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USAID BURUNDI WORKSHOP: FLIPCHART NOTES¹

Fragility, Resilience and Program Priorities in Burundi: A Fragile States Assessment Exercise

July 27 & 28, 2005, 8:30am – 5:00pm

OFDA Training Facility

1429 North Quincy Street

Arlington, VA.

DAY ONE:

OVERVIEW OF THE FRAGILE STATES ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK

Tasks of the Fragile States Framework:

- 1) Understand patterns of fragility and resilience
- 2) Map key actors and their relationships
- 3) Identify windows of opportunity and vulnerability
- 4) Recommend measures for stabilization and recovery

Discussion:

- Is Burundi fragile or recovering?
- Government performance survey—please complete survey and turn in.

Task 1: Identifying the Patterns of Fragility and Resilience

STRUCTURAL FACTORS, GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS, AND STATE/SOCIETY INTERACTIONS WITH EMPHASIS ON THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

- New constitution
 - Will be ok in the short-term
 - Focus on consensus-building over executive dominance
 - Political paralysis can be avoided
- Poverty of resource base and lack of economic opportunity rather than just individual poverty
- Multi-level effort to build participation
- Youth
- FNL
 - Unclear about support, purpose, etc.
 - Possibility they're fragmenting
 - No longer a spoiler?
 - Origins: children orphaned by 1972 massacre
- HIMA-- most likely to resist change

¹ The following document contains notes taken on flipcharts by the facilitator during the USAID Burundi Workshop. The flip chart notes have been organized to conform to the topics in the workshop agenda.



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- MRC (political party)
- Burie- former political powerhouse; moderates present and going along
- Regional role? Works in both directions
- Will Burundi's success threaten its neighbors?

SOCIAL DIMENSION

- Is judicial reckoning needed?
 - Tradition of Council of Elders
 - Current sense of missing an authority to resolve disputes
 - Lack of judicial process does drive ethnic polarization
- Equity of opportunity or outcome? Depends on the case - food vs. education
- Rule of Law and accountability henceforth is key; reconciling the past may be problematic
- Relationship between traditional conflict resolution and judicial mechanisms
- Role of educational discrimination in impacting judicial sector
- Community access to justice programs
- Traditional council has been corrupted politically

ECONOMIC DIMENSION

- Unable to become food secure with limited land using domestic crops? Need export crop strategy? Need agribusiness development (e.g. bananas)
- Is Burundi's economy too small for substantial economic growth?
- Build organizational capacity of farmers?
- Deterioration of land
- Need new economic approach—adding value, etc.
- Need nutritional diversity in crops
- Export labor?
- Terracing? Change agricultural practices?
- Public finances—source?
- Corruption--grand?
- Civil servants' salaries need to be increased
- Educational system is a root cause
- Regional trade?
- Diversification is needed
- Donor resources: Cycle of wealth and power through control of donor resources→
Does this create fragility?
- RADDEBU- new rebel group



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SECURITY DIMENSION

- How to build reconciliation while favoring groups like the army?
 - Build economic opportunities broadly
 - What's being provided to army is not a living wage
- What human rights protections are being put in place to constrain police/army?
This issue being raised now
- Are police distinct from the army? National police force now replacing gendarme
- UN peacekeeping force
- Civilian oversight of the military
 - Priority issue
 - Lack of trained civilians
- Is a recurrence of 1993 possible? Yes, sense of threat - uni-ethnic army since 1992.
After the election is when support is needed most
- Arms control vs. disarmament – is arms control more feasible?
- UN presence - extend for another year or more

Task 2: Identifying Key Actors and Patterns of Fragility and Resilience

OVERVIEW OF KEY ACTORS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN PATTERNS OF FRAGILITY AND RESILIENCE

Key Players:

- Political Leaders
- Military Leaders
- Private Sector Leaders
- Labor Groups
- Public Servants
- Civil Society
- Displaced People
- Rebel Groups
- Intellectuals

Key Political Actors—Hutu:

- CNDD-FDD
 - Nkurunziza
 - Rajabo
 - Jean Marie Ngendahayo
- FRODEBU
 - Minani
 - Leonce Ndikumana
 - Domitien Ndayizeye
- FNL, Rwas
- CNDD, Nyangoma



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Key Political Actors—Tutsi:

- UPRONA
 - Terence Sindedaya (foreign minister; potential VP)
 - Viewed as “hardliners”
 - Mwanagari
 - Libere
 - Kadege
 - Mukasi (Hutu)
- MRC- Epitace
- PARENA

Regional Actors:

- Governments of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa
- COMESA

Security:

- Mamert (police)
- Chief of Staff of Army
 - Germain
 - Minister of Defense
 - Adolphe- Deputy Chief of Staff, CNDD-FDD
 - General Celestin
 - Colonel Bikomagu
 - Evariste—CNDD-FDD
 - Alain Guillaume- original national police force }
○ Salvatore—former gendarme }
○ Hermenegilde (police)

Civil Society:

- Church institutions
- Women’s institutions
- Human rights groups
- Former Human Rights Minister (Eugene)
- Fabien
- Church-great potential
- Teacher’s unions – militant
- Press
- [Media] - independent radio

Potential spoilers:

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- Diaspora



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- Demobilized (and unhappy)
- Traditional elders
- Youth
- Unemployed
- Local communes/councils

Discussion:

- DAO-Defense Attachés Office
- International Financial Institutions
- Refugees/IDPs
- Monoethnic judiciary
- Capacity-building is KEY- collaborative capacity
- 39% of GDP is aid - lack of donor coordination
- Entrepreneurs - a few; “Ngosi miracle”
- Donors - need coordinator (UN); (other) international players?
- GIS mapping--review current programs

Task 3: Windows of Vulnerability and Opportunity and Regional Implications

WINDOWS OF VULNERABILITY AND WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY,
INCLUDING REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Windows of Opportunity:

- Elections, especially fair
- Electoral transition
- Peace agreement/transitional regime
- Major reformist policy shift
- International intervention
- Massive popular uprising

Windows of Vulnerability:

- Elections, especially fraudulent
- (Attempted) Coup
- Violent crackdown
- Withdrawal of peacekeepers
- Sharp decline in purchasing power
- Discriminatory/repressive laws
- Violence
- Dramatic change in “neighborhood”



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Other Windows of Opportunity:

- Rural economic growth
- Service delivery; donor collaboration with NGOs
- Youth leadership
- Successful elections
 - Senior-level training
 - Reform civil service
- PRSP - debt relief
- UK economic report?
- AID assistance to increase livelihood
- Access—geographic and political
- Small country
 - Good roads (relatively)
 - NGO presence
 - UN presence - peacekeeping
 - Change in psychology
 - Longer-term focus
 - More security
- Hope→voter turnout
- How long will the window of hope stay open?
- Reintegration of security forces, especially the police
- Get out of zero-sum mentality
 - Promote sense of interdependence
 - Rebuild trust and relationship
 - Focus on rules of the game (not a lot of ownership currently)
 - Communication skills
- International attention - UN Security Council
- New communal law
 - Provisions for accountability
 - Adjudicating land disputes
- Demobilize peace guardians in next month
- Issues-based programs to build collaboration

Other Windows of Vulnerability:

- Unrealistic expectations of new government
- Two-tier (UN) transitional justice process

Information Gaps:

- How independent is the judiciary under the new constitution?
- Is there a deconcentrated/ decentralized system—what authorities will LG have under the new constitution?



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DAY TWO:

KEY PATTERNS OF FRAGILITY AND RESILIENCE

Potential Patterns of Fragility:

- Extreme poverty
- Extreme inequality (regional, educational)
- Patterns of violence
- Impunity
- Land tenure/pressure on land
- Ethnic polarization
- Food insecurity
- No resource base for growth
- Corruption
- Regional instability (Great Lakes)
- Demobilization
- Local militias
- Youth

Potential patterns of resilience:

- War fatigue
- Receptivity to change
- Value of inclusiveness
- Traditional conflict resolution mechanism

Workshop participants were divided into four small groups to determine major patterns of fragility. Each group reported their conclusions during a plenary session. The conclusions of each group are set out below:

Group One: Major Patterns of Fragility

1. No government of/for/by the people
 - Not accountable (rural neglect)
 - Predatory state
 - No services, no investment
 - No rule of law
 - No consultation
 - Donors filling the void
2. Insecurity and violence
 - Communal violence
 - Targeted killings
 - Short-term horizons
 - Conflict over scarce resources



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- Displaced and migrating people
- Demobilization
- 3. Living in a dangerous neighborhood
 - FNL (Eastern Congo)
 - Refugees (Tanzania)
 - Government relations with Rwanda
 - Limits future viability, options
- 4. Politicized ethnicity (regions, clans)
 - Control over government, military
 - Control of assets
 - Conflict
 - Patterns of governance (Arusha Accord formulas)

Group Two: Major Patterns of Fragility

1. Exclusion
 - Unequal outcomes in health, education, wealth, etc.
 - Elimination of rivals through violence
2. Capture and control of state resources
 - Corruption, predation
 - Failure to unleash productive potential-neglect...
 - Bloated bureaucracy
3. Manipulation of ethnicity
 - Both “tool” of the state and expressed at individual and group levels
 - Mistrust
 - Violence/impunity
4. Insecurity (versus emerging inter-group cooperation?)
 - Partial/flawed DDR process
 - Arusha imposed, buy-in still uncertain
5. “Enabling” through donors
 - Reliance on budget support
 - INGO “hollowing out” of state capacity
6. “Weak culture/tradition” of rights and accountability
 - Poor service delivery
 - Civil society not demanding accountability, state not providing

Group Three: Major Patterns of Fragility

Broad patterns of fragility:

- Resource scarcity/land tenure
- Regional instability and population flows/refugees
- Psychology/apathy/manipulation
- Ethnicization of public resources



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- Control of government
- Regionalization
- Rent-seeking
- Unsustainable birth rate
- Food security adaptation
- Zero-sum game/winner takes all
- Lack of economic opportunity and livelihood diversification
- Negative state - local society relationship
- Scarce land
- Low-value agriculture/productivity/food security
- Low status of women
- Weak participation in governance
- Youth neglect
- Eroded trust

Top five patterns of fragility (combination of broad patterns above):

1. Environment/land/population/food security
2. Cultural/historical/psychological
3. Governance/power and rent-seeking/regional/participation
4. Economic limitations
5. Social

Group Four: Major Patterns of Fragility

“Entropic Atrophy”

1. Lack of participation
2. Predatory, patronistic oligarchic government
 - Progress: power-sharing, elections, media, civil society
 - Threats: continued concentration of resources in high government officials hands; lack of transparency/accountability/legal impunity/corruption
3. Lack of institutions and infrastructures to support human development
4. Fear and insecurity
 - Ongoing threat of violence:
 - Arms available
 - Us-them mentality
 - No rule of law-criminal justice system
 - New dispute potential (reintegration of demobilized, land conflicts)
 - No interdependence – collaboration to address problems
 - Extreme social mistrust
 - Government mistrust - fear/mistrust of government
 - Short-term benefit paradigm-inappropriateness of future planning and investment



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5. Food insecurity
 - Short-term thinking - lack of investment in land
 - Inability to respond to shocks
 - Environmental degradation – climate
 - Poor nutrition
 - Lack of agricultural inputs
 - Lack of coordination, cooperation
 - Lack of market system
 - Concentrated, not-diverse economic base
 - Asset depletion - livestock killed
 - Lack of credit system
 - In degrading cycle - “entropic atrophy”
6. Insecurity – traumatization – fear
7. Lack of interdependence
8. Social mistrust

Once each group presented their patterns to the entire group, all workshop participants worked together in a plenary session to identify the top five patterns of fragility in Burundi. These patterns are:

Five Key Patterns of Fragility:

1. **No government of the people, for the people, by the people**
 - State capture
 - Lack of participation
2. **Exhausted/Failing economic opportunity**
 - Resource/food/livelihood → insecurity
 - Lack of opportunity
 - Population growth
3. **Physical insecurity and violence**
 - Demobilization
 - Power sharing
 - Post-conflict environment
4. **Exclusion/Manipulation of ethnicity**
 - Mistrust, fear
 - Unhealthy interactions
5. **Bad neighborhood**
 - External dynamics
 - Population flows
 - Constrained choices



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Task 4: Identifying Program Priorities

PROGRAMMATIC RESPONSES TO KEY PATTERNS OF FRAGILITY

The workshop participants were divided into five groups; each group was asked to determine programmatic responses to one of the key patterns of fragility agreed upon by all workshop participants in the plenary session. Each group was asked to:

- *Identify primary program objective*
- *Discuss how USAID can best achieve this objective*
- *Identify program parameters (pacing, depth, etc.)*

The groups reported out the following:

Group 1: Pattern 1: No government of/for/by the people:

- Primary program objective: Demonstrate benefit of government to people
- How to achieve the objective:
 - Pick focus issues (e.g., economic policy/service delivery)
 - Promote civil society/legislative/executive local government policy dialogue (including media)
 - Support targeted policy implementation to reach local level (geographic target)
 - Include targeted capacity building
 - Work with existing partners to ensure greater consultation (accountability to client groups and local government)
- Program parameters:
 - Program parameters: donor coordination
 - Piggyback on other donors' capacity building
 - Encourage donors to replicate dialogue approach in their work
 - Lead a DAC principles piloting exercise?
 - PRSP vs. TRM?

Group 2: Pattern 2: Exhausted/Failing economic opportunity

- Primary program objective: Provide economically viable and environmentally sustainable livelihood
- How to achieve the objective:
 - Food security
 - Collaborative Development → community approaches.
 - Entry points for developing associations? Production, storage, marketing, workforce health, etc.
 - Process: Mapping existing groups
 - Physical Insecurity
 - Exclusion
 - On-farm/off-farm options
 - NRM
 - Land tenure
 - Pro-poor financial services



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- Infrastructure
- Collaborative development through community approaches
- For developing associations, entry points are: production, storage. Marketing, workforce, health, etc.
- Map existing groups
- Program parameters:
 - Local markets development (physical)
 - High-impact policy development
 - Job training for regional and overseas markets
 - Diaspora engagement/investment
 - Food aid programming in support of rural infrastructure (e.g. farm to market roads)

Group 3: Pattern 3: Physical insecurity and violence:

- Primary program objective: Enhance security as sine qua non for short-term and long-term development
- How to achieve the objective:
 - At the community level
 - Mediation
 - Skills training
 - Policing
 - Media
 - Incentives
 - Land reform
 - Gender-based violence
 - Individual health
 - Community attitudes
 - Attack impunity
 - National level
 - Rule of Law systems: Judiciary, police, and border patrol
 - Dialogue, best practices
 - UN peacekeeping--monitoring role for NGOs/Embassy
- Program parameters:
 - Lift 508
 - ROL
 - IMET?
 - Donor coordination
 - UN? We lead?
 - Cofunding
 - Pacing--urgent



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Group 4: Pattern 4: Exclusion/Manipulation of ethnicity:

- Primary program objectives:
 - Change of attitudes/behavior
 - Equal access/equal opportunity
 - Mitigate opportunists
- How to achieve the objective:
 - Change of attitudes/behavior
 - Local-level activities on economic prosperity and multiculturalism
 - Enhanced learning environments that develop “soft skills”
 - Leverage current successful programs
 - Strengthen/expand media and community integration programs
 - Women and youth as a ‘bridge’ to peace
 - Strengthen women’s leadership roles
 - Equal access/equal opportunity
 - Support “education for all” (universal primary education)
 - Expansion of water/sanitation infrastructure
 - Training and affirmation action mentality within good governance programs
 - Mitigate opportunistic ethnic manipulation
 - Youth leadership programs
 - Strengthen churches and progressive community organizations’ capacity to mitigate or preempt ethnic manipulation
 - Engage local, regional, continental and global actors to build their awareness and neutralize and counter ethnic manipulation
- Program parameters: None mentioned

Group 5: Pattern 5: Bad neighborhood:

- Primary program objective for REDSO: Building a GOOD neighborhood
- How to achieve the objective:
 - Transparency and control of conflict resources (extractive industries) throughout the Great Lakes
 - Marginalize (disincentive) domestic terrorism throughout the Great Lakes
 - Promote best practices through HR organizations and media in truth and reconciliation in order to reduce impunity in the Great Lakes (with bilateral justice program)
- Program parameters:
 - Pacing is for next three years
 - Then, in year 3, add regional programming to address economic collaboration and expand reconciliation act to include legal professionals and mediators
 - Also, work on undermining issues with other donors (HIV, cassava, banana wilt...)
 - Do no harm
 - DRC, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania?

- Government, civil society, private sector (national and international)
- Model transparency and participation and accountability and donor coordination
- Develop effective African partnerships

OPERATING PRINCIPLES

Workshop participants discussed possible operating principles for the program priorities in a plenary session:

Missing Issues?

- Land tenure
- HIV/AIDS (related to refugee flows)

Howard Wolpe's Principles:

- Promote interdependence
- Rebuild trust and relationships
- Promote political ownership
- Build communication skills

Principals for Engaging Burundians:

- Encourage partners to do what's appropriate and equitable and not what's easy
- Quality
- Attend to needs/capacity of communities
- Close coordination with partners (collaboration and common results)
- Local capacity building from outset
- Make opportunity of private sector over NGOs
- Capacity building, skills training and income generation in all activities

Principles for How We Operate as a Donor:

- One USAID team
- Ownerships of positives and negatives
- Principles in A&A documents
- Low-hanging fruit: Do no harm
- Work cross-sectorally
- Self-monitoring and rapid adjustment
- Take smart risks
- Learn from "failures"
- Schedule self "criticism"
- Whole of government approaches; mobilize more of the US government than just development (State and DoD)
- Linkages across the portfolio (problem solving)



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NEXT STEPS AND SUMMARY

Workshop participants discussed next steps for the Burundi program priorities and summarized the workshop:

Next Steps:

- Operate differently - urgency and risk-taking
- Design strategy statement
 - Pull together a team (Andy Karas)
 - All offices
 - TDY's to East Africa
- Donor and USG outreach
- Need information sharing mechanism - email list
- Use Fragile States Task Force to remove obstacles
- Need guidance from AFR and PPC
- Need DAA level meeting to ensure support for collaboration from here on
- Need more information on what donors are doing and planning (T'jip?)
- Continued support form OTI and OFDA
- Share all ideas - grant proposals
- Establish a mission in Burundi
- Joint memo to key offices: DCHA, GH, PPC, AFR, EGAT

Summary:

- Fine workshop, especially the excellent work together across USAID.
- Results provide a basis for moving forward
- Burundi will benefit