



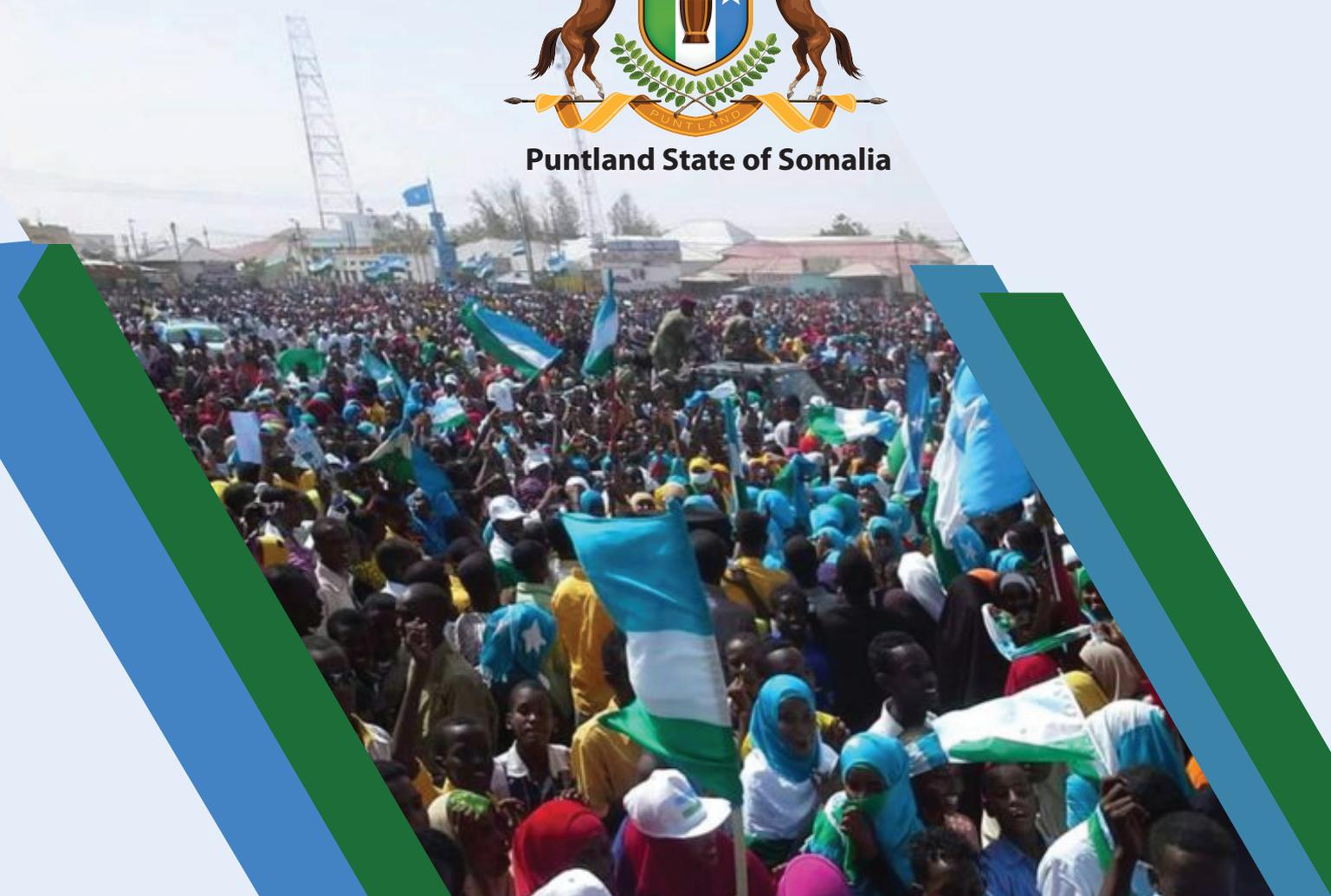
**KAALO**  
Aid and Development Org.



**National Endowment  
for Democracy**  
*Supporting freedom around the world*



**Puntland State of Somalia**



**PUNTLAND CITIZENS MANIFESTO  
STUDY REPORT**

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*This study report leads stakeholders, including the State Government, to develop and implement a number of policy actions in the next several years.”*

## This Report

This citizen manifesto study by KAALO Aid and Development has been conducted in Puntland State of Somalia with the technical assistance of Agaasin Consulting Services and with the funding of National Endowment for Democracy. The aim of the study is to assess the current state of Puntland, discuss main challenges facing the region, identify policy priorities and recommend policy actions to be taken by future administrations in the coming years.

During the study, six purposively selected experts and statesmen participated in key informant interviews. Additionally, the study team conducted three focus group discussions in three major population centers (i.e. Bosaso, Gardo and Garowe) participated by a total of 60 citizens from different sectors of the society. Finally, the research team conducted extensive literature review in order to carry out a thorough situational analysis and to develop appropriate data collection instrument for gathering appropriate primary data for the topic of the study.

This study report leads stakeholders, including the State Government, to develop and implement a number of policy actions in the next several years. More specifically, this study will lead the state leadership, civil leaders and relevant bodies and institutions to set policy directions with the attempt of achieving sustainable economic growth, social development, peace and security, effective governance and independent and effective justice services. Specific recommendations of the report include intensification of business investment, ending corruption, improving public financial management, improving the capacity of security agencies, working to end the ongoing conflicts in several regions, expanding and improving the quality of key basic services and improving the social integration in the State. In addition, the study recommends the implementation of several programs aimed at building confidence of Puntland citizens and making implementation of one-man, one-vote elections a top state priority.

Finally, this report was presented to KAALO Aid and Development on 30th of November 2018. The views and interpretations are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of KAALO and its management.

“

*. . . time, dedication and effort of many people who in diverse ways contributed to its completion and to each of them we express our thanks and appreciations”.*

## Acknowledgements

The design and preparation of this report involved the time, dedication and effort of many people who in diverse ways contributed to its completion and to each of them we express our thanks and appreciations. We specifically want to thank all the facilitators and assistants who worked determinedly to collect high quality data in a very short period of time with high level of accuracy. This team, who were selected based upon their previous experiences in the subject of this study, worked as an effective team and took the ownership of the study making sure that our fieldwork is a success. Our appreciation goes to each one of the research team who are scattered in all target districts.

We specifically express gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Said Mohamud Hirsi, our Senior Researcher, who led our field work during this research and to Arnold Makumbam, our Senior Researcher and Technical Writing Specialist for conducting comprehensive literature review and data analysis.

To KAALO Aid and Development team, we extend our appreciations for their leadership which inspired many to greatly contribute to the success of this study, supporting the study financially, playing leadership role in the invitation of the target populations, civil society organizations, government and business leaders who participated in focus group discussions and interviews.

The study team is also grateful and expresses special thanks to the target population of the study who cooperated with the research team and made this study possible, including all those who participated in the key informant interviews and focus group discussions for their participation and critical contributions to the study.

*Warsame Mohamud Hassan “Kaytoon”*  
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## Abbreviations

<b>CIP</b>	Capacity Injection Program
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organizations
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>FGS</b>	Federal Government of Somalia
<b>FMS</b>	Federal Member State
<b>HoR</b>	House of Representatives
<b>ICT</b>	Information Communication Technology
<b>KAD</b>	KAALO Aid and Development
<b>KII</b>	Key Informant Interview
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NCA</b>	National Constituent Assembly
<b>NED</b>	National Endowment for Democracy
<b>NGO</b>	Non -Governmental Organization
<b>PDP</b>	Puntland Development Plan
<b>PDRC</b>	Puntland Development and Research Center
<b>PSAWEN</b>	Puntland State Authority of Water, Energy and Natural Resources
<b>PSS</b>	Puntland State of Somalia
<b>PSU</b>	Puntland State University
<b>SSG</b>	Strengthening Somali Government
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children’s Fund
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollar
<b>WB</b>	World Bank

## Foreword

Puntland is at a crossroads in many ways. For one, it's planning to form its sixth state parliament and elect its sixth president who will lead the state in the next five years. Secondly, the state recently celebrated its 20th anniversary commemorating its formation in August 1998 and it's expected to forge a new era of modernizing its economy, delivering standard social services to all of its citizens and the large internally displaced families from other regions of the Federal Republic of Somalia, significantly improve its security apparatus, securing its borders and deepening democratic governance and human rights. Thirdly, the cooperation and relations with the Federal Government of Somalia has entered a new phase after the approval of provisional constitution of the federated Somalia in 2012, formation of several other federal member states and the establishment of the first ever Upper House of the Federal Parliament of Somalia.

All these factors and many more compel state leaders, present and coming, to chart a new vision, strategy and course of action to help the state achieve its immediate and long term developmental goals and to continue to play its historic role in the reconstitution of Somalia Government as the oldest and most mature federal member state in the union. As a democratic state established with the principles of participation, inclusivity and self-determination; the opinion and advice of the citizen must be the foundation of developing state policies. With its mission of strengthening governance and participatory political processes, KAALO Aid and Development has conducted this citizens manifesto study in November 2018 with the generous financial support of the National Endowment for Democracy and the technical expertise of Agaasin Consulting Services.

The aim of the study is to register the Puntland citizens' opinion and to identify what they see as the state's social, economic and political priorities. The specific objective of the research is to identify governance, security, economic development, justice, environmental and external cooperation areas that require greater policy focus. This study report clearly articulates specific findings in terms of state priorities and presents a set of recommendations for policy actions which state institutions must consider its implementation in the months and years ahead.

I take this opportunity and urge state government and other stakeholders to make the implementation of this study's recommendations a top state priority. These policy actions recommended by Puntland citizens; including multiparty elections, investment policy, security sector reform, improving the judiciary and implementing public financial reforms; deserve the undivided attention of the state leadership. Finally, I express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to our partner and funding agency of this study, the National Endowment for Democracy, for its generous financial support. I similarly extend my appreciation to Agaasin Consulting Services for its effective and timely completion of the study. I, finally, thank very much my KAALO colleagues, particularly our Program Director Mr. Burhan Jama Yusuf, for their dedication and superb leadership which made the implementation of this project a success.

Mr. Mohamud Hamud Mohamed  
Executive Director  
KAALO Aid and Development

# Executive Summary

## Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to identify the opinions of Puntland citizens regarding state's social, economic and political priorities. The specific aim of the research project is to identify socio-economic, governance, security, justice and external cooperation areas that require greater policy focus. This study report articulates the progress and challenges, policy priorities in key sectoral areas and recommendations for policy actions which new state leaders ought to consider as they assume leadership as the result of the 2018/2019 elections.

## Puntland Background

Puntland State was formed in 1998 as a self-governing federal member state (FMS) of Somalia after the collapse of Somalia's central government in 1991. It lies on the northeast of Somalia and borders with Somaliland Region, Ethiopia, Galmudug Region, Indian Ocean and Gulf of Aden. According to Puntland Five Year Development Plan 2007-2011, the State has a population of about 3.96 million people with the average population growth rate of 3.1% and population density estimated at approximately 25 persons per square kilometer.

The state has a functioning government system consisting of three branches: 1) a 66-member legislature- the House of Representatives (HoR), 2) an executive branch and 3) an independent judiciary branch. The state adopted a final constitution approved by delegates representing all sectors of the society in April 2009 and had several peaceful transfers of power through a clan-based selection process for the members of HoR and open elections of the President and Vice President.

In December 2018, the fifth parliament of Puntland will be formed for a five-year tenure which immediately will elect its speaker, appoint an electoral committee and

certify presidential and vice-presidential candidates. On 8th of January 2019, the state parliament will elect Puntland's sixth president and vice president. During the period preceding every election, candidates engage in a rigorous campaign processes, seeking the support of various constituencies and explaining their respective political programs for the state. This study is an attempt to identify what policy actions should be taken in this critical juncture of state's history.

## Study Methodology

This study by KAAALO Aid and Development has been conducted with the technical assistance of Agaasin Consulting Services and with the financial assistance of the National Endowment for Democracy, and this report has been prepared based on data collected in three target districts (i.e. Bosaso, Gardo and Garowe) using various data collection methods. First, an extensive literature review was carried out to review relevant documents and records, such as policy surveys conducted in similar situations, the Puntland State Constitution and relevant laws, election records, Puntland State Development Plans, results of several local socio-economic studies and other relevant works.

Secondly, the study team conducted key informant interviews (KIIs) in Garowe, Bosaso and Gardo with six members of Puntland society selected based on their expertise, including current and former senior government officials, university professors, civil society activists and other practitioners. Thirdly, a focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted in each of the target districts where each session was attended by a group of 20 citizens. These sessions, which aimed at producing a list of priority areas and policy actions, was participated by a total of 60 citizens representing different sectors of the society, local officials, leaders of civil society organizations (CSOs), scholars, elders, youth and members of the business community.

## Key Findings

The overwhelming majority of state citizens surveyed expressed grave concern about the direction in which the state is heading. One of the key concerns expressed has been the lack of social, economic and political justice and equality. Participants of the study frequently argued that there is a lack of justice and equality in a number of key areas, such as state employment, service delivery, political participation and the general distribution of state resources. For instance, the state employment process is dominated by nepotism and favoritism. Also, state services are not equitably distributed between the urban and rural as state institutions are largely concentrated in major cities. Furthermore, Puntland continues to practice a clan-based political process and has not been able to conduct multiparty based one-man, one-vote elections since its formation, which bars many members of the society and social groups (including youth and women) from participating in the process.

When asked specifically about the following key areas, participants expressed their concerns about each priority area as follows:

### A. Governance Sector

In the area of governance, the study identified the following key policy priorities:

- Enhancement of transparency and accountability, especially in the management of state resources;
- Decentralization and equal distribution of state resources among sectors, districts and communities;
- Creation of democratic environment and multiparty system, making one-person, one vote elections possible in order to establish more representative government;
- Strengthening rule of law; and
- Establishing strong state civil service.

### B. Security Sector

The study identified the following key security priorities:

- Qualified and trained security personnel;
- Enhancing community engagement and strengthening collaboration between security agencies and the public;
- Providing acceptable salaries and incentives for security personnel based on qualification and merit;
- Improving internal intelligence and institutional capacity of law enforcement agencies; and
- Equipping security agencies with proper communication systems and other necessary equipment.

### C. Justice Sector

During the study, the following key policy priorities have been identified under the justice sector:

- Professionalization of the human resources of this vital sector, such as Ministry of Justice staff, judges, prosecutors and lawyers;
- Enhancing human rights in Puntland;
- Enhancement of prison services and social rehabilitation;
- Increased access to justice and the promotion of women and children rights; and
- Suitable wages.

### D. Economic Development

During the study, the following key economic development policy priorities have been identified:

- Attracting and encouraging investors;
- Creating economic integration with the neighboring countries and regions with specific focus on improving Puntland key productive sectors;
- Improving and protecting economic resources;
- Setting clear strategy to invest in Puntland state infrastructure; and
- Establishing good leadership capable of carrying out an economic reform agenda.

### E. Social Services

During the study, the following key policy priorities have been identified in this broad area:

- Development of social service sectoral policies and strategies;
- Establishment of quality and unified education curricula and standards for all levels;
- Modernization and equipment of hospitals;
- Strengthening qualification of health workers in the state; and
- Provision of potable water for Puntland population.

Area	Recommendation
<p><b>Governance</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The State Government is to make the implementation of one-man one-vote election a top priority;</li> <li>• The State Government must enact a performance/accountability act to ensure that its institutions perform up to set standards and establish a rigorous monitoring and evaluation system;</li> <li>• Review and complete the orderly implementation of the ongoing civil service reform and public financial management programs funded by the World Bank, including immediate establishment of state revenue and budget management that is accountable and transparent;</li> <li>• Introduce decentralization program with the purpose of extending state services to all regions and communities and equally distributing state resources to all citizens; and</li> <li>• Reform state institutions, including reducing executive agencies, establishing clearly stated mandates, ensuring transparency and accountability and introducing and enforcing performance act</li> </ul>
<p><b>Security</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is to offer and fund adequate training for security personnel, including establishing training facilities;</li> <li>• Government should provide necessary equipment and tools for security personnel, including vehicles and communication equipment;</li> <li>• Government must strengthen community policing and establishment of good relationship between police and the communities they serve;</li> <li>• Government has to provide required dress, code of conduct and establish meaningful chain of command for the sector;</li> <li>• Puntland must adopt policy to end conflicts with armed insurgencies,</li> </ul>

Area	Recommendation
<b>Security</b>	<p>with Somaliland and Galmudug regions in order to stop both human losses and economic bleeding which continuously puts heavy fiscal burden on Puntland's already weak economy; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The State Government must strengthen the institutional capacity of security agencies.</li> </ul>
<b>Justice</b>	<p>In the justice sector, the government must undertake the following key policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruit and train qualified judges and staff and provide suitable wages;</li> <li>• Introduce radical reforms of justice institutions aimed at achieving equality to justice and judges' good performance of public service delivery in the judiciary system of Puntland;</li> <li>• Promote and uphold judiciary independent;</li> <li>• Establish professional standard to ensure the State employs qualified judges who can deliver proper services to the citizens; and</li> <li>• Promote and uphold human rights in all justice service processes.</li> </ul>
<b>Economic Development</b>	<p>In area of economic development, the State must take the following key policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enact necessary investment and business regulations laws in order to promote and establish conducive environment for domestic and foreign investment;</li> <li>• Rigorously promote regional economic integration and cooperation with neighboring countries and Somali regions;</li> <li>• Intensively promote export of Puntland products, such as frankincense, livestock, fisheries and agricultural products and establish new markets for these products;</li> <li>• Put in place strict policies and legal instruments in order to protect the environment, seriously fight illegal fishing and curb the import of qaat; and</li> <li>• Increase state infrastructure in partnership with the private sector and strive to build at least three seaports, three new modern airports and three major roads connecting Puntland coast to major population centers.</li> </ul>

Area	Recommendation
<p><b>Social Services</b></p>	<p>In the larger social service sector, the study recommends the following key policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide quality public education services of all levels with established standards and unified curricula, trained teachers, proper school materials, effective control of education environments and adequate education facilities;</li> <li>• Working to establish technical and vocational education with the aim of creating jobs and preparing skilled workforce which Puntland economy badly needs;</li> <li>• Construction of modern, well-equipped hospitals and proper health regulations;</li> <li>• Introducing radical reforms of health sector and employing qualified health workers;</li> <li>• Increased and improved sources of water by digging more boreholes, building dams and water catchments, protecting the environment and stoppage of plastic bags use;</li> <li>• Providing affordable, safe modern electricity for every household and business;</li> <li>• Introducing educational and employment programs aiming at achieving a greater integration of women in the social and economic systems of the state; and</li> <li>• Guaranteeing freedom of expression within constitutional boundaries and standardize press and media profession to promote public awareness, transparency and accountability.</li> </ul>

# Introduction

## Puntland Elections

In December 2018, the fifth parliament of Puntland will be formed which immediately will elect its speaker and two deputies. On 8th of January 2019, the state parliament will elect Puntland's sixth president and vice president. Although people do not currently vote to elect members of parliament (MPs) and state president, citizens and Puntland's vibrant civil society organizations (CSOs) actively participate in election campaigns in different ways. On the other hand, candidates engage in a rigorous mobilization process and seek the support of various constituencies while explaining their plan for the state. They run quite competitive and expensive political campaigns during this period.

## Brief About Puntland

Puntland State was formed in 1998 as a federal member state (FMS) of Somalia. The semi-autonomous state has a functioning government system which comprises of the following three branches:

- 66-member legislature- House of Representatives (HoR),
- Executive branch, and
- Independent judiciary.

The state adopted a final constitution approved by delegates representing all sectors of the society in April 2009 and had several peaceful transfers of power through a clan-based, home-grown selection process for the members of the HoR and open elections of the President and Vice President. Although the state made considerable progress in the past 20 years of its existence, there are number of significant governing, security and socio-economic challenges with which the next administration will have to confront.

## Study Objective

The objective of this citizen's manifesto study is to conduct a political/policy study in order to assess the areas of good governance and politics, justice, security, social service and economic development which will require urgent policy decisions and to produce a report informing the next government's policy agenda and providing policy recommendations for the new administration.

The study has the following specific objectives:

- To conduct a desk review to develop literature review in the areas of good governance and politics, justice, security, social service and economic development of Puntland State;
- To develop a research tool of data collection in each of the above-mentioned sectors;
- To organize and conduct research workshops in targeted locations (i.e., Bosaso, Gardo and Garowe);
- To collect and data from all participants of the research in order to draw findings and policy recommendations; and
- To produce citizens' manifesto report or the study report.

## Organizational Context

### *KAALO Aid and Development*

KAALO Aid and Development (KAD) is a humanitarian organization, which was established in Garowe, Nugal in 1991 from where it has been operating ever since. It is among the few non-profit NGOs that sustained growth and adequate community service. During its life span of 26 years, KAD has implemented more than 100 projects and programs covering Puntland and South-Central Somalia. Over the years, the organization gained experience and strengthened its internal and program implementation capabilities in order to achieve its projected goals guided by its strategic plan, including its mission, vision, strategic objectives and core values. The organization received funding from various funders and donors within the framework of good governance and participatory political processes in order to implement a numbers of research projects in a wide range of socio-economic areas, such as human rights, governance, justice, security, local economic development and entrepreneurship.

KAALO is currently implementing a project titled Engaging Citizens for Better Governance funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) with the objective of strengthening citizens' roles in political and electoral processes and in promoting accountable decision-making. To achieve this objective, KAALO planned to conduct a research to develop a Citizens Manifesto which seeks to shape the government's policy agenda by identifying citizens' views on challenges and priorities of Puntland State and providing policy recommendations for the upcoming new administration. This citizens manifesto is implemented by KAD and with financial support of NED. In order to efficiently and effectively implement this study, KAD contracted Agaasin Consulting Services, which provided the necessary technical expertise needed for the implementation of this study project.

### *Agaasin Consulting Services*

Based in Somalia, Agaasin Consulting Services is an independent professionally driven firm specialized in research, policy studies and institution building. The firm endeavors to transform and redefine service delivery of clients through the deployment of the latest world class business and governance strategies and practices. The firm was established in 2013 by a group of experienced individuals to provide a wide variety of research, organizational development and consulting services to enable institutions and companies to thrive throughout the country.

# 1998

the year Puntland State was formed

# 1991

the year KAALO AID DEVELOPMENT was established

# 66

membership of the legislature -House of Representatives (HoR)

# 20

Number of years Puntland State existence

“  
*Puntland is a state with many complexities. . . has over the years seen a steady stride towards proper fiscal planning and re-establishment of its governance and institutions.*”

### Study Context

The Revised Puntland Development Plan (PDP) (2017-19) calls for the enactment of policies that are characterized by the principles of participation, transparency, accountability, rule of law, effectiveness, equity and strategic vision. Problems of development in Puntland are inextricably tied to problems of governance. Unless Puntland state, regional and local governments perform their assigned mandates effectively and efficiently, little respite will be found from poverty, disease, illiteracy, crime and other problems confronting Puntland. There is only so much that international partners, nongovernmental organizations and market forces can do unless the issues of governance are properly addressed.

The devolution of administrative responsibilities and financial resources between the federal government and federal member states (FMS) is yet to be defined. Puntland, an example of a mature state, has found itself in a situation where it may be reduced to merely enforcing countrywide federal policies in the future in the absence of well-defined federal-state relations. Currently, Puntland's autonomy in dealing with the majority of its economic and social issues is at stake due to the ambiguous federal-state relations. However, if you refer to the Puntland State Constitution Article 4.2, Puntland is committed to working alongside the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and other FMS in defining federal-state relations so that a better Somalia can be a reality. This quite ambiguous relation will not be probably resolved until the prolonged constitutional review process is finalized and final political settlement is reached with regards to several key governance issues related to federalism.

Puntland is a state with many complexities, and it's viewed by many with a condescending notion of being part of a failed state or the perception of a state torn apart not by itself but by proxy wars and the rapacious greed of its elites. This is quite to the contrary. Puntland has over the years seen a steady stride towards proper fiscal planning and re-establishment of its governance and institutions. The question that arises is what does it mean for a state like Puntland to pursue good governance? As stated above, this study endeavors to uncover what the political, economic and social policy priorities ought to be in the immediate and long terms from the viewpoint of its citizens.

# Methodology

## Research Design

The research mainly employed qualitative methods of data collection and literature review. Particularly, the study used research workshops and key informative interviews (KIIs) for data collection. Three focus group discussion (FGD) workshops were organized and conducted by the study team in three major population centers were a total of 60 purposively selected citizens from women, youth, civic leaders, traditional elders and intellectuals participated, and six KIIs (one expert interviewee for sector) were carried out.

## Target Population

This study targets to generally assesses the political standpoints and seeks the policy opinions of all Puntland citizens eligible to vote under the State Constitution. Data for the study was collected from the following three key districts:

Table 1: Target Districts

District	Region	Estimated Population	FGD	KII
Bosaso	Bari	700,000	20	2
Gardo	Karkaar	60,000	20	2
Garowe	Nugaal	150,000	20	2
Total	910,000		60	6

## Data Collection Methods

During the study, the following four main data collection methods were used.

### i. Literature Review

An extensive literature review was carried out to thoroughly review a number of relevant documents and records on the theme of the study. Policy surveys conducted in similar situations were also examined to build a solid background for the research and to inform the development of the study instruments. Sources reviewed include, but not limited to, the Puntland State Constitution and relevant laws, election records, Puntland State Development Plans, state budgets, various sectoral strategic plans, results of several local socio-economic studies, number of policy proposals, policy surveys in countries with similar challenges, policy reports and other relevant works.

### ii. Key Informative Interviews (KII)

In November 2018, KIIs were conducted in Garowe, Bosaso and Gardo were 6 members (3 men and 3 women) of Puntland society purposely selected based on their status in the society. Participants of the interview were subject matter experts, such as current and former senior government officials, university professors, civil society activists and other practitioners. A semi-structured, one-on-one interview were conducted to gather information and input from these informants. Table 2 below describes the age distribution, roles in the society and level of education of KII participants.

Table 2: Age of KIIs Participants

Age Range	No of Participants
25-35	2
36-45	2
46-55	1
56-65	0
66-75	1
Above 75	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 3: Role in Society of KIIs Participants

Role in Society	No of Participants
University staff	1
Civil society leaders	1
Former political leaders	1
Youth leaders	1
Aid organization workers	1
Social workers/teachers	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 4: Level of Education of KIIs Participants

Level of Education Completed	No of Participants
Bachelors	1
Masters	2
PhD	2
Lower	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

### iii. Focus Group Discussions

One key data collection method of this policy study was to administer FGDs in the three designated districts. The objective of FGDs was to produce a list of priority areas and key policy actions for each priority. Specifically, the objective of FGDs was to capture Puntland citizens' opinion regarding policy actions to be implemented in 2019 and beyond. In each FGD, participants were divided into discussion groups to capture their opinions and to achieve consensus about the most vital policy priorities as well as policy actions. A total of 60 community members representing various sectors of the society participated in these discussion sessions. A semi-structured discussion guide was used to gather information.

### Limitations of the Study

Overall data collection and analysis processes have been very successful; however, during the study, a number of limitations and challenges emerged including:

- The time (14 days) allocated for the research was extremely short.
- Most respondents have never been asked to provide research information, and the research team had to educate and convince them to participate in the study.
- Locating and inviting FGD and KII participants was also both labor-intensive and time-consuming.

# Results

## Governance and Political Priorities

Governance refers to a set of institutions, principles, laws and actors that are drawn from, but also beyond, the government. This concept challenges the authority of the State Government of Puntland in the traditional sense that the government is not the only power center of a state. As long as the public recognizes powers exercised by public or private institutions, it is possible to become a power center at a specific level (Oxford Commission on Global Governance, 1995).

Governance identifies the blurring boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues and indicates that, in modern society, the State is transferring its exclusive responsibilities to civil society (i.e. private sector organizations and voluntary groups), which are undertaking more and more responsibilities that were formerly in the hands of the State. As a result, the boundaries between the State and society and between public and private sectors are becoming increasingly blurred, as are definitions of their responsibilities (Gaudin 1999). Governance also identifies the power dependence involved in relationships between institutions involved in collective actions. To be specific, every organization devoted to collective effort has to be dependent on other organizations; to achieve its purpose, it has to exchange resources and negotiate a common goal with others, and the outcome of the exchange depends not only on the resources of each actor but also on the rules of the game and the environment in which the exchange takes place (Merrien, 1999).

Governance emphasizes the importance of autonomous self-governing networks of actors. A self-governing system as such has the authority to issue orders in a particular sphere and work with the Government in this sphere and shares its responsibilities for public administrations.

Governance also recognizes the capacity to get things done without relying on the power of the Government to command or use its authority. In public affairs management, there are other management tools and techniques, and the Government has the responsibility to use them to steer and guide public affairs (Stoker 1999).

## Overall Assessment of Puntland Governance

The political life of Puntland remains largely centered around clan bonds (Bryden, 1999; Caddur, 2007). Democratization process in Puntland has been stagnant, and achievement of multiparty-based governance remains unfulfilled state vision. PDRC and Interpeace (2014) conducted a comprehensive participatory polling exercise that confirmed that in Puntland the majority of citizens want to see a resumption of the democratization process which was halted in 2013 and would like to see state's elections held as early as possible. Puntland state was formed with the promise of moving the state away from the old clan based political formula to multiparty system of government within three years from its formation. After 20 years, this promise is yet to be realized.

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*The political life of Puntland remains largely centered around clan bonds (Bryden, 1999; Caddur, 2007).”*

Puntland citizens recognize the importance of achieving good governance and effective institutions which would ensure that people are more actively involved in decision making and make the government more democratic, transparent and accountable. Consequently, Puntland is proceeding with decentralization of financial and administrative functions. However, this change has been introduced without making the necessary fiscal transfer to enable districts to provide much needed essential social services. Most districts are, therefore, under great budgetary stress and face significant challenges in finding the resources to pay for their legally mandated responsibilities.

### **Strengthening Puntland Governance**

Puntland has been lauded as an example for post-conflict states to follow the numerous strides in good governance, which has resulted in the inclusion of the poor and disadvantaged in the decision-making process. This means that tackling poverty is a reality. "The Puntland State where the poor have a voice in their government is more likely to invest in policies that reduce poverty. When people's interests, needs and human rights are at the center of governance institutions and practices, there can be real progress in combating poverty," (PSDP 2017:37).

However, good governance requires the strengthening the legal framework and establishing all necessary legislations in order to deepen the rule of law in the state. The establishment of the Strengthening Somali Governance (SSG) initiative that has realized 16 draft laws, of which six of them were passed at the Federal Parliament of Somalia, aimed at strengthening institutions and was considered an important step towards the right direction in enhancing the governance in Somalia and in Puntland. USAID reports (2018) that although this is happening, strengthening of

institutions in a collaborative sense to reach even the hidden voices of citizens should be a priority in legitimizing the state and enhancing the democratic processes. Parliaments in the regional states should be keen on adopting legislations that are aimed at entrenching good governance through various programs, such as UNDP GROL program, the World Bank Capacity Injection Program (CIP). The completion of drafting new constitution leading to successful convention of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) and approval of the new constitution and establishment of the new Federal Parliament was a crucial cornerstone in Somalia as a whole UNDP (2015).

### **Key Principles of Governance**

A governance system that is inclusive, transparent and meritocratic is the system most likely to foster and encourage economic growth. One needs to imagine the government as an individual with his own desires/needs and a free will. If this "individual's" desires/needs represent the desires and needs of the society as a whole, then this "individual," i.e., government, working on behalf of his own self-interest is working for the interest of the society as a whole. But if the governance system is exclusive, then the government will work for the benefit and betterment of a selected few. Such a system is dangerous for economic development as such a system is bent on bringing forth laws, policies and agendas that concentrate the wealth of the nation in the hands of those in power or those who elect those in power. In the Three-Year-Development-Plan, Puntland is striving tremendously to be as inclusive as possible, and its governance system is always 'upgrading' itself to be more and more inclusive (PSDP 2017-2019).

Since its inception, the government of Puntland has been gradually gaining the confidence of the people through the re-establishment of public sector institutions to provide public security and essential services. However, the capacities of these public institutions started at different stages, and the demand for services

from the citizens have been steadily growing in higher proportion than the delivery capacity of the government institutions. International partners have greatly helped in strengthening institutions through working with the government and the communities in Puntland. This emphasizes the process of transparent and accountable project delivery that instills confidence and legitimacy in the government.

One of the main issues bedeviling the Puntland government is the lack of capacity to deliver on its mandate, calls for a comprehensive strategy with a focus on the capacity development of Puntland government to enable individuals, organizations and societies to perform their core functions, identify and solve their problems, set their own objectives and achieve them on a sustainable basis. Adapting Good Governance as a reform strategy will bring about the development of a comprehensive capacity building. This capacity building should be determined on three levels: individual, institutional and societal level, and resources must be set aside for the same.

The envisioned major areas under governance are: the enhancement of the capacity of institutions to deliver on their mandate, decentralization and improvement of service delivery, restructuring and strengthening public finance management, improvement of the capacity of civil society institutions, use of ICT to increase efficiency and transparency in all government institutions, improve the coordination and communication systems and fundamentally, work on democratization and improvement of the election system to make it transparent and accountable to the people.

### State Budget

One of the key challenges in Puntland is the poor management of state budget or lack of it. According Puntland Budget Analysis by Abdulkadir H. Muhammed (2018), the state budget has steadily increased for the past four years as outlined by the table below. However, these budget increases did not result in significant economic development and governance improvements.

Fiscal Year	Internal Revenue	External Funds	Total (in USD)
2018	72,600,000	97,857,052	177,441,570
2017	67,200,000	86,406,694	160,560,646
2016	57,600,004	12,518,312	70,118,316
2015	Unknown	Unknown	71, 876, 044
2014	Unknown	Unknown	40,904,256

The same analysis indicates that a lion's share of 2018 state budget is consumed by administrative and security costs among several sectors as outlined by the table below:

No	Sector	Amount (in USD)	Percentage (%)
1.	Administrative sector	37,809,918	51%
2.	Security sector	26,127,361	37%
3.	Social sector	6,708,340	9%
4.	Economic sector	1,954,382	3%

The Puntland budget is marked with lack of transparency, lack of public consultations, overestimations (the budget of Ministry of Finance is three-fold higher than the budget of combined 16 agencies in the social and economic sectors of the government), large budget variances (in 2017 Budget the actual is far below the budgeted by 40% with 90% of the budget deficit being failed anticipated donor funds), lack of diversified revenue sources (77.7% of state revenue is generated from the Bosaso Seaport), heavy dependence on donor funds (in 2018, Ministry of Education received 170,412 from state revenue and 4,866,522 of donor-funded projects budgets) and lack of clearly stated fiscal targets.

### Key Findings

In the governance area the participants of the study identified the following as the important policy priorities:

- Establishment of proper coordination mechanism among government institution;
- Enhancement of transparency and accountability, especially in the management of state resources;
- Decentralization and equal distribution of state resources among sectors, districts and communities;
- Continuous and recurrent monitoring and evaluation of government performance;
- Creation of democratic environment and multiparty system and making one-person, one vote elections possible in order to establish legitimacy;
- Setting up a long-term strategic vision for the state;
- Strengthening rule of law;
- Electing/appointing good leaders for state government positions; and
- Establishing strong state civil service.

**51%**

of the state budget is consumed by Administrative costs

**37%**

of the state budget is consumed by Security costs

**9%**

of the state budget is consumed by Social costs

**3%**

of the state budget is consumed by Economic costs

## Conclusion

In conclusion, experts and researchers concur that Puntland's governance sector has the following critical developmental priorities:

- Introducing public reforms based on strong promotion of good governance principles, such as rule of law, transparency, accountability, inclusivity and public ownership;
- Making formation of a representative government a top state priority through multiparty elections at both local and state levels;
- Implementation of targeted reforms such as public financial management (e.g., reforming state banking services, revenue management and state budget) and civil services reform;
- Boosting state's legislative functions by capacitating the state parliament, Puntland House of Representatives, to enable it to enact necessary laws related to governance;
- Radically reforming 'integrity institutions' such as Auditor General, Attorney General, Accountant General and Tender Board to ensure that they have the necessary independence, legal tools, capacity and appropriate remunerations;
- Introducing and enforcing effective mechanisms to fight and bring to an end the widespread corruption in state institutions; and
- Decentralization of state services and making sure that these services are equally distributed among communities, districts and regions.

## Security and Justice

### Security

In recent years, security issues have moved from the margins to the center of the development agenda. Security is now recognized as essential for citizens' livelihoods, access to services and the free exercise of civil, political, social and economic rights. Security is seen as particularly crucial for the marginalized and vulnerable sections of the society, as they suffer disproportionately from a perennial threat to life and property and violence in the absence of security. In turn, security is seen as the principal development challenge in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCS). In securities profoundly hinder the economic development of any country. The 2011 World Development Report Conflict, Security and Development called for a paradigm shift in the development community's work in fragile and conflict-affected settings. The report argues that fragility and violence arise when countries are exposed to economic, political or security stresses that they are institutionally unable to cope with.

While Puntland remains largely peaceful, critical areas for potential conflicts are (a) the right to explore and use the precious natural resources such as minerals, fishing and land; (b) continued conflict with militant groups in Bari and Sagan regions, c) widespread arms in the hands of citizens and d) the ongoing border disputes and periodic deadly clashes with neighboring regions of Galmudug and Somaliland. Without transparent, accountable management and equitable distribution of state revenue and resources among communities, there is a possible risk of destabilization and conflict.

In addition, the scarce resources, such as grazing and water are also potential causes of conflict. So far, however, the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, known as 'Xeer,' has helped to maintain considerable stability within Puntland. There is a growing interest to strengthen these traditional conflict reconciliation mechanisms specifically to resolve traditional conflicts. In addition to Xeer, there are other methods of settling disputes, namely Shari'a and Somali codified justice system. Ideally, the close links between these justice systems mean that they can provide appropriate resolution mechanisms, thereby helping maintain peace and stability.

The court system has undergone institutional and physical rehabilitation but is still in poor shape and covers only an estimated 25 percent of Puntland justice service. Besides, regional challenges there are also a worrying concern that the region remains vulnerable to spill-over from Yemen's civil war and the global jihadist competition between Al Qaeda and Islamic State. Given the increased presence of Al Shabab in Puntland, the crisis in Yemen has the potential to strengthen the relationship between Al Shabab and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), including through the provision of weapons and expertise. Such links have already been created in the southwest with the frequent collaboration between Al Shabab and its Kenyan counterpart Al-Hijra, (Security and Justice Expenditure Review, 2018).

Puntland has a land dispute or boundary dispute with Galmudug and Somaliland this has caused recurrent conflicts and wars that directly contributed to the insecurity in the state including freelance militia, increased arm sales, unauthorized check points, wide spread corruption, unskilled police officers and increased use of qaaf and other drugs. In addition, land grabbing and land dispute creates insecurity and arbitrary killings as a result of inadequate land policy and implementation.

### **Security and Institution Building**

Many studies have shown security has a direct impact on the growth of investment, social and human capital development and building public institutions. Many studies also show that insecurity weakens the investment climate by making investment incentives scarcer and destroying material assets and human capital. The private sector is subject to higher costs in the form of security taxes, i.e., the additional costs associated with negative externalities as a result of

instability and would be confronted with disorganized markets in a society ridden with higher security risks. Insecurity also negatively affects human and social capital, particularly the most vulnerable segments of the population. The effects are evident in the form of physical and psychological damage, migration, deteriorating living standards, interruptions in public utilities, etc. Finally, insecurity weakens the legitimacy of public institutions and creates points of entry for corruption. Growing uncertainty in a conflict-ridden society is generally both the cause and consequence of the skewed distribution of national resources, which weakens the overall security sector apparatus of the society.

### **Security Challenges in Puntland**

The security sector faces a number of challenges, including the following:

- Heavily dependent on donor funding;
- Poorly structured and poorly coordinated;
- Inadequately trained and equipped;
- Improperly remunerated;
- Citizens have little confidence in security personnel;
- Widespread weapons in the hands of civilians; and
- Prolonged conflicts in Bari, Sanaag, Sool and Mudug regions.

### **Study Findings on Security Priorities**

To enhance the defense and security capacity and to secure sustainable peace, safety and security; Puntland needs to undertake an effective security reforms. The security policy needs to make sure that there is constant monitoring of borders, maritime, air and the security of the people of Puntland. Main priority issues under security are: security institutional capacity building, reforming equipping and building the capacity of the security forces, reforming the legal framework governing civilian weapon ownership- (light and small arms), community policing, youth mobilization and stabilizing conflicts,

clearance of UXOs, landmines and compensation of UXO victims, rehabilitation of dis-engaged defectors (Al-Shabaab, pirates, perpetrators and drivers of violence), improve counter terrorism surveillance and human trafficking watch and developing a CVE (Counter Violence Extremism) policy.

The study the following key security priorities have been identified:

- Qualified and trained security personnel;
- Enhancing community engagement and work relations with the public;
- Providing acceptable salaries and incentives for security personnel based on qualification and merit;
- Improving internal intelligence and capacity of law enforcement agencies;
- Civic education with the aim of reducing crimes and conflicts;
- Equipping security agencies with proper communication systems and other necessary equipment;
- Establishing clear chain of command and discipline;
- Improving structure of security sector and improving cooperation among its agencies;
- Introducing disarmament and reintegration program to reduce arbitrary killings;
- Establishing land policy and determining land ownership to reduce or eliminate violent land disputes; and
- Sincerely fight illegal fishing and to prevent piracy.

### Justice Sector Challenges

The judiciary, the core of the justice sector, is regarded as the weakest of the three governmental branches in Puntland. The justice sector of Puntland State is well structured on paper; the State Constitution (2009) clearly outlines

structures, responsibilities, powers and principles of all actors of the sector as detailed by KAALO's (2018) justice values chain baseline study. However, there are a number of challenges facing the sector including lack of equality before the law and access to justice for all, low-capacity state justice institutions, sector personnel not selected based on merit and qualifications, lack of adequate and fair prosecution which results in court rulings that are not often enforced.

### Policy Priorities in Justice Services

The justice sector actors continue to rethink and reshape the delivery of justice services. Although the mixed legal system needs to be coordinated, all three systems work in parallel governing all matters and events. It has served well for Puntland and created a stable and sustainable system with an independent judiciary. The Justice Sector is essential to economic growth in the State of Puntland. A state that cannot uphold private property law is a state that is crippling its own chances of achieving economic growth.

During the study, the following policy priorities have been identified under the justice sector:

- Modernizing the core structures and processes of the judicial system;
- The application of reformed laws and policies;
- Professionalization of human resources of this vital sector, such as Ministry of Justice staff, judges, prosecutors and lawyers;
- Enhanced and improved access to justice;
- Improvement of legal education;
- Enhancing human rights in Puntland;
- Enhancement of prison services and social rehabilitation;
- Increased access to justice and the promotion of women and children rights;
- Equality before the law; and
- Suitable wages.

## Social Services and Gender Issues

Social sector development promotes issues of education, health, social protection, gender parity, decent work conditions and empowerment for different groups such as women, children, youth, internally displaced persons, the older persons and persons with disabilities. Development in the social sector is vital if the State of Puntland is to achieve its development goals in all of the remaining five sectors. To maximize economic growth, reach political and governmental maturity defined as a governance system that is inclusive, transparent and meritocratic, gain a fair and just, effective and efficient judicial system, maintain stability and security, build a modern-day, developed nation-type of infrastructure.

In post-conflict Puntland gender equality in public administration has been curtailed in many ways. This is partly as a result of the re-emergence of traditional clan structures limiting women's participation in public life and decision-making positions within the public administration. However, paradoxically, the conflict has also provided a possibility for change. In recent years, Puntland State Governments has initiated significant policies towards ensuring gender equity in public administration and gender mainstreaming in policies and programs. State leaders are seen as advocates of gender equality and specifically of gender equality and equal representation in the public administration.

The current government has taken a number of steps to transform policy to practice. Possibly the most important of these has been the promotion of establishment of quotas to increase women's participation in political decision-making positions and within the public administration. As more women become involved in key sectors through the civil service, judiciary, security, public and financial structures; they are breaking down long-held

perceptions that decision making is a domain for male elders only. However, the lack of sufficient educated and trained women is a long-term problem that needs to be dealt with to ensure the existence of a pool of qualified women who are available to work in public administration. "Establishing quotas is an initial step towards increasing (the number of) women in public administration, but we also need to ensure that women are educated and empowered so that they come forward and apply for positions," (UNDP, 2011).

## Sector-Specific Challenges

The current reform of the civil service is essential to achieving gender equity in public administration. Establishing affirmative action policies, merit-based recruitment guidelines and gender mainstreamed capacity-building programs are steps towards providing women with a more equitable and accessible civil service. Donors, especially UN, need to continue to work with the government to ensure that the reforms are kept on track and that they incorporate mechanisms to institutionalize gender mainstreaming.

Increased access to education is a longer-term goal and is necessary to build a pool of qualified women for public administration and government institutions. Although more women are studying at universities, there is still a lag in the number of girls who progress from primary to secondary education, which will eventually affect the number of qualified women in the workplace. The government should consider providing scholarships or other support to girls to enable them to progress from primary to secondary education.

The area of social services also includes critical areas, such as education and health. Education in Puntland faces enormous challenges. Although significant progress has been made, Puntland enrollment rate of school-aged children continues to be

one of the lowest in the world (57.9%) with gender disparity of 56% male and 44% female, according to PESSP (2017). Successive state government administrations did not give education services proper attention. For instance, the state spends less than 7% of its annual budget on education services. Approximately 60% of Puntland communities are pastoralists or semi-pastoralists communities in nature and do not benefit from formal education services because of inadequate decentralization of education services. Although Puntland has strengthened the education system since recovering from the fall of the central government with the support of international donors, significant challenges remain. In the past three years, a number of curriculum materials for primary, secondary TVET education have been developed and printed according to Joint Review of Education Sector (JRES) 2017 report. Progress have been also made in the area of teacher training. In the period of 2016-2017, 2854 (representing 48%) of Puntland teachers have been trained. Key challenges include poor funding, low quality learning materials, very inadequate facilities, low-capacity teaching staff, gender gap in both students and school personnel etc.

Despite certain improvements in health services, the majority of the population in Puntland does not have adequate access to affordable quality health care. Quality of health services is considerably low which forces many patients to seek treatment elsewhere, such as traveling to Mogadishu, Hargeisa or foreign countries. In addition, rural communities do not receive an equitable share of the current health services.

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*A the state spends less than 7% of its annual budget on education services.”*

## Key Findings

During the study the following key policy priorities have been identified in this broad area:

- Development of social service sectoral policy and strategy;
- Establishment of quality and unified curriculum;
- Improving qualification of education personnel;
- Construction of enough schools with adequate spaces;
- Consider disabled citizens when designing education faculties and establishing education services;
- Improving quality of education by providing enough school materials and lab equipment;
- Free education for poor people and pastoralists and introducing education to remote areas of the state;
- Effective quality control for medicine and education services;
- Modernization and equipment of hospitals;
- Strengthening qualification of health workers in the state; and
- Provision of potable water for Puntland population.

## Conclusion

Key priority concerns within the social services include the following:

- Prioritization of access to education particularly in remote, hard-to-reach areas, promotion of quality of education at all levels improved and the inclusion of science technology and innovation;
- Increasing access to primary health care/service in far and remote areas, Increased primary health infrastructure in both urban and rural areas;
- Identify and close gaps in women and child development projects, establishment of women's skill development centers; and
- Improving access to social services for disabled and other vulnerable groups and the establishment of technical training centers for orphans and street children to increase their employability.

## Economic Development

Economic development is the process by which emerging economies become advanced economies. In other words, the process by which countries with low living standards become nations with high living standards. Economic development also refers to the process by which the overall health, well-being, and academic level the general population improves. Case in point, one of the essential elements in economic growth is human capital. The betterment of the education system is the most efficient and most effective means of ensuring human capital growth. Human capital growth, especially among the youth, leads to reduced unemployment among the youth as the youth, now highly-educated has better means of finding employment or creating businesses that require serious ingenuity but small seed capital. The youth, which constitutes the highest percentage of the population in Puntland, now employed can be taxed relatively to provide funds to better the lives of senior citizens. As one can see clearly, developments in the social sector lead to positive developments in the economy, i.e., economic growth, which leads to further developments in the social sector and so forth, as if this were an avalanche. A similar type of relationship is found between the remaining four sectors and the social sector. Namely, one where development in the social sector leads to an expansion in the other industry and likewise, an expansion in the other sector leads to a development in the social sector. In short, development in the social sector is vital to achieving development in the remaining five sectors.

The Puntland economy is highly mismanaged and faces a number of challenges including skyrocketing inflation, poor marketing of state products, corruption, unexploited natural resources, use of foreign currency, high unemployment, printing of fake currency, lack of monetary policy and lack of proper banking. These challenges contribute to state's poor living conditions, decreased purchasing power, nepotism and favoritism which eroded people's confidence, shrinking government revenue, chronic unemployment, human smuggling and extremism.

## Economic Growth Strategy

Sound and sustainable economic growth cannot be achieved without putting in place well-focused programs to reduce poverty through empowering the people by increasing their access to factors of production, especially credit. The existing capacity of the poor for entrepreneurship would be significantly enhanced through the provision of microfinance services to enable them to engage in economic activities and be more self-reliant and to increase employment opportunities, enhance household income, and create wealth. It is imperative to create an enabling environment to attract more foreign investment into the state to increase employment and local production. The Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MoPIC) has taken concerted efforts to strengthen Public-Private Partnerships, focus on expansion and diversification of domestic and foreign trade, promoting small industries and factories to encourage local productivity.

In accordance with Puntland Education Sector Strategic Plan (2017), the table indicates the GDP and Per Capita GDP Trends in Puntland (Samantar, 2011).

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*Approximately 60% of Puntland communities are pastoralists or semi-pastoralists communities in nature and do not benefit from formal education services because of inadequate decentralization of education services*

2016	
Puntland GDP Growth Rate (US\$)	2.24%
Puntland PPP	\$ 8,943,208,492
Puntland per capita GPD	\$ 573.28
Puntland GDP (US\$)	2,235,802,123

### State Infrastructure

In terms of economic infrastructure, successive central governments in Somalia (1960-1991) neglected Puntland – which constitutes approximately one-third of surface land in Somalia – as there is only one paved runway located at the Bossaso airport in all of Puntland to date, only one tarmac road that connects Galkayo to Garowe, which is in a deplorable condition and one functioning port with limited capacity and equipment. However, since the formation of the Puntland government in 1998, the successive administrations maintained the existing infrastructure at different levels despite the financial and technical limitations. One of the significant challenges that hinder economic growth and development is poor infrastructure. (Revised Puntland Development Plan, 2017-19).

There have been numerous improvements regarding infrastructural development over the years. Nonetheless, the key priority issues are: improved of the necessary airport and air navigation infrastructure throughout Puntland, development of Puntland civil aviation and airport policies, enhanced human capital development, improve necessary port infrastructure and shipping services, International Ship and Port Security (ISPS) Development, maritime safety development, construct and rehabilitate feeder roads that connect coastal towns to mainland, improve tarmac road condition, provision of heavy duty equipment, encourage public private-Partnership initiatives, rehabilitation and extension of the public transport maintenance Workshops with complete equipment and training class rooms, increase the number of boreholes in the rural areas, piped water installation for 10 selected towns in Puntland, provision of modern drilling rigs and introduce solar and wind energy in all Puntland to reduce the reliability of diesel engines.

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*It is imperative to create an enabling environment to attract more foreign investment into the state to increase employment and local production.*”

## Taxation

There is a need for the establishment of clear purposes and policies with regard to the tax collection and enforcement institutions with broader tax policy objectives are contained. The tax laws should be structured in a manner that is easy to understand, which would contain several cross amendments, annual changes, description of items and the coding. For all difficulties encountered Puntland authorities should review the legal framework of the tax system to assess their types and rates accurately. The review process should consider both short-term and long-term policy initiatives. Short-term policy actions include revising the rates of the items like Khat, Tobacco and tobacco products, electronics, luxury cars (increments of these items were recommended during the Revised Puntland Development Plan (2017-19) as part of development resources envelope and other luxury items.

Tax policies support poverty reduction by creating more growth and reducing the cost of goods mainly consumed by the poor. Tax policy actions must be in line with the Revised Puntland Development Plan (2017-19) objectives through supporting increased production, minimizing distortions, promoting human development and generally exempting the poor from paying certain taxes. There should be a systematic training of tax officers, and fiscal policy is also essential. The long-term policy schemes will be aimed in moving to Ad Valorem basis that gives a better picture and tends to be more efficient in the enforcement to tap uncollected taxes.

## Key Study Findings

During the study, the following economic development policy priorities have been identified:

- Attracting and encouraging investors;
- Creating economic integration with the neighboring countries and regions;
- Improving and protecting economic resources;
- Transparency and accountability in the management of state economy;
- Collaboration of government institutions mandated to grow the state economy;
- Deeping the rule of law to establish confidence;
- Establishing land and environment policies with specific focus on conservation;
- Establishing good leadership capable of carrying out an economic reform agenda.
- Working to put in place monetary policy mechanisms in order to address inflation;
- Promoting quality TVET programs to improve the skills of the young generation and create jobs;
- State Government and Chamber of Commerce must collaborate to discover external markets for the local products; and
- Increasing a local production and putting in place quality control practices to boost our trade relations;

## Conclusion

According to previous studies, the broader area of economic development has key priorities:

- Modernization of productive sectors (fisheries, livestock, agriculture and manufacturing);
- Improving state economic infrastructure (roads, ports, airports, electricity grid, water infrastructure etc.);
- Overhauling the Puntland tax code;
- Enacting Puntland commercial and investment laws;
- Establishment of technical and trade training institutes to graduate skilled workforce and standardize various professions;
- Properly utilize international development aid; and
- Promotion of small scale industries and entrepreneurship.

## Discussion And Conclusion

The Puntland state of Somalia has made tremendous progress since its inception 20 years ago. Although a myriad of challenges remain, the desire and will are there; the citizens are more aware on their roles, but the question that arises is if the government is cognizant of the needs of its people. As evidenced in the literature review, serious significant and institutional reforms need to be undertaken by the state in order to continue in this upward trajectory of state building. Numerous studies have identified similar needs and priorities for Puntland; what remains is harnessing the people's goodwill and the government's dedication to steering the state on this path of recovery and development that is of vital importance for the peace and development of Puntland. Study findings clearly indicate that citizens have considerable concern about the state of the state, especially about the areas of weak security personnel, ineffective justice institutions, inadequate social equality, lack of state economic strategy, poor governance and poor state infrastructure.

### Security Area

In the area of security, citizens conclude that security personnel of various agencies in the field must be given training related to criminology, human rights and public relations. Human rights is very important aspect in relation to police duties and responsibilities. Having no knowledge in human rights and human dignity and discipline, police officers can cross the redline and may commit many mistakes. Currently, there are few professional officers in the police while others were employed through clan recommendations. Forum participants believe that tribalism is an enemy of administration which hinders all duties of government.

On the other hand, there must a suitable and sustainable salaries for state security personnel in order to meet their basic human needs and become motivated to stand up for the most challenging state task. Provision of acceptable salaries to security officers across the state is very essential for ensuring security. By no means is security improved without the satisfaction of the basic needs of security personnel. To ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of security services, citizens recommend restructuring the current security agencies and establishing streamlined chain of command with the purpose of winning the confidence of the Puntland public. Another area of security improvement is to equip and provide proper facilities for security personnel to execute their duties. They cannot deliver any suitable services without necessary tools and equipment.

In addition, building positive, cooperative work relations with communities and citizens is an imperative for law enforcement agencies in order to carry out their respective mandates. Securing Puntland requires cooperation between the police and the people and it is vital step toward building trust between the police and various communities. At present time, there is no meaningful, organized relations between the police and the public which discourages citizens to report insecurities to the police. Therefore, trust building between the police and people is one of the highest priorities of Puntland State in accordance with the citizens opinion. Finally, rebuilding the state security, must be seen as an integral part of building state economy and government system. Building strong government institutions means strong security agencies because government institutions support each other.

## Governance Area

Citizens who participated in the study also expressed deep concern about Puntland governance. KII and FGD forums participants highlighted that proper coordination mechanism among state institutions can have the right consequence or impact on states management and leadership and will make institutional failure less likely. When there is a mistrust between the government and people due to lack of transparency and accountability, the government integrity suffers immensely. In addition, citizens will not have the kind of information necessary to hold these institutions accountable and provide the meaningful support that is necessary to sustain these institutions when there is no transparency and accountability. For instance, citizens need to know about how government institutions utilize state resources. The participants of study forums held a strong believe that the successive past Puntland leaders have clearly failed to address the issue of governmental transparency and accountability which led to a widespread unconcealed corrupted practices and embezzlements. Transparency and accountability also lead to make sure that the state government institutions are working properly and are delivering required services to the people. In addition to cooperation and transparency, citizens see continued monitoring and evaluation of governmental institutions as another essential governance principle and a key to delivering quality state services. Participants of the study believe that monitoring and evaluation enhances transparency and accountability and makes governance an inclusive and participatory exercise.

Puntland has not been able to elect its local (district councils) and state (legislators) leaders in a multiparty competitive process as stated in the state constitution. These essential governance bodies are appointed through a clan-based power-sharing process which was meant to serve only as a temporary measure back in 1998 when the state was formed. The clan-based political process represents an obstacle to establish and practice good governance principles. Citizens believe that due to lack of one-man one-vote elections in the past 20 years, Puntland has a government system that is less just, ineffective, corrupted and less able to carry out necessary reforms.

Therefore, citizens demand and encourage multiparty political system to nurture democratic principles of justice and rule of law in Puntland State. Only this type of process has the potential to achieve a government that is representative, inclusive and more able to deliver the economic and social reforms that the state badly needs. Citizens also believe that this type of government will be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of various citizen groups and stakeholders. Rule of law is one of the basic principles of good governance and without strong rule of law, no real government to speak about. The study participants highlighted many shortcomings that have taken place in Puntland due to lack of rule of law. Criminals and perpetrators are at tea shops, and the police officers cannot arrest them. This is mainly because of weak administration and strengthened tribalism which negatively affects accomplishment of rule of law.

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*. . . Only this type of process has the potential to achieve a government that is representative, inclusive and more able to deliver”*

Participants of FGD forums also recognize electing/appointing good leaders as a main pillar of government progress of achieving properly functioning institutions. It is very essential to get the will of the government to execute its constitutional mandates. Since its formation in 1998, Puntland State largely witnessed weak and short-sighted leaders who could not put into practice their responsibilities and promises during election campaigns. Therefore, unless Puntland people get chance to elect their leaders, there will be no hope for improvement of governance. There is a lack of direct cooperation between the people and their leaders. People want to know how state funds are spent and on what priorities. The participants of the forums said that the leadership of the state has repeatedly failed to respect any principle of good governance, including transparency and accountability and does not demonstrate that it respects the will of the people. Citizens have many grievances against state institutions and high-ranking officials.

Finally, the widespread nepotism and favoritism led to have civil servants without basic capacities to discharge essential state functions and makes government institutions like a knife without a sharpened edge. The civil service management must be changed as it cannot produce good results and proper service delivery. Provision of employment in Puntland does not depend on what you know but it is who you know as well as clan membership. Majority of the government institutions staff are incompetent people.

## Justice Area

Citizens express grave concern about the state of justice in their state. In Puntland, only those who have enough resources and power have access to adequate justice service and are able to win court decisions. It is very top priority for the state to give great consideration to the improvement of justice sector. Justice institutions suffer lack of capacity. Citizens demand that there should be adequate and sufficient court facilities, such as sufficient facilities and other necessary means, and there must be proper legal system to safeguard the integrity of the rule of law.

Where state institutions are weak and where professionalism is not important many persons call themselves judges, prosecutors and the like; therefore, it's the responsibility of the state to make sure judges, prosecutors and state law enforcement officers have the right qualifications by properly screening applicants before they are appointed. Personnel selection must be based on merit and qualification.

There are many weaknesses in the justice sector of Puntland. Participants of the study stated that justice institutions are corrupted where you cannot have access to justice without paying bribes, and court decisions depend on how much money you pay. It is apparent that victims who cannot afford bribery would not have access to justice. Many people who need access to justice have kept silence with their case because they cannot afford to make payments. It is very top priority for the state to significantly improve the capacity of state justice institutions. One of unfortunate realities is that unqualified individuals crammed into justice institutions. Another challenge is that suitable salaries are not given to justice workers which invites bribery, corruption, maladministration and deviation of court decisions. That is why many people kept away themselves from putting their case to courts and choose alternative mediation mechanisms, such as customary law and unofficial judges.

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*Only this type of process has the potential to achieve a government that is representative, inclusive and more able to deliver.”*

## Economic Development Area

Since the formation of Puntland, the economy was degrading year after year and there has been decrease of export, high inflation and lack of proper taxation. There is an apparent mismanagement of the economic sector of the State. Business people are not organized and not connected to foreign markets. Government does not utilize economic experts and doesn't explore new markets. It failed to curb the ongoing astronomical inflations.

Puntland is rich with numerous natural resources, such as livestock, marine resources, agricultural resources, frankincense and more. But these resources have not been rightly exploited, properly managed or marketed to generate enough income for both the state and its people. As a state, Puntland has the longest coast of about 1,400 km long, but it doesn't give interest in this area of rich resource. Puntland has large areas that are good for farming with fertile soil that could have huge different in production. There are unique trees in Puntland called frankincense which is very expensive in world markets; however, middleman traders exploit our farmers by buying this product with very low prices. Protection of state's economic resources is the most urgent priority.

Fish should be protected from illegal fishing and extinction. Illegal fishing is a national disaster and disservice to our resources and the environment. Puntland citizens demand resource and environmental protection in order to sustain livable land and conserve state's rich natural resources for current and future generations.

Health of animal population should be given consideration and care. Wildlife illegal hunting should be banned state-wide to protect wildlife populations which is an important asset for the state. It is one of economic rights of the people and duty of the govern-

ment to protect the economic resources of its people. There is drastic desertification and formation of gullies, mountains of sand in livestock grazing lands. These will ultimately lead the whole thing to devastation of livestock.

Prolonged drought and unkindly burning trees for use of charcoal makes the land bared with blowing wind and formation of hills of sand. Grazing land changed into white sanded and like empty bowl. It is indispensable to consider that Puntland people economically depend on livestock and their products. Without serious environmental protection, there could be appalling living conditions for both livestock and the people.

Citizens see the establishment of conducive environment for investors and creation of peaceful environment a top priority because peace and stability indirectly encourage investors. In this regard, Puntland needs to establish the right laws that encourage foreign investors as well. The state government also has to encourage and make possible sound economic integration with neighboring countries and regions and ensure free movement of goods and people which can bring economic growth, social and economic integration and technological transfer among different societies.

## Social Service Area

Education is the most critical social service that requires immediate policy action. Citizens describe this service as inadequate in terms of both quality and quantity. There are no enough school facilities for urban population and pastoralist communities. There are no enough learning materials, curriculum books, teaching supplies, laboratories and qualified personnel. Almost 20% of all enrolled primary and secondary school students have difficulties in paying their fees particularly students from poor families, IDPs, orphans, marginalized groups and minorities. Partici-

pants of the study emphasized the importance of giving free education to all those categories, especially primary education. It is estimated that more than 65% of the population of Puntland lives in remote areas. There is a big number of school age children who haven't got access to education. It is crucial to provide them with opportunities to access.

Children with special needs are not considered in the schools or any other social service. When constructing schools or universities they are not in the minds of those designing and implementing the constructions. Puntland State Government has failed to regard its children with disabilities as citizens who are entitled to have equal access to education services. In addition, Population growth is very high and children at school age are increasing. For that reason, building more schools is very crucial. At present, there are no sufficient education facilities. Many schools put more than 50 students in one classroom of five by five meters. Further, it is apparent that there no enough schools in the Puntland.

Citizens consider the current health services of the state as poor. Currently, there are no modern, adequately equipped health facilities. The government-run hospitals are in very poor condition. These facilities lack the necessary services for both in-patient and outpatient services. Unfortunately, Somali qualified health workers fled the country during the civil war. Puntlanders have witnessed big number of foreigners from around the world who have claimed their professionalism in the field of health. Yemenis, Syrians, Russians, Iraqis, Kenyans and many others arrived this war-torn country without borders. They work at private clinics and hospitals owned by business people. There are many complaints by patients against health workers in Puntland due to their knowledge in the field. People who are economically able to afford go to outside countries do so. They travel for treatment to places, such as India, Turkey, Ethiopia, Malaysia and Europe. Therefore, there is a need for obtaining qualified health workers.

Participants emphasized the need for acceptable quality control for both education and health. All imported drugs and locally available herbal medicine should be controlled accordingly and monitored. Currently, imported drugs and foods are not controlled. Unchecked food commodities and medicine supplies should not enter Puntland seaports, airports or land border crossings without proper quality control mechanisms. Citizens should receive aware campaigns against unhygienic food items and drugs. The participants of this study expressed that imported drugs and foods arrive Puntland without inspection. Business people bring in expired food and drugs, consumers suffer new kinds of diseases.

Puntland state of Somalia receives less rain in the last several years due to the climate change and recurrent drought. Pastoralists and semi urban communities have difficulties to obtain potable water let alone clean water. Puntland should strive to provide clean and enough water to its citizens. Somalia is a semi desert country which Puntland is a part of, but majority of Puntland people in both urban and rural areas collect rainfall water as a source of drinking water. Prolonged droughts and shortage of rainfall negatively affected the availability of water. Natural springs dried out and the capacity of water wells became reduced. Hygienically, there is no clean water, particularly in rural areas.

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*Many schools put more than 50 students in one classroom of five by five meters.*“

## Recommendations

Based on findings and analysis, the study recommends the following policy actions for the Puntland State Government and its partners and stakeholders:

Area	Recommendation
<b>Security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is to offer and fund adequate training for security personnel, including establishing training facilities;</li> <li>• Government should provide necessary equipment and tools for security personnel, including vehicles and communication equipment;</li> <li>• Strengthen community policing and establishment of good relationship between police and the communities they serve;</li> <li>• Government has to provide required dress, code of conduct and establish meaningful chain of commands for the sector;</li> <li>• Adopting policy to end conflicts with armed insurgencies, with Somaliland and Galmudug regions in order to stop both human losses and economic bleeding which continuously puts heavy fiscal burden on Puntland's already weak economy; and</li> <li>• Strengthen institutional capacity of security agencies.</li> </ul>
<b>Governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The State Government is to make the implementation of one-man one-vote election a top priority;</li> <li>• The State Government must enact a performance act to ensure that its institutions perform up to set standards and establish a rigorous monitoring and evaluation system;</li> <li>• Government and civil society institutions must promote and deepen awareness of good governance principles; such transparency, accountability, participatory and rule of law;</li> <li>• Review and complete the orderly implementation of the ongoing civil service reform funded by the World Bank;</li> <li>• Review, improve and orderly implement the ongoing public financial management funded by the World Bank, including immediate establishment of state revenue and budget management that is accountable and transparent;</li> <li>• Empowering and strengthening integrity institution (e.g., Auditor General, Attorney General, Accountant General, Tender Board etc.) in order to fight corruption;</li> <li>• Introduce serious negotiations with Federal Government of Somalia in order to transfer federal responsibilities currently fulfilled by the state government and have equitable access to national resources;</li> <li>• Introduce decentralization program with the purpose of extending state services to all regions and communities and equally distributing state resources to all citizens; and</li> <li>• Reform state institutions, including reducing executive agencies, establishing clearly stated mandates, ensuring transparency and accountability and introducing and enforcing performance act</li> </ul>

Area	Recommendation
<p><b>Justice</b></p>	<p>In the justice sector, the government must undertake the following policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote and ensure equal access to justice services;</li> <li>• Recruit and train qualified judges and staff and provide suitable wages;</li> <li>• Introduce radical reforms of justice institutions aimed at achieving equality to justice and judges' good performance of public service delivery in the judiciary system of Puntland;</li> <li>• Promote and uphold judiciary independent;</li> <li>• Establish professional standard to ensure the State employs qualified judges who can deliver proper services to the citizens;</li> <li>• Making fighting corruption in justice sector a top priority; and</li> <li>• Promote and uphold human rights in all justice service processes.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Economic Development</b></p>	<p>In area of economic development, the State must take the following policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enact necessary investment and business regulations laws in order to promote and establish conducive environment for domestic and foreign investment;</li> <li>• Rigorously promote regional economic integration and cooperation with neighboring countries and Somali regions;</li> <li>• Intensively promote export of Puntland products, such as frankincense, livestock, fisheries and agricultural products and establish new markets for these products;</li> <li>• Put in place strict policies and legal instruments in order to protect the environment, seriously fight illegal fishing and curb the import of qaat;</li> <li>• Urgently reform Puntland state tax code and improve revenue generation;</li> <li>• Develop a long-term state development plan of at least 20 years; and</li> <li>• Increase state infrastructure in partnership with the private sector and strive to build at least three seaports, three new modern airports and three major roads connecting Puntland coast to major population centers.</li> </ul>

Area	Recommendation
<p><b>Social Services</b></p>	<p>In the larger social service sector, the study recommends the following policy actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide quality public education services of all levels with standard and unified curricula with trained teachers, proper school materials, effective control of education environments and adequate education facilities;</li> <li>• Working to establish technical and vocational education with the aim of creating jobs and preparing skilled workforce which Puntland economy badly needs;</li> <li>• Provision of free education for the poor, minorities and internally displaced persons;</li> <li>• Construction of modern, well-equipped hospitals and proper health regulations;</li> <li>• Introducing radical reforms of health sector and employing qualified health workers;</li> <li>• Increased and improved sources of water by digging more boreholes, building dams and water catchments, protecting environment and stoppage of plastic bags use;</li> <li>• Establish independent and effective quality control institutions in all areas of the sector, especially in the areas of health, sanitation, education energy etc.;</li> <li>• Establishing ministry of energy and water resources with the mandate of providing clean, safe water for citizen and affordable, safe modern electricity for every household and business;</li> <li>• Introducing educational and employment programs aiming at achieving a greater integration of women in the social and economic systems of the state; and</li> <li>• Guaranteeing freedom of expression within constitutional boundaries and standardize press and media profession to promote public awareness, transparency and accountability;</li> </ul>

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# Appendexes

## **KAALO AID AND DEVELOPMENT CITIZEN'S MANIFESTO STUDY FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PROGRAM**

### **OBJECTIVE:**

The purpose of this study is to capture Puntland citizen's opinion on what they see as state's social, economic and political priorities of the state.

The objective of this focus group discussion is to identify key priority areas as well as policy actions which should be taken by the upcoming administration.

### **DATE:**

### **TIME:**

### **VENUE:**

### **LOCATION:**

8:30- 9:00 AM	Arrival and Registration
08:30 – 08:45	Welcoming, Opening Remarks and Introductions
08:45 – 9:00 AM	Introduction of Discussion Topic
09:00 – 9:10 AM	Presenting Study Questions MR. WARSAME HASSAN – KAYTOON
09:10-10:15 AM	Identification of Important Priorities Participants will be divided into groups to identify priorities in key areas.
10:15-10:30	TEA BREAK
10:30-11:15	Identification of policy actions should be taken within the first 100 days of the new administration
11:15 AM-12:00 PM	Ranking policy actions in terms of priority
12:00-01:00 PM	LUNCH/PRAYERS
01:00-01:30 PM	Group Discussions
01:30-02:00 PM	Concluding remarks and announcements
02:30 PM	Closing

## FGD Questions

### I. Priority Sectors

1. In your assessment, what are the most important priorities in the following areas?

Area	Priorities
Security	
Governance	
Justice	
Economy	
Social services	

**2. Using the table, explain why each priority is important for Puntland State?**

No.	State Priorities	Explanation
Security		
Governance		
Justice		
Economy		
Social services		

## II. Policy Actions

3. Considering priorities outlined above, what are the most urgent policy actions which should be taken by the new administration within the first 100 days? Please rank these policy actions according to their importance from 1 to 4 where 1 is most important and 4 is least important.

Area	Priorities	Policy Action	Ranking			
			1	2	3	4
Security						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
Governance						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
Justice						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
Economy						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
Social Services						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						

4. Using the table below, provide justifications why each policy action is important in your view.

Priority Sector: XXX		
No	Policy Action: XXX	Justification for importance
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		





Puntland State of Somalia

## PUNTLAND CITIZENS MANIFESTO STUDY REPORT

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