups along ethnic lines and undoubtedly with the promise of financial reward.

For the stakeholders in the Niem Yelewa conflict, **the stakes are both political and economic:**

- Keeping the historically rooted domination of the Fulani chieftaincy and the Gbaya's subordinate position, or overthrowing traditional interethnic relations between the Fulani and the Gbaya (the status-quo or local revolution)

³⁸ The chief of Niem was interviewed in Bouar where he has resided since May.

- Control of a space as rich in pastoral resources as mineral resources (a relevant example is the Pakana gold mining site between Niem and Yelewa which was managed by the first deputy to the mayor and coveted by both armed groups)³⁹

PROFILE OF ARMED GROUPS IN NANA-MAMBERE

Ndalé's AB

The AB in Bouar are divided into two groups: Ndalé's group and Bello's group. The latter respects the government and the normalisation process. After the departure of the Seleka they laid down weapons and were rewarded by the president for doing so. In contrast, Ndalé's comrades embody the criminal aspects of the AB. There is no agreement between the Bello and Ndalé group on how the prefecture's territory may be shared, and a formal accord coordinating their activities in the region was never formalized. Bello and Ahmidou Ndalé were both unsuccessful candidates in the 2016 legislative election race.

Ndalé's group is managed by three brothers (Marcel, Ibrahim and Ahmidou) who came from the De Gaulle livestock farming municipality in the Kouï sub-prefecture and have long settled in Bouar. Marcel is currently the most active member of the trio (he demands that he be called the "general"), Ahmidou coordinates the group's activities and is close to Mokom one of the AB's leaders. Before the crisis, they were members of self-defense groups fighting against the Zarguinas (which is how they met Sidiki), they made gri-gri (traditional talismans) and settled in Bouar with their extended family. Unlike other AB leaders, the Ndalé's already had a criminal history before the crisis and used their experience to advance within the AB movement.

Marcel Ndalé was arrested by MINUSCA in 2015 and imprisoned in Bangui where he escaped in 2016. His return to his original stomping ground does not seem to concern the police and local judicial authorities. In fact, this wing of the AB which opposes Sidiki and settled in the Zo kwe Zo neighbourhood of Bouar is openly accepted by local authorities who do nothing to stem their activities. According to interviewed residents, these authorities are likely to profit from their criminal activities. During the mass cattle raid in April, cattle crossed Bouar without sparking a reaction from local authorities and animals were sold in markets in Carnot and Berbérati. Because of the sale of cattle, the Ndalé group supplies the meat market in some big towns, including Bangui. The AB's sources of finance are cattle, tolls which they use to tax the population, and the trafficking of gold (they are present in gold mining areas). In September, a skirmish over claim to financial resources put the group in opposition to CAR's national armed forces in Bouar.

The 3 R

³⁹ The mining site was booming when gold prices was up. At that time several hundred of diggers worked there. The 3R chased the AB from the site a few months ago. Interview with a village chief, Bouar, August 2017.

In late 2015, the 3 R led by Sidiki Abass came onto the scene in the Kouï sub-prefecture in Ouham Pende close to the Cameroonian frontier. There are two possible biographies for Sidiki. According to his enemies, he is a Fulani from Cameroon and according to others he is a Central African Fulani from Baoro on the Bouar-Bangui route (which is the most credible story). Born in Baoro, he probably spent several years in Cameroun, was an ex-zarguina whose relatives could have been killed in Baoro by the AB. In this case, his zeal to protect herders has a personal bent and motivation. As previously explained, Sidiki presents himself as a defender of the Fulani pastoralists against the cattle thieves in Pende and Nana-Mambere. He leads a self-defense militia in the absence of any protection from the government and he does not hesitate to kill civilians and burn down villages (such as recently in Niem). His troops are made of young disenfranchised Fulani and the livestock farmers pay for his protection. The 3 R are active in the Kouï, Baboua and Bouar sub-prefectures. Skirmishes with the AB generally take place along a region from Kouï to Niem. The 3 R were not present at the meeting convened by Sant Egidio in Rome in June.

The FDPC

The FDPC is led by Abdoulaye Miskine whose real name is Martin Koumtamadji, a famous warlord who made a name for himself during the Patassé era by creating the Presidential Security Unit and several other pro-regime militias. The FDPC has its fiefdom in Nana-Mambere, particularly in the sub-prefecture of Baboua. It is one of the CAR oldest armed groups (it was already active during Bozize presidency) and its activity of choice was kidnapping. Miskine is a professional mercenary looking for amnesty and money.

Because of its geo-ethnic origins (Ouham Pende), the FDPC was initially formed from Sara and Kaba elements. Its leader is from the CAR on his mother's side and has a Chadian father. Since settling in Nana-Mambere, it was able to recruit locally. This movement is used to adapting to the security context: it reactivates in periods of trouble and enters hibernation in periods of calm, but it never disappears completely. After briefly associating with the Seleka, its leader took refuge in the east of Cameroon where he was arrested in Bertoua in September 2013. Cameroonian authorities suspected him of using Eastern Cameroon as a rear-base for operations. To get him released his troops terrorized the region and carried out a series of kidnappings on the CAR/Cameroon border. On November 2014, their strategy paid off following mediation from the president of Congo-Brazzaville and Karim Meckassoua, the current president of the CAR's National Assembly. Cameroonian authorities handed the group's leader over to President Sassou and Miskine has since lived in Congo-Brazzaville while his men have remained on the ground in CAR.

In 2015, the FDPC took hostages again including a pastor, the mayor and the *sub-prefect* of Baboua who were liberated in July 23, 2016. In Congo-Brazzaville Miskine signed an accord to participate in the DDR program on June 1, 2017. The FDPC took part in outreach exercises with Central African authorities and MINUSCA. Part of his troops (177) are confined to Zoukombo, a village near the Baboua-Garoua-Boulai route. The group occasionally harasses truck and taxi drivers, but most of Miskine's men are still in the bush in the sub-prefectures of Baboua. From there they make

armed incursion in the Amada-Gaza sub-prefecture in Mambere-Kadei which is controlled by the Anti-Balaka. Since the group has stopped the kidnapping, it sustains itself by trafficking minerals and harassing the population to meet its needs. They operate a racketeering scheme targeting small-scale gold and diamond miners. They have obtained “contributions” of 85 million FCFA from the mayor of Gaudrot since the beginning of the crisis and 100 000 FCFA from the communities of Amada-Gaza during their last visit in the area.⁴⁰ In Zoukombo, the FDPC camp is only a few hundred meters from the village and the village is used to provide “logistical support” (women, food, water, wood, etc.). The FDPC is currently an armed group on standby.

⁴⁰ Interviews with the sub-prefect of Amada-Gaza and humanitarian actors, Berbérati, August 2017.

6) Consequences of the conflict

The consequences of the crisis which began in 2013 make up the environment in which the ASPIRE program intervenes and they must be considered by conflict resolution initiatives. These consequences are:

- The end of Muslim social dominance
- The emergence of new powers at local government level
- The prevalence of interpretations of the conflict which revive intercommunal strife
- The persistent strong feeling of insecurity
- The slowing of the return of refugees
- The patterns of discrimination and segregation
- The periodic closing of the border by Cameroonian authorities

This chapter ends with a list of the expectations and requests made by community representatives during the research. These expectations and requests must be known for future programming in this area by international NGOs.

Change in the structure of local power and local government

The crisis altered the structure of local power by challenging Muslims' dominant position and encouraging the emergence of new powers, such as armed groups.

Firstly, the superior social position of Muslims came to an end. Before the crisis, the Muslim business community was the driver of the local economy, playing a key role in the following sectors: road transport (the movement of merchandise and people), the meat sector (from livestock farming to butchering), wholesale trade in Bouar, and the artisanal mining sector. They made up the majority of wholesalers in Bouar's commercial district and controlled the bulk of trade flows between the CAR and Cameroon thanks to their financial means and their trucks. The livestock farmers also supplied Bouar's meat market and most merchants were also neo-pastoralists (city dwellers who also owned herds around Bouar). Because of the crisis livestock farmers lost a significant part of their herds and were financially depleted. Even the Gbaya agro-pastoralists were not spared by the AB. During interviews an imam admitted that he had lost his entire herd (348 heads) and a Gbaya agro-pastoralist also decried the same situation (after losing 18 heads). The lamido of Gaudrot's herd dwindled from 1 000 before the crisis to 200. The Fulani in Niem Yelewa also suffered heavy losses and demand that something be done to restore livestock lost in the conflict.⁴¹ The economic influence that Muslims' exercised also translated to political clout: in Nana-Mambere, not only were they the mayors of livestock rearing municipalities (Gaudrot and Niem Yelewa), but the mayor of Bouar was also from the Muslim community before the crisis.

Nonetheless Muslims have not completely lost their economic and political status. Politically the mayor/lamido of Niem Yelewa uses his position as a counsellor to the

⁴¹ Focus group, Yelewa, August 2017.

president to block any efforts by the Gbaya to secede from the Fulani controlled municipality, and in Bouar the Muslim community is still represented in the municipal council by a member of the same prominent Muslim family as the former mayor. Economically, Bouar's economic heavyweights have relocated to Cameroon and the frontier town of Garoua Boulai where they have somehow managed to continue their operations. From a distance, they are still active in the wholesale trade market and the sale of minerals. However, the recent arrival of a Chinese prospecting company in the Abba sub-prefecture may pose yet another challenge for small-scale local gold and diamond miners and merchants.⁴² The departure of established merchants to Garoua Boulai created a vacuum in the local market, but the non-Muslim economic actors who remain in Bouar find it difficult to fill this space as they do not have the necessary financial capacity.

The second notable consequence of the crisis is the range of new emerging powers. These actors fill the void left by the state knowing that the decline of the state's authority and legitimacy preceded the crisis.⁴³ The new powers filling the breach are armed groups, the religious Platform, MINUSCA and international NGOs.

The 3 armed groups in the zone studied are key stakeholders in the new local governance system and each nurture different relationships with established institutional powers at local (mayors, village chiefs, etc.) and national (prefects/ministers, sub-prefects/deputies, magistrates, etc.) levels. The typology of modes of engagement goes from open defiance to covert collaboration.

The 3 R oppose national government, but not Fulani local powers. In fact, the mayor of Kouï and the second deputy to the mayor of Niem Yelewa were both briefly suspended by the government for collaborating with the 3R. In the absence of the police and gendarmerie, local leaders (mayors and village chiefs) find themselves on the frontline faced with armed groups who extort and threaten them. According to a local chief extorted by the 3 R and the FDPC, this is the "*price of peace*" that must be paid to avoid problems.⁴⁴ The FDPC survives by running a racketeering scheme targeting local authorities and communities (in Amada-Gaza, the community's "contribution" was organized by the mayor; in Baboua the parish added to the armed group's pot). Unlike other armed groups, the FDPC does not oppose state authorities as it expects to be included in the DDR program. The AB has a different approach. They have a close relationship with local powers (mayors and Gbaya village chiefs) and relations of compliance and even complicity with the national government. This interaction can be explained in this manner:

- The group has popular appeal as they confronted the Seleka threat,

⁴² The negative effects of the entry of Chinese mining companies have already been felt in the neighbouring Mambere-Kadeï prefecture (expulsion of artisanal miners, collusion and corruption of local authorities).

⁴³ International Crisis Group, *Central African Republic: the roots of violence*, 2007.

⁴⁴ Interview with a mayor, Bangui, August 2017.

- They are seen as the “sons of the nation”, thus they have great public sympathy and are part and parcel of the local communities (by way of example, the AB area-commander in Abba is the mayor’s son),
- The balance of power between state security forces and armed groups favors the AB. Through several interviews and at the public meeting convened by the religious Platform, the representatives of the security forces confirmed that they cannot confront armed groups and the AB in particular.⁴⁵ They do not hesitate to admit their inferior position and, as a substitute to the use of force, the security authorities recommend that armed groups be sensitized to the situation instead of sanctioned. They do not say what armed groups should be sensitized about and who should do this...

In the research area, the state authorities must compromise with the armed groups as emerging powers in urban and rural space, but in some cases, they have become complicit to these groups’ criminality (AB cattle raids). This marks the beginning of a mafia system in the region, i.e. an economic system where criminals and the authorities cooperate for mutual enrichment.

In Bouar, MINUSCA is the principal security provider and national forces readily admit their powerlessness. NGOs are the principal providers of formal employment and the Religious Platform is de facto the most respected institution in the



Meeting of the Interreligious Platform of Bouar (Credit: Thierry Vircoulon, Bouar, August 13 2017)

town. In terms of local governance systems, it plays a vital role, it has the power to convene and coordinate actors and is regarded highly above other civil society organizations as the true embodiment of “the peoples”. While understanding the challenges faced by government and the problem of security (such as the situation in Niem Yelewa), it exercises great restraint during public debates and does not try to impose its views/solutions. The Platform facilitates a framework for local consultation with draws local and international actors and seeks to find solutions based on consensus. It does not see itself as an authority with power, but understands its role

⁴⁵ The issue of the armed services weakness cannot be reduced to arms and the presence of police, gendarmerie or soldiers, but must also include the idea of magic protection from which militia benefit and because of which they have an advantage.

as that of a moral actor with the capacity to put issues onto the local and public agenda.⁴⁶

Two opposite narratives

At the local level two opposing interpretations structure relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and reveal intercommunity strife and tension. While the first highlights a discourse around extreme victimization, the second criticizes Muslims for their economic dominance in CAR. It is necessary to note these criticisms of Muslims are not systematic. But the argument says that thanks to their control of transportation links and the rearing and sale of livestock, Muslims exploited the Gbaya and used their wealth to corrupt government officials overseeing legal disputes over property and disputes between herders and crop farmers. Fulani herders are viewed more negatively than traders because of violent clashes linked to livestock theft.⁴⁷

On the other hand, Muslims view themselves as the victims of an established form of discrimination which is exercised not by the Gbaya population, but the administration and security forces. They say that before the crisis, their wealth (not their religion) had made them the favoured targets of corrupt officials. To support this argument, Muslims frequently cite how the gendarmerie extort money from them before acting against cattle thieves, they also claim that they are extorted by security forces at roadside barriers. If the second argument hardly stands (few in CAR escape extortion at roadside stops), the first argument has credence. There are numerous stories of collusion between the gendarmerie and cattle raiders. Livestock farmers claimed that even when they had paid the gendarmes to arrest cattle thieves (the first paradox), thieves often managed to miraculously escape the security forces (the second paradox).

These two opposing readings of the Central African history are not unique to Bouar, but are developed and present almost everywhere in the country. On the other hand, everyone agrees that there was no religious tension in CAR and inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages were common before the conflict. The two stories have some common points, and both note the dominant economic position of Muslims in the local society. This position is described as an injustice (but not a systematic injustice) or as a risk. In both, the issue of corruption enters the narrative as the heart of the problem: the corruption of officials weighs on wealthy Muslims and corruptible officials are used to benefit rich Muslims.

Persistent feelings of insecurity

Despite the relative peace that reigns in this region compared to other regions in the country, the constant presence of armed groups fuels collective paranoia and disquiet in both rural and urban areas. Even if the armed groups and their arms are

⁴⁶ Interview with members of the Bouar Interreligious Platform, Bouar, August 2017.

⁴⁷ The traditional framework to address legal disputes between herders and farmers does not always prevent individual acts of reprisal against cattle thieves.

not visible in town, just the presence of an AB leader (Ndalé) in the regional capital in plain sight of security forces and MINUSCA causes anxiety in the Muslim community. The presence of Ndalé and his men in Zo kwe Zo makes the Bouar's Muslim community feel vulnerable. They fear that confrontations between the 3 R and the AB in rural areas may lead to revenge attacks against them or that they will be the victims of preventative attacks by the AB if Sidiki honours the threat to descend on Bouar.

Since Sidiki's Niem incursion in May in retaliation for cattle thefts, rumours abound of an attack on Bouar following the rumoured infiltration of armed groups in the Muslim neighbourhood of Hausa. The situation has reached the point where the mayor has had to make several public statements on radio to reassure the population. It is necessary to point out that certain rumours are propagated by the security forces themselves who do not hide their powerlessness if a threat of attack were to materialize.⁴⁸ It is also important to note that in the eyes of many, rumours that the Hausa neighbourhood had been infiltrated by armed groups would be enough to justify a preventive attack by the AB on the residents.

The feeling of vulnerability is aggravated by the fact that Bouar's Muslim community has little confidence in MINUSCA's ability to respond and has even less confidence in the national security forces. Consequently, the Hausa community was distressed by the departure of MINUSCA troops stationed in their neighbourhood. Meetings to explain the withdrawal were necessary to reassure the anxious population.

Faced with armed groups, the rural community also have a strong sense of vulnerability. Just as Bouar's residents fear an offensive from Sidiki, Yelewa's majority Fulani population fear anti-Balaka attacks and villages close to the border dread incursions from armed Fulani groups.

In an environment of reciprocal paranoia, the Interreligious Platform plays an important role listening to the **population's collective trauma**.

Obstacles to the return of refugees

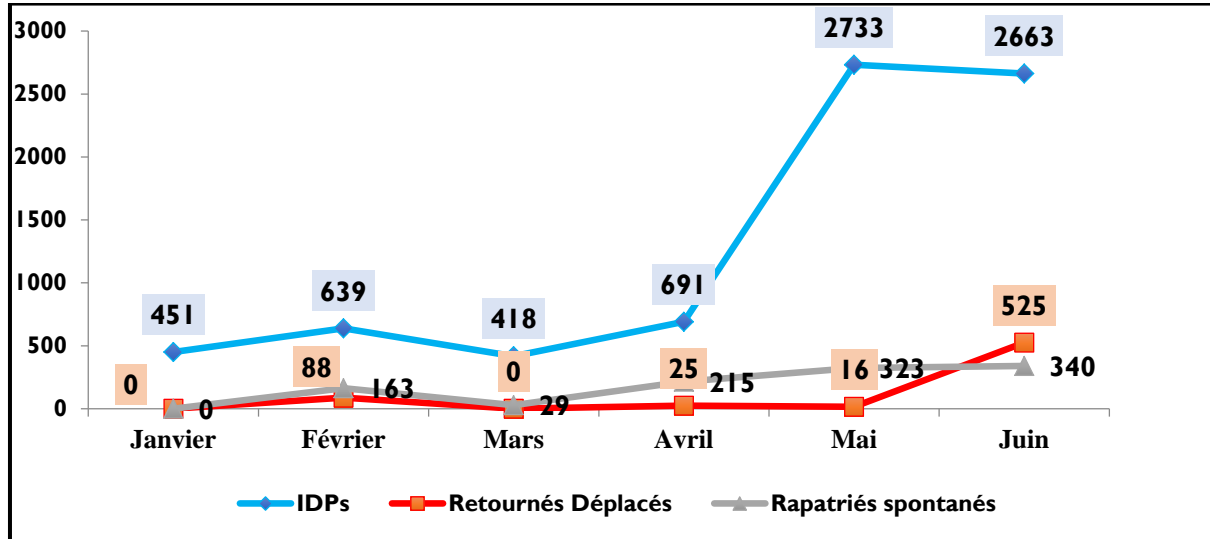
The armed peace creates insecurity which stalls the return of refugees sheltered in Cameroon and the border town of Garoua Boulai. As the graph monitoring the movement of people indicates, the return of refugees to Nana-Mambere prefecture has been minimal, especially when compared to the numbers returning to the neighbouring and safer Mambere-Kadei prefecture.⁴⁹ Returns to the unsafe Ouham-Pende have been virtually non-existent. Whether they are livestock farmers or traders, insecurity is the primary obstacle impeding the return of Muslim refugees in Cameroon. Added to this, Bouar's top traders and livestock owners remain in Garoua Boulai where they have continued their business

⁴⁸ Interview with the head of Hausa neighbourhood association, and interview with the commissioner and the commandant of the gendarme, Bouar, August 2017.

⁴⁹ See Mercy Corps, *Rapport de monitoring : protection et réponses dans la Nana-Mambere et Mambere-Kadei*, June 2017.

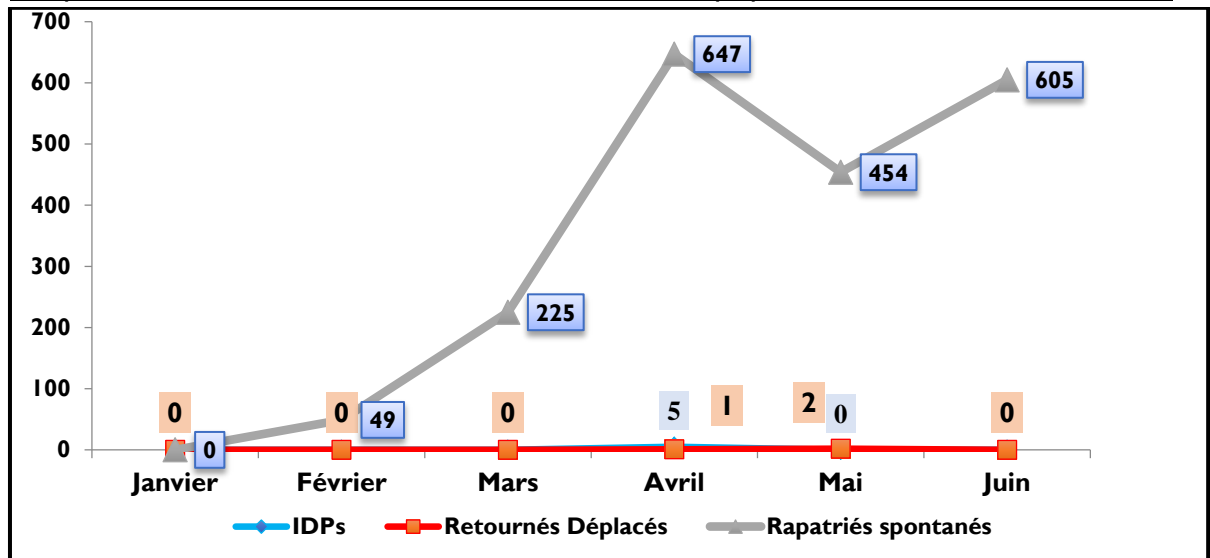
Amongst the Muslim refugees those called “Arab” (Chadians, Sudanese, Mauritians, etc.) are rejected as collaborators of the Seleka.⁵⁰ For them, return is totally ruled out and any individual attempts have been forestalled.⁵¹

Graph 1: Trends of movement of conflict affected-populations in Nana Mambéré⁵²



Twice as many refugees have returned to the Mambere-Kadei prefecture compared to the Nana-Mambere prefecture.

Graph 2: Trends of movement of conflict affected-populations in Mambéré-Kadei⁵³



Patterns of discrimination and segregation

⁵⁰ The same phenomenon can be observed in Mambere-Kadei prefecture.

⁵¹ According to one source, an “Arab” artisanal miner considered close to the Seleka tried to return and was chased out by the AB.

⁵² Data collected by the Mercy Corps protection program, Bouar, July 2017.

⁵³ Data collected by the Mercy Corps protection program, Bouar, July 2017.

- ***Position in the commercial sector: losing the city centre***

Even if the Muslims can now move freely in Bouar and their return can be observed in the Hausa neighbourhood, they have not yet been able to regain their position in the commercial life of the city centre. Whereas they had been many Muslim traders in the city centre before the crisis, they are now in the minority. The central market area which is currently being refurbished and has 33 stalls has only two Muslim traders who are both butchers. Muslims bitterly feel the loss of their dominant position in the commercial sector which is symbolized by their absence from the city centre. This urban situation is more the consequence of important business Muslim traders leaving for Garoua Boulai and Cameroon, than it is a deliberate and systematic policy of exclusion.

In rural areas, there remains a small Muslim presence linked to small businesses and gold panning. Their presence is accepted, but at times tension break out as happened in the Zotoua-Bangarem municipality where a Muslim gold buyer was captured by the local population. The situation was diffused by the intervention of the local peace committee and the district representative.⁵⁴

- ***Barriers to movement in zones occupied by armed groups***

As the conflict is no longer urban, freedom of movement has been restored in town thanks to the combination of the SVC and ASPIRE programs and the security normalisation, but not in rural areas. The conflict between the 3 R and the AB essentially blocks the movement of people on either side of the “front-line”. During the crisis in Niem Yelewa, residents of Niem and Yelewa could not move between the two - the blockade ended shortly after the crisis. Nevertheless, for the Fulani, Bouar remains a no-go-zone, a situation which limits their business activities. The AB have created an illegal roadblock at the intersection of roads to Niem and Bocaranga, about 10 km from Bouar, in the village of Yongo. Tolls are imposed on motorists and pedestrians.

- ***Occupation of homes belonging to Muslims***

In Bouar’s two Muslim neighborhoods, the homes of the displaced/refugees have been illegally occupied. The town is currently undertaking a census, so no accurate number is available, but the NRC has trained municipal officials and neighborhood representatives to tackle the problem. According to most of those questioned, the best way to reconstitute property is through consultation with neighborhood representatives and religious leaders followed by financial compensation where necessary. Muslim leaders hope to resolve the issue peacefully and in this respect, they accept the idea of giving a “golden handshake” to squatters to encourage them to vacate property held.

Periodic closing of the border

⁵⁴ Interview with the district representative, Bangui, August 2017.

The current security climate has forced the Cameroonian authorities to temporarily close the important Toktoyo border post in July. After border skirmishes in 2013 and 2014, Cameroonian authorities began occasionally closing the border as a response to banditry at the border and security threats emanating from CAR.⁵⁵

The expectations and demands at the local level

- *Employment*

The main, and often the only reason, given by those interviewed to explain why the youth join armed groups is the lack of employment opportunities. Unemployment was mentioned unanimously as the reason for the “militianisation process” of young people. The second reason offered by a minority of respondents is a lack of education. i.e the fact that young people do not have the opportunity to get an education and are left to their own devices, finding themselves ready to do anything without thinking about the consequences.

- *Security*

Security was the common demand of all communities in the area: in towns and rural areas Muslims demand security vis-à-vis the AB while non-Muslims ask for security vis-à-vis the 3 R and other armed Fulani groups. Whereas the solution for some is the deployment of FACA troops, others rely on the strengthened MINUSCA presence.

- *Non-discrimination*

Muslims make a firm demand for equal treatment from state authorities, and particularly from security services and judicial bodies. Muslim leaders acknowledge the recent progress made in recognizing their religious holidays as official national holidays. This decision was made by the new government in 2016. But they give greater importance to a necessary change in the behaviour exhibited by state administrations towards them. A change in behaviour would include police and the gendarme taking their security concerns seriously (treating their complaints fairly) and that prefectural and judicial bodies treat their legal requests fairly.

⁵⁵ In 2013, the director of the Toktoyo border post was killed by armed individuals coming from the CAR (probably ex-Seleka).

7) Recommendations

The recommendations in this chapter are set out in several categories: first come recommendations pertaining to security in the area. These are followed by context specific social and economic recommendations. The nomination of a new prefect after the vacancy was left open for nearly a year, and the deployment of FACA troops to the garrison in Bouar should be taken as an opportunity to debate security in the region and find consensus solutions.

Prevent livestock theft

For the attention of NGOs and the religious Platform:

As the theft of livestock has been at the centre of violence in the region, it is imperative that the problem be put on the security agenda of MINUSCA and the national authorities at the highest level (Bangui). The NGOs and the religious platform should use every opportunity to advocate for this issue to be made a priority. Before the beginning of the transhumance season in December, they should privately and publicly (open letter) urge government officials and MINUSCA to act, and should demand security that measures (including the arrest of the Ndalé brothers and Sidiki) be put in place. As MINUSCA has a security plan for the transhumance and the government has started to deploy troops trained by EUTM,⁵⁶ the NGOs and the Interreligious Platform should demand that MINUSCA and the government prioritize livestock theft in their security strategy from the end of this year.

Organize meetings between livestock farmers and local and prefectural authorities to prepare for the upcoming season of transhumance

For the attention of local and prefectural authorities, local peace committees and the Interreligious Platform:

To prepare for the upcoming transhumance meetings should be organized between local and prefectural authorities and representatives of livestock farmers (FNEC). These meetings should allow for debate on the security problem and the adoption of preventive measures to secure the next cattle migration. This discussion is imperative to find solutions which address the interest of the two parties: for herders ensuring the security of herds, and for the local authorities ensuring that herders do not carry weaponry. This dialogue would allow for specific measures to be put in place to protect livestock rearing municipalities and the routes taken during the main transhumance. It will also plan for the settlement of disputes between herders and farmers.⁵⁷ The first large meeting should be convened by the Interreligious Platform and depending on the area, the local peace committees should organise the local

⁵⁶ The outgoing minister of Defence had planned that the Bouar garrison, renovated in part by MINUSCA and officially opened by President Touadéra in May, be FACA's first domestic deployment.

⁵⁷ These disputes are often settled informally at the local level.

meetings. The new prefect who was recently appointed in August should immediately be briefed and should play a driving role in preparation for the transhumance season.

Include the FDPC in the pilot DDR program

For the attention of local authorities, NGOs and the religious Platform:

The FDPC combatants in Zoukombo claim to be waiting for the DDR program and have already taken part in a MINUSCA sensitization workshop. NGOs and the Interreligious Platform should urge MINSUCA and the government to include the entire armed group in the pilot DDR program. This would put an end to the group's presence on the most strategic road in CAR.

Launch the much-awaited dialogue between Niem and Yelewa communities

For the attention of local authorities, NGOs and the Interreligious Platform:

An intercommunal dialogue between Niem and Yelewa has been on the agenda since the end of 2016 but has still not taken place which has contributed to the deterioration of the security situation. Furthermore, during the meeting on August 9 convened by the Interreligious Platform, the idea was yet again supported. Though rumour is circulating that a new "special delegation" (equivalent to a municipal council) will be appointed,⁵⁸ the organization of this meeting should not be delayed. Given the deteriorating security environment, the dialogue should engage representatives from the Niem and Yelewa community, and exclude armed groups.⁵⁹ Ideally this dialogue will lead to a reconciliation ceremony and develop measures aimed at improving relations and the general well-being of both communities.

Campaign promoting the complimentary activities and shared interest of livestock herders and crop farmers

For the attention of local peace committees in rural areas and NGOs:

Fulani livestock herders are demonized in CAR. For reasons explained in the study, they have an extremely negative image to the point that some even challenge the continued existence of livestock rearing municipalities and the legitimacy of Fulani presence in CAR. A public communication campaign should be launched to demonstrate that livestock herders and farmers have common interests and that the practice of *soobaajo* is mutually beneficial. The message of the campaign could be focused on traditional forms of economic exchange (agricultural products in exchange for milk and meat), as well as cultural practices and cultivation practices (using animal excrement as fertilizer, animal-drawn cultivation, etc.).

Launch a property restitution program

⁵⁸ Interview with local authorities and Councillor Idje, Bangui and Bouar, August 2017.

⁵⁹ The last attempts to include national authorities were unsuccessful and could complicate the initiative.

For the attention of municipal authorities, the Interreligious Platform, local peace committees:

The restitution of property and illegally occupied homes in Bouar will pacify relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and facilitate the return of the former. Once the census has been completed, it will be necessary for the mayor to launch a restitution campaign based on mediation and dialogue like those carried out in other towns in the country with the support of the NRC (Berbérati, Carnot, Sibut). In the case of real estate transactions, Nana-Mambéré's sub-prefects could follow the same protocol adopted by their colleagues in neighbouring Mambere-Kadeï prefecture. The protocol proposes that the legality of a proprietor's claim should be verified by witnesses in the case of a property transaction.

Ensure the equal treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims by the security services, prefectural administration and the courts

For the attention of the Interreligious Platform, local peace committees and human rights NGOs:

The Interreligious Platform and local peace committees should monitor the relations between the authorities and the Muslim community in Bouar. They should bring special attention to cases of unfair treatment of Muslim by the security services, prefectural administration and the courts. If specific cases are identified, the Interreligious Platform and the local peace committees should notify the relevant authorities and use legal and practical means of redress. A local human rights NGO should organize a public communication campaign on this issue on local radio.

Launch a labour-intensive initiative for youth from vulnerable areas

For the attention of NGOs, MINUSCA and local authorities:

In areas with a strong AB presence (such as Zo kwe Zo neighbourhood in Bouar or Abba) and where Mercy Corps operates, it is necessary to launch a labour-intensive program. A "cash for work" scheme would divert young people from armed groups and give them a small income to begin income generating activities which would help to distance them from armed groups. The management of the program on the ground could be entrusted to management committees set up by Mercy Corps. Mercy Corps would be responsible for the coordination, supervision and monitoring. Given the number of locations to be covered, MINUSCA could support the initiative and finance it through the budget allocated to its program for the reduction of communal violence.

8) Annexes

Mission schedule

Date	Place	
18 July	Bangui	Arrival in Bangui
19-26 July		Interviews with stakeholders
27 July	Bouar	Field research in Nana-Mambéré
1 August		Field trip to Niem and Yelewa
3 August		Field trip to Baboua
9 August		Meeting of the Bouar religious Platform
10 August	Bangui	Return to Bangui
15 August		Debriefing with Mercy Corps staff
29 August		Departure, Air France

List of meetings

Name	Role/Position	Place
National actors		
Issabi Idje	Counsellor to the President, lamido of Niem Yelewa	Bangui
Jean Félix Riva	Chief of Staff for the special cabinet of the president of the National Assembly	Bangui
Georges Yalakanga	Member of Parliament for Bouar	Bangui
Albert Yarisson Doyari	Member of Parliament for Bouar	Bangui
Arsène Sende	Councillor, Court of Cassation	Bangui
Imam Oumar Kobine Layama	Member of the religious Platform of Bangui	Bangui
Anatole Banga	Vice-President of the Alliance of Evangelists in the CAR	Bangui
Youssoufa Yerima Mandjo	Minister of Livestock Production	Bangui
Marie Noelle Koyara	Councilor to the President, former Minister of Defense and the current Minister of Defense	Bangui
Alphonse Kota-Guinza	Project Officer, Ministry of Livestock Production	Bangui
Abdallah Cherif	Official at the Ministry of Agriculture	Bangui
Ata Modibo	National Coordinator, National Federation of	Bangui

	Central African Livestock Producers (FNEC)	
Dr Mokondji	Director, National Livestock Production Agency (ANDE)	Bangui
Michel Babingui	Inspector, Ministry of the Interior	Bangui
Guy Florent Ankogui-Mpoko	Professor, University of Bangui	Bangui
Local Actors		
Lazare Nambena	Mayor	Bouar
	Mayor	Baboua
	Parish Priest of Baboua	Baboua
Farikou	Lamido/Mayor of Gaudrot	Bangui
Yves Djalla	Prosecutor, High Court	Bouar
Alain Michel Tolindo	Prosecutor Court of Appeal, Bouar	Bangui
Pascal Aimé Delimo	President of the Court of Appeal, Bouar	Bangui
Marietta Ngaba	Secretary-General of the Nana-Mambéré Prefecture	Bangui
Dieudonné Baka	Sub-Prefect, Abba	Bouar
	Sub-Prefect	Baboua
Claude Basili Mokili	Inspector, Water and Woodland	Bouar
Jean-Claude Zoumaldi	Head of the Livestock Production Sector, Bouar Sub-Prefecture	Bouar
Lambert Gnapelet	Ex-DG to Minister of the Environment. Politician	Bouar
Oscar Sango	Police Commissioner	Bouar
Mathurin Ngaibona	Deputy to the Commandant of the Territorial Brigade of the Gendarmerie	Bouar
Vincent Baya Veke	Customs Inspector	Bouar
Ahmadou Ahidjo	Cluster Head, 4 th arrondissement	Bouar
Doukou Oumarou	Cluster Head, 2 nd arrondissement	Bouar
Guylain Ndoubenoue	Civil Society Coordinator	Bouar
Joseph Koyesse	President Youth Prefectural Council, Nana-Mambéré	Bouar
	Platform for Women Leaders	Bouar
	Association Lango Songo (association of Christian and Muslim Women)	Bouar
Père Mireck, pasteur Bassala, imam Yaya Aboubakar, imam Djingui	Staff, Interreligious Platform	Bouar
Mahamat Sani Oumani	Neighborhood leader, President of Peace Committee, 4 th arrondissement	Bouar

	Peace Committee, 1 st arrondissement	Bouar
« Général » Ndale	Coordinator, anti-Balaka	Bouar
Bello	Ex-coordinator, anti-Balaka	Bouar
	Combatants, FDPC	Zoukombo
	Chef du village	Zoukombo
Pierre Simplicie Zadimo	Village leader, Niem	Bouar
Ahmed Sale	Founder, Mercy Corps ASPIRE Program	Niem
Focus group	Villager	Yelewa
Ahmadou Pachirou	Deputy to Mayor	Yelewa
Ahmidou Bihamadou	Ex-representative, FNEC Baoro, member of Lamido Family	Yelewa
	Trader	Bouar
	Restaurant Owner	Bouar
International Actors		
ONG		
Christian Mulamba	Mission Head, International Medical Corps	Bangui
Martine Villeneuve	Mission Head, Danish Refugee Council	Bangui
Sosthène	Mission Head, Cordaid	Bangui
Nathalie Vezier	Delegation Head, French Red Cross	Bangui
Adrien Nifisha	Mission Head, Lawyers without Borders	Bangui
Hans Fly, Mahamadou Maiga et François Seignat	Staff, Catholic Relief Service	Bouar
	Director, World Lutheran Federation	Bouar
Jacques Suire	Security Advisor, International NGO Safety Organization	Bangui
Salma Ben Aissa	Deputy Program Director, International Rescue Committee	Bangui
United Nations		
Parfait Onanga	Special Representative to the UN Secretary-General	Bangui
Frank Dalton	Section Head, Justice and Rule of Law, MINUSCA	Bangui
	Bureau Chief, MINUSCA	Bouar
Lt-col Albert Ntamasambiro	Chief of military operations	Bouar
Jean-Claude Tshibangu	Human rights officer, MINUSCA	Bouar
John Goodono	Political officer, MINUSCA	Bouar
Robert Ngangue	Section Head, Civil Affairs, MINUSCA	Bouar
Ambroise Kombo	Humanitarian Officer, OCHA	Bouar

Bernard Lambrette	Bureau Chief, HRC	Bouar
Laurent Guépin	Bureau Chief, Civil Affairs, MINUSCA	Bangui
Speciose Hakizimana	UNICEF	Bangui
<i>Donateurs</i>		
Paul Bance et Sophie Grumelard	World Bank	Bangui
Davide Stefanini	Fund Manager, European Union's Bekou Fund (Bangui)	Bangui
Irchad Razaaly	Fund Manager, European Union's Bekou Fund (Brussels)	Bangui
Paolo Curradi	Head of Cooperation and Outreach, European Union Delegation	Bangui
Jean-Pierre Reymondet-Comoy	Ambassador, European Union	Bangui
Eric Bosc	Senior Advisor, French Embassy	Bangui

Map of zone

