

**STARTING FROM SCRATCH: LESSONS ON CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT AND
PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE FOR POST REFERENDUM PUBLIC MANAGEMENT
SOUTH SUDAN**

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines participatory state rebuilding efforts, with particular focus on citizen engagement as a constitutional requirement for not only nation building but also for public administration in South Sudan. It views state building, including the institutional and constitutional development, as starting from 'scratch'. It also alludes to the need to scratch beyond the politicking of these various processes ensuring that they are processes that are widely inclusive. Using experiences of governance in countries with double attributes as post conflict and liberation movement like Angola, Uganda, Libya and South Africa, the paper hopes to unveil some sustainable and unsustainable lessons for post conflict/referendum rebuilding in South Sudan.

Introduction

In January 2011, the people of South Sudan voted in a referendum in favour of southern succession. This referendum, in favour of self determination and statehood in South Sudan, represents a conundrum for post conflict rebuilding. While there is the euphoria of change, the reality is that state building requires detailed engagement with the albeit less noticeable and likely to be neglected aspects of governance. In particular, this will require that the present surface politicking on Constitution development takes into view the complex journey towards self determination and the importance of citizens in the rebuilding of the state. This will entail deliberative and consultative fora and processes to ensure the broad participation of civil society groups and opposition parties. Moreover, the recent citizens revolution in countries north of Africa show that African states and states in general must begin to take seriously the voices of its citizens and meaningful engagement in the development of the state.

After decades of violent conflict, Sudan began its journey to peace with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. This was a bold step away from conflict and continued warfare to peace. The prolonged war and devastation literally means that South Sudan has started from scratch. Despite this, the aspiration of the southern Sudanese are high and the demands on their

government will be relentless. This paper examines what this country will need to do to balance state building and nation building, with a clear understanding that these aspects are so interlinked that they should not be separated. The South Sudan experience can draw from other examples from the African continent that have emerged from post conflict and liberation movements.

Discussion of key terms

State building or nation building: State building is widely viewed as a construction or reconstruction of the post conflict state through actions of international parties aimed at developing the capacity of state institutions to maintain stable and sustainable government. According to Woodward, “state building” in post conflict states includes demilitarization and security sector reform, the rule of law, human rights, and democratization alongside the neoliberal policies and new public management approach to governance of the World Bank and OECD DAC donors that prioritize financial management and liberalization. The definition is not much different from the post 1980s direction of development aid towards democratic assistance and thus being prescriptive, challenges the ‘emancipatory potential¹’ embedded in citizen expectations towards state building.

Recently, there are growing attempts² to expand state building from purely technical capacity building to introduce the prioritisation of citizen engagement in the state building. Perhaps this view of state building as a product originating from within the state and without external origins points to a growing view in certain quarters that international organisations and governments begin to see themselves more as facilitators³ than initiators in the process of state building. This may stem from a greater understanding that in post conflict situations the subject of nation building cannot be delineated from state building efforts. However the concepts of state building and nation building meet where there is recognition of the need for states to drive reconstruction without compromising the expectations of the people. And for a unique post conflict South Sudan, post conflict reconstruction is also interwoven with the need to create a new nation state avoiding the mistakes of nation building throughout the rest of Africa. This article adopts the view that unites state building and nation building.

Post liberation movements: The morphing of liberation movements from struggle movements to post

¹ Julie Hearn 2000 Aiding democracy? Donors and civil society in South Africa, third world quarterly Vol 21 No 5 pp 815-830

² Department for International Development **Expert consultation on DFID state-building paper: summary of views on state-building**(January 2008)

³ **States in Development: Understanding State-building** A DFID WORKING PAPER

Alan Whites Governance and Social Development Group Policy and Research Division, 2008

liberation governments, presents a governance conundrum for post conflict states in Africa. Referred in some circles as a ‘virus’⁴ post liberation governments have been characterized as single party dominant states with a lack of moral or ethical behavior from the political elite and the tendency to reflect a top down government management process.

Public participation: Some representations of public participation have the tendency to emphasize electoral processes in defining public participation as well as the narrow view of public participation which is limited to the role of the mostly elite focused and organised business and interest group representations in the processes of government (Buccus and Hicks 151-152). This paper views public participation as a tenet of good governance, which emphasizes the importance of a people focused, responsive government by drawing on the consent of the governed⁵ and the ability of citizens to hold their governments to account. Also the definitions of public participation as a human rights and freedom stand point is seen clearly from the political rights and civil liberties checklist of the 2011 Freedom House Freedom in the World Survey as genuine and meaningful consultation with the people on policies of government and by implication service delivery and the right to petition leadership.⁶ The public will range from organised Civil Society and opposition parties to citizens.

Background

Civil conflict in different African states has taken up a sizeable portion of time and effort that could have been devoted to post colonial state building. After decades of civil conflict, in 2005, the Naivasha agreements which resulted in a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Government of Sudan began South Sudan's journey towards a sovereign state. From countries around the horn of Africa and beyond, and given its own internal lessons on constitutional development and the quagmire of power sharing in the larger Sudan, South Sudan has a plethora of lessons to take away. However South Sudan's uniqueness is noted as it represents the dual challenge of post conflict reconstruction and transition from post liberation movement to ruling party. An example is the alienation from government and governance, and the protraction and monopoly of leadership that post liberation parties tend to perpetuate as seen in Libya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe. As different commentators weigh in on the debate of governance and government options there is a need to manage the transition of governance in South Sudan into its own

⁴ Dhieu Mathok Diing Wol 2010 **South Sudan post-secession options of governance: lessons and experiences** Friday 17 December 2010 , Sudan Tribune

⁵ Department for International Development (2006) *White Paper on International Development, eliminating world poverty: making governance work for the poor* Crown Department for International Development, Norwich UK.

⁶ Freedom House: 2011 FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2011: THE AUTHORITARIAN CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

form of government appropriately suited to its own contextual challenges of oil, spatial vastness and diverse cultural communities. Competition over oil, arable land and oil lines resulted in decades of conflict. Bearing in mind the importance of securing state security and enduring peace, the prosperity of Sudan is tied to how it is able to make government open, accommodating and representative of the diverse voices, views and convictions on its road to state building.

The African experience shows that for many years, issues of good governance and reform mattered, but they did not dominate the agenda of the regional organisation (OAU). At the 1990 “international conference on popular participation in the recovery and development process in Africa” in Arusha, Tanzania, the UNECA brought together representatives of African civil society, governments and the United Nations’ system (DeLancey 2001; 136). The conference adopted a charter on public participation called the *‘African Charter for Popular Participation in development and transformation’*. The charter stated that:

“Since African Governments have a critical role to play in promotion of popular participation, they have to yield space to the people, without whom popular participation will be difficult to achieve... This makes it imperative that a new partnership between African Governments and the people in the common interest of societal and accelerated socio-economic development should be established without delay”(UNECA 1990).

This charter hinted on the need to institutionalise popular participation in African governance and in conclusion asserted that:

“It is manifestly unacceptable that development and transformation in Africa can proceed without the full participation of its people. It is manifestly unacceptable that the people and their organizations be excluded from the decision-making process. It is manifestly unacceptable that popular participation be seen as anything less than the centre piece in the struggle to achieve economic and social justice for all.” (UNECA: 1990).

This institutionalisation is more significant in South Sudan which has also grappled with issues of exclusion in the wider Sudanese political processes. Moreover the lessons of exclusion and alienation which strengthened local identities rather than a national brotherhood should serve as enduring lessons on driving uniquely South Sudanese purpose⁷.

⁷ Mo Ibrahim, 2011, Sudan is a warning to all Africa Financial times, January 6 2011

Considerations on governance challenges of post conflict reconstruction and implications for Public Administration

This section considers some issues of governance in post conflict reconstruction in general, and in Sudan in particular, which may have implications for effective public administration, policy development and the delivery of services. It draws from some current and longer existing examples from around Africa. Discussions consider the complex dynamics of post conflict state building and the imperatives for domestically driven processes and the role of the international community in facilitating these processes.

Balancing security in post conflict state with good governance

There is a legitimate concern for peace and security in a state moving toward state building and ravaged by war for decades.

With the lowest scores in Africa on safety and the rule of law after Somalia⁸, and continued conflict⁹ in the issue of security is perhaps the single most important governance challenge in post referendum South Sudan. Thus, where security is crucially fragile as in that of post conflict states, security has been used as an excuse to suppress different voices and opposition. For instance, the continued stifling of opposition participation in democratic processes as seen in the 19 year 'non party' system instituted by President Yoweri Museveni from 1986 after his rise to power following the bush war led by Museveni led 'National Resistance Army' ostensibly to reduce sectarian violence post war¹⁰. However the recent developments in the northern parts of Africa also go to show two scenarios on the possible consequences of protracted exclusion of people in the determination of their own future within the polity. This may perhaps portend a lesson for the need for governments to begin to see the link between security and people's inclusion in determining the trajectory of governance.

In his inaugural address the President of Government of South Sudan (GOSS) General Salva Kiir Mayardit¹¹ characterizes the demand of security as an economic demand for the states especially in keeping the CPA on track. Although the address mentions the issue of reconciliation and healing and the recognition of citizens, the clear link between citizens engagement and public participation as an ingredient for security is missing. Inadvertently, the representation of citizens voices have not been necessarily logged with issues of security but rather as a good governance and perhaps human rights issue. However, the widespread violent community protest over the undercutting of a transparent

⁸ Mo Ibrahim index 2010

⁹ Sudan tribune South Sudan army clashes with rebel group, over 100 dead 9th March 2011

¹⁰ "New-Breed" Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, Joseph Oloka-Onyango, Africa Today - Volume 50, Number 3, Spring 2004, p. 29

¹¹ Kiir's Inaugural Address Outlines Wide ranging Priorities

community participatory process in South Africa¹² shows that one of the underlying causes of the spate of violent service delivery protests in South Africa is citizen disillusionment with government driven participatory processes. Thus, government driven participatory processes in the light of the growing citizens discontent and protest in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, makes it imperative that the link between security and public participation should be greater explored.

Balancing external governance pressures and internal governance demands

The global nature of political and governance systems especially in the relationship between the North and South, is structured in such a way that it has been difficult for African countries in particular to resist the pressures of international agenda in their internal affairs. For instance, despite the widely applauded and seemingly domestic origins of the Libyan citizens uprising, the history of interference has been irresistible as seen in the recent capture of covert British ‘aid’ group¹³ by government rebels on a mission to aid government rebel groups in Libya. Nevertheless, the moral dimensions of external aid and intervention to assist in maintaining good governance, stability and security in fragile states should not be overlooked. However, the blurred lines between intervention and interference especially by Western governments show the difficulty in both the domestic and international political divide to set boundaries and ensure acceptable rules of engagement.

Post liberation movements and single party dominance

For states where liberation struggles were won, the challenge of single party dominance as seen in states across Africa becomes a governance and institutional conundrum, with unconstructive implications for the same. For South Sudan the dominance of the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement (SPLM) is highlighted in the initial membership of the Technical Committee to Review the Interim Constitution of South Sudan, which had to be reconstituted to include 11 members of non SPLM political parties¹⁴. Additionally, the recent reports¹⁵ of the withdrawal of nine political parties from the constitutional review committee over power sharing disagreements and impositions from the SPLM already begin to mirror the observed patterns and governance concerns in post liberation governments across Africa.

¹² This case is the re-demarcation of Khutsong in the cross border municipality of Merafong in the Westrand near Johannesburg. After a transparent participatory process with the community, there was a recommendation to place the municipality in Gauteng province, the national government decided to place the municipality in another province. Nzewi Ogochukwu and fakir Ibrahim 2009 State-Citizen Engagement and Public Participation in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Matching intentions to reality

¹³ The Sydney Morning Herald Britain embarrassed by botched Libya raid by Martin Chulov Benghazi, March 8, 2011 <http://www.smh.com.au/world/britain-embarrassed-by-botched-libya-raid-20110307-1bl56.html>

¹⁴ James Okuk 2011 ‘What is Expected from South Sudan Constitution?’ *Sudan Tribune* Monday 21 February 2011

¹⁵ ‘Nine South Sudanese political parties pull out from constitutional review# *Sudan Tribune* Wednesday 9 March 2011

While there seems to be some good governance strides in post conflict and liberation movement states like South Africa and Uganda, examples from countries like Angola and Libya show the complexities of post conflict reconstruction especially in respect to governance and human development.

Lessons from Angola in particular hold special significance given the role and use of natural resources in the governance and development. Oil spurred economic growth has not bridged the wide social economic inequalities in the country largely due to corruption¹⁶ and authoritarianism. In terms of leadership, the protracted dominance of MPLA in government since 1975 as seen from other African examples, demonstrates the staying power of post liberation movements. The gravity of this dominance is sustained in the new constitution of 2010, which gives automatic presidency to leaders of the dominant party in Parliament. President Dos Santos through this manipulation of an MPLA dominated parliament continues the legacy of neo patrimonial¹⁷ and potential life presidency. Apart from this challenge of leadership, Angola (despite consisted movements up in ranking since 2005), still received a score of 44 out of 100 in the areas of Participation and Human Rights, ranking 42nd overall out of 53 African countries with a good governance overall score of 39 out of 100, not far ahead of Sudan¹⁸.

Despite demonstrating the strong characteristic of post liberation movement states of the single state party phenomenon, South Africa and Uganda have demonstrated a noticeable openness to citizen engagement and public participation. Perhaps for South Africa, its chosen option to democratic rule through a broad participatory process in the constitution and policy development processes early in the democratisation process may have contributed to a structural and cultural subscription to relatively strong independent institutions (media, judiciary) and opportunities for citizens to input governance.

In Uganda, after 19 years of single party rule, the affirmation of people power through the referendum process in 2005 for multi party democracy may have emboldened citizens going forward in their ability to inform policy (66% of citizens agreeing that citizens must be able to question their leaders)¹⁹. However, the referendum was counteracted through a political game of constitutional amendment to extend the term of the president. It is possible that the act of state institutions in the extension of ruling terms in 2005 may have had governance implications going into the future as the Afrobarometer 2010²⁰

¹⁶ Transparency International 2010 corruption perception index ranks Angola 168 out of 178 countries in the world with a very low score of 1.9. with a regional (sub Saharan African) rank of 42 out of 47

¹⁷ Neo patrimonial dictatorships are characterized by patronage, powerful connections, undermines states institutions and rule of law see free dictionary <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Neopatrimonialism>

¹⁸ Mo Ibrahim foundation 2010. *2010 Ibrahim Index of African Governance Summary, revised edition* Mo Ibrahim Foundation

¹⁹ Indeed, demand for democracy jumped sharply from the 30 percentage range in 2000 to the 35 percent in 2005. For more see Afro barometer 2010 Uganda

²⁰ Afrobarometer *Working Paper No. 124 UNDERSTANDING CITIZENS ATTITUDES TO DEMOCRACY IN*

(findings on citizen attitudes to democracy in Uganda showed that public institutions are falling behind public opinion on democratic expectations of Ugandans. Also the recent Afrobarometer survey on citizens attitudes to democracy sees a hike in the rejection of one party state²¹. However it is interesting that although there are these strong attitudes towards democracy, these are not matched with in civic action. Most Ugandans are not members of community interest groups and even where they attend community meetings are not actively involved and discussions tend not to be political²². Perhaps there is still an apprehension of state crack down on voices of opposition and petition against the leadership.

One notable character of South Africa as single party dominant states is the deference afforded to state institutions by the African National Congress (ANC) government. Matshiqi²³ critically examines the single party dominance of the African National Congress and shows that while democratic consolidation is widely viewed as alternation of political parties and/or strong opposition,²⁴ and while doubts on institutional independence and integrity ought to be raised in such states, the South African experience shows that democratic consolidation can also be strong where this dominance is not attained through the undermining of state institutions or electoral codes. In this case, the level of trust in state institutions is significant and the ruling party is willing to abide by the pronouncements of such institutions (e.g. courts). However concerns of such dominance is well founded as seen in the manipulating and undermining of Parliamentary oversight functions as seen in both South Africa²⁵ and Uganda. Particularly in Uganda where the majority of MPs was used to change the constitution to extend the ruling term of the President and where public institutions like courts are undermined by the ruling party and state institutions are used for intimidation²⁶. This presents lessons in governance especially in terms of state building in South Sudan and the need for this fledgling state to self determine.

Laying the foundation in constitutional content and process

Like South Sudan presently, South Africa's transition into democratic governance in 1994, presented an opportunity for exemplary governance and leadership in Africa. For a state thrust into the arena of

UGANDA Robert Mattes, Francis Kibirige and Robert Sentamu

²¹ Afrobarometer *Working Paper No. 124 UNDERSTANDING CITIZENS ATTITUDES TO DEMOCRACY IN UGANDA* Robert Mattes, Francis Kibirige and Robert Sentamu

²² Ibid

²³ Aubrey Matshiqi 2009 Democratic consolidation, substantive uncertainty and institutional certainty: Prospects for the realignment of opposition politics in South Africa. Policy Brief No, 58 centre for policy Studies

²⁴ T. Lodge, *Politics in South Africa* (From Mandela to Mbeki), David Phillip, Kenilworth, Cape Town, 2002, p. 154.

²⁵ Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Independent Panel Assessment of Parliament*, 2009, p, 38-40.

²⁶ The case of opposition leader and the besieging of the high court by state police *Human Rights Watch Uganda: Respect Opposition Right to Campaign* Government Must Remove Obstacles to Free and Fair Elections December 19, 2005

national, regional and global reckoning six years before the turn of the century, the transition represented an opportunity to establish and build on a foundation that will hopefully circumnavigate the past mistakes of African leadership experiences and embrace emergent discourse on good governance, sustainable development and effective government.

Despite heightened expectations, there was a rationalization that the transition from apartheid to democracy will unveil social and perhaps policy paradoxes, which will feature prominently in South Africa's efforts in transformation and improving the life of all its citizens. Thus, there were meticulous negotiations and planning of what the model of the new state will be. Negotiation platforms like the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) between 1991 and 1992 and the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP) thereafter, came to an agreement that a transitional government will prepare the way for the building of the new South African state²⁷. The negotiations resulted in the legal and institutional foundations for a transitioning state and the basis for the principles espoused in the Bill of Rights and the South African Constitution . In addition to these constitutional processes, there were multi-stakeholder sectoral policy forums at national, regional and local government levels in the early 1990s. These overtures provided the avenue for a transitional state premised on the tenets of democracy and people-centred government. An important context of these negotiations, is that unlike the widely held perception, there was no clear political hegemony during the transition²⁸. However these negotiating platforms became the arena for a contest of power and position from which a political hegemony emerged.

Finally, in recommending lessons, historical context is important. For South Africa the history of non-inclusion, matched by the 'the historical legacy of prolonged mass-based prodemocracy movements capable of mobilizing constituencies traditionally excluded from policy making...²⁹' is a unique aspect of the South African experience which has made community and public participation imperative. Nevertheless, scholarship has shown that in practice, implementing and assessing public participation in South Africa is a complicated endeavour³⁰. However, the legal and institutional apparatus provided by South African legal frameworks on participatory governance is matched only by a few countries in the world.

²⁷ (Shaw 2001; 13; Houston 2001;7).

²⁸ Rapoo.T; *Hegemony and policy making: constructing policy consensus in the national Electrification forum between 1993 and 1995*, unpublished masters thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996.

²⁹ Heller (2001:133)

³⁰ Heller; 2001; 139; Buccus and Hicks 156; Guwa <http://www.afesis.org.za>)

Public Administration and policy development

One of the greatest challenges of a fledgling state like South Sudan is the determination of the structure and systems for the new government. The approach of international agencies in these countries is largely focused on public service reform, with the usual World Bank neoliberal prescriptions of small government. With the high dependence on donor funding, many of these states struggle under the challenges imposed by this state of dependency. Policy priorities are determined by the donor community and domestic concerns about local exigencies such as strategies for social inclusion and assimilation of returnees and ex-combatants are not given considerable attention³¹. There are views³² that reform approaches in post conflict African states should be considered within context of post conflict situations where for instance, trust building and inclusivity could be more important imperative for effective public administration than technical issues of capacity and skills development.

A review of the South African legal and institutional framework reveals that the South African interpretation of public participation goes beyond public participation in electoral processes to the inclusion of citizens in the planning and decision making process of government (Houston 2001;3). This means that public participation becomes integral to firstly development and secondly to service delivery. Unlike the transition driven state building participatory processes in South Africa, the participation of citizens and civil society groups in service delivery and development in Uganda emerged as a reaction to failed or weak government between the 1970s and 1980s and only gained recognition from government from the 1990s³³. Also, the space taken by CSOs in Uganda was directly linked to the prescriptions of donor nations whose paradigm of engagement encourages less government and thus the preference to fund non government groups in development projects.

Concluding remarks and Recommendations

There are no simple answers to reconstructing governance and public administration and definitely no panaceas to address the issue. Nevertheless, the nature of the conflict and the extent of the violence are significant considerations in building post-conflict societies, and much can be learned through the challenges and strategies of those countries that have gone through post conflict reconstruction.

³¹ World bank 2009 Improving Capacity Building in Post-conflict and Fragile Settings—African Ministers Share their Experience www.worldbank.org

³² Paul Collier 2009 Rethinking the Provision of Public Services in Post-Conflict States Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford September 2009

³³ Muhumuza

Link between security and public participation must be highlighted. Security is a critical governance challenge in post conflict states. Rather than using this challenge to promote inclusivity, it is often used as a reason to suppress different voices and opposition. Governments need to see the link between security and participation in determining the road to good governance.

Importance of citizens in the rebuilding of the state. This requires broad participation of all sectors in the society, including opposition parties. Inclusiveness ensures a more sustainable solution to the many challenges that must be overcome in a post conflict situation. Key to this is the issue of **leadership**, especially the new political leadership post conflict which is critical to setting the tone and shape of the new nation. Vision and trust are critical characteristics that need to be engendered by the post conflict leadership. If one has regard for the South African situation, the issue of leadership and trust of the leadership was significant in the tone that was set for the overall reconstruction of the country. The negotiated settlement of South Africa was widely applauded and a defining aspect of the post conflict situation is that the ANC leaders started with “a clean plate of trust” and a “sufficient trust capital”³⁴ as they were regarded by the majority as the liberators. At his inauguration speech, the first South African President, Nelson Mandela clearly stated that “democracy requires the rights of political and other minorities to be safeguarded”³⁵.

Approach that **moves away from purely technical assistance to one that promotes the prioritisation of citizen voice** in state building. This requires that international organizations and external actors move away from one of prescription and **move to facilitation** in the process of state building. Initiatives from donor agencies in Southern Sudan have concentrated on human resources capacity development programmes and projects. The dearth of skilled personnel in Southern Sudan had necessitated the importation of skills from other African countries. The UNDP³⁶ in 2009 initiated a project to build capacity for decentralized government in Sudan. The development of human resources in post conflict states is largely impacted by the unique and fragile nature of governance and systems such as the destruction of physical and social infrastructure and the loss of human life. Post conflict states are heavily dependent on donor sponsorship of reforms and capacity building initiatives, and this raises

³⁴ The Role of Political Leadership in Reconstructing Capacity for Public Administration after Conflict: Implications for International Aid. Dr John-Mary Kauzya, 2008.

³⁵ Inauguration speech of President Nelson Mandela, 10 May 1994.

³⁶ UNDP 2008 Support to Public Sector, decentralisation and capacity building Project (PSCAP)

some institutional reform implementation problems. In a meeting with World Bank African region vice president, Ministers from Liberia, Rwanda and DRC noted the following as some of the challenges:

- donors, prioritizing support for primary and secondary education, and not higher education;
- donors pressing a “one size fits all” approach on countries, trying to replicate programmes that were elsewhere;
- the failure by expatriate advisors in civil service posts to transfer their knowledge and skills to local counterparts;
- tension among returning members of the Diaspora and local populations that stayed behind, partly around incentive structures for civil services; and
- an urgent need to deliver skills-training and create job opportunities for young ex-combatants³⁷;

What the above reflects, is that there seems to be a **general disconnect between the needs of individual states under reconstruction and the agenda of donor and funding communities**³⁸

Support local initiatives that **build trust and inclusivity in the relationship between the government and communities**. Citizens concerns are linked to their basic needs and services, and access to opportunities and therefore their engagement must be linked strongly to access to services and opportunities. This will build trust in their government to deliver fair and equitable services. Post-conflict countries such as Liberia, have emphasised the importance of citizen engagement “so that citizens feel included in a system that benefits them”³⁹. The South African case provides an interesting example on participating governance.

Strengthen local government and local community participatory platforms on policy development and engagement with government delivery processes. Weakness of Community Based Organizations and citizens voices at the local level has been a challenge even for a country like South Africa⁴⁰. The concentration effort by donor countries on centralized government challenges at the national level underplays the strategic importance of local government and citizens engagement at the local level. If there is a lesson that can be derived from the South African experience as it grapples with recent

³⁷ World bank 2009 Improving Capacity Building in Post-conflict and Fragile Settings—African Ministers Share their Experience www.worldbank.org

³⁸ O. Ramsingh and Dr N. Nzewi 2010. Overview of issues, challenges and prospects of effective management of human resources in the Public Service in Africa. Paper prepared for the Africa HR Network Conference in Benin 15 to 19 March 2010.

³⁹ Reconstructing Governance and Public Administration Capacity in Post-Conflict Societies 2008. Accra. Julia Duncan-Cassel.

⁴⁰ The Centre for Public Participation (CPP) 2007 Public Participation and Local government 2007 Research Report prepared by *in association with* Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN); Public Service Commission 2010 *State of public service report: 2010*, PSC: Pretoria

challenges in local service delivery⁴¹, it is that for post conflict situations, development in conjunction with peace building in local communities is important and that this sphere of governance should be deemed as priority in post conflict reconstruction efforts.

⁴¹ Republic of South Africa. Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. *State of Local Government in South Africa: Overview Report: National State of Local Government Assessments*. Working Documents, Section 2.4 and 2.5. 2009.