PROMOTING CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT THROUGH DECENTRALIZED LOCAL GOVERNANCE: The Potential for Grassroots Democracy in Puntland

KEY POLICY MESSAGES:

1. The key elements of effective citizen engagement are civic education, institutional capacity, enabling environment and agreed framework for dialogue and a link - whether it is an established institution or some other form of formal liaison between the citizens and their local government.

2. The most important objectives of supporting meaningful citizen engagement are to create more informed and better-engaged citizens with sufficient information, knowledge and skills to overcome elite domination of development, social, political and economic policy and decision-making and help develop collaborative local community action.

3. The successive governments in Puntland have not fulfilled the pledges to their people to decentralize the political, administrative and fiscal powers and resources closer to the local level. In the few instances where efforts were made to establish some semblance of democratic governance at the local government level, there was a lack of full commitment at the State level to avail sufficient political space and resources for decentralized grassroots democracy to gain traction.

4. Lack of awareness in social and political accountability on the part of the general public (the right holders) and indifference on the part of the different branches of the government (the duty bearers) to provide checks and balances scupper the possibility to develop and deliver mechanisms to ensure sound social accountability which is the prerequisite for affecting citizen driven governance style.

5. The absence of adequate policies, strategies and institutional frameworks to enable citizens participate in shaping decisions that affect their lives in self-government were and remain to be at the core of the predicament of perpetual breakdown of local governance and major obstacles to decentralizing governance in a democratic manner.

6. A significant portion of the Somali society in Puntland take a more sceptical view of democracy and citizen engagement and believe that democratic system of government ostensibly breeds the practice of values that are foreign to the social fabric of the Somali people and inconsistent with the religious tenets of Islam.

7. Only 9 out of the 50 districts in Puntland have formulated District Development Frameworks (DDF) that reflect community perspectives in setting social, political and development policies and priorities. This suggest that local development in most of Puntland districts is at best a venture that citizen participation has minimal bearing.

8. Some progress has been made towards decentralizing local governance in Puntland. The formation of local councils has been accomplished in a number of districts in Puntland, albeit the councillors are selected and appointed by traditional leaders on clan-based power sharing formula. Improved citizen engagement could raise the prospects of a transition to a democratically elected representative local government.
1. INTRODUCTION

Clan-based system:

Is considered undemocratic and does not instil a sense of ownership and confidence in the public due to lack of political freedom, citizen engagement and participation.

Past attempts:

There has been a number of attempts to reform the governance system in Puntland but sufficient political space and citizen-driven democratized grassroots governance was absent in those initial attempts.

Reforms:

Political reforms, democratization and decentralization will provide a platform for increased engagement and participation of citizens in social and political life. Consequently, improved citizen engagement will scale up the demand for freedom that is more political, self-government and full participation in development.

The concept of citizen participation in public affairs has gained popularity in Puntland and Somalia at large in recent years, however, it is more often than not discussed in the context of the planning and management of local community development projects led by non-state actors rather than in governance matters. While there is a growing citizen engagement in many spheres of social life, full public participation in politics and decision making at local and state level is not yet realized and it seems the notion that the government (the centre) has monopoly on governance matters over the people is embedded in the psyche of Somali people. This lack of effective citizen engagement in local governance could be attributed to inherent social, cultural, institutional and structural barriers. For instance, women, youth and minority groups are not provided space in politics, policy and decision making processes as men.

Prior to the advent of the colonial powers in the Horn of Africa, Somalis had a communal governance polity characterized as pastoral democracy by a number of academics. This socio-political culture was practiced through the use of a set of customary norms locally known as Xeer with the combination of the tenets of Islamic Shari’a under the leadership of traditional leaders. This system of traditional governance with Xeer being the core centrepiece and serving as a social contract—though with its imperfections—worked for the Somalis since time immemorial and is practiced to the present day in many places in Somalia and other parts of the Horn of Africa for conflict resolution mainly on the premise of arbitration, keeping social order and creating inter and intra clan social cohesion and harmony. There are some historical accounts of the existence of state-like polities prior to the advent of the modern Somali nation-state in the 1960s, which have not been properly documented due to the oral tradition practiced by Somalis before invention of the Somali orthographic script in 1974.

Since its formation in 1998, a clan-based political and power sharing system of electing State representatives and leadership has been practised in Puntland. This system is considered undemocratic and antiquated and does not instil a sense of ownership and confidence in the public due to lack of political freedom, citizen engagement and participation. Significant portion of the people in Puntland are of the opinion that the perpetual motion of the current clan based political system is corroding the democratic ideals that inspired the formation of the state from the outset and in turn serves the narrow interests of special groups of the so-called Puntland elite.

Notwithstanding, there has been a number of attempts to reform the governance system in Puntland but sufficient political space and citizen-driven democratized grassroots governance was absent in those initial attempts. Although no real progress has been made so far to transform the state into a stable democracy, certain institutional arrangements were made to lay the foundation for potential democratic governance such as the structure of the state government and institutions, drafting democratisation and decentralisation laws and regulations and the emergency of vibrant civil society, private sector and free media. Local district authorities have been established in a number of localities to promote peace, restore governance and rule of law, decentralize power and resources to the local level, deliver some social services and promote local economic development.

It is suggested that political reforms, democratization and decentralisation will provide a platform for increased engagement and participation of citizens in social and political life. Consequently, improved citizen engagement will scale up the demand for freedom that is more political, self-government and full participation in development, social and economic policy and decision-making.
Inclusivity:
Greater inclusion of women, youth and marginalized groups in local governance decision-making might serve as the cornerstone through which civic education efforts that target these populations are channeled and citizen engagement is realized.

2. STUDY METHODOLOGY

The study was incepted with a brief literature review on the key domains of the study to discuss citizen participation and engagement in local governance, democracy and decentralization. The study employed purposive research techniques, which targeted individuals and groups from the target communities who had sufficient knowledge and understanding of the subject matter and its contemporary and historical context. The study utilized qualitative data collection approaches/tools including Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) and Triangulation. The sampled population numbered 93 persons in five major towns in Puntland namely Garowe, Galkaio, Qardho, Bossaso and Carmo.

3. CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LITERATURE

The concept of citizen engagement and participation cuts across peace, governance and development studies and attracts a number of useful definitions. While the terms can be used interchangeably, citizen engagement has much broader meaning and coverage than citizen participation. The closest definition of both these terms comes from James V. Cunningham in his 1972 work on citizen participation in public affairs. He defined citizen participation “as a process wherein the common amateurs of a community exercise powers over decisions related to the general affairs of the community. He added, “It is an advanced process within the democratic idea and occurs when non-elite persons in large numbers extend their policy making beyond voting in elections”.

Ricardo S. Morse (2012) elucidated the term citizen engagement as “a wide spectrum of citizen participation—from simply informing citizens, at one end, to collaborating with them, at the other—has long been recognized and the term citizen engagement is often used to distinguish more collaborative, communicative interactions between citizens and administrators”. He summarised a number of thoughts in political philosophy and public administration to present the far-reaching implication of the term “citizen engagement”. Ricardo also cited the work of Sara and Denhardt, Lukensmeyer and Torres and a number of other academics to illustrate the depth of the meaning of the term citizen engagement. Sara and Denhardt (2010) suggested, “Citizen Engagement focuses on revitalizing democracy, building citizenship and reinforcing a sense of community, and it cannot be equated with one-way exchanges between government and citizens”. Lukensmeyer and Torres (2006) described “Citizen Engagement as forums that bring the affected public into partnership with decision-makers through dialogue-based processes at points along the policy-development continuum”.

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The Objective:
To create more informed and better-engaged citizens with sufficient knowledge and skills to overcome elite domination of development, policy and decision-making and help develop collaborative local action.

Cuthill and Fen (2005) categorised citizen participation “a basic building block for contemporary democratic society and sustainable communities”. Cuthill (2003) emphasised the role of citizens in helping build ‘strong local democracy through the development of human and social capital’ which are very crucial for planning and delivering development outcomes.

Rocha Menocal and Sharma (2008) discussed the importance of citizen engagement to bring about more responsive and accountable institutions. They posited that ‘increasing citizens’ voice will make public institutions more responsive to citizens’ needs and demands and therefore more accountable for their actions’.

The need for citizen engagement and the key role it plays to achieve development objectives and outcomes is largely recognised globally. The UN report, People Matter (2008), states that “engagement is regarded as an important governance norm that can strengthen the decision-making arrangements of the state and produce outcomes that favour the poor and the disadvantaged”. The UN Economic and Social Council set out in its resolution 2006/99 a passage to encourage “Member States to strengthen citizen trust in government by fostering public citizen participation in key processes of public policy development, public service delivery and public accountability” and identified priority areas for action such as improved “Participatory governance and citizens’ engagement in policy development, service delivery and budgeting”.

The International Conference on Engaging Communities in Brisbane (Brisbane Declaration 2005) put community engagement in the context of “the two way process by which the aspirations, concerns, needs and values of citizens and communities are incorporated at all levels and in all sectors in policy development, planning, decision-making, service delivery and assessment; and by which governments and other business and civil society organisations involve citizens, clients, communities and other stakeholders in these processes”.

The most important objectives of supporting meaningful citizen engagement are to create more informed and better-engaged citizens with sufficient knowledge and skills to overcome elite domination of development, policy and decision-making and help develop collaborative local action. Furthermore, citizen engagement is necessary to enhance the capacity and readiness of the citizens and civil society organisations to engage as partners in the governance process, to promote equality and equal opportunity, to support inclusive and cohesive society and ultimately to strengthen institutional accountability and transparency. Improved accountability and transparency reciprocally improve citizen engagement and participation. Local governments have a lot to gain from improved citizen engagement as it can enhance governments’ legitimacy and popularity.

The key elements of effective citizen engagement are civic education, institutional capacity, enabling environment and agreed framework for dialogue and a link - whether it is an established institution or some other form of formal liaison between the citizens and the local government. The significance of such institution does not only derive from the imperative of formalising the practice of engagement but the need to put in place sustainable communication and dialogue process between citizens and local government and a collaborative decision making, community mobilisation and coordination mechanisms.
4. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT: THE PUNTLAND EXPERIENCE

The Charter:
It outlined the transformation of the political system to democratic system of government within three years through universal suffrage that would enable its citizens to exercise their rights to choose their leaders in a fair and free elections.

Elections:
Puntland has institutionalized elections and peaceful transfer of power in every five years.

Current Promises:
The present Puntland government has promised to rekindle the democratization process in Puntland by restructuring the then Ministry of Interior and Local Government and merged it with other docket such as Democratization and Federal Affairs.

a. Citizen Engagement and Participation in Local Governance

Puntland State of Somalia was founded with a long-term vision of instituting a democratic system of government in the region. The initial clan-based power sharing arrangement was intended to be temporary and reflected the clan power balance, structures and influence. Its first transitional charter outlined the transformation of the political system to democratic system of government within three years through universal suffrage that would enable its citizens to exercise their rights to choose their leaders in a fair and free elections. Albeit the political elite who sought public office at the time and those who succeeded them in subsequent terms in office did not live up to those ideals and pledges and the old clan-based system of selecting legislators who in turn select leaders in the executive branch of the Government persists to-date.

Despite the failure of those governments and a myriad of challenges, Puntland has institutionalized elections and peaceful transfer of power in every five years. It is worth to mention that a bold attempt was made towards transitioning to democratic government during President Abdirahman Mohamed Faroole reign with the following initiatives undertaken to experiment democratization at this period:

- During this period, Puntland Decentralization Policy was drafted.
- Law Number 7 for the Formation of Local Government Councils, which was first enacted in 2003, was reviewed, amended and passed in 2012.

President Abdirahman Faroole’s successor, Dr. Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, has initially moved the democratization process forward by establishing a new Ministry for Constitution, Democratization and Federal Affairs in 2014. There were high expectations for a renewed commitment to resume the democratization efforts in Puntland. However, due to a confluence of factors, nothing was fulfilled and the process was left defunct to the last moment of Dr. Ali’s tenure. With this failure, the democratization prospects in Puntland were once more dashed.

The present Puntland government under the leadership of Mr. Said Abdulahi Deni has shown both leadership and commitment in rekindling the democratization process in Puntland by restructuring the then Ministry of Interior and Local Government and merged it with other docket such as Democratization and Federal Affairs. This was hailed as a step in the right direction as it provides a platform for renewed momentum in the sense that the new Ministry incorporates Local Governance with Democratization in a Federal Arrangement. This new impetus of seemingly revamping the legal and institutional mechanisms for democratization and federal affairs into one institution may serve as the bedrock for pioneering an enabling environment that puts in place all the ingredients required to deliver political reforms and substantive democratic governance. Moreover, the appointment and ratification of new nine-member Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC - 3) has been concluded in November 2019.

- In January 2011, Faroole’s Government introduced a new law establishing the first Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC), which was passed by parliament.
- In November 2011, Puntland parliament passed the Constitutional Referendum Law, amending the means of ratification from a popular referendum to Constituent Assembly Convention.
- In April 2012, Constituent Assembly Convention adopted the current Puntland Constitution.
- Puntland Legislature passed the Political Associations Law in June 2012.
There are no organized and recognized political groups, parties, and public forums to facilitate the participation of citizens in the political and decision-making processes in state and local government in Puntland. It is scrupulous to mention that while there was no explicitly defined roles for citizens (vote, referendum, validation, etc.) in deliberations and decisions about political reforms in Puntland, at the same time, public debates, consultations, and meetings on Puntland democratization programme have been ongoing for a long time. However, a significant portion of the Somali society in Puntland take a more sceptical view of democracy and citizen engagement and believe that democratic system of government ostensibly breeds the practice of values that are foreign to the social fabric of the Somali people and inconsistent with the religious tenets of Islam.

b. Civic Engagement in Public Policies
The study respondents were asked about citizen engagement in public policies from planning of social services, policy formulation and bringing in new legislations to economic and political reforms. More than 60% of the respondents are of the opinion that citizen engagement entails the active and constructive involvement of citizens as participants in the development of public policies and assists the government in determining and realizing its mandate. Majority of respondents agree that the successive governments over the past 21 years of Puntland existence did not invest in social and political reforms that would engage citizens sufficiently in the process of public policy development and decision making.

The failure to effectively implement political reforms and democratization in Puntland can be partly attributed to the failure of Puntland leadership and public officials who do not follow the constitutionally mandated procedures in enabling citizens to participate and play a productive role in these activities. Effective and achievable public policy construct requires a strong involvement of and genuine consultation with citizens in every step of the policy identification and development to avoid any policy planning and implementation failure, overlapping and misplaced priorities.

In line with global trend, there are growing numbers of non-governmental organizations, pressure groups and single issue local activists in Puntland ranging from groups campaigning for environmental protection, infrastructure development, poverty eradication, women, youth and minority economic and political rights, prevention of extremism and violence to the elimination of female genital mutilation (FGM) and other forms of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV).
5. CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

Majority of the respondents recommended the government to embark upon efforts to create an enabling environment for citizen engagement and participation. Therefore, the following key practices are recommended:

- To develop a participatory mechanism for citizens in the local government structures and statutory requirement on local governments to consult with citizens and ensure citizens’ input into decision making. The mechanism should ensure inclusion of women, youth, minorities and the most disadvantaged. It should provide a system of gathering citizens’ comments, feedbacks and complaints and outline ways to measure, evaluate and act on such citizen feedback and complaints.
- To outline a comprehensive capacity building programme for citizen engagement to include possible joint arrangements between citizens and relevant stakeholders.
- To set out a strategy for the use of technology, and in particular social media, in improving citizen engagement, particularly to encourage youth engagement and offering space in which citizens can mobilise around local governance issues.
- To build partnerships between local government and youth programmes operating within districts to create economic opportunities and support constructive youth mobilization and involvement in local governance.
- To capitalize on all the existing opportunities to promote greater awareness to and engagement with vulnerable and marginalized groups as a means to promote social inclusion and strengthening local governance.

6. SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

More than 65% of the respondents in this study agree on the suggestion that the missing link between citizens (the public) and local government stems from the absence of effective social accountability. Social accountability is a process of constructive engagement between citizens and their government which facilitates actions to be taken by citizens to hold politicians, civil servants and service providers to account for their conduct, performance and the responsibilities to accomplish the pledges they make, deliver services and public goods, improve community welfare and protect the rights of the citizen. Specifically, it fosters an atmosphere in which citizens of all occupations are connected to government and sustains their meaningful participation in decision-making that affects their immediate needs, especially in health, education, water and social infrastructure.

It provides checks and balances that reinforce basic human rights and renders citizens not just beneficiaries of the local government social services delivery but makes them right holders and the government as their duty bearer.

In Puntland context, there is a lack of social accountability practices in the management of public affairs. It is understood that social accountability promotes democracy and decentralisation and forms an integral part in tackling corruption and inefficiencies as well as improves the effectiveness of allocation and appropriation of public resources for local social service delivery. In other words, social accountability creates a sense of ownership for citizens and enables citizens to organise themselves, access information and participate in the planning and monitoring of public programmes that directly affect their lives and similarly put the locally elected leaders in check.

5. Inclusive Mechanism:

The mechanism should ensure inclusion of women, youth, minorities and the most disadvantaged. It should provide a system of gathering citizens’ comments, feedbacks and complaints and outline ways to measure, evaluate and act on such citizen feedback and complaints.

6. Social Accountability:

It is understood that social accountability promotes democracy and decentralization and forms an integral part in tackling corruption and inefficiencies as well as improves the effectiveness of allocation and appropriation of public resources for local social service delivery.
Respondents commented that to introduce social accountability requires mutual trust and openness between citizens, groups and government. Enhanced trust and confidence leads to constructive engagement in honest, participatory and sustained manner and the formation of partnerships that create space for not only continuing dialogue and negotiations but also a medium where both citizens and government could mobilise resources to improve services.

7. THE NEXUS BETWEEN DECENTRALIZED SERVICE DELIVERY AND GRASSROOTS DEMOCRATIZATION

Decentralization: A process of transferring power and resources to the local governments and provides local governments with greater political, administrative and fiscal authority to plan and deliver social services and establish participatory processes in managing local affairs with the local community.

Piloting: In Puntland, decentralization has been piloted in some districts where local district governments were established and given greater responsibilities for revenue generation, needs assessment, planning and service delivery and budgeting. Although these local authorities have not been formed in free and fair one-person one-vote elections, they have seen a rise in citizen engagement and participation in policy development and decision making as well as improved social service delivery, economic development and accountability.

Decentralization is a process of transferring power and resources to the local governments and provides local governments with greater political, administrative and fiscal authority to plan and deliver social services and establish participatory processes in managing local affairs with the local community. Similarly, democratic local governance is the process of governing at the local level in a democratic manner. In light of the above, the two concepts fittingly complement one and other as when an effective decentralization is enhanced, local democratic governance gains traction in tandem.

74% of the respondents agreed with the statement that democratisation and decentralisation complement each other and promote grassroots governance system and citizen engagement, which enable local communities to self-govern with more power and responsibilities, resources and skills.

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With the Puntland democratisation programme back on track, citizen engagement will be indispensable to realise decentralization and grassroots democratic governance.
## 8. CONCLUSION

It is generally agreed that there is no effective citizen engagement and participation in Puntland public affairs particularly in the political arena due to lack of citizen space and access to information, the undemocratic political climate in Puntland and the absence of social accountability and a link between the citizens and the local governments. Successive Puntland governments have not provided an enabling environment and required democratic space for citizens to participate in the running of the affairs of their local governments.

Attempts made by the successive governments in Puntland to transform the governance system from clan-based power-sharing selection to a modern stable democratic state where the people at the grassroots exercise their rights to universal suffrage have not been achieved. The perpetuation of this practice of clan based selection of local and state government leaders deprived local citizens of their universal suffrage rights to elect their political and government leaders and rendered them detached from their state and local government.

The failure to democratise Puntland State has affected upon the decentralisation of power and resources to the local level and the promotion of effective citizen engagement and participation. On the hand, the absence of effective citizen participation and engagement also impacts on the democratisation and decentralisation processes as the citizens do not have the avenues to put pressure on the government and demand for localisation, more political freedom and democracy.

Previous Puntland democratisation attempts provide ample understanding and experience of the challenges and opportunities of the process. With the formation of a new Ministry of Interior, Democratisation and Federal Affairs and the completion of the Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC-3), the process could be expedited to ensure the conclusion of necessary political, legal, technical and institutional frameworks to organise local government elections in Puntland in the next two years. Moreover, the democratisation process must be complimented with increased citizen engagement and participation with appropriate social and political channels.

Advancing the capacity of effective and accountable local government requires the willingness and capacity of civil society organizations and citizens to take responsibility for their communities and participate in local programming, priority setting, implementation of decisions, and then monitoring effectiveness and impact of actions.

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**Disenabling Environment:**

Successive Puntland governments have not provided an enabling environment and required democratic space for citizens to participate in the running of the affairs of their local governments.

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**Democratization:**

Moreover, the democratization process must be complimented with increased citizen engagement and participation with appropriate social and political channels.

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**The failure:**

On the hand, the absence of effective citizen participation and engagement also impacts on the democratization and decentralization processes as the citizens do not have the avenues to put pressure on the government and demand for localization, more political freedom and democracy.
### 9. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

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<td>The government should make a priority creating an enabling environment and means for citizens to participate in social, political and economic policy and decision-making processes at the local level.</td>
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<td>The government needs to engage and involve citizens in a wide range of functions that relate to the formulation and implementation of social service programmes including consultations on needs assessments, determination of levels of service, budget priorities and the acceptability of physical construction of social infrastructure projects in order to align government priorities with community needs.</td>
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<td>The government should expedite the democratisation process and replace the long-standing tradition of clan-based selection of state and local government leaders with free and fair one-person one-vote elections in order to form legitimate and representative state and local governments.</td>
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<td>The government must legislate and implement decentralization of service delivery at the local level to help set up a system of grassroots democracy.</td>
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<td>The government need create an enabling environment for social accountability and pioneer a mechanism to promote the organization of citizens, citizen’s right to access to information and social, economic and political means to support constructive citizen engagement.</td>
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<td>The government need to review and harmonize the existing policies, laws, legislations and regulatory frameworks to address the demands and challenges of democratisation, decentralisation and citizen engagement. Where necessary, new strategic policies and laws should be developed.</td>
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<td>The government need to incentivise and facilitate processes for public involvement in defining and agreeing the priorities in local government set-up, development of district plans and budgets and stimulate public participation in the monitoring and evaluation of local government performance, thereby strengthening social accountability in service delivery and in the management of public affairs.</td>
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