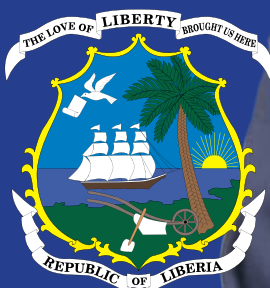




Sweden  
Sverige

# **POLICY BRIEF: GOVERNANCE AND ANTI- CORRUPTION IN LIBERIA**

Highlight of the ARREST Agenda for  
Inclusive Development Pillar 4



PREPARED BY NAYMOTE PARTNERS FOR  
DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF THE  
DEMOCRACY ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM (DAP)



Sweden  
Sverige

**Disclaimer:** The views and ideas expressed in this policy brief are solely those of Naymote Partners for Democratic Development. They do not necessarily represent the positions or policies of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) or the Embassy of Sweden. Naymote Partners for Democratic Development assumes full responsibility for the content presented herein.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword .....	1
Executive Summary.....	2
1. Background .....	3
2. Key Findings .....	4
2.1 Early Achievements .....	4
2.2 Service Delivery Gaps at County Service Centers .....	5
2.3 Key Challenges to Pillar Four Implementation .....	5
2.4 Key Challenges to Pillar Four Implementation .....	6
3. Implications of Key Challenges.....	7
4. Recommendations.....	9
4.1 Accelerate High-Impact Interventions.....	9
4.2 Ensure System Integration and Policy Coherence .....	10
4.3 Embed Outcome and Citizen-Feedback Metrics .....	10
4.4 Strengthen Decentralized Service Delivery .....	10
5. Conclusion .....	11
Reference .....	12

## FOREWORD

Liberia's future depends on strong, accountable institutions and responsive governance. As we embark on implementing the ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development (AAID) 2025–2029, we recognize that transforming governance is not just about policies and programs—it is about the lived experiences of Liberians, the trust they place in public institutions, and the equitable delivery of services across every county.

Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption lie at the heart of this transformation. Its success will determine whether the promise of the AAID—to create a transparent, accountable, and citizen-centered government—becomes a reality. Early implementation presents both opportunities and challenges: progress has been made, yet gaps in service delivery, slow adoption of digital systems, and structural bottlenecks remind us that the path to reform requires persistent effort, effective collaboration, and impact-driven innovation.

This policy brief provides a lens through which to understand these dynamics, offering insights that can guide decision-makers, civil society, and development partners. Beyond monitoring progress, it seeks to inspire action, strengthen accountability, and keep the focus on the ultimate goal: a governance system that serves every Liberian effectively and equitably.



As Executive Director of Naymote Partners for Democratic Development, I reaffirm our commitment to support Liberia in realizing this vision. I hope that readers will not only engage with the findings but also champion reforms that make governance truly responsive, inclusive, and transformative.

**Eddie D. Jarwolo**  
**Executive Director**  
**eddie@naymote.com**  
**+231886510479**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development (AAID) 2025–2029 sets a bold path for Liberia to achieve inclusive growth, improved governance, and enhanced service delivery. Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption is critical, aiming to strengthen institutions, reduce corruption, and decentralize public services.

This policy brief evaluates early-stage implementation of Pillar Four, reviewing 58 interventions across seven program areas and auditing County Service Centers in Margibi, Bong, and Grand Bassa. The findings reveal a mixed picture: notable achievements, such as biometric ID enrollment, pilot e-procurement systems, and legislative progress on decentralization, demonstrate the government's commitment to reform. However, significant challenges remain, including service unavailability at the county level, persistent manual processes, slow digital adoption, and limited institutional capacity, which collectively hinder the pace and effectiveness of reforms.

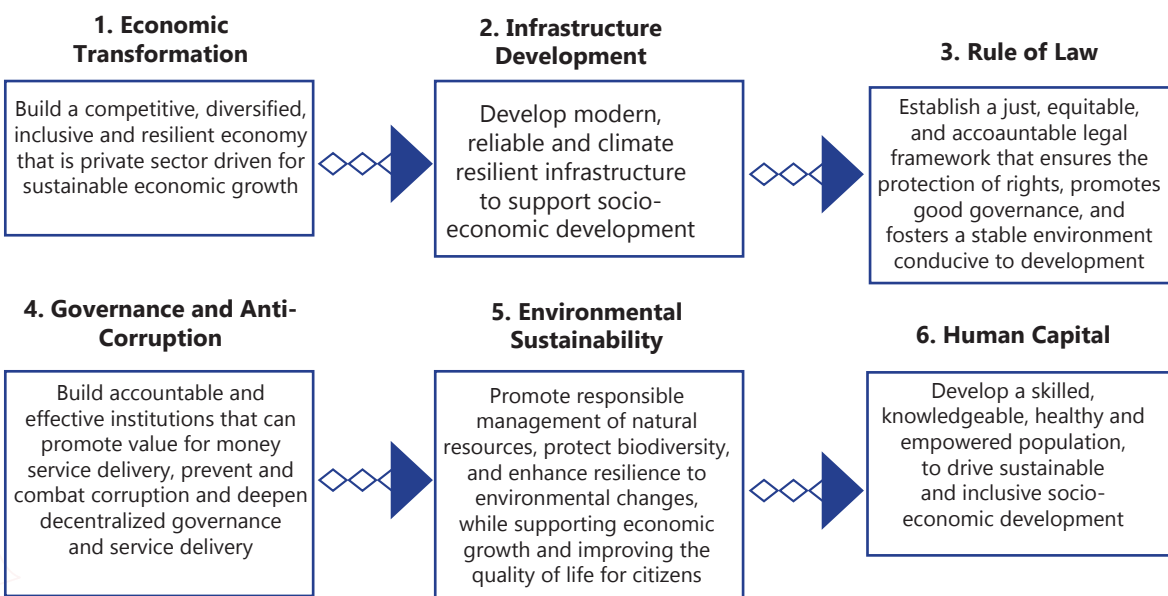
Key implications include the risk of entrenched bottlenecks, inequitable service access, and weakened public trust if reforms are not accelerated and better integrated. Decentralization, digital transformation, and citizen-centric governance emerge as essential levers for achieving meaningful impact.

### To address these gaps, the brief recommends:

- Accelerating high-impact interventions such as decentralized biometric ID issuance and nationwide e-procurement.
- Creating a unified digital governance backbone and inter-agency task force for policy coherence.
- Embedding citizen feedback and results-based metrics into monitoring systems.
- Strengthening county-level service delivery through delegated authority, capacity building, and performance monitoring.

Effective implementation of these measures will enable Liberia to transition from early-stage compliance to transformative governance, ensuring services are transparent, accountable, and accessible to all citizens, and realizing the full potential of Pillar Four by 2029.

### AAID Pillars and Strategic Goals





## 1. BACKGROUND

Liberia's ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development (AAID) 2025–2029 is a five-year National Development Plan designed to transition the country toward lower-middle-income status by reducing poverty, unemployment, and governance deficits, while harnessing natural resources and the potential of a youthful population. The plan is structured around six strategic pillars—Economic Transformation, Infrastructural Development, Rule of Law, Governance and Anti-Corruption, Environmental Sustainability, and Human Capital Development—and emphasizes private sector-led growth, human capital development, decentralization, and digital transformation, aligning with the Sustainable Development Goals and Africa's Agenda 2063 (Liberia, 2025, p. ii).

The ARREST Agenda encompasses 6 strategic pillars, 52 core programs, and 378 interventions, reflecting the government's comprehensive development priorities. Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption is central to this framework, seeking to establish accountable, effective institutions that deliver value-for-money services, combat corruption, and strengthen decentralized governance. Guided by New Public Management and Results-Based Management principles, it aims to improve Liberia's Corruption Perceptions Index ranking from 145/180 to 135/180 and its Ibrahim Index of African Governance ranking from 26/54 to 22/54 by 2029 (Liberia, 2025, p. 125).

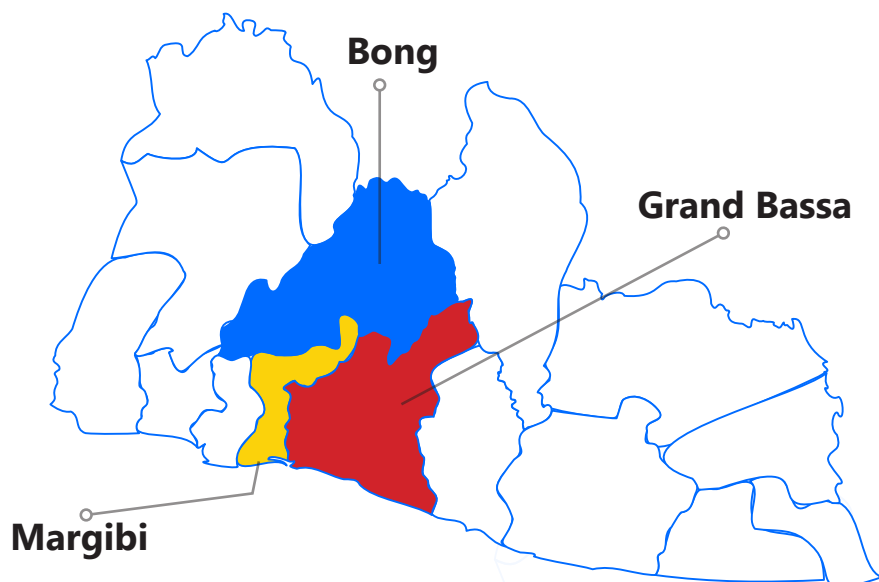
In September 2024, the Government of Liberia adopted the Revenue Sharing Regulations, marking a historic step toward fiscal decentralization. The regulations empower counties and local administrations to manage resources from both natural and non-natural resources, establishing mechanisms for equitable distribution, local accountability, and improved service delivery.

These reforms are critical to operationalizing Pillar Four, reinforcing decentralization, transparency, and citizen-centered governance.

This study, commissioned early in AAID implementation, assesses progress along defined intervention pathways rather than outcomes—critical in a context of risks related to resource misuse, over-centralization, and weak service delivery. It reviews 58 interventions across 7 program areas: governance and audit services, democratic governance reform, land governance, public service decentralization, peace and reconciliation, Liberia's international context, and diplomatic and consular services.

Using a mixed-methods approach, the research combined desk reviews of official reports, budgets, and administrative records with targeted County Service Center (CSC) assessments in Margibi, Bong, and Grand Bassa (July 28–August 1, 2025). The CSC review examined service uptake, processing times, citizen satisfaction, and operational challenges, providing an early-stage, evidence-based picture of achievements, bottlenecks, and opportunities to strengthen governance and transparency under Pillar Four.

Since January 15, 2025, Naymote Partners for Democratic Development has tracked, monitored, and documented the government's progress on the AAID. This first ARREST Agenda Tracking Report focuses on Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption, highlighting key achievements, gaps, and challenges, while positioning Naymote as a credible civil society watchdog committed to promoting accountability, effective service delivery, and citizen-centered governance in Liberia.



## 2. KEY FINDINGS

The early implementation of Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption of Liberia's ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development (AAID 2025–2029) demonstrates a mixed picture, with initial achievements alongside structural and operational constraints that may hinder progress toward 2029 targets. This section analyzes early-stage outputs, service delivery performance, and emerging gaps while integrating the Revenue Sharing Regulations as a key tool for decentralized governance and citizen-centered service delivery.

### 2.1 Early Achievements

Despite the strategic planning of 58 interventions, the operationalization of Pillar Four remains at an early stage, with only modest progress achieved by mid-2025:

- Biometric ID Enrollment:** The National Identification Registry (NIR) reportedly enrolled approximately 104,000 citizens into Liberia's national biometric identification system in 2024, while the first half of 2025 saw a further 67,000 individuals added to the registry, reaching to about 710,000 citizens in the system as of June 2025. This represents about **14%** of the estimated **5.2 million** population. This forms the foundational step for digital governance, yet coverage must accelerate significantly to achieve national reach by 2029.
- E-Procurement:** The Public Procurement Commission (PPC) piloted electronic procurement in 6 ministries, trained over 500 practitioners, and launched online tender publication. While this is a positive step toward transparency, full government-wide adoption remains pending.
- Anti-Corruption and Accountability:** The Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC) conducted 24 investigations in 2024 (LACC, 2024), securing 3 convictions. The Office of the Ombudsman has been fully established and funded, with early recommendations for the removal of officials engaging in misconduct (LACC, 2024).
- Decentralization:** Legislative advances include the passage of the Ministry of Local Government Act by the House of Senate and the completion of County Development Agendas for all 15 counties, setting a framework for subnational governance (MIA, 2024; MIA, 2025).
- Diplomatic Engagement:** Liberia expanded bilateral relations, hosted a UN Security Council preparatory workshop, launched a Diaspora Engagement Task Force, and piloted an e-Visa system, signaling initial steps toward modernized consular services (MFA, 2025).

## 2.2 Service Delivery Gaps at County Service Centers

A comprehensive audit of 28 core services across County Service Centers (CSCs) in Margibi, Bong, and Grand Bassa, conducted from July 28-August 1, 2025, revealed significant service delivery challenges:

Indicator	Observation
Availability	60.7% of services were entirely unavailable 32.1% fully operational 7.1% partially functional
Workflow	85.7% of services require in-person submissions and live signatures, causing paper-based bottlenecks and delays
Effectiveness	Services with pre-signed forms (mainly transport-related) achieved 100% effectiveness: services requiring live central approvals only 22.7%
Data Limitations	Performance data is sparse; no national citizen satisfaction indicator exists, limiting monitoring and adaptation



## 2.3 Key Challenges to Pillar Four Implementation

Several constraints have been identified as major risks to the pace and quality of reform under Pillar Four:

- **Digital and Service Delivery Constraints:** Centralized biometric card printing and fragmented e-procurement systems create delays and limit scalability. The persistence of manual processes stifles transparency and operational efficiency.
- **Institutional and Governance Reform Barriers:** Institutional inertia, overlapping mandates, and chronic underfunding slow the momentum of reforms. Six out of ten planned sustainable governance reforms remain at the planning stage. LACC faces judicial and logistical constraints affecting enforcement.



- **Decentralization, Peacebuilding, and Land Governance Gaps:** Incomplete regulatory frameworks, underfunded county treasuries, and non-operational CSCs limit citizen access to local services. Fragmented land governance weakens tenure security and discourages investment.
- **Financial Management Inefficiencies:** Manual revenue collection and limited cheque encashment at regional banks increase error risks, leakages, and slow budget execution at the county level.

These findings underscore the need for urgent, integrated interventions to enhance digital

infrastructure, decentralize authority, and strengthen institutional capacity, ensuring that Pillar Four fulfills its role in delivering transparent, accountable, and citizen-focused governance across Liberia.

2.4 Key Challenges to Pillar Four Implementation

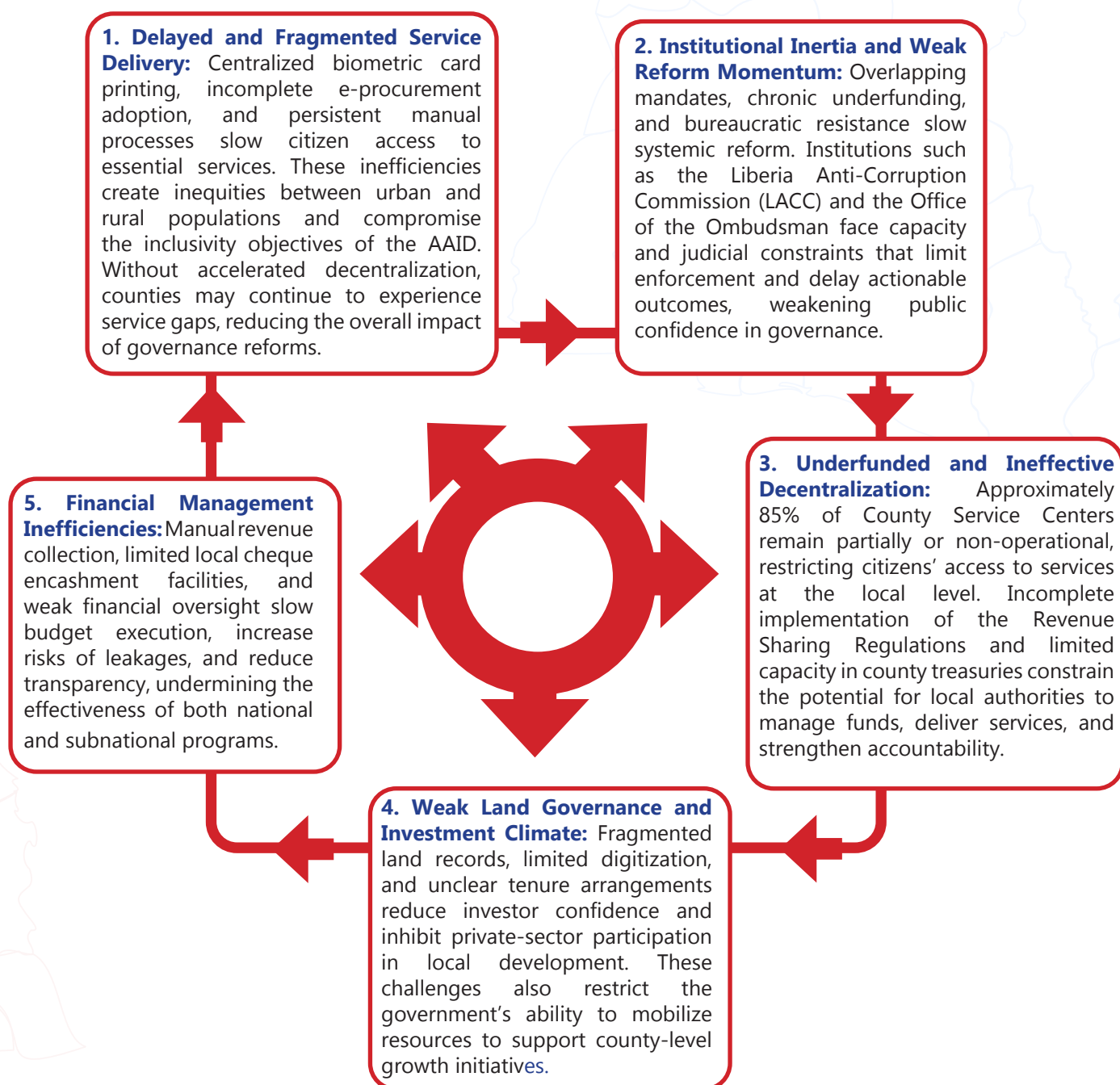
To guide evidence-based monitoring, Naymote has developed a tracking matrix for Pillar Four. This tool captures progress against interventions, key outputs, and service delivery outcomes, incorporating citizen feedback and fiscal decentralization metrics.

Program Area	Key Indicator	Baseline (2024/2025)	Target (2029)	Data Source / Verification	Remarks
Biometric ID Enrollment	% of population enrolled	14%	80%	NIR database; CSC reports	County-level enrollment targets, mobile units' deployment
E-Procurement	% of ministries using e-procurement	6 MACs	100%	PPC reports; e-Procurement portal	Integration with digital governance backbone
Anti-Corruption & Accountability	Number of investigations & convictions	24 Investigations / 3 convictions	100 investigations / 50 convictions	LACC reports; Ombudsman publications	Monitor time-to-resolution & public reporting
Decentralization & Revenue Sharing	% of counties receiving timely funds	Partial; pilot in some counties	100% counties	Ministry of Finance; County treasuries	Track fund allocation, transfers, and usage
Service Availability at CSCs	% of core services fully operational	32.1%	100%	CSC audits; citizen surveys	Monitor workflow, approval delegation, e-services adoption
Citizen Feedback	Satisfaction with governance services	None	Quarterly national citizen satisfaction index	Surveys; CSC feedback forms	Align with SDG 16.6.2, ensure participatory monitoring

### 3. IMPLICATIONS OF KEY CHALLENGES

The combined effect of the constraints identified in Pillar Four: Governance and Anti-Corruption presents significant risks to achieving Liberia's governance, accountability, and decentralization objectives under the ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development (AAID). Early findings

from County Service Center audits, national-level assessments, and initial tracking of the Revenue Sharing Regulations illustrate how operational, institutional, and digital bottlenecks can undermine both policy intent and citizen trust.





### Policy and Governance Outcomes:

Without timely and integrated corrective measures, Pillar Four risks becoming largely symbolic rather than transformative. Effective policy implementation requires:

- **Integration of Digital Governance Tools:** Link biometric ID systems, e-procurement, and revenue-sharing platforms to streamline processes, reduce delays, and ensure equitable access to services.
- **Strengthened Institutional Capacity:** Clarify mandates, improve inter-agency coordination, and provide targeted capacity-building to accelerate reform momentum.
- **Enhanced Decentralization:** Empower county authorities with the resources, authority, and oversight mechanisms necessary to manage local service delivery effectively.

- **Improved Land Governance and Investment Frameworks:** Digitize land records, secure tenure rights, and create incentives for private-sector participation in local development.

- **Modernized Financial Management Practices:** Implement transparent, digital, and accountable financial systems that minimize leakages, ensure timely fund disbursement, and support county-level service delivery.

Addressing these challenges proactively will enable Liberia to translate early interventions into tangible governance improvements, increase citizen trust, and establish a strong foundation for achieving the ARREST Agenda's 2029 targets for accountability, transparency, fiscal decentralization, and inclusive development.





## 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

**To accelerate the implementation of Pillar Four:** Governance and Anti-Corruption and ensure Liberia's ARREST Agenda achieves its 2029 ambitions for governance, transparency, and decentralization, a comprehensive, integrated, and citizen-centered approach is required. These recommendations integrate best practices from comparable African contexts, Liberia's Revenue Sharing Regulations, and a robust tracking framework designed by Naymote Partners for Democratic Development.

### 4.1 Accelerate High-Impact Interventions

- **Decentralize Biometric ID Card-Printing:** Empower county offices to print biometric IDs and deploy mobile registration units. Integrate enrollment with essential services such as elections, health facilities, and banking. Aim for at least 80% national coverage by 2029, tracked quarterly through county-level dashboards.
- **Expand E-Procurement Nationwide:** Scale the pilot to all Ministries, Agencies, Commissions, and State-Owned Enterprises

(SOEs) within three years. E-procurement should be mandatory for high-value tenders to standardize processes, reduce leakages, and increase transparency. Integration into the tracking matrix will monitor adoption rates, system uptime, and citizen satisfaction.

- **Strengthen Anti-Corruption Enforcement:** Provide logistical, technological, and judicial support to LACC and Ombudsman offices. Track investigations, prosecutions, convictions, and the timeliness of case resolutions using a standardized reporting template for all counties.

- **Operationalize Revenue Sharing Regulations:** Support counties to establish transparent revenue collection, allocation, and reporting systems in alignment with the Cost-Sharing Table. Track disbursement timelines, fund utilization, and equitable allocation across marginalized and resource-rich counties.



## 4.2 Ensure System Integration and Policy Coherence

- **Unified Digital Governance Backbone:** Link biometric ID, e-procurement, tax, social protection, passport issuance, and student enrollment databases to reduce fraud, enable data-driven policymaking, and facilitate automated tracking of performance indicators.
- **Establish a Digital Governance Task Force:** An inter-agency team should set interoperability standards, coordinate digital initiatives, and resolve policy overlaps that impede reform. Naymote will monitor task force outputs, milestones, and implementation gaps.

## 4.3 Embed Outcome and Citizen-Feedback Metrics

- **Results-Based Tracking Framework:** Transition from activity counting to measuring concrete outcomes, including reduced procurement cycle times, improved service accessibility, and citizen-reported improvements at county service centers.
- **Citizen Satisfaction Surveys:** Implement quarterly surveys aligned with SDG 16.6.2, capturing feedback on county service centers, fiscal transparency, and the effectiveness of decentralization. This data feeds directly into the Naymote tracking dashboard.
- **County-Level Performance Scorecards:** Publish quarterly reports on service delivery, revenue collection, and governance outcomes to ensure transparency and accountability.

## 4.4 Strengthen Decentralized Service Delivery

- **Delegate Routine Approvals to Counties:** County authorities should have delegated authority for routine services, including business licensing and civil

registration, tracked through workflow completion times.

- **Launch Unified E-Government with E-Signatures:** Integrated platforms should ensure secure, tamper-proof, and accessible workflows. Naymote will monitor adoption and usability indicators.
- **Institutionalize County Co-Production Councils:** Engage citizens, civil society, and local officials to monitor service quality, provide feedback, and co-design reforms. Council activities and recommendations will feed into the Pillar Four tracking framework.
- **Targeted Capacity Building:** Deliver training, process manuals, and ICT support to align staff competencies with decentralized mandates. Tracking includes training completion rates, skill improvements, and service impact.
- **Digitize County Revenue Collection & Enable Local Cheque Encashment:** Implement digital and mobile revenue collection and coordinate with the Central Bank to allow local cheque processing. Monitor fund flow efficiency and compliance with Revenue Sharing Regulations.
- **Secure Dedicated Funding for Service Centers:** Ring-fence budgets for staffing, infrastructure, and ICT resources. Monitor fund disbursement, utilization, and service delivery improvements to ensure sustainable, efficient operations.

Holistic implementation of these recommendations will strengthen institutional capacity, accelerate digital transformation, enhance decentralization, and improve citizen-centric governance. Naymote's tracking framework provides a clear mechanism to measure progress, ensure transparency, and make reforms responsive to the needs of citizens.



## 5. CONCLUSION

Liberia's ARREST Agenda, particularly Pillar Four on Governance and Anti-Corruption, provides a strategic blueprint to transform governance, enhance accountability, and ensure citizen-centered public service delivery. Early implementation shows initial progress in biometric ID enrollment, e-procurement pilots, institutional reforms, and legislative advances in decentralization, yet significant gaps remain in service delivery, digital integration, and fiscal autonomy at the county level.

The 28-service audit in Margibi, Bong, and Grand Bassa highlights persistent operational bottlenecks: 60.7% of core services are entirely unavailable, and 85.7% rely on manual, paper-based processes. The contrast between formal policy intent and on-the-ground realities underscores the risk of symbolic compliance without tangible citizen impact.

**To achieve the 2029 targets, Liberia must prioritize two key strategies:**

- 1. Citizen-Driven Metrics:** National and county-level indicators must incorporate participatory feedback loops, citizen satisfaction surveys, and outcome-oriented tracking. Naymote's ARREST Pillar Four tracking dashboard provides a structured mechanism for monitoring results, ensuring reforms translate into real-world improvements.
- 2. Genuine Decentralization:** Authority, resources, and capacity must be devolved to county governments via e-government platforms, e-signatures, delegated workflows, and continuous capacity-building. Integrated revenue-sharing systems ensure equitable allocation, fiscal accountability, and improved service delivery.

If digital reforms, decentralized execution, and participatory monitoring are fully integrated, Pillar Four can evolve from procedural compliance to truly responsive, transparent, and accountable governance. This approach empowers citizens, strengthens institutional credibility, and positions Liberia to achieve the full transformative potential of the ARREST Agenda, delivering measurable, inclusive benefits nationwide.

## REFERENCE

1. Government of Liberia. (2025). ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development 2025–2029. Monrovia: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,
2. Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission (LACC). (2024–2025). Annual Report on Investigations and Convictions. Monrovia: LACC.
3. Naymote Partners for Democratic Development. (2025). Monitoring Report on Pillar Four of the ARREST Agenda. Monrovia: Naymote.
4. Public Procurement Commission. (2025). E-Procurement Pilot Program Report. Monrovia: PPC.
5. Sustainable Development Goals. (2025). SDG 16.6.2: Proportion of the Population Satisfied with Public Services. UN Statistics Division.
6. Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG). (2025). Country Report: Liberia. Johannesburg: Mo Ibrahim Foundation.

All rights Reserved  
2025

**NAYMOTE PARTNERS FOR  
DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT**

ELWA, Paynesville,  
Monrovia - Liberia  
eddie@naymote.com  
+231886784328

**[www.naymote.com](http://www.naymote.com)**

