

**DEVELOPING TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP FOR  
AFRICA'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEAP-FORWARD:**  
*Case of Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's Leadership Skill  
Toward Liberia's Democratic and Economic Transformation*



**LIBERIA MACROECONOMIC POLICY ANALYSIS CENTER**  
*Africa Capacity Report 2018 - Case study on Liberia*



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## ACRONYMS

ACS	American Colonization Society
ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
AfT	Agenda for Transformation
ASYCUDA	Automated System for Customs Database
CBL	Central Bank of Liberia
CDOs	County Development Officers
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Accord
CSA	Civil Service Agency
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EVD	Ebola Virus Disease
FDA	Forestry Development Agency
GAC	General Auditing Commission
GC	Governance Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEMAP	Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program
GoL	Government of Liberia
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICGL	International Contact Group on Liberia
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
ITAS	Tax Administrations System
LECBS	The Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support Project
LIMPAC	Liberia Macroeconomic Policy Analysis Center
LPRC	Liberia Petroleum Refining Company
LRDC	Liberia Reconstruction and Development Committee
LURD	Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MACs	Ministries, Agencies, & Commissions
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MLME	Ministry of Lands, Mines, and Energy
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MPEA	Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs
NCDS	National Capacity Building Strategy
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NTGL	National Transitional Government
PFM	Public Financial Management
PHC	Primary Health Care
PPCC	Public Procurement and Concessions Commission
PYPP	President Young Professional Program
RIA	Robert International Airport
SCSL	Special Court on Sierra Leone
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SES	Senior Executive Service
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Organization
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

Several research studies show that the lack of quality leadership in Africa has been one of the major sources of Africa socio-economic backwardness - Liberia is no exception to this characterization. Liberia's problem can be traced back to its independence since 1847 when it was widely believed that the settlers or Americo-Liberians excluded the indigenous from the national governance structures. This exclusion plus the disregard for the rights of the indigenous triggered deep hatred between the Settlers and Indigenous. This rift eventually led to the violent overthrowing of the one party rule under the True Whig Party in 1980. The repercussion of the coup, plus the leadership failure to reconcile and institute democratic rule, prompted a violent rounds of civil conflict.

These rounds of violent conflict which lasted over the span of fourteen (14) years destroyed the pre-war institutional and human capacities. Besides, it also blocked the development of the new capacities required to nurture leadership needed for sustainable national development. To put into a simpler perspective, besides the destruction of the civil service, the civil war also undermined the operations of institutions responsible for human capital development. The challenge after years of civil conflict and self destruction is to empower the right leaders that can rehabilitate these institutions and create additional institutions to generate new core of private and public workforce needed to drive the developmental agenda in Liberia and across the African Continent.

Interestingly and favorably through the leadership exhibited by Former President Ellen Johnson –Sirleaf over the past twelve (12) years, Liberia experienced significant recovery from the setbacks of the civil conflict that ended in 2003, courtesy of the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord. The Accra Accord gave rise to a transitional government led by Gyude Bryant who with the support of the international community supervised the 2005 special Presidential and Legislative elections. The results of the election marked the start of the democratic regime of Africa's first female president, Madam Ellen Johnson –Sirleaf, who has arguably become one of the most transformative leaders in Africa, and Liberia in particular. Owing to her enviable leadership credentials, Madam Sirleaf respected the Liberian constitution by her willingness to step down after her two-six year's terms at end of January 2018 and ensuring peacefulness of the political transition, which marked Liberia's first peaceful and democratic transfer of power from one government to another in seventy four (74) years.

Despite weak revenue performance driven by slow economic performance, the Sirleaf's government successfully mobilized much needed domestic and external resources to conduct Liberia's third post conflict Presidential and Legislative elections at the end of October 2017. The slow economic performance was triggered by the outbreak of the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) in 2014 and the fall in the price of Liberia major exports between 2014 and 2016, and the draw-down of the personnel of United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). The results of the elections ushered the Government of Ambassador George Manneh Weah; leader of the main opposition Coalition of Democratic Change (CDC) in early January 2018. After winning an overwhelming mandate of the people, many Liberians expect the new government to emulate the positive leadership style of President Sirleaf in many respects.

Reconstruction and development of infrastructures destroyed during the civil war that the Sirleaf's regime could not complete will be some of the challenges of the next government. In addition to maintaining civil liberties, these challenges include continuous improvement in

the provision of social services and economic infrastructures such as roads, ports, electricity, telecommunication and technology, etc. Provision of such infrastructures will support sustainable economic growth and by extension domestic resources mobilization. The post slump economic growth needed is now estimated significantly above 7.5%, the average annual growth peak before the economic slump between 2014 and 2016

The slump in economic performance now placed Liberia on higher new growth path which is ultimately needed for achieving the new pro-poor development targets and becoming an inclusive growth driven middle-income country by 2030. But many analysts and economists believe reaching this milestone will now require consistent double-digit growth rate to cover for the distortion experienced between 2014 and 2016.

The high annual growth rates that preceded the economic slump were successfully achieved through the implementation of series of short and medium terms development programs including the Agenda for Transformation (AFT), which coincidentally ended at the end of President Sirleaf's regime. Liberia's next medium term development agenda is the Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (PAPD) and its overall goals are aligned with the goals of the Africa 2063 agenda and the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations. Implementing the PAPD and other post Aft development agenda will eventually present different kinds of challenges, which will require robust and transformative leadership style and leaders that can guide successful implementation of developmental imperatives.

As recognized in both the Africa 2063 and the 2030 SDGs agenda, leadership remains a key factor and enabler for Africa's transformation and the achievement of its long-term development objectives in health, education, political governance, among others. This leadership should be strong enough to fill the capacity gaps at all levels, (especially political level) by recognizing and nurturing talents, considerate of individual expressions, and motivating and bringing out the best in people.

Like other African countries with huge leadership and capacity deficits, Liberia needs to develop strategies and implement initiatives that support the development transformative leadership style and leaders to successfully implement Liberia's next developmental agenda.

Liberia next government will have to build on the capacity building legacy of Madam Sirleaf's regime to develop more talents to fill existing human resource gaps. This will also require generational inclusion into key leadership positions in government to increase incentives for youth including women to pursue higher educational skills at all levels. To successfully build the right types of capacities, there need to be evaluation of the Liberia National Capacity Development Strategy (NCDS), which was completed by the former Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs (MPEA), with funding from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (MPEA, 2011). Evaluating NCDS will be the right form of stock taking of the current capacity needs and making adjustments on the design and implementation of the next capacity building strategy, leveraging on lessons learnt from the implementation of the first NCDS.

Since independence in 1847, poor leadership style has adversely impacted Liberia's socio-economic leap forward. This kind of leadership mainly under the reign of the Americo-Liberians resulted into unequal distribution of power and wealth. The unequal distribution of power and wealth which keeps permeating our governance system has always been one of the sources of conflicts in Liberia.

The Americo-Liberians ruled through one party system which came to an end in 1980 after a bloody coup, which ousted and killed President William R. Tolbert – Liberia's 20th President. Tolbert, a member of an influential Americo-Liberian family, assumed the presidency in 1971 after the death and 27 years rule of President William V.S. Tubman, under whom Tolbert served as Vice President. Tolbert who spoke Kpelle, one of the indigenous languages, brought more indigenous persons into government. He was also credited with implementing Liberia first pro-poor policy – total involvement for all. Despite that, his regime was toppled in 1980 by Army sergeant Samuel K. Doe on account of massive corruption and nepotism. The regime of Samuel K. Doe too was also ousted in 1990 through a major rebel incursion headed by Charles G. Taylor, arguably Liberia's most corrupt and tyrannical leader. He eventually began President in 1997 following the end of the conflict and holding of a special presidential election. Taylor too was forced to resign and exile in 2003 following another round of violent civil conflict.

The 2018 Africa Capacity Report case study on Liberia centers around transformative leadership for Africa's socio-economic Leap-forward, but with an in depth analysis on Liberia's leadership experiences and challenges. It mainly highlights the leadership role of Former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in positively transforming Liberia through creative capacity restoration and building programs, her adherence to democratic values of governance, and youth inclusion in the governance space.

Section two of the report provides narratives and analyses about the strategies and initiatives developed and implemented to support leadership development that triggered the needed post war transformation. In section two, we also discussed implementation, impact, and challenges of the various short and long terms capacity restoration and building programs. In section three, we assessed transformation leadership within the context of political leadership and private sector leadership. We made comparison with the current leadership of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and the past two presidents before President Sirleaf. We anchored our assessment on various literature reviews on the positives and challenges of leadership.

In section four, we discussed the economic, social, and capacity related impact of leadership on socio-economic leap-forward. We also assessed and analyzed these impacts during the 12 years presidency of Madam Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. This Section also discussed key success stories in term of efforts and achievements on leadership developments. Based on these successful initiatives and programs, we further argued that President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Dr. William Allen; former Director General of the Civil Service Agency and Liberia's Ambassador to the UNESCO are top role models of transformative leadership within the context of capacity building imperatives.

We emphasized in section five how leadership skill helped transformed the Liberia civil service to develop and implement sound polices that have helped transformed Liberia. Section six focused on the lessons learnt from these capacity building initiatives and discussed the capacity imperatives for socioeconomic leap-forward in Liberia. The last sections focused on conclusions, policy recommendations, bibliography and annexes.

## 2.0 STRATEGIES AND INITIATIVES ON LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

### 2.1 IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (NCDS)

Realizing the capacity and skill deficits that were hampering effective public administration, the Sirleaf's post conflict administration placed emphasis on capacity and skill building for public sector employees including the youth. The government complemented this strategy of generation inclusion by placing young and qualified Liberians in key leadership positions, thus creating an enabling environment for fully gravitating to generational change or a new generation of young and able Liberians to lead Liberia.

The development of the National Capacity Development Strategy (NCDS) in 2011 represented a key strategy for implementing programs that supplemented capacity development and utilization. Without a national strategy, it would have been difficult to identify capacity and skill gaps in the public administration after the takeover of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Besides identifying the severity of the gaps in each of the thematic areas: health, education, and the rule of law sectors, the NCDS also included the associated cost for building capacity in each of the thematic areas.

With domestic and external resources, the Sirleaf government gradually implemented some aspects of the NCDS, even though sustaining funding for its implementation remains a major challenge. From 2006 up to end of 2017 the government provided more than 18,700 domestic scholarships; 2,603 for graduate programs, 9,136 undergraduate programs, and 1,055 for AA certificates within various universities<sup>1</sup>.

With a new regime in place, evaluating the implementation of the NCDS remains an imperative for identifying the gains made, the challenges encountered, and the requisite adjustments that are required. Without such stock taking, allocation of national resources for future capacity buildings could be inefficient. The adjustments to the NCDS should take into consideration capacity and skills building for completed and new infrastructure projects, especially projects in electricity distribution, management of air and sea ports, information technology, agro-processing, among others. The absence of these skills after the completion of these projects would create gaps and job losses for Liberians.

### 2.2 ROBUST STRATEGY ON YOUTH INCLUSION IN GOVERNANCE

To the credit of President Sirleaf's true leadership abilities, the government's generational inclusion strategy was not about mere placement of youth in top governmental posts, but building youth capacity and skills before allowing them into top leadership positions at various government's ministries, agencies, commissions, and corporations. The strategies of capacity building and inclusion complemented each other given that youth without required capacity were more challenged to pursue education. This also kept challenging Madam Sirleaf's political leadership and commitment in placing youth, including female in key leadership posts..

The President's concept of generational capacity building before inclusion into top leadership positions into the governance structure is laudable. It represents a breakaway from the past of patronage and fractional connections, which in part contributed to the over crowdedness of the public sector workforce with many of the incompetent staff the government inherited in 2006. Sustaining this mode of leadership is critical for developing transformative leaders.

<sup>1</sup> Based on a database from the Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia.

### 3.0 INITIATIVES ON LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Several initiatives have been developed and implemented to support leadership development. These initiatives have mainly been capacity building through training, knowledge sharing, and career development. Some of the initiatives included emergency and short-term interventions such as: the Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support (LECBS) Project, the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN), the Senior Executive Service (SES), and the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP). These emergency initiatives, which were successfully implemented, were established to help identify and deploy skilled Liberians into the civil service. The interventions were all aimed at reorganizing the civil service for revamping financial management, and re-organizing public procurement processes, as well as curbing corruption in the public service. Other initiatives, which are still being implemented include; The National Capacity Building Program, President Young Professional Program (PYPP), and the Annual Vacation works program of the Ministry of Youth and Sports. With the exception of the emergency initiatives, which were largely funded by the external partners, the on-going and long-term initiatives are mainly funded by the Government of Liberia with domestically generated resources and support from multilateral and bilateral partners.

#### 3.1 EMERGENCY INITIATIVES

The emergency and short term initiatives; The Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support (LECBS) Project, the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) and the Senior Executive Service (SES), and the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) achieved different level of objectives at different intervals of President Sirleaf's administration.

##### *Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support (LECBS) Project*

One of the emergency responses to fill the human capacity gaps created by civil conflict was the establishment of the Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support Project in March 2006 through the instrumentality of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. According to the evaluation report of the LECBS, President Johnson-Sirleaf made specific requests to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Open Society Institute (OSI) for technical and financial support for operating LECBS. Based on the President's desire and demonstration to immediately fill the capacity gaps needed to implement needed reforms for recovery, LECBS was objectively designed to attract competent diaspora Liberian professionals (*Mukendi, Wisner, & Marvey, 2008, pp. 15-16*). LECBS beneficiaries' role was to strengthen institutional capacity building and operational effectiveness at various government's ministries, agencies, and commissions. The project concept estimated that over two years the needed capacity would have been built at beneficiary entities to sustain reform gains. In an apparent desire to achieve these results, the President provided guidance to the Project Steering Committee (PSC) for the vetting and processing of candidates.

This quality of leadership the President exhibited attracted massive donor supports for the project and helped finance the hiring of additional professionals. Targeted number of professionals increased from 13 at a budget of US\$2.3 million over three years period to 40 professionals with a budget of US\$3.5 million (*Mukendi et al., 2008, p. 16*). The UNDP funded the budget by US\$1million, OSI US\$2million and the Government of Liberia with US\$235,000<sup>2</sup> (*Jonathan & Summer, 2012; Mukendi et al., 2008*). Unlike other capacity building projects, clear targets were set under LECBS. The project mid-term evaluation report (*Mukendi et al., 2008*) listed these distinctions as: growing of revenue collection by 1% of GDP every year during the duration of the project, increased in GoL share of cost for the project over the medium term,

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<sup>2</sup>According to the Project Evaluation Report cited above, Additional funding of \$320,000 was required to complete the implementation of the project in March 2009

and the incorporation of the project into the Government's National capacity building strategy to ensure sustainability.

### ***Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN)***

TOKTEN, like the LECBS was implemented to immediately fill in capacity gaps created as a result of brain drain stemming out of Liberia 14 years civil conflict. TOKTEN is a global strategy of the UNDP that helps in reversing the brain drain in developing countries, especially crisis affected countries. With TOKTEN, UNDP addresses country capacity gaps by deploying expatriate nationals for a short-term consultation on specific tasks in their countries of origin (GoL\_CSA; Mukendi et al., 2008; UNDP, 2007). In keeping with this doctrine, in May 2006, the Government of Liberia and UNDP signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the establishment of the Transfer of Knowledge of Expatriate National (TOKTEN) program (GoL\_CSA). The project, which was directly executed by UNDP had three main objectives: (1) Expatriation of Liberian nationals back home to fill capacity gaps needed to the nation rebuilding process, (2) revitalization of agencies and institutions in which they work, and (3) to build additional capacity (GoL\_CSA; Mukendi et al., 2008). To ensure transparency and accountability, a committee for management of the project implementation was established. The committee comprised of the Civil Service Agency (CSA), UNDP, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs (MPEA), Ministry of State/LRDC and the Governance Reform Commission (GRC).

With a budget of Two Million United States Dollars largely provided by UASID and UNDP over a two years period (2006-2008), TOKTEN hired 125 expatriate nationals and local professionals who provided technical support to the government's reconstruction and development agenda; building capacities in the receiving institutions and sectors. The project subsequently helped revived several institutions including JFK Memorial Hospital (Liberia's largest Referral Hospital), Civil Service Agency, the State owned University of Liberia, the Cuttington University College, the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and Social Welfare, Education, Finance, State and Presidential Affairs, Planning and Economic Affairs, Commerce and Industry and the Liberia Reconstruction and Development Committee (LRDC).

### ***Senior Executive Service (SES)***

The Senior Executive Service (SES) established in 2007 was similar in objectives to the LECBS and TOKTEN projects, all of which helped restored needed skills and capacities for the Government of Liberia. The SES served as a medium through which local and experienced professionals were recruited into junior positions into various governmental entities. SES professionals were recruited to provide technical support to heads of entities and understudying their supervisors, some of whom were mainly experts hired under LECBS and TOKTEN, and eventually taking over from them. According to the Civil Service Agency (2008), the SES concept drew from the experiences of Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanzania in which evidence shows that a "tightly-focused group of public service leaders can bring about a radical surge effect in a country, triggering a dramatic leap - within a short space of time - in national human and institutional capacity". Leveraging on this strategy, the Government of Liberia through the CSA recruited about 100 Liberian professionals and specialists who actually served as change agent in transforming the civil service into professional organ while helping the government to achieve its development agenda. With President Sirleaf desire and demonstration of transforming the civil service, financial supports for the SES were received from the United Nations Development Program, the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development, and the governments of Greece, Germany and Sweden.

### **Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP)**

The Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) was the first emergency capacity building initiative. It was introduced in 2005 during the period of the National Transitional Government on recommendation of the International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL). Its key objective was to rebuild the shattered system of governance with emphasis on public financial management. With financial support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, US treasury Department, United States Agencies for International Development (USAID), among other partners, the GEMAP framework dedicated power and responsibilities to financial controllers who were non-Liberians. Their power included approval for cash payments, treasury management and other public financial management functions. The GEMAP Advisors share co-signing authority so that no major transactions take place without being examined by both a Liberian manager and the International Financial Advisor. The objectives of the GEMAP intervention were financial management and accountability, improving budgeting and expenditure Management, improving procurement practices and granting of concessions, establishing effective processes to control corruption, supporting key institutions and capacity building.

The focus was placed on major revenue generating institutions and central government entities with core budget allocation and cash disbursement functions. Some of the focused areas: Cash Management Committee (CMC) within the Ministry of Finance (MOF), the Central Bank of Liberia (CBL), the Bureau of Budget (BOB), Ministry of Lands, Mines, and Energy (MLME), and the National Port Authority (NPA), Roberts International Airport (RIA). Other areas included the Liberia Petroleum Refining Corporation (LPRC), the General Auditing Commission (GAC), the General Services Agency (GSA), Bureau of Customs and Excise (BCE), the Public Procurement and Concessions Commission (PPCC), the Governance Commission (GC), and the Forestry Development Agency (FDA) (*GEMAP, 2010*). With GEMAP implementation, a lot of gains were made at each of the agencies.

At the Ministry of Finance, the program improved the national budget process through faster and more accurate procedures in accordance with established laws. Government entities including Ministries, Agencies, and State-owned Enterprises have enhanced transparency and accountability in their financial transactions.

At the Bureau of Concession, in addition to the introduction of concession framework for maximizing contribution from mineral deposits, staff capacity was built through knowledge transfer, technical skills, and negotiating expertise. Support to the General Auditing Commission (GAC) increased the operational efficiency of the Commission; several of the audits commissioned were completed, thus increasing the credibility of the commission locally and internationally (*GEMAP, 2010*).

### **3.2 LONG TERM AND SUSTAINABLE INITIATIVES**

To sustain capacity building efforts, long-term strategies and initiatives are needed. As a true mark of quality leadership as always required in countries with fragility, the government of Liberia, through the stewardship of President Sirleaf-Johnson, has some long-term initiatives. These Long-term initiatives drawn out of the National Capacity Development Strategies (NCDS) need to continuously be implemented to keep filling the capacity gaps. Key long-term initiatives are the National Capacity Building Program, and the President Young Professional Program (PYPP). The challenge for the next leadership is leveraging on the domestic resources and external assistance to sustain the implementation of these initiatives. Poor revenue performance over the past three years plus accelerating donor fatigue posed critical threats to raising the needed resources.



### ***The National Capacity Building Program (NCBP)***

Formally organized in 2012 with funding from the FY12/13 National Budget, the National Capacity Building Program is a targeted national initiative to fill the gaps identified from the studies of the 2011 National Capacity Building Strategy (NCDS). An inter-ministerial committee consisting of the Ministries of Education, Finance and Development Planning, and the Civil Service Agency (CSA) supervises the Program but with CSA and MOE handling the administration of the program. Interested and qualified applications are processed through these two entities. The qualified candidates are required to sign a compulsory service contract to work for the Government of Liberia after successful completion of their studies. According to the report from the Ministry of Education detailed in the annex of this study, between 2013 and end of 2016, both the Government sponsored program and bilateral scholarship recorded about 176 beneficiaries from different backgrounds including, public policy, taxation, financial management, health sciences, and engineering, etc.

### ***President Young Professional Program (PYPP)***

The President Young Professional Program (PYPP) is an ongoing program established since 2009 after Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became president of Liberia. Elizabeth Williams, the JSI country representative in Liberia conceived the concept to address the issue of capacity gaps raised in the Liberia National Capacity Development Strategy (NCDS). In 2008, it was thought of as a professional employment and training opportunity for promising young Liberians who would successfully step into senior Government's roles over five to ten years period. It has been one of the most significant initiatives of the Government that offers fellowships to attract highly qualified young Liberian university graduates between the ages of 20-33 to government service. The program selected and nurtured talents regardless of gender, ethnicity or religion.

The PYPP was launched with a seed grant of 250,000 United States dollars from John Snow Incorporated (JSI Liberia), a non-profit organization that collaborated with local partners. In early 2010, the program started with 10 first degree graduates and negotiated placements for them in 10 different government ministries for a two-year fellowship. Candidates selected were placed in professional positions for nurturing and were paid about US\$350.00 (Three Hundred Fifty United States Dollars) monthly, more than the average income of the lowest civil servant.

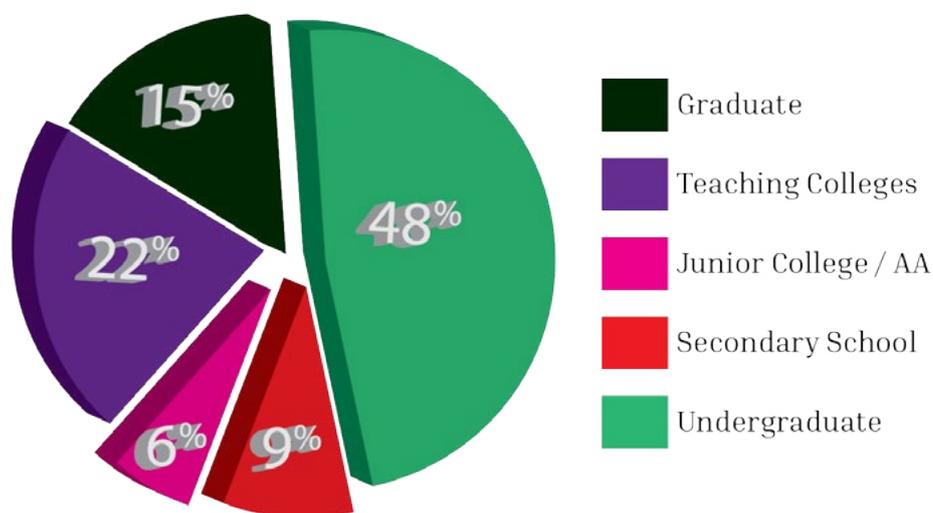
## 4.0 RESULTS AND OUTCOMES

The overall effect of all the capacity building initiatives has been positive. The emergency and short-term programs; TOKTEN, LECBS, GEMAP, SES, helped restored critical capacity that supported the formulation and implementation of various developmental agenda; including the interim poverty reduction and second poverty reduction strategies. The successful implementation of these strategies restored functionalities in state’s entities that were totally dormant after the civil crisis. With better functioning of state’s entities such as the Ministries of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, Foreign Affairs, etc. more than 4.9 billion United States Dollars of external debt was waived in 2010 under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiatives (*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 4*), the national economy grew 8.2-percent in 2006 and later peaked to 12.7 percent 2007 and at 8.7 percent in 2013 before declining due to the outbreak of the Ebola and slump in the price of iron and rubber, Liberia major export commodities. There were also improvement in tax policies and administration. The combined effect of these reforms widened the fiscal space of the government; increased the national resource envelop from 80 million United States Dollars at end of 2005(*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2006, p. 3*) to about half a billion United States Dollars in 2016(*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 5*). This was also complemented by off-budget concessional financing , which are been used for pursue economic and infrastructural expansion.

With the TORKEN, 129 professionals were recruited and served in the various public positions between 2006 and 2009 and a second phase followed from July 2009 to 2010. The beneficiary institutions included the Legislature, Governance Commission, Law Reform Commission, JFK Hospital, Civil Service Agency, University of Liberia, National Aids Control Program, Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Health, Public Works, Justice, Defense, State, Planning and Economic Affairs, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce & Industry.

Similarly with the SES program, about 98 professionals were hired and deployed in different positions in twenty-nine (29) MACs. According to the independent evaluation report, fifteen (15) of the 98 professionals were County Development Officers (CDOs) that were assigned in all 15 political sub- divisions of Liberia.

Likewise with GEMAP, several gains in public financial management were made, especially at key revenue generating entities such as cash-rich state owned enterprises. At the Ministry of Finance, the program improved the national budget execution process through faster and more accurate procedures in accordance with established laws.



The long term capacity building programs; the national capacity building program and the President Young Professional Program (PYPP) are on-going initiatives that are helping to fill existing capacity gaps through training and mentorship of young professionals.

According to the dataset from the Ministry of Education, through the national capacity building program, about 18,874 scholarships were awarded between 2006 and 2017 comprising about 174 foreign studies and 18,700 studies domestically. The foreign scholarships include 146 graduate degrees, 22 undergraduate degrees and 6 postgraduate degrees. Scholarships awarded under the domestic programs include 2,603 graduate degrees, 9,127 undergraduate degrees, and 4,136 teaching training certificates, and 1,055 Associates degrees in various fields. Likewise with the PYPP, more than 97 young Liberians were recruited, mentored, and placed in middle level positions in the public sector. About 22 of the PYPP were awarded government scholarships to pursue further education.

## 5.0 CAPACITY CHALLENGES

As already mentioned, Liberia's protracted civil war (1989 to 2003) did not only destroy the pre-war institutional and human capacities, but also blocked the development of the new capacities required to design and implement programs and projects of Liberia's development agenda. Beyond physical infrastructures, the destruction affected every sector of the civil service. And learning centers such as universities, polytechnics, training colleges, secondary and primary schools that are very cardinal to national capacity development were also destroyed, suggesting the urgency for true and transformative leadership.

According to the baseline study of the 2008 National Capacity Development Strategy, total shortfall in the health sector workforce, which is expected to be covered by 2020 is 8,532 personnel against a target of 12,589 and compare to the 2008 baseline of the 4,073 national health workforce. This includes shortfall of 971 physicians, 4,801 nurses, 1,309 midwives, 368 Physician Assistants, 192 Pharmacists, and 774 other key health workers among others.

Similarly workforce target in the education sector shows wide gap. Relative to the 2011 target of 3,499 primary to senior school teachers which has been evaluated, the target for 2020 is 11,441, meaning additional 7,942 teachers in all categories need to be trained and placed but also with emphasis on female teachers before the end of 2020. Other areas of the workforce and capacity building target which the NCDS highlighted include Agriculture and Agro-Forestry, Seaport management, oil & gas sector, mining, civil services, elections, national legislature, and the security sector with emphasis on the Police, Correction Officers, and the Armed Forces of Liberia. All these targets are critically important for designing and implement various programs and projects of the current Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development and achieving inclusive middle income status by 2030.

With implementation of the short and long terms capacity building initiatives over the past period, it is easily to believe that some of the gaps have been filled but the full extent to which the gap has been filled will be determined on the basis of an independent evaluation report of the NCDS, which needs to be commissioned in addition to the Country Capacity Needs Assessments (CCNA), which are periodically commissioned by the African Union in collaboration with African Capacity Building Foundation. Even as these initiatives were implemented; short term (LECB, SES, LCBS, GEMAP) and long-term initiatives (the on-going national capacity building program and the PYPP), various implementation challenges were or are been encountered. For the short-term initiatives and as the same with long-term initiatives, the key challenge was the available of funding as donors may only provide initial supports to these capacity building initiatives. The donors could not continuously maintain support and these initiatives became very expensive to be accommodated in the national budget.

In addition to funding challenges, the long-term initiatives especially the National Capacity Building Program also face two key challenges. These challenges include inadequate alignment

of training and scholarship programs to the National Capacity Development Strategy, and utilization and retention of the capacity already built. Inadequate alignment of scholarships and training programs has resulted into skills mismatch especially for immediate jobs that are provided through concessions in mining, oil palm, and construction contracts. Failure to utilize and retain returning scholarship beneficiaries has also resulted into extreme difficulty for beneficiaries to either regain their previous positions or provided new assignment according to their new skill acquired even though most signed to a contractual agreement to work for the government for specified period. This has created disincentives for most beneficiaries to the extent that some have opted working for private sector while others refused to return home in contravention of their scholarship agreements. For the PYPP the main challenge is sustaining the source of funding to keep the program operational after the exit of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. President Sirleaf's ingenuity and networking with international partners for financial support has provided most of the funding for the operation of the PYPP. Her exit from the presidency at the end of her tenure in 2018 marks the beginning of the challenging period for the PYPP, especially if her successor does not exercise the same level of rapport with the donors for continuous support or alternative source for funding from the national budget.

## 6.0 ASSESSING TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP



As expressed by Gelb, a creative thinker and writer (2017), leadership can have many definitions but in his own formal definition he described leadership as a process of social influence that optimizes the energy of others to realize a vision, execute a strategy, or achieve a goal. Similarly, Avolio and Yammarino (2013) in their book on accessing all aspects of transformational and charismatic leadership argues that transformational and charismatic leadership model set of approaches to understanding leadership (unlike Management) that help how certain leaders foster performance beyond expected standards by developing an emotional attachment with followers and other leaders for a common cause. They further argued that such leadership is individually considerate, intellectually stimulating, inspirationally motivating, visionary and of high ethical standards. Under the stewardship of President Ellen –Johnson Sirleaf, semblance of these leadership characteristics were gradually been rekindled in Liberia since the end of the civil conflict and the return to democratic governance in 2006.

President Sirleaf's inclusion of all critical minds in her government from gender and youth inclusion to opposition and diaspora participation marks the display of the transformational leadership skills as elucidated by Gelb (2017) and Avolio and Yammarino (2013). This inclusion represented the first most important step for endangering national reconciliation and consolidating skills and capacity that supported shared national recovery. There was no surprise over President Sirleaf's gender inclusion policies given that Sirleaf herself has been strong supporter of women

empowerment and social justice. Much of the positive surprises were the significant inclusion of the youth and opposition politicians in key post on the basis of merit instead of patronage as was obvious in the previous governments. In instances where her youthful supporters felt short of the required qualification, her government provided capacity building avenue through domestic and foreign scholarships. And upon their satisfactory completion and return to Liberia, most were provided opportunities to serve their country.

Most of the leadership strategies she employed inspired her cabinet and government in general. Her uncompromising respect for rule of law including individual rights did not only win great admiration within and outside of Liberia but also set high standards for member of cabinet and the other two branches of government. Officials respected the rule of law including individual's freedom of expression even if they were the victims. Continual support for the judiciary reforms and non-interference in legal cases increased public confidence in the Judiciary and rule of law<sup>3</sup>.

The consolidation of the diaspora expertise and national capacity development for needed youth helped to increase efficiency in the civil service that aided the public policy formulation and implementation. Continue commitment to reforms in governance through establishment of institutions and programs helped built local confidence and attracted more financial support from external partners.

## 6.1 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

When Ahmed & Hason (2011) and Afegbua & Adejuwon (2012) analyzed leadership and governance crisis in Africa, they argued that Africa's failures have come about largely as a result of frequent leadership change, lack of ideology, policy reversal and weak institutional patterns. They further pointed out that for Africa to overcome its crises of leadership and governance, those trusted with leadership must fully comprehend their responsibilities, duties and obligation.

Former Nigerian President Olusagun Obasanjo (1993) in his keynote address at the conference of The Leadership Forum, Nairobi, Kenya emphasized on another perspective that pointed to Africa's quagmire of governance been primarily a result of lack of checks and balances in Africa's system of governance. He analyzed further that some African leaders, treated their country as individual personal property, with other unprofessional standards and ethics by moral indiscipline and bad politics.

Similar to Adejawn and Obasanjo, Robert Rotberg (2012) argued about the rareness of transformative political leaders in developing country-leaders with well-honed analytical, political, and emotional intelligence that help chart paths to economic growth, material prosperity, and human well-being. He however reserved special recognition for the likes of Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Seretse Khama in Botswana, Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore, and Kemal Ataturk in Turkey for transforming their countries in the midst of weak institutions and limited resources. He argued that accomplished political leaders such as Mandela and others mentioned implemented clear strategy that transformed their political visions into reality. These achievements for in these countries according to Robert, were made because of these leaders demonstration of particular skill set through analytical, political, and emotional intelligence. These set of skills helped these leaders chart paths to promising futures, which include economic growth, material prosperity, and human well-being.

By this measure, it will be difficult to ignore a place for Her Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in his league of transformative leaders. Unlike immediate past Presidents of Liberia, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf can be placed in this league of Nelson Mandela et al given her monumental achievements in transforming Liberia from a conflict ravaged country to one of

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<sup>3</sup>[http://www.gemapliberia.org/doc/success\\_stories/National%20Budget%20Process%20Reformed%20at%20the%20Ministry%20of%20Finance.pdf](http://www.gemapliberia.org/doc/success_stories/National%20Budget%20Process%20Reformed%20at%20the%20Ministry%20of%20Finance.pdf)

the most promising democratic countries in Africa. Her leadership skills surely and significantly supported Liberia transformation.

Former President Samuel K. Doe, through a bloody in 1980 killed President William Tolbert and 13 of his cabinet members excluding Ellen Johnson -Sirleaf who was among members of the slimed President's cabinet that fortunately escaped (*Dennis, 2005*). He justified the coup and the mass murder on allegation of corruption and nepotism. But he too later dominated the army with members of his Krahn ethic group and used it to perpetuate his dictatorial regime (*Ellis, 1995*). Under international pressure, Doe organized elections in 1985, which observers believed was massively rigged. He later ruled as dictator totally disrespecting the rule of law, something that prompted the 1989 rebel invasion and prolonged conflict masterminded by former President Charles Taylor. At latter stage of the conflict, Doe was brutally murdered by Prince Y. Johnson, leader of the erstwhile Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, a breakaway faction of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (*Ellis, 1995*).

Like Samuel Doe like Charles G. Taylor even though Taylor regime arguably marks the lowest standard of governance and leadership in Liberia. After several unsuccessful military attempts for the Liberian Presidency Taylor was awarded the Liberian Presidency by impressively winning the 1997 Special Presidential Elections. With such an impressive popular mandate, many Liberians felt Charles Taylor was the chosen leader to lead Liberia to reconciliation and development. But Taylor fantastically failed as he ruled in a tyrannical and despotic manner and sponsored rebel invasions in neighboring countries. After several rounds of rebel invasions against his brutal reign between 2001 and 2003, Taylor was forced to step-down and go into exile. His stepping down and going into usher in a peaceful transition for democratic elections. Taylor was later charged by the International Criminal Court with war crime and crime against humanity for atrocities committed in neighboring Sierra Leone. He was trialed, convicted, and sentenced to 50yrs imprisonment in 2012 by the International Criminal Court for Sierra Leone (*Marlise & J., 2012*).

After the brutal reigns of both Samuel K. Doe and Charles G. Taylor, Liberia's answer for an astute political leadership could not have come any time better than the period of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, a period when sound political leadership was needed to return Liberia on the right trajectory. As a manifestation of her respect in the rule of law and belief in the separation of powers, President Sirleaf used collaboration and engagements with the other branches of government in selling her policies and strategies. Regular engagements with the National Legislature on the national budget brought improvements in formulation, approval, and execution of the national budget that eventually increased from a mere US\$80million in 2006 to about US\$564 million in 2017. Similarly, her participatory political engagements ensured more than 40 ratifications in different kinds of financing instruments and 36 concession agreements. Timely ratifications of these financing agreements triggered disbursements of funds for the implementation of infrastructure projects in power generation and distribution, road & bridges rehabilitation, agriculture production, telecommunication & technology, education, health, and other social services. Ratifications of concessions agreement created more private sector jobs in the sectors of Mining, Agriculture, Forestry, and Oil and Gas. These jobs contributed to growth in output and domestic revenue that helped supported the government activities through the national budget.

In addressing some of the concerns raised by Afegbua & Adejuwon(2012) regarding the lack of adequate framework for effective governance and the decentralization of powers that would prevent the sense of alienation among elected officials, President Sirleaf worked with internal and external stakeholders in instituting reforms that promoted participatory governance, transparency, and accountability. Many of these reforms and physical projects have helped improved public service delivery and have also provided job opportunities at the local levels.

## 7.0 IMPACTS OF LEADERSHIP ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEAP-FORWARD

Since independence in 1847, poor style of leadership has adversely impacted Liberia's socio-economic leap-forward. This kind of leadership mainly exhibited under the reign of the Americo-Liberian resulted into unequal distribution of power and wealth. According to many political pundits, this unequal distribution which keeps permeating has always been the source of conflict in Liberia.

The Americo-Liberians' rule through one party system came to an end in 1980 after a bloody coup, which ousted and killed President William R. Tolbert – Liberia's 20th President. Tolbert, a member of an influential Americo-Liberian family assumed the presidency in 1971 after the death and 27-years rule of President William V.S. Tubman. Tolbert who spoke one of the indigenous languages, brought more indigenous persons into government and was also credited with implementing the first sets of Liberia's pro-poor policies – 'Total Involvement for Higher Heights', 'Rally Time', 'From Matt to Mattresses', etc. (*Van Der Kraaij*). As Fred Van Der Kraaij, a specialist and writer on the Economics of African countries succinctly put it all these policies were geared towards creating a wholesome functioning society and winning the war against ignorance, disease and poverty

Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, who at the time of the Coup de'tate lacked formal education and a clearer sense of political leadership, murdered and overthrew President William R. Tolbert on account of corruption and nepotism (*Ellis, 1995 & Dennis, 2005*). His lack of leadership was proved when he used military tribunal to justify the public execution of 13 officials of the Tolbert cabinet on charges of corruption. As popular his coup was, his leadership deficit proved pivotal in his failure to unite the country and even within his own indigenous community. For fear of threat to his power and control of the state, he delayed democratic transition, dominated his government and the military with his kinsmen from the Krahn ethnic group, and he suppressed individual rights and press freedom. His state of paranoid regarding threat to his leadership proved pivotal to him losing the confidence of the citizenry, most unfortunately the indigenous community.

This loss of confidence coupled with his brutal rule even under a so democratic leadership masterminded the marriage between the revengeful Americo-Liberians and members of the Gio and Mano indigenous community that were targeted and oppressed. Their marriage gave birth to a rebel group; the National Patriotic Front of Liberia headed by Charles Taylor, an Americo-Liberian descendant and Prince Yormie Johnson – a member of an oppressed Gio ethnic group and aide to Thomas Quiwonkpa, the murdered Commanding General of President Doe's People Redemption Council after the 1980 coup. Slain and exiled relatives of the Americo –Liberians provided the financial support for the rebel incursion in late 1989. The rebellion on the overall succeeded in killing and removing Samuel K. Doe from power in 1990. Prince Yormie Johnson who headed a breakaway faction of the NPFL (The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia-INPFL); arrested and brutally murdered Samuel Doe in early September 1990.

After series of military clashes among several rival rebel groups, a comprehensive peace accord was reached in Abuja, Nigeria in 1996 that paved the way for disarmament of all warring factions and holding of a special elections in July 1997. Charles G. Taylor of the NPFL through his new formed National Patriotic Party (NPP) won the elections, garnering more than 75% of the votes. Taylor's victory many believed, was a sacrifice by Liberians to attain genuine peace because without a Taylor's victory, conflict would have still continued. The stage was thus set for Taylor to exercise leadership in transforming the dreams and aspirations of Liberians to commence the reconciliation and economic recovery process of Liberia. Taylor had the full

support of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) through its military and support of member states (especially Nigeria) to rebuild and support the needed institutions to facilitate good governance. However, President Taylor failed to utilize the stage p as he prematurely accelerated the departure of ECOMOG and created insecurity in Liberia through his establishment of different militia groups to increase his personal security and safety.

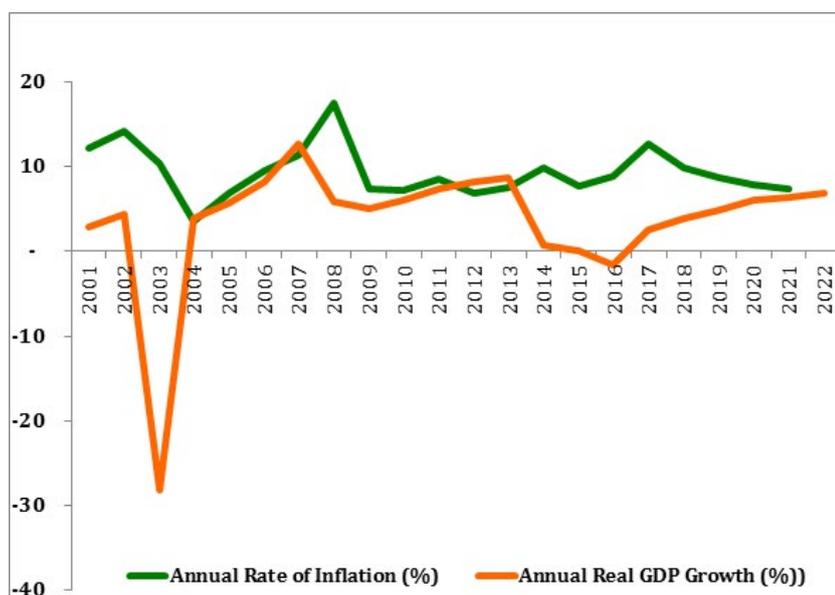
Through the militia groups, Taylor tyrannical rule was set into motion. While individual rights and freedom of the press were suppressed, opposition politicians were either imprisoned on account of dubious treason charges or summarily executed by state security forces. Taylor’s governance style marred by the lowest standard of financial mismanagement prompted long delays in the monthly salary payment of civil servants especially teachers and health workers. Owing to his short-sightedness in leadership, Taylor got involved into gunrunning and diamond smuggling in neighbouring Sierra Leone for which he was formally charged, trailed and convicted to 50-years imprisonment in 2012 by the Special Court for Sierra Leone (Drumbl, 2012; Marlise & J., 2012). On account of his gross disrespectfulness for the rule of law and use of state resources to fuel regional conflict, the international community comprising the United States and United Kingdom imposed economic sanctions on Liberia. The sanctions strangled his government and impoverished Liberians. The resulting hardship bred rebel incursion in 2000 to remove Charles Taylor. This conflict under the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) intensified in 2003 and forced the resignation of President Taylor. Taylor was also forced into exile in Nigeria before his extradition to the Hague to face war crime charges.

The poor performances of these two leaders before President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf have negatively impacted Liberia’s socio-economic leap-forward. The Doe and Taylor regimes can both be recorded as the worst periods of Liberia’s political and economic collapse. Though the Doe’s era offered better economic growth than the Taylor’s era, both shared in common tyrannical and despotic governance, a style of leadership that contributed to their removal at intervals of Liberia political existence.

## 7.1 ECONOMIC IMPACTS

The inadequacy of leadership in Liberia arguably resulted into the coup d’état in 1980 which adversely impacted the socio-economic leap forward when compared to period before the

coup. Many believe that the environment of bad governance that permeated the Samuel K. Doe regime was the driving force behind the NPFL rebellion and long period of conflict –leading to the destruction of economic infrastructures, human capital and capacity. In addition political instability, the lack of economic infrastructure especially in public goods hindered private sector investments and economic growth, and resulted into high inflation as reflected in the graph.



Data Source : Ministry of Finance & Development Planning

Achieving high rates of growth and lower rates of inflation came on the back of several reforms, which the Sirleaf's leadership instituted since her assumption of power in 2006. Unlike her immediate predecessors, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf instituted reforms in the public sector covering financial management and budgetary control, improvement in the business environment, security and rule of law, etc. Her government also designed and enacted new Public Financial Management (PFM) laws, improved revenue consolidation, budget formulation, allocation and execution. Revision to the revenue and investment codes provided incentives to attract more private capital investments. Improvement in tax administration through the introduction of the Automated System for Customs Database (ASYCUDA) at major ports of entries minimized barriers to trade while the installation of the Integrated Tax Administrations System (ITAS) for accurately tracking businesses and tax obligations provided a productive environment for the businesses and the tax authority. The combined impact of these reforms raised domestic revenue generation from mere US\$80 million dollars in 2006 to US\$470 million in 2014, and attracted foreign direct investment of more US\$16 billion with more than US\$1.4 billion operationalized (*Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, 2015*).

## 7.2 SOCIAL IMPACTS

Like the economy, leadership can also affect social outcomes in positive or negative manner depending on the quality of the leaders. This two sided probability is explained in the quality of leaders Liberia has had before and after Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The poor leadership style of Liberia's past two leaders; Samuel K. Doe and Charles G. Taylor resulted in to civil conflicts which evidently resulted into lost of human lives, destruction of infrastructures including social infrastructures such as educational and health facilities. Damaged to or non-functionality of these facilities negatively impacted human capital development. This was evident in the lacked of skilled staffs needed to support policy formulation and implementation during the initial period of President Ellen-Johnson Sirleaf in 2006.

The desire of everyone citizen is leadership that contribute to positive social outcomes, which remains a fundamental pre-conditions to Africa's socio-economic leap-forward. President Sirleaf exhibited this leadership quality. She instituted reforms that socially impacted Liberia through health, education and community development. As was expected, President Sirleaf's leadership also impacted gender issues in relation to girls' education, women empowerment and political participation.

The implementation of education reforms across Liberia made significant impact:, 372 new primary public schools were constructed increasing the number of primary schools from 2,122 in 2008 to 2,494 at the end 2016(*MoE, 2016, p. 110*). Net student enrolment in public schools increased from 978,872 pupils in 2006 to about 1.4 million pupils in 2015(*MoE, 2016, p. 14*) necessitating increased in the teacher workforce from 26,359 in 2008 to 55,243 (*MoE, 2016, p. 25*). Three teacher training institutes were rehabilitated and have provided various training programs for 15,345 teachers in urban and rural communities(*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 10*). The reforms also resulted into the rehabilitation and reactivation of eight community colleges including the construction of two new colleges in central and south-eastern Liberia (*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 10*) and with several teacher training programs implemented to improve instructions in the classroom. About 7 rural community colleges were also established to improve access to higher education for high school graduates in rural communities. Other outcomes of implementing these reforms include, payroll clean-up for direct replacements of about 1,300 teachers, and training and placement of more than 500 qualified teachers from the Rural Teachers Training Institutes, and distribution of more than 2million textbooks to public schools from Grade1 to Grade12 benefiting about 496,000 pupils and 23,000 teachers. Similarly, implementation of health reforms has paid huge dividend across Liberia. Unlike in

2006, where only a few counties, all the 15 political subdivisions in Liberia operated a major government run hospital before end of the Sirleaf era in 2018. The number of functioning health facilities has increased from 354 in 2006 to about 712 at end of 2016 and include 275 faith based facilities. This has triggered increment in access to health facility from 30 percent to 70 percent at end 2016, reducing incident from 68-percent to 28-percent (*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 11*). The number of healthcare workers has more than doubled, from about 4,000 to over 10,000 plus significant increment in salaries. Doctors who earned US\$30 dollars in 2006, now earn a minimum of US\$1,000 dollars a month while nurses, who earned US\$10 in 2006, now make up to US\$225 (*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2016, p. 11*). The utilization of health services can also be measured by the significant improvement in Basic Primary Health Services(BPHS) across Liberia. At end 2011, the administration of BPHS consisting both the government health facilities and partner-managed facilities increased from 35 percent in 2009 to 84 percent surpassing the national target and the target set for Heavily indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) by 14-percent(*MoHSW, 2011, p. 1*). In response to the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) attacks on the health sector and Liberian society, Madam Sirleaf mobilized supports, including the moral support of local communities and the financial support of the international community in defeating the virus in Liberia and other affected neighboring countries during 2014. As a sign of dynamic leadership, her post EVD health strategy focus on additional investments in the health sector but with more focus on the prevention and response to future health epidemic in the magnitude of EVD. To achieve this goal, she worked with the stakeholders in the health sector for the establishment of the National Public Health Institute of Liberia in 2016 (*NPHIL, 2018*).

On gender and women empowerment, which remains critical for achieving the objectives of the High 5 for transforming Africa; especially the Highs on Feed Africa and Improve the Quality of Life for the People of Africa, Madam Johnson- Sirleaf leadership unlike past leaderships has more priority on empowering Liberian women and women worldwide. Immediately after inauguration in 2006, her government launched the National Policy for Girls Education with objective of providing free primary education to less fortunate children, especially for girls children to reduce enrolment gap between boys and girls. The program at the end of 2012 achieved significant success when compared to 2007 as net enrolment rate for girls reached 48%(*Johnson-Sirleaf, 2013, p. 19*). Similarly, her government in 2010 launched the National Gender Policy and submitted the Women Participation and Fairness Bill to the National Legislature with the aim of providing more opportunities for women participation in national leadership and decision. With executive powers, she has appointed more women than her predecessors in senior cabinet and appointed positions, including (2) two women associate justices on the five-persons bench of the Supreme Court of Liberia.

## 8.0 SELECTED STORIES: EFFORTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN TERMS OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Two landmarked programs that have promoted the development leaderships are the President Young Professional Program (PYPP) and the Senior Executive Service. While the PYPP is still ongoing, the SES ended in 2013 but has helped recruited professional Liberians for the administration of the public sector.

### 8.1 PRESIDENT YOUNG PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM

The President Young Professional Program (PYPP) is a competitive two-years program that provides mentorship and employment opportunity for recent Liberian university graduates. Former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf launched the PYPP on August 2009 in collaboration with the John Snow Incorporated (JSI Liberia) Foundation of the United States of America (PYPP, 2016). The fellows are graduates under 35 years who have exhibited leadership ability, integrity, and honesty,



and are committed to assist with the reconstruction and development of the new Liberia. The program, which works in collaboration with the Civil Service Agency provides fellows to other government's ministries, agencies, and commissions, including the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. Young Liberians are identified and groomed for future service in the Government to strengthen the Government of Liberia capacity for efficient service delivery.

The program was inaugurated with the placement of about ten (10) young professionals in various ministries and agencies to perform specific responsibilities. These young professionals benefited from the mentorship of seasoned, experienced and well-qualified Scott fellows, SES or TOKTEN employees and reported directly to their assigned minister or senior staff member as they work closely with a designated mentor or on-the-job coach. Five years after its inception, the PYPP has produced more than one seventy-five (75) beneficiaries. Many of them have stood out as some of the top performers in the civil service and several had been promoted to top positions as divisional directors and assistant ministers (PYPP 2016). The program is arguably viewed as one of Africa's most competitive programs for leadership in the public sector. One of the PYPPs viewed the program as a gateway to the career development of every young person who is aspiring to excel in life through the provision of requisite skills, training opportunity, and mentoring.

The PYPP model is very inexpensive. It provides a low-cost model for building local governance capacity in resource-constrained environments; about \$14,000 annually per fellow and



that amount represents a fraction of the costs of other fellowship programs in Liberia. The achievement of the PYPP represents a milestone in the recruitment and mentoring of young talents for leadership role. According to the independent evaluation report of Princeton University, the PYPP achieved the followings since its launch in 2009:

- Recruited 97 outstanding young leaders
- Achieved near gender parity in each class
- Enabled 79% of alumni to obtain higher-level positions within their original ministry / agency
- Created a pipeline of talented young people, who have become integral to the GoL
- Helped fellows receive 22 government scholarships to pursue further education

“The President’s Young Professionals Program has proved to be an innovative program to build leadership, respond to capacity gaps, and employ promising Liberian graduates. It remains an essential component of our strategy to strengthen public sector capacity.” – President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

Based on these proved and demonstrated solutions, the Emerging Public Leaders, a team of public policy professionals and Philanthropic are seeking to expand the PYPP model in Africa to create a critical mass of young civil service leaders committed to excellence and accountability across the continent. Their short-term objective is to form regional network of 500 young leaders by 2021 in Liberia, Ghana, Guinea, and Cote d’Ivoire and beyond, using local government adoption of the program to ensure financial and programmatic sustainability.

## 8.2 SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE (SES)

The Senior Executive Service (SES) was similar in objectives to the Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support (LECBS) and the Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) projects, all of which helped restored needed skills and capacities for the Government of Liberia. But unlike the PYPP, which focused on training and deployment of fresh university graduates into entry-level positions in government, the SES served as a medium through which local and experienced professionals were recruited into junior positions into various governmental entities.

The SES professionals were recruited to provide technical support to heads of entities and understudying their supervisors who were mainly experts hired under LECBS and TOKTEN, and eventually taking over from them. The SES concept drew from the experiences of Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanzania in which evidence have shown that a “tightly-focused group of public service leaders can bring about a radical surge effect in a country, triggering a dramatic leap - within a short space of time - in national human and institutional capacity” Hence, the government recognized and trained new cadres of public service leaders, many of whom have taken charge of Liberia reforms and development agenda. In fulfilment of this objective, some of the SES professionals now occupied senior leadership positions in the public sector. Some of the professionals turned leaders include Mrs. Tenneh Brunson recruited as Budget Economist, now Deputy Minister of Budget and Development Planning.

**Table 1: Summary of some SES Recruits and their Top Level in Government**

No.	Full Name	Position as SES	Assigned Entity	Top Level Reach in Government
1	Tanneh Brunson	Economist	Ministry of Finance	Deputy Minister of Budget, Ministry of Finance
2	E. Othello Gongar	Senior Policy Analyst	Ministry of Education	Minister of Education
3	J. Levi Demmah	Economist	Ministry of Finance	Deputy Minister for Admin. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
4	Moses M. Zinnah	Principle Director of Extension & Research	Ministry of Agriculture	Minister of Agriculture
5	Lee S. Manson (Deceased)	County Development Officer	Bomi County	Assistant Minister of Planning and Development
6	Dixon W. Seboe	Principal Director, Small Tax Division	Ministry of Finance	Legislator, House of Representative

Source: Extracted from SES Report 2010 - SES Success stories, Civil Services Agency, Republic of Liberia

With the plan of using SES professionals to replace presidential appointees hired under TOKTEN and LECBS, the government of Liberia planned the SES program for a period of three years, targeting about 100 professionals in three consecutive roll-outs. To finance the three-year budget of the SES program, the Government of Liberia in addition to its own budgetary support, mobilized US\$9.7 million from the UNDP, World Bank, USAID, Greece, Germany, and Sweden.

### 8.3 TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERS AND THEIR IMPACT IN TERMS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEAP-FORWARD.

#### 8.3.1 PRESIDENT ELLEN JOHNSON-SIRLEAF LIFE & JOURNEY

Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the 24th President of Liberia and Africa's first democratically elected female Head of State and has transferred power to a democratic president out of the 2017 Presidential and Legislative Election; having served a two six years terms which started in 2006. On account of transitioning Liberia from failed state to a successfully emerging democracy demonstrated through hard work, integrity, good governance and advocacy for the education and rights of women, she, along with two other women, won the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 2011.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was born on October 29, 1938. She is the granddaughter of a renowned Traditional Chief of western Liberia and a daughter of a market woman from the southeast. She grew up in Liberia and acquired her high school education from the College of West Africa in Monrovia. She studied at Madison Business College, University of Colorado and Harvard University Kennedy School of Government where she obtained a Master's Degree in Public Administration in 1971.

According to her biography, "her entry into politics began in 1972 when she delivered her famous commencement address at the graduation convocation of her alma mater (College of West Africa) in which she sharply criticized the government and demonstrated her determination to speak the truth no matter the consequences." Accordingly, this was the beginning of her distinguished and enviable professional and political career, which is spanning more the forty five years.

After serving the Treasury department for four years, her high profiled job in the public sector started in 1979 as Minister of Finance under the administration of William R. Tolbert, 20th President of the Republic of Liberia; a position she used to introduce and implement measures to help curb corruption and the mismanagement of public money. This position

she relinquished as a result of the bloody 1980 military coup d'état when she took over the Presidency of the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI) before fleeing Liberia the same year Liberia as a result of the increasing suppressive military governance.

Being exiled did not stop her professional ambition and growth. She served as Vice President of CITICORP's Africa Regional Office in Nairobi, Kenya before assuming the position of Senior Loan Officer at the World Bank in Washington D.C. and later as Vice President for Equator Bank. Within the multilateral community, she joined the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1992 as Assistant Administrator and Director of its Regional Bureau of Africa with the rank of Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations. In 1997, she resigned this position and returned home to contest the 1997 special elections, an election in which she ranked a distant second to Charles Ghankay Taylor; an Ex-Rebel Leader and now a war crime convict.

Madam Ellen –Johnson Sirleaf, during her second spell in exile in Ivory coast after Charles Taylor's electoral victory in 1997, established the Kormah Development and Investment, a venture capital vehicle for African entrepreneurs. She also established Mesuagoon, a non-governmental organization for Liberian community development. After the cessation of hostilities in 2003, courtesy of the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA), Madam Sirleaf, desirous of reshaping the destiny of Liberia returned and took the position of Chairperson of the Governance Reform Commission under the National Transitional Government (NTGL). There she scrupulously led reforms in the anti-corruption framework by strengthening and reinforcing the independence of the General Auditing Commission-changing its reporting framework from the Executive Branch of Government to the National Legislature. Madam Sirleaf resigned this position, and successfully contested the 2005 general and presidential elections, which she won paving the way for her historic inauguration on January 16, 2006, as President of the Republic of Liberia.

During her 12years reign as President of Liberia, Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf placed emphasis on democratic governance as the vehicle for boosting Liberia's post-conflict reconstruction. Her stewardship yielded dividends for Liberia: public institutions including the national security were strengthened and revitalized, infrastructure including electricity, ports and more than 800 miles of paved roads were restored. In addition to her remarkable achievements; more than \$4 billion in debt waived, over US\$16 billion in investments attracted while about US\$4 billion operationalized. These initiatives helped to grow the economy on average by 7%- triggering increase in the national budget from \$80million in 2006 to more than half a billion in 2016, and most importantly the restoration of Liberia's reputation and credibility within the comity of nations.

Without any doubt, Madam Ellen-Johnson Sirleaf can be considered as one of the transformative leaders in Liberia who was challenged to provide alternative and coordinated solutions to Liberia's public administration arena. This arena was a shadow of qualified public servants at all levels of governance; education, health, security sector, judiciary, economic management, budget preparation and execution, etc. Upon her ascendancy, her first concern was to restore at minimum level a public service workforce that could support the design and implementation of her reform agenda over her first six years term. In pursuit of this goal, President Sirleaf expeditiously rallied the support of the international community and her professional colleagues for various forms of supports for rebuilding the Liberian civil service.

These supports mainly financial were used to implement series of the short-term and long-term capacity support programs at various government entities. These short –term programs included Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support project, Transfer of Knowledge through

*“ Newsweek magazine listed Johnson Sirleaf as one of the ten best leaders in the world; Time placed her among the top ten female leaders; and the Economist called her “the best President the country has ever had.” ”*

Expatriate



Nationals (TOKTEN), and the Senior Executive Program. Long-term programs, which are still been implemented, include the Liberia National Capacity Building Program and the President Young Professional Program (PYPP). Together these programs have helped to build and restored capacity, which has contributed to the socio-economic achievement of the Sirleaf regime over the past 12 years.

On the global stage including the African continent, Madam Sirleaf has also shown exemplary leadership. She served as Chairperson of the African Leaders Malaria Alliance, an alliance of African Heads of State and Government working to end malaria-related deaths. She served as Chairperson of the Mano River Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) where she led the effort for political stability and

economic cooperation among West African States including countries of the Mano River Union; Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. Her exemplary leadership over the Gambian post electoral crisis in 2017 led to a successful democratic transferred of power from Gambian long time President , Yahya Jammeh to Adama Barrow. She was also designated in 1999 by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (now African Union) to serve on the committee to investigate the Rwanda genocide; also chairperson for the commission for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue; and she was also selected by UNIFEM as one of two persons to investigate and report on the effect of conflict on women and women's roles in peace-building.

Besides serving as the co-chair of the committee of eminent persons for the formulation of the United Nations 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, Madam Sirleaf also served as Goodwill Ambassador for Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) in Africa and a founding member of the International Institute for Women in Political Leadership.

Prior to becoming President of Liberia, Madam Sirleaf has also served on many advisory boards, including the International Crisis Group (USA) and Women Waging Peace (USA). According to her biography, she is also a proud recipient of numerous prestigious awards including: the FAO CERES Medal (2008); the Crisis Group Fred Cuny Award for the Prevention of Deadly Crisis (2008) for outstanding leadership in democracy, development and peace-building in Africa; and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (2007), the highest civilian honor bestowed by an American President.

Her outstanding performance in leadership has been recognized with numerous honors such as 14 honorary degrees from American colleges and universities. In 2010, Newsweek magazine listed Johnson Sirleaf as one of the ten best leaders in the world; Times Magazine placed

her among the top ten female leaders; and the Economist called her “the best President the country has ever had.”

Immediately upon her ascendancy to the Liberian Presidency, with international support, Madam Sirleaf orchestrated needed reforms in the Liberian Civil Service force. She objectively guarded this process and built capacity and filled needed skill gaps created as a result of the 14 years civil conflict in which many professionals were killed or forced into exile. Building capacity to find fill skill gap was necessary for the formulation and implementation of development programs that promoted peace and sustainable economic development. Madam Sirleaf succeeded through the implementation of a short-term program through which qualified Liberians from the private sectors, including diaspora Liberians were recruited into Government Ministry, Agencies and Commissions (MACs). These recruitments were noticeably done through the Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support; Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals, Senior Executive Service, among other programs. To support capacity building over the short and medium terms, Madam Sirleaf guarded her cabinet to develop and execute a national capacity building program, and a youth nurturing and placement program through the President Young Professional Program. Like she did with the short-term recruitment and development programs, President also personally reached out to Liberia’s development partners for the design, implementation and financing of these capacity building programs, in addition to the Government of Liberia own financial support.

The brilliance of Madam Sirleaf transformational leadership is also reflected in her democratic governance of Liberia during her 12 years reign. She respected the rule of law, including press and individual freedoms. Under her leadership, she ensured the separation and coordination of powers between the three branches of Government; the Legislative, Executive, and the Judiciary. Her style of leadership significantly supported Liberia’s political and economic transformation; triggering strong economic growth before the outbreak of the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) in 2013 and slump in the price of Liberia’s key export commodities (Rubber and Iron Ore) in 2014. The Liberian economy grew annually on average by 7.5% from 2006 to 2013. This economic growth plus other transformational improvements triggered significant growth in the domestic resources from US\$80 million at end 2005 to over US\$550 million at end 2016 in addition to growth in external financing after successful waiver of over US\$4.9 billion external debt in 2010. Despite the impact of Ebola and commodity price slump, the Liberian economy is expected to recover and grow by an average of 3.5% over the medium-term (2017-2019).

To the expectations of Liberians and members of the international community, Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf jealously protected Liberia’s political transition during the 2017 Presidential and Legislative elections. The success of the elections was not only about its peacefulness but also represented an historical achievement for Liberia. On account of the success of the elections, Liberia after 73 years experienced a peaceful democratic transition from one sitting President to another. This milestone was last achieved in 1944 when Liberia’s 18th President, Edwin J. Barclay was succeeded by Liberia’s 19th President, William V.S. Tubman. Madam Sirleaf true to her respect for democracy, ensure that the elections were free, fair and transparent. The election was won by the opposition Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC) headed by former soccer icon George Manneh Weah against Madam Sirleaf’s ruling Unity Party headed by her Vice President, Joseph N. Boakai.

Her smart handling of the 2017 elections and Liberia’s political transition proved significantly pivotal to her winning the Mo Ibrahim African Leadership award in 2017, joining five former African leaders including Nelson Mandela who have peacefully turned over power at the end of

*“ We know that there is a huge reservoir of qualified Liberians outside. The challenge is how do we get them to come home and contribute their quotas to their motherland? ”*

their constitutional limit. According to Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, Chair of the Prize Committee, Madam Sirleaf through out her two terms worked tirelessly on behalf of the Liberian people and laid the foundations on which Liberia can now build. Also according to the Foundation, Dr. Mo Ibrahim upon hearing the announcement of Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as winner, expressed satisfaction in Madam Sirleaf becoming the first woman Ibrahim Laureate. He too also expressed that in difficult circumstances, “She helped guide her nation towards a peaceful and democratic future, paving the way for her successor to follow”.

### **8.3.2 DR. WILLIAM ALLEN –FORMER CSA DIRECTOR GENERAL**

President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf can take a larger share of credit for the on-going reform of the Liberian civil service. However, Dr. C. William Allen can also be credited for helping the Madam Sirleaf in driving the various reforms agenda. He is one of Liberia’s most astute professionals with more than 25years experience in the public service. He served as Director General of the Civil Service Agency during the critical when Liberia needed reforms in the public sector workforce.

Dr. Allen earned his Bachelor of Art in Journalism (News-Editorial, Print from the Pullian School of Journalism, Franklin College, Franklin, Indiana, in December 1974. In July 1978, he earned a Master of Public Administration (MPA) from California State University, Sacramento. His quest for higher education made him to enrol at S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, University of Syracuse, Syracuse, NY, where he earned a Doctor of Philosophy, Ph.D. (Mass Communication).

In the field of academics, Dr. Allen impacted knowledge into university students, both in Liberia and the United States of America while serving as an instructor, associate and assistant professors. Leveraging on his knowledge and experience in Mass Communication, Dr. Allen helped improve the Liberia’s media and also media institutions in the USA. As a professional journalist and writer, he served as a member and chairman of several Boards and Steering Committees of media institutions within and outside of Liberia.

According to his biography, Dr. Allen’s entry in the public service started in 2003 during the transitional government as Minister of Information Culture Affairs and Tourism, a position he served up to the end of 2006 when Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became president and appointed him as Director-General of the Civil Service Agency. Dr. Allen took on a huge task of the reforming the Civil Service Force when there was inadequate supply of skilled and experienced civil servants. To his credit, Dr. Allen instituted and managed several programs that attracted qualified and experienced Liberians and expatriates within and outside of Liberia. Believing in his source for injecting needed skills in the civil service, Dr. Allen always asserted, “We know that there is a huge reservoir of qualified Liberians outside. The challenge is how do we get them to come home and contribute their quotas to their motherland?”

Dr. Allen concept of deploying and utilizing this huge reservoir of qualified Liberians was implemented through noticeable capacity development programs such as the Liberia Emergency Capacity Building Support (LECBS) and the Senior Executive Program (SES). LECBS attracted competent Liberians from the diaspora to senior leadership positions especially heads or deputy heads of the government ministries and agencies. The SES attracted Liberians within and outside of Liberia to fill junior managerial posts. With the SES, Dr. Allen attracted more than hundred skilled Liberians on a longer three-year renewable contract. These Liberians were later promoted to higher managerial positions or retained to ensure better design and effective implementation of the various poverty-reduction strategies.

Beside the SES and the LECBS that attracted Liberians, Dr. Allen as head of the CSA also supervised the design and implementation of the Transfer of Knowledge through expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN). TOKTEN recruited professional expatriates for relatively short-term period with employment contracts of six to eighteen months to help build or remodel the governance systems.

Implementation of these capacity building programs achieved the desired objectives by increasing the number of skilled workers in the civil service while providing broader training programs that have increased the competence level of workers at lower levels. These programs also helped Liberia transformations through improvement in public service delivery, restoration of the rule of law, restoration of the public infrastructures, and improvement in fiscal governance, which paved the way for the cancellation of the more than US\$4.9 billion dollars in external debt.

Other leadership achievements of Dr. Allen while at the CSA include the formulation of the National Capacity Building Development (NCBD) in 2011 and raising of the minimum monthly wage of civil servant from US\$15.00 in 2006 to more than US\$125.00 at end 2015. Through the instrumentality of Dr. Allen, the NCBD's implementation started in 2013 through the Government owned National Capacity Building Fund, which the Civil Service Agency(CSA) co-manages alone with the Ministry of Education(MoE). Besides Government owned budgetary resources, Dr. Allen also helped improved the implementation of various bilateral scholarship programs, which also supported national capacity building and development. As head of the CSA, he worked with MoE and improved the method of selecting beneficiaries of the bilateral scholarship program. The CSA reforms also included improving welfare of the scholarship students abroad by regular remittance of their stipend and ensuring their job security through a binding contract for returnees to work for the Government of Liberia after completion of studies.

Raising the monthly minimum wage of the civil servant from a mere US\$15,00 to US\$125.00 will be remembered by many Liberians, especially the civil servants as one of the greatest achievements of Dr. Allen during his stewardship at the Civil Service Agency. Though the raise was fully supported by the President, but implementation of other civil service reforms increased the confidence level of key state actors including the National Legislature in increasing the minimum wage. Some of these reforms include; the regular payroll clean-up that eliminated ghost workers and the implementation of civil servant bio-metric system and direct – deposit of monthly salary checks into the accounts of civil servants. These reforms besides benefiting civil servants directly also helped to save millions from payroll frauds.

## 9.0 LESSONS LEARNT AND CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT IMPERATIVES

Several lessons have been learnt from the implementation of various capacity development programs under the democratic leadership of Africa's First Female President, Madam Ellen – Johnson Sirleaf. The fact that the Sirleaf's administration inherited an almost empty stock of human capital, implementing immediate and long-term capacity mobilizations and building initiatives were an absolute necessity for running an effective government.

From the implementation of the various initiatives, some of the lessons learnt include the follows:.

- In mobilization of the external resources for financing these kinds of capacity building initiatives, the quality of leadership matters in addition to the political will of the leadership. It was highly unlikely that without the personal involvement and connection of former President Sirleaf, some of the capacity restoration and building programs such as LECBS and TOKTEN would not have been funded.

- Under an organized arrangement, qualified Africans in the Diaspora when well utilized, can become an effective instrument for transferring technical knowledge needed in improving governance in much needed poor African countries. This knowledge transfer and utilization can be an effective instrument for reducing the cost of conventional technical assistance while accelerating economic development in Africa. From other non-diaspora aligned programs such as SES and the PYPP, local skill outside can be incorporated into the public sector and when enhanced through training, can further be utilized to support implementation of sustainable development agenda.

- Institutional and human capacity strengthening must go hand in hand with physical capacity improvements. Poor working conditions in host of agencies and institutions tend to affect productivity. And these poor conditions are capable of breeding inefficiency and corruption at various levels of the public administration.

- Performance monitoring and evaluation is made more difficult when a project involves high-level political leaders. This was a case with the diaspora-aligned programs, the LECBS and the TOKTEN because beneficiaries of these programs were placed in higher management positions, especially head and deputy heads of ministries, agencies and commissions.

### 9.1 CAPACITY IMPERATIVES FOR EFFECTIVE LEAP-FORWARD LEADERSHIP

In Gleb's informal definition of leadership, he emphasized that leadership is the art of connection; the process of building relationships to bring out the best in others. Getting the best out of others thus require implementing strategies of mutual benefits to the leaders, workers, and the nation in general. Such strategies to leap-forward leadership in Liberia should focus on the continuous capacity building with emphasis on technical and vocational education, capacity utilization and retention, and inclusion of youth at middle and top levels in governance process.

#### *Continued capacity Building -Technical and Vocational Education*

Given the depletion of the human resource capacity triggered by the civil conflict, the continued need to build more capacity of public sector employees, especially among the youth and junior employees cannot be overemphasized. Building such capacity should be aligned with gaps identified in the national capacity development strategy of 2011. Periodic evaluations should be carried out to measure the implementation of the NCDS against capacity that have been or will be built.

Other segments of capacity building should place emphasis on technical and vocation education for youths who make up more than fifty-percent of the population in Liberia. Increasing technical and vocational skills can prove vital to management of major infrastructures in power generation and distribution, roads & bridges, airports, seaports, public buildings, etc. which are currently been constructed or rehabilitated. Beyond the management of these infrastructures, skill built can become sustainable source of employment for the youth.

### *Capacity Utilization & Retention*

Utilizing and retaining capacity built within the public sector is also a key capacity imperative for effectively leap-forwarding through leadership that promotes political stability and socio-economic development. While the Government of Liberia efforts of building capacity through short and longer-terms training programs remain commendable, it is also important to point out that some of the capacities built were either never utilized, wrongly utilized, or eventually never retained. The attributing factors have been, poor staff incentive system, poor personnel management practices by political appointees, and the over-crowdedness of the public sector. These factors among other reasons are the key reasons for job losses for most of the returnees or beneficiaries of long-term capacity building programs outside of Liberia. Designing and implementing appropriate strategies will be key in reducing the under-utilization and turnover of staff who capacity have been or will be built. Utilization and retention of the skill of trained staff will generate positive exchanges of ideas that can improve socio-economic governance, growth and development.

### *Youth Inclusion in Governance*

Inclusion of qualified youth in senior governance position will be core to realizing leadership as an art of connection and using it to bring out the best in others. This means expanding the exposure of youths in the governance of the state and allowing them take ownership of that national development agenda. Such move can also strengthen youth determination to pursue higher education and moral societal values that are the positive attributes of sound leadership.

Former President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf's strategy of youth capacity building and inclusion in national governance can become a blueprint for implementing a full generational inclusive policy. Her strategies can be further developed into a full national strategy, taking into consideration gender and region, religion, and different ethnic groups. Madam Sirleaf ensured placement of qualified youth or middle aged Liberians into senior level positions in government- cabinet or deputy cabinet positions to contribute to the governance of the state. In cases where some of her local youths did not have the required qualification or competence, she provided capacity building opportunities to build up their skills before allowing them into senior level positions. This, unlike the patronage system of past administrations, achieved positive results by maintaining a merit system that promoted pursuit of education and skills to make meaningful contribution to state building.

## 10.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Transformative style of leader is core to leap-frogging developmental outcomes. It is needed in Liberia and other African countries that long lagged behind on of inadequate political and economic governance. Using transformative leadership can set a practical stage for building the required human capital and harness it to promote programs that support the realization of the 2030 sustainable development goals and the Africa's Agenda 2063. Both of these developmental agendas recognize leadership as a key factor and enabler for Africa's transformation and the achievement of its long-term development objectives in health, education, political governance, among others. This kind of leadership calls for continuous capacity building for public sector employees, including the youth, and utilization and retention of capacity built but also with strategic emphasis on placement of youth in senior governance positions.

Over the course of Liberia's history before the inception of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, leadership quality arguably felt short of the minimum expectation of the Liberian people, especially during the regime of the immediate past two presidents of Liberia before President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Unacceptably for the most part, these two leaders exhibited gross disrespect for individual rights and freedoms- the key ingredients very pivotal to maintaining effective checks and balance in the governance process to support adequate allocation and accountability of state's resources. These missing ingredients and other forms of dictatorial leadership styles triggered the people's desire for political change through a full-scale civil conflict in 1989. That civil unrest unfortunately lasted over the period of fourteen years and regrettably resulted into the total collapse of the Liberian state when thousands of Liberians got killed, human capital and domestic capacity diminished. Destruction of state infrastructures and individual assets collapsed the domestic economy and posed significant challenges for future growth.

Madam Ellen Johnson –Sirleaf, Liberia's and Africa's first democratically elected female head of state responded with the much needed quality in leadership in tackling the political and economic ruins created by the years of civil conflict. After inheriting a challenged public sectors lacking skilled staffs in almost every department and unit, her administration improved the public sector workforce through the implementation various capacity restoration and building programs. Improvement in the workforce helped improved policies formulation and implementation across government's functionaries. Some of these key polices included the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS) of 2006, the 2008 Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS1), the National Vision 2030 out of which a five year Agenda For Transformation was crafted and implemented between 2012 and 2017, and the Liberia Agriculture Transformation Agenda (LATA), the government blueprint on economic diversification through agriculture and manufacturing. Other policy reforms that were developed and implemented for other sectors and sub-sectors included education, health, security and rule of law, transparency and accountability, and public administration, etc. Most of the reforms implemented provided positive impact. For example, successful implementation of IPRS, PRS1, and other related programs improved delivery of social services in education, health, security and rule of law, while the implementation of the AfT ensured restoration of key infrastructures such as 120 Megawatts power generation, transmission and connections to about 25,000 customers, about 1000 kilometer of paved roads, construction and modernization of Liberia international airport, among others.

Besides leading on infrastructure development and social services delivery, Former President Sirleaf exercised good leadership also impacted the political governance through her full respect for the tenets of democracy especially the fundamental rights of speech, movement, and association. Respecting those values helped improved some of her poor leadership attributes by her acceptance of the increased critical views and suggestions to her leadership style. This also provided the pillar for the maintenance of political stability over the course of her twelve year reign as she spearheaded Liberia's first peaceful democratic transition since 73 years when President Edwin Barclay transferred power over to President William V. S. Tubman in 1944. This is the kind of transformative leadership style Liberia has yearned for since its declaration of independence in 1847 from the American Colonization Society (ACS) and this Sirleaf's model of leadership will remain in the minds of Liberians as one of the best model for leap-frogging socio-economic development in Liberia.

## 11.0 RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY ACTIONS

Transformative leadership remains an imperative for the socio-economic leap-forward for African countries, especially Sub-Sahara African countries including Liberia. This form of leadership can arguably operate more efficiently and effectively in a democratic environment where the rule of law and respect for the fundamental human rights are never compromised. Such environment entertains the exchange of ideas between the government, the private sector, civil society organization, and the citizenry in general. Relying on the various literatures read and the practical experiences in Liberia, especially during the 12years leadership of Madam Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, our policy recommendations will center on the followings to sustain a transformative leadership regime.:

**Upholding and Improving Democratic Governance:** Respect for the rule of law and the fundamental rights of the citizens and residents remain a key precondition for sound leadership in this modern dispensation, where most countries are democratized. It is such democratic environment that nurtures the expressions and exchanges of ideas that leaders can or will use to make needed adjustments to public policy designs and implementations to yield maximum social and economic returns.

Besides benefits that can be accrued from allowing criticisms, the expressions and exchanges of ideas under a functional democracy, a functional democracy also attracts much needed financial and technical supports from multilateral organizations and bilateral partners for supporting developmental initiatives. Another ideal benefit is political stability, an environment free of violence and conflict.

Dividends gained on account of upholding and improving democratic governance are evident in the 12-year regime of Liberia's 24th President, President Ellen –Johnson Sirleaf from 2006 to end of 2018. On account of democratic and economic reforms, about US\$4.9 billion external debt got waived under the HIPC initiatives, injection of more than US\$16 billion in foreign direct investments, mobilization of about US\$1.2 billion in new concessional financing to support the restoration of economic infrastructures, support from the United States of America to rebuild the Armed Forces of Liberia, among others.

## 11.1 CONTINUOUS CAPACITY BUILDING -TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

As mentioned earlier in the section on capacity imperatives, continuous capacity building for youth especially within the technical and vocational fields remains very critical in building a reliable depth of public servants and leaders. They are needed to design and implement the next sets of development agenda to support sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development. However, building such capacity should be aligned with gaps identified in

the national capacity development strategy of 2011 in addition to periodically evaluating the National Capacity Development Strategy against capacity that have been or will be built. The segment of capacity building on the technical and vocation education initially needed for the management of major infrastructures in power generation and distribution, roads & bridges, airports, seaports, public buildings, etc. which are currently been constructed or rehabilitated. Beyond the management of these infrastructures, skill built can become sustainable source employment for the youth.

## **11.2 CAPACITY UTILIZATION AND YOUTH INCLUSION IN GOVERNANCE**

Again, as highlighted in the capacity imperative, utilizing and retaining capacity built within the public sector is one of the key preconditions for effectively developing leadership needed to promote political stability and socio-economic development in Liberia. It is important to blend capacity utilization and retention with youth inclusion in senior positions of governance. The latter is important to create aspiration and determination in the youth to seek ownership of national development agenda and seek greater goals in achieving responsibilities assigned to them.

Youth inclusion in governance can follow the model of President Ellen-Johnson Sirleaf, who is arguably the first President to give more public sector employment opportunities to the younger generation of Liberians while also providing them capacity building opportunities. Blending the two imperatives are core to realizing leadership as an art of connection and using it to bring out the best in others.

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## 13 ANNEXES

### Annex 1: Summary of Scholarship Program 2006-Mid 2017

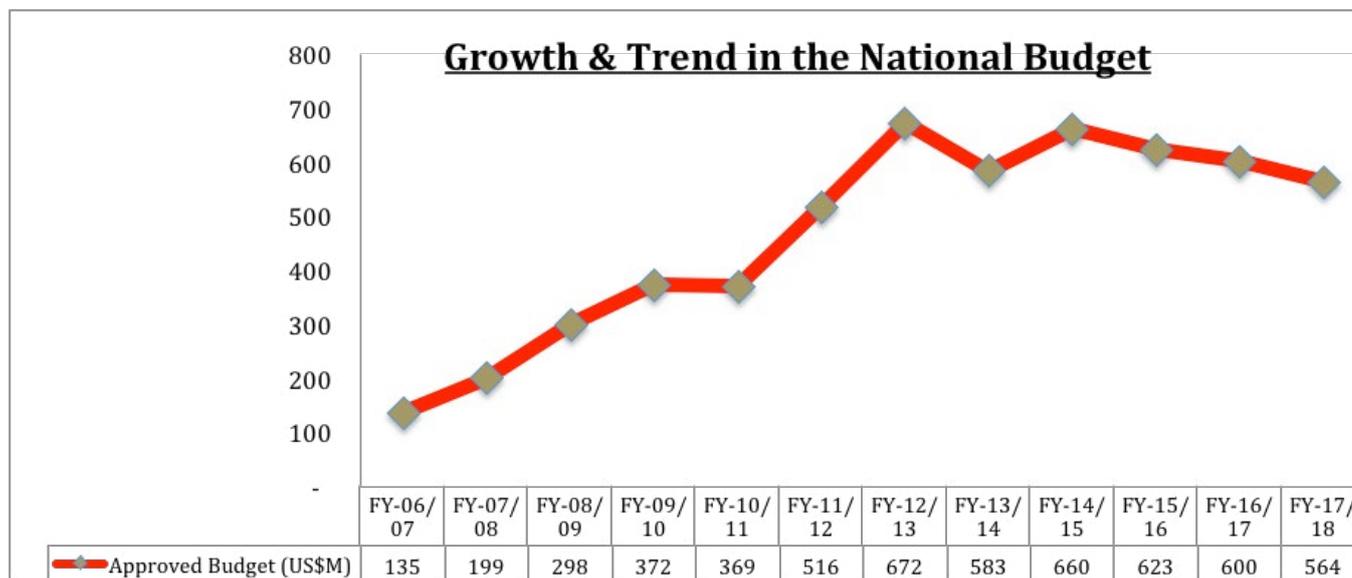
Scholarship Type	Local	Foreign	Total
Post-Graduate	-	6	6
Graduate	2,603	146	2,749
Under-graduate	9,127	22	9,149
Teachers Colleges/Trainings	4,136	-	4,136
Junior College/AA	1,055	-	1,055
Secondary School	1,779	-	1,779
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,700</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>18,874</b>

Data Source: Ministry of Education, Liberia

### Annex 2: Summary of Domestic Scholarship Program (FY06/07-FY16/17)

Period	Graduate	Under-graduate	Teachers Colleges/Trainings	Junior College/AA	Secondary School	Total
2006/2007	96	482	-	63	483	1,124
2007/2008	100	549	-	76	675	1,400
2008/2009	57	955	-	105	350	1,467
2009/2010	636	1,411	-	69	271	2,387
2010/2011	352	1,392	-	127	-	1,871
2011/2012	184	1,286	-	154	-	1,624
2012/2013	488	1,036	1,873	87	-	3,484
2013/2014	355	650	1,356	108	-	2,469
2014/2015	21	527	-	61	-	609
2015/2016	151	356	907	17	-	1,431
2016/2017	163	483	-	188	-	834
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,603</b>	<b>9,127</b>	<b>4,136</b>	<b>1,055</b>	<b>1,779</b>	<b>18,700</b>

Data Source: Ministry of Education, Liberia



Data Source: Ministry of Finance & Development Planning

Annex 3: Summary of Foreign Scholarship Program (2013 - 2017)

Scholarship & Country	Female				Subtotal Female	Male				Subtotal Male	Grand Total
	2013	2014	2016	2017		2013	2014	2016	2017		
<b>Australia</b>	2	4			6	15	5	1		21	27
Graduate Degree	2	6			6	15	5	1		21	27
<b>Botswana</b>			1		1			1		1	2
Graduate Degree			1		1			1		1	2
<b>China</b>	5	2	4	6	17	14	12	22	21	69	86
Graduate Degree	2	1	4	6	13	10	12	21	21	64	77
Post Graduate Degree	1				1	2		1		3	4
Under Graduate Degree	2	1			3	2				2	5
<b>India</b>				1	1			1	3	4	5
Graduate Degree				1	1			1	3	4	5
<b>Italy</b>									1	1	1
Graduate Degree									1	1	1
<b>Morocco</b>	3		1	1	5	4	5	2	9	20	25
Graduate Degree			1		1	2	1	1	4	8	9
Under Graduate Degree	3			1	4	2	3	1	5	11	15
<b>Unknown</b>							1			1	1
<b>Namibia</b>							1			1	1
Under Graduate Degree						1				1	1
<b>Nigeria</b>				1	1				3	3	4
Graduate Degree				1	1				3	4	3
<b>Phillipine</b>						1				1	1
Graduate Degree						1				1	1
<b>Senegal</b>									1	1	1
Post Graduate Degree						1				1	1
<b>South Africa</b>									1	1	1
Graduate Degree						1				1	1
<b>Sweden</b>							1			1	1
Graduate Degree							1			1	1
<b>Turkey</b>				1	1				1	1	2
Graduate Degree				1	1				1	1	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>							3			3	3
Graduate Degree							3			3	3
<b>United States</b>	1		1	1	3		1			1	4
Graduate Degree		1			1		1			1	2
Under Graduate Degree				1	1					1	1
<b>Unknown</b>	1				1					1	1
<b>Unknown</b>			1		1			10	1	11	12
Graduate Degree			1		1			9	1	10	11
<b>Post Graduate</b>								1		1	1
<b>Total</b>	11	7	7	11	36	35	28	37	40	140	176

Data Source: Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia

## THE PRESIDENT'S YOUNG PROFESSIONALS, CLASSES I-V:

PYP NAME	CLASS	MINISTRY, AGENCY, OR CORPORATION	POSITION
<b>Gwakolo Wilfred</b>	I	John F. Kennedy Medical Center, Cater Center Mental Health Project	Project Coordinator, Mental Health
<b>Lucia Gibson</b>	I	Ministry of Information, Cultural Affairs and Tourism	Acting Human Resource Director
<b>Nada Ajami-Tondo</b>	I	Ministry of Education	Early Childhood Development Specialist
<b>Nyanda Finda Yekee-Davis</b>	I	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Director for Passport and VISA
<b>Tendra Tenwah</b>	I	Ministry of Health & Social Welfare	Coordinator
<b>Joseph Sessay</b>	I	Ministry of Agriculture	Studying for PHD in Uganda
<b>Amos N. Tubor</b>	I	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Senior Program Officer, Social Integration and Political Affairs
<b>Rebecca Kwabo</b>	I	Civil Service Agency	Studying in Ghana
<b>Shedrick Seton</b>	I	Ministry of State	Technical Assistant, office of the DMA
<b>Hh K. Zaizay</b>	I	President's Young Professional Program	Executive Director
<b>Theophilus Baah</b>	II	Ministry of Agriculture	County Agriculture Coordinator, Lofa County
<b>Abdoul Derrick Duannah</b>	II	John F. Kennedy Medical Center	Research and Clinical Assistant to Chief Medical Officer
<b>Abraham Dagher</b>	II	Ministry of Education	Administrative Assistant
<b>Elchico M. Fawundu</b>	II	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Research Analyst
<b>Julius Saye Keh-nel</b>	II	Ministry of Commerce & Industries	Director, Access to Market
<b>Cassandra Hampton</b>	II	Ministry of Lands Mines & Energy	Chief Administrative Officer, Small Medium Enterprise
<b>Dahnu Mianyen</b>	II	Ministry of Youth & Sports	Program Officer
<b>Boakai Jalieba</b>	II	Ministry of Youth & Sports	Assistant Minister for Youth Development
<b>Musu Flomo</b>	II	Ministry of Agriculture	Administrative Assistant
<b>Moses Zolue</b>	II	Ministry of Agriculture	Soil Scientist (Studying in US)
<b>Nyeotee Zorgbai</b>	II	Ministry of Gender, Children & Social Protection	Finance Administrative Assistant
<b>Leah Tomah -Zinnah</b>	II	Ministry of Education	Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist
<b>Romell Wleh-Clarke</b>	II	Environmental Protection Agency	Administrative Assistant
<b>Togar Tarpeh</b>	II	Ministry Internal Affairs	Program Assistant, Peace Building Project
<b>Vegelar Kemah</b>	II	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Chief Accountant
<b>Ciata Armah Stevens</b>	III	Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	Studying in Netherlands
<b>Elizabeth H. Kwemi</b>	III	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	Technical Assistant
<b>Talifa Roger Suah</b>	III	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Technical Assistant
<b>Rita E. Kiawoin</b>	III	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	Research Assistant, Research Unit
<b>Leela K. Zaizay</b>	III	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	Studying in Uganda
<b>Kunan Vesselly</b>	III	Ministry of Agriculture	Studying in Uganda

Data Source: [www.pypliberia.org/5-year-report](http://www.pypliberia.org/5-year-report)

<b>Mbakai Vapliah</b>	III	Ministry of Agriculture	Studying in Kenya
<b>Hawa Dunor</b>	III	Ministry of Gender, Children & Social Protection	Studying in Tanzania
<b>John G.S. Mayon</b>	III	National Oil Company of Liberia	Administrative Assistant
<b>J. Alben Greeves</b>	III	Ministry of Justice	Coordinator, Child Justice
<b>Keturah M. Sandikie</b>	III	Ministry of Transport	Special Assistant to the Minister (Studying in China)
<b>Peter N. Ben</b>	III	Liberia Revenue Authority	Internal Auditor
<b>Josephus Kettor</b>	III	Liberia Revenue Authority	Auditor
<b>Fredrick S. Cooper</b>	III	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Assistant Coordinator
<b>Lorbah C. Roberts</b>	III	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Studying in Uganda
<b>Gudi J.N.D Neufville</b>	III	Ministry of Commerce & Industries	Studying in US
<b>Linclon K. Blojay</b>	III	Ministry of Commerce & Industries	Deputy Comptroller
<b>Michael Kwabo</b>	III	Public Procurement Concessions Commission	Research Assistant, Office of the CEO
<b>Miatta-Fatima Kromah</b>	III	Public Procurement Concessions Commission	Research Assistant, Office of the Executive Director
<b>Winnerford Prout Richard</b>	III	Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	Project Officer (Studying in China)
<b>Mbalan Nufeatalai</b>	III	Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	Project Officer (Studying in UK)
<b>Joseta S. Neufville</b>	III	Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	Project Officer (Studying in US)
<b>Albert K. Samukai</b>	III	Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	Project Officer (Studying in UK)
<b>Eyey P. Booker</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Analyst Budget Development and Dissimilation
<b>Emmanuel N.B.Flomo</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Analyst Budget Forecasting and Development
<b>Agnes Payeker</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Budget Analyst (Studying in China)
<b>Sarah M. Johnson</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Senior Budget Policy Officer
<b>Johnson Williams</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Assistant Director- Budget Development and Dissimilation
<b>Jamel Dugbeh</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Economics
<b>Matthew G.Garway</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Analyst-project Appraisal and Compliance
<b>Roland Lankah</b>	IV	Ministry Internal Affairs	Senior Financial Analyst
<b>T. Cornelius Tugba</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Budget Analyst (Studying in US)
<b>Varkpeh Gonowolo</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Senior Budget Analyst
<b>Amos N.Sando</b>	IV	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Statistician

Data Source: [www.pypliberia.org/5-year-report](http://www.pypliberia.org/5-year-report)

<b>Christollie A. Collins</b>	IV	National Investment Commission	Administrative Assistant (Studying in China)
<b>Hennistta W.Nyangbe</b>	IV	Liberia Maritime Authority	Legal Assistant/Paralegal (Studying in China)
<b>Authur Fomgbeh</b>	IV	National Housing Authority	Project Analyst (Studying in China)
<b>Agnes Nushann</b>	IV	Ministry of Gender, Children & Social Protection	Acting Coordinator, Adolescent Girls Unit (Studying in US)
<b>Paul P. Jerbo</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Economist
<b>Kulele V. Morris</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Budget Analyst
<b>Vamuyan A. Sessay</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Economist
<b>Patience Y. Karley</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Analyst, Budget Development and Dissimilation
<b>Deborah Queminee</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Budget Analyst
<b>Calvin Famgalo</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Analyst, Budget Development and Dissimilation
<b>Prince S.Doelar</b>	V	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning	Planning Analyst Project Development
<b>Daniel D. Wleh Jr.</b>	V	Ministry of Agriculture	Concessions IT Officer
<b>Francilia Marah</b>	V	Environmental Protection Agency	Concessions IT Assistant
<b>Precious W.Tokpah</b>	V	National Bureau of Concessions	Assistant Coordinator, Cadastre Office

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