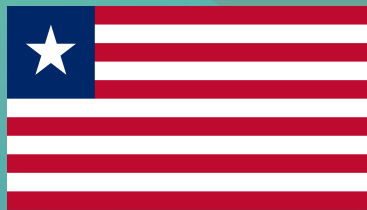




European Union  
Election Follow-up Mission

# LIBERIA 2026

Final Report



## General Elections and Presidential run-off

10 October 2023  
and  
14 November 2023

European Union  
Election Follow-Up Mission to Liberia  
*10 May to 05 June 2026*

**FINAL REPORT**

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## I. Acronyms

|               |                                                        |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AHEAD</b>  | Action for a Holistic Electoral Approach for Democracy |
| <b>ANC-LP</b> | Collaborating Political Parties                        |
| <b>AU</b>     | African Union                                          |
| <b>BoC</b>    | Board of Commissioners                                 |
| <b>BVR</b>    | Biometric Voter Registration                           |
| <b>CDC</b>    | Coalition for Democratic Change                        |
| <b>CoC</b>    | Code of Conduct                                        |
| <b>CSO</b>    | Civil Society Organisation                             |
| <b>CVE</b>    | Civic and Voter Education                              |
| <b>ECC</b>    | Elections Coordinating Committee                       |
| <b>ECOWAS</b> | Economic Community of West African States              |
| <b>EDR</b>    | Election Disputes Resolution                           |
| <b>EPD</b>    | European Partnership for Democracy                     |
| <b>EU EFM</b> | European Union Election Follow-Up Mission              |
| <b>EU EOM</b> | European Union Election Observation Mission            |
| <b>FOI</b>    | Freedom of Information Act                             |
| <b>HoR</b>    | House of Representatives                               |
| <b>IPCC</b>   | Inter-Party Consultative Committee                     |
| <b>IWL</b>    | Integrity Watch Liberia                                |
| <b>KAK</b>    | Kamara Abdullah Kamara Act on Press Freedom            |
| <b>LBS</b>    | Liberia Broadcasting System                            |
| <b>LEON</b>   | Liberia Elections Observation Network                  |
| <b>LESP+</b>  | Liberia Election Support Project                       |
| <b>LFM</b>    | Liberia First Movement                                 |
| <b>LINA</b>   | Liberia News Agency                                    |
| <b>LMEP</b>   | Liberia Media Empowerment Project                      |
| <b>LNTV</b>   | Liberia National Television                            |
| <b>LP</b>     | Liberty Party                                          |
| <b>LPP</b>    | Liberian People's Party                                |
| <b>LRP</b>    | Liberia Restoration Party                              |
| <b>LTA</b>    | Liberia Telecommunications Authority                   |
| <b>LTP</b>    | Liberia Transformation Party                           |
| <b>MDR</b>    | Movement for Democracy and Reconstruction              |
| <b>MICAT</b>  | Ministry of Information Culture and Tourism            |
| <b>MPC</b>    | Movement for Progressive Change                        |
| <b>MPT</b>    | Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications               |
| <b>NDC</b>    | National Democratic Coalition                          |
| <b>NEC</b>    | National Elections Commission                          |

|              |                                                         |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>NEL</b>   | New Elections Law                                       |
| <b>NESF</b>  | National Electoral Sustainability Fund                  |
| <b>NIMD</b>  | Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy          |
| <b>NLP</b>   | New Liberia Party                                       |
| <b>OHCHR</b> | Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights        |
| <b>PUL</b>   | Press Union of Liberia                                  |
| <b>PUP</b>   | People's Unification Party                              |
| <b>PwD</b>   | Persons with Disabilities                               |
| <b>RNC</b>   | Reformers National Congress                             |
| <b>UNDP</b>  | United Nations Development Programme                    |
| <b>UP</b>    | Unity Party                                             |
| <b>USAID</b> | United States Agency for International Development      |
| <b>VL</b>    | Vision for Liberia Transformation                       |
| <b>WANEP</b> | West Africa Network for Peacebuilding                   |
| <b>WYDE</b>  | Women and Youth in Democracy Civil Engagement Programme |

## II. Executive Summary

The EU deployed an Election Follow-up Mission (EU EFM) to Liberia from 10 May to 05 June 2026 to assess the progress made in the implementation of the 22 recommendations, including six priority ones, proposed by the 2023 EU Election Observation Mission (EU EOM). The EU EFM was led by Andreas Schieder, the Chief Observer of the 2023 EU EOM and member of the European Parliament. The mission met with the President of Liberia Joseph Nyuma Boakai, the Minister of Justice, the Deputy Minister of International Cooperation and Economic Integration, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the House of Representatives (HoR), the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, the nominated Chairperson and the Commissioners of the National Elections Commission (NEC), members of the Legislature, political parties, civil society, domestic observers, development partners and the diplomatic community.

The EU EFM found that the implementation of the recommendations remains limited. Two recommendations have been partially implemented, while 14, including four priority ones, show ongoing activity that may eventually lead to their implementation. Five recommendations, including a priority, have neither been discussed nor acted upon. For one priority recommendation, it is still too early in the electoral cycle to assess the extent of implementation.

In this regard, recommendation 10 on the operationalisation of the Office of the Ombudsman, and recommendation 15 on initiatives to strengthen digital media literacy and fact-checking for journalists, educational institutions and other stakeholders have been partially implemented.

Recommendation 9 concerning the review of candidate registration and nomination fees as well as the two media-related recommendations on transforming the state-owned Liberia Broadcasting System (LBS) into a genuine public service broadcaster accountable to the Legislature (recommendation 13) and establishing a permanent and independent media regulator (recommendation 14) have not been implemented. Priority recommendation 17 on the introduction of temporary special measures to promote gender equality in the Legislature, has not been acted upon. On the contrary, some initiatives currently under discussion appear to run counter to the objective of the recommendation. Likewise, no progress has been recorded on recommendation 19, which calls for broadening legal standing to file election complaints.

Among the 14 recommendations where ongoing activity has been identified, the EU EFM highlights four priority ones: recommendation one, on a holistic review of the legal framework, recommendation three on ensuring financial stability of the NEC, recommendation eight on increasing the number of and improving accessibility to voter registration centres, and recommendation 12 on enhancing NECs capacities to enforce campaign finance regulations.

Since the 2023 elections, a number of initiatives aimed at electoral reform, from both legislative and administrative origin, have been launched. These efforts have been driven primarily by domestic stakeholders, notably the NEC, with the support of international partners and development agencies. The EU EFM considers that these initiatives have contributed to raising awareness of the EU EOM recommendations and to placing a range of electoral issues on the reform agenda. However, most initiatives remain at the discussion, consultation or planning stage and have yet to translate into concrete legislative, regulatory or institutional reforms.

Three years ahead of the next elections, there is a need to move from dialogue to implementation. Timely adoption of reforms will be essential to ensure that changes can be effectively implemented sufficiently in advance of the 2029 elections and contribute to strengthening public confidence in the electoral process.

A defining feature of the electoral reform process in Liberia is the lack of clarity regarding the various steps of the legislative process. Responsibility for initiating and advancing reforms is shared among several institutions, notably the NEC, the Law Reform Commission and the Legislature. This fragmented approach reduces the transparency and predictability of the reform process.

At the time of reporting, the only publicly available legislative reform proposal identified by the EU EFM consisted of a set of amendments to the 1986 New Elections Law (NEL) reported to have been adopted by the HoR, and published on its Facebook page in April 2026. As no official text of the amendments was publicly available, the EU EFM's assessment is based solely on the information contained in that publication. Should the reported adoption of the amendments be confirmed, the process does not appear to have been preceded by the broad-based consultation that would normally be expected for reforms of this nature. Furthermore, the proposed amendments do not appear to address key EU EOM recommendations, including those calling for a comprehensive review of the legal framework, a revision of candidate registration and nomination fees, and, notably, the adoption of measures to promote gender equality in the Legislature.

In addition, several proposed amendments could have implications for the integrity and transparency of the electoral process and may therefore benefit from further assessment and the adoption of appropriate implementing regulations. These include provisions to increase the number of voters assigned to each polling centre, remove existing provisions regarding authorised persons permitted inside polling stations, and reduce voting time by two hours.

The NEC prepared its own package of proposed amendments to the NEL based on extensive consultations and lessons-learned exercises conducted with political parties, civil society organisations and other electoral stakeholders following the 2023 elections. The NEC Legal Reform Committee submitted a report to the NEC Board of Commissioners in March 2026, which may address some of the issues raised in the EU EOM. The report is pending finalisation, and its content has not been made public.

Independently from the broader electoral reform process, the Legislature is required under the Constitution to determine the average population per electoral district, commonly referred to in Liberia as the "threshold", on the basis of the latest available census. This constitutes a prerequisite for the NEC to undertake the reapportionment and re-delineation of the districts. Its absence could hamper a key election preparation step such as voter registration, which may become vulnerable to challenges before the Supreme Court.

The EFM convened a stakeholder roundtable on 29 May, bringing together 33 representatives from 20 institutions and organisations, including the NEC, members of the Senate, political parties, the judiciary, the Office of the Ombudsman, civil society organisations, citizen observer groups and representatives of the international community. The discussion was organised around thematic blocks corresponding to the principal areas of assessment of the EU EOM, and focused on the implementation of the EU EOM recommendations, ongoing electoral reform initiatives and broader electoral issues, while also providing a platform for stakeholders to exchange views well ahead of the next electoral cycle. The roundtable was chaired by the Chief of Mission of the EU EFM and Member of the European Parliament, Andreas Schieder. Participants engaged actively in the discussions and welcomed the opportunity to address election-related issues outside the immediate context of an electoral period.

### III. Mission information

An European Union Election Follow-up Mission (EU EFM) was deployed to Liberia from 10 May to 05 June 2026. The EU EFM was led by Andreas Schieder, Member of the European Parliament and the Chief Observer of the 2023 EU Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) to Liberia. The EU EFM was further composed of two independent experts in electoral, political and legal affairs. The main objective of the mission was to assess the progress made in electoral reform and the status of implementation of the 22 recommendations proposed by the 2023 EU EOM. The mission met with the President of Liberia, Joseph Nyuma Boakai, the Minister of Justice, the Deputy Minister of International Cooperation and Economic Integration, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the House of Representatives (HoR), the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, the acting Chairperson and the Commissioners of the National Elections Commission (NEC), the Office of the Ombudsman, the Executive Director of the Liberia Institute of Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS), members of the Legislature, political parties, civil society, domestic observers, development partners and the diplomatic community. The EU EFM wishes to extend its appreciation to the EU Delegation to Liberia for the continuous support to the mission during the deployment. This report reflects the situation as of 05 June 2026.

### IV. Context

The European Union deployed election observation missions to Liberia in 2005, 2017 and 2023 to conduct comprehensive assessments of the legislative and presidential elections held in those years, in accordance with the EU election observation methodology. In addition, an EU Election Follow-up Mission (EFM) was deployed in 2021 to assess the implementation of the recommendations issued by the 2017 EU EOM. These deployments reflect the EU's longstanding commitment to supporting democratic elections, good governance and the rule of law in Liberia.

The 2023 EU EOM concluded that elections were generally transparent and well administered, despite logistical challenges, and highlighted that they were the first to be fully organised by Liberian institutions. The mission also noted that the campaign was characterised by vibrant political competition, although marked by the extensive use of state resources by the incumbents and a prevailing atmosphere of mistrust among stakeholders. Furthermore, the mission positively assessed the swift concession by the outgoing President and candidate, George Weah, and the peaceful transfer of power to the elected President, Joseph Nyuma Boakai, as an important milestone in Liberia's democratic development.

#### 1. Election-related developments

##### *By-elections in 2025*

A senatorial by-election was held on 22 April 2025 in Nimba County, following the death in November 2024 of Senator Prince Y. Johnson, a powerful figure in Liberia's history. The winner was Samuel Kogar from Prince Johnson's Movement for Democratic Reconstruction (MDR). Vice-President Jeremiah Koung is also from Nimba and briefly succeeded Prince Johnson as MDR leader in 2022-2023. A by-election was subsequently held on 12 August 2025 in Nimba County District 5 of the HoR, as Samuel Kogar had vacated his House seat to enter the Senate. MDR candidate Kortor Kwagru won the election, confirming the party's traditional stronghold in Nimba County.

The Senatorial by-election was closely monitored, with 100 observers for some 730 polling places, from the Liberia Election Observation Network (LEON), Elections Coordinating Committee (ECC), and the Liberian branch of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) as well

as other local CSOs. They jointly assessed the process as overall peaceful, transparent and well run, but noted a few isolated incidents, and the need for better accessibility.<sup>1</sup> The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) assessed the process as overall peaceful and respectful of the rights of voters. They noted the positive impact of prior police human rights trainings. The OHCHR, however, observed the continued absence of a procedure to allow pre-trial detainees and hospitalised citizens to vote and highlighted the need for more inclusive infrastructure.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Appointment of a new NEC Chair*

NEC Chairperson Davidetta Browne-Lansanah resigned on 15 March 2026 before the end of her term, reportedly against a backdrop of internal disputes and governance controversies.<sup>3</sup> President Boakai nominated Jonathan K. Weedor, a former NEC commissioner, as new Chair on 30 March. Some interlocutors expressed concerns, including opposition party CDC, over his past active campaigning for the Unity Party.<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Weedor's appointment was confirmed by the Senate on 10 June 2026.

#### *Reduction of international support*

The termination of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in January 2025, together with the reductions in funding and/or withdrawal of other important donors has already weakened financial and technical support to the Liberian civil society, including the major election observation groups LEON and ECC, with the latter having no current funding.

The reduction of cooperation funds raises uncertainties ahead of the next elections, as regards both technical assistance for the election cycle and support to civil society as an essential accountability mechanism, in particular domestic observer groups.

#### *NEC Activities in preparation of the 2029 elections*

In March 2024, the NEC conducted a nationwide lessons learned exercise to assess its performance and improve the election process ahead of the next elections. Key recommendations touch upon securing timely funding, strengthening civic and voter education (CVE), improving internal training, improving logistics and operations, fostering trust and inclusivity, and enhancing inclusive political participation. In January 2026, the NEC published its new Strategic plan for 2026-2030, which focusses on electoral technology, modernising electoral laws, completing constituency delimitation, financial sustainability, human resources capacity, ICT capacity, engagement with stakeholders, and operational efficiency.

NEC is currently conducting preparatory work ahead of the 2029 elections, in particular to clarify the limits of administrative units on the ground and their population, as pre-requisites for electoral districts boundary delineation and for voter registration. However, the NEC cannot go further without the constitutionally required action from the Legislature to decide on the average population per electoral district (referred to as a 'threshold' in the Liberian context). NEC is also carrying out study work on options for voter registration, both for a long-term move to passive voter registration, and for an intermediate solution for the lists to be used in 2029, with support from the Liberia Election Support Project (LESP+) project (*See below*).

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<sup>1</sup> See: [WANEP, ECC And LEON Initial Report Says Nimba By-Election Was Peaceful, Commends Liberian Gov't & People](#), 24 April 2025.

<sup>2</sup> The OHCHR monitored the human rights situation in the context of the by-elections, where security was anticipated as a concern due to the high stakes of the elections and some polarising rhetoric. See: OHCHR, [Report on the human rights situation in the context of the 2025 Senatorial and House of Representatives by-elections in Liberia's Nimba County, 22 April and 12 August 2025](#), January 2026.

<sup>3</sup> The Liberian Investigator, [NEC Chair Browne-Lansanah announces early exit amid mounting controversies](#), 13 March 2026.

<sup>4</sup> See: [allafrica.com, Backlash Grows Over Liberia's New Elections Chief](#), March-April 2026.

## 2. Political context

The 2023 elections resulted in a divided political landscape. Joseph Boakai of the Unity Party (UP) won the presidential run-off against incumbent George Weah by a margin of approximately 20,000 votes. The legislative elections produced a fragmented Legislature. In the HoR, the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) emerged as the largest party with 25 of the 73 seats, while the UP won 11 seats. The remaining 37 seats were shared among independent candidates and smaller political parties.<sup>5</sup> In the 30-member Senate, where 15 seats were contested, the CDC and independent candidates each secured six seats, while the UP, the Liberia Restoration Party (LRP) and the People's Unification Party (PUP) won one seat each.<sup>6</sup>

As a result, President Boakai assumed office without a parliamentary majority and has had to rely on alliances and negotiations with independent lawmakers and smaller parties to advance the government's legislative agenda. Over time, these political alignments strengthened the government's position within the Legislature and contributed to the emergence of a pro-government majority in the HoR.

The political environment has nevertheless been marked by tensions within the Legislature, particularly in the HoR. A prolonged dispute over the parliamentary leadership throughout 2024 generated institutional uncertainty and culminated in a political crisis surrounding attempts to remove Speaker Jonathan Koffa (CDC). The dispute triggered public demonstrations in Monrovia in December 2024 and coincided with heightened political tensions following a fire that damaged parts of the Parliament, prompting investigations by the authorities and calls for restraint and dialogue from national and international stakeholders. The impasse was eventually resolved in May 2025 with the election of Richard Nagbe Koon (UP) as Speaker of the HoR, bringing an end to several months of institutional deadlock.

Beyond institutional disputes, socio-economic challenges have continued to drive public mobilisation. Throughout 2025, opposition groups and civil society organisations organised demonstrations focusing on rising living costs, unemployment, governance concerns, allegations of political persecution and demands for greater accountability. While these protests reflected growing public dissatisfaction with economic conditions and governance issues, they remained largely peaceful.

Against this backdrop, discussions on governance and electoral reform have gained prominence. Electoral reform featured prominently in President Boakai's 2025 Annual Message to the Legislature, in which he announced the government's intention to pursue comprehensive electoral reforms as part of a broader programme of constitutional and governance reform. Since then, electoral reform has remained part of the public and institutional debate (*see below*).

## 3. Institutional context

Election reform is on the agenda, but its precise form and content are still unclear. On 15 January 2025, President Boakai launched a National Development Plan,<sup>7</sup> that includes activities aimed at strengthening electoral management, and related reforms such as administrative boundary

<sup>5</sup> Independent candidates, 19; Collaborating Political Parties (ANC-LP), six; Movement for Democracy and Construction (MDR), four; People's Unification Party (PUP), two, and one for each of the All Liberian Party (ALP), Liberian National Union (LNU, Movement for Progressive Change, National Democratic Coalition, Vision for Liberia Transformation (VLT) and Liberia Restoration Party (LRT). Source: NEC.

<sup>6</sup> Following the 2023 elections the composition of the Senate remained as follows: Independent, 10; CDC, nine; UP, three; ANC-LP, three; MDR, two, and one for each of PUP, LRP and MDR. Source: NEC.

<sup>7</sup> Republic of Liberia, [ARREST Agenda for Inclusive Development \(AAID\) \(2025–2029\)](#), January 2025.

clarification and decentralisation, both of which affect electoral boundaries and voter registration.<sup>8</sup> In his 27 January 2025 address to the Legislature, he also announced plans for a constitutional review process and electoral reform.<sup>9</sup> More recently, the Government reaffirmed its commitment to electoral reforms, in a meeting of the High-level Coordination Platform on Elections, which is chaired by the Minister of Justice, on 17 March 2026.

In general, awareness about the EU EOM recommendations is strong, and they are commonly referred to by interlocutors among State actors such as the NEC and the Law Reform Commission (LRC), as well as civil society organisations and domestic observer platforms. The NEC broadly accepts the recommendations, though discussions remain on appeals procedures (Recommendation 20) and measures to increase women's representation (Recommendation 17). There is also a considerable body of recommendations from national and international observer groups deployed in 2023. The EU-supported European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) AHEAD project compiled a total of 144 recommendations, shared with the NEC, LRC, civil society, and other stakeholders.

The NEC has authority to propose changes to the election law.<sup>10</sup> In this regard, it established an internal Legal Reform Committee and, with technical support from the LESP+ project, held nationwide consultations during the course of 2025.<sup>11</sup> The Committee submitted a report to the NEC Board of Commissioners in March 2026, which may address some of the issues raised in the EU EOM. The content is pending finalisation and has not been made public.

In a meeting on 27 May 2026, House Speaker Richard Nagbe Koon informed the EU EFM about amendments to the election legislation.<sup>12</sup> There was also information in a Facebook post that the HoR published on 22 April 2026, about several amendments to the NEL.<sup>13</sup> These amendments did not appear to have been preceded at this phase of the legislative process by broad stakeholder consultations that would normally be expected for reforms of this nature. As of writing this report, this list of proposed amendments had not been published in any other form than this Facebook post.

The EU EFM enquired about the current legal status of the ambitious election reform bill adopted by the Legislature in 2022,<sup>14</sup> and partly vetoed by President Weah in March 2023.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, while never fully signed into law, the bill was nevertheless adopted by the Legislature and never formally repealed. Interlocutors of the mission overwhelmingly considered this bill as defunct.

A persistent and major challenge facing electoral reform in Liberia is the near impossibility to meet the requirements for amending the Constitution, i.e. approval by two-thirds of both Houses of the Legislature, then by two-thirds of the votes in a referendum. In practice, only one provision of the 1986 Constitution was ever amended, and that amendment passed thanks to a petition and subsequent Supreme Court ruling.<sup>16</sup> This is a major stumbling block facing any reform that would attempt to change the electoral justice model, legal standing, the date of the elections, temporary special measures for women, the distribution of HoR seats, among others. EU EFM interlocutors

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.126-133.

<sup>9</sup> H.E, President Joseph Boakai, [Annual message to the 55th Legislature, January 27, 2025](#), p.29.

<sup>10</sup> New Elections Law, Section 2.9(c)

<sup>11</sup> UNDP Liberia, [NEC Conducts Nationwide Consultations on Electoral Law Reform](#), 12 November 2025.

<sup>12</sup> Facebook, House of Representatives, [Speaker Koon, EU Delegation Discuss Electoral Reforms in Liberia](#), 27 May 2026.

<sup>13</sup> Facebook, House of Representatives, [House Amends Key Provisions of the New Elections Law](#), 22 April 2026.

<sup>14</sup> An "Act to Amend Certain Sections of the New Elections Law (1986) as Amended through 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Executive Mansion, [President Weah Vetoes Several Specific Items of Amended Elections Law](#), 16 March 2023.

<sup>16</sup> The successful amendment changed the electoral system from two-round to first-past-the-post in 2011. The Court ruled that invalid ballots should be excluded from the "two-thirds of the votes" calculation. See: Varney Sherman v. NEC, 20 September 2011, quoted in [Liberty Party v. NEC Writ of Prohibition, 6 November 2017](#).

considered that a complete overhaul of the constitutional framework would be needed but generally recognised that funding conditions would be challenging to conduct such a major process.

#### 4. EU actions on EOM follow-up

The EU Delegation to Liberia has played an important role in promoting awareness of the EU EOM recommendations through its political dialogue with the authorities and stakeholder engagement supported activities, and it substantially contributes to their practical implementation: The EU support to the electoral process, particularly the NEC, has been channelled through the LESP+ implemented by UNDP, UN Women and Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and the Action for a Holistic Electoral Approach for Democracy (AHEAD Liberia), implemented by the EPD.

The LESP+ project is scheduled to conclude in December 2026, and discussions are ongoing for its extension. Currently in its fourth cycle, the project has a budget of USD 18.4 million (approx. EUR 16 million) for the 2023–2026 period. In addition to the EU, LESP+ is also funded by Sweden, Ireland and the UNDP. LESP+ supports the NEC in a range of areas, including institutional capacity-building and accountability of NEC and electoral stakeholders, voter registration and the interoperability of the civil and voter registers, boundary delimitation, electoral planning, communication, training and stakeholder engagement.

The AHEAD Liberia project, which ended in March 2026, focused on strengthening the NEC's engagement with political parties, civil society organisations, electoral stakeholders and development partners. In particular, it sought to enhance the transparency and regularity of consultation and information-sharing mechanisms, while supporting the NEC's communication and outreach capacities. Other projects include the EU's Women and Youth in Democracy (WYDE) Civic Engagement with actions designed to enhance youth participation in democratic processes, build civic leadership, and counter digital threats like misinformation and hate speech.

Activities under these projects are supporting the implementation of a number of EU EOM recommendations. These include support for the review of the electoral legal framework and stakeholder consultations (recommendation 1); technical assistance on constituency delimitation (recommendation 2); strengthening the NEC's public communication systems (recommendation 4); enhancing the training capacities of the NEC and electoral stakeholders (recommendations 5 and 16); assessing the interoperability of the NEC and National Identification Registry (NIR) databases (recommendation 7); evaluating the institutional capacity of the Office of the Ombudsman (recommendation 10); reinforcing the NEC's capacity to oversee campaign finance regulations (recommendations 11 and 12); and providing technical support for the development of gender and inclusion policies (recommendations 17 and 18).

### V. Implementation status of EOM recommendations

Out of the 22 recommendations, 14 required legal reforms on specific issues, and the remaining eight were of an administrative nature or related to electoral practices.

The EFM has identified activity that could lead to the implementation of 14 out of the 22 recommendations (including four priority ones), the partial implementation of two recommendations (recommendation 10 on the establishment of the office of the Ombudsman and recommendation 15 on digital media literacy), and no activity in five others (recommendations 9, 13, 14, 17 and 19). It is too early in the electoral cycle to make an assessment on the implementation of recommendation 20.



|                                 | Legal     | Admin    |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Legal Framework                 | 2         |          |
| Election Administration         | 1         | 2        |
| Voter Registration              | 2         | 1        |
| Candidate Registration          | 1         |          |
| Campaign Environment            |           | 1        |
| Campaign Finance                | 1         | 1        |
| Media                           | 2         |          |
| Social Media                    | 1         | 1        |
| Participation of Women          | 1         |          |
| Participation of PwD            |           | 1        |
| Electoral Disputes              | 3         |          |
| Voting, counting and tabulation |           | 1        |
|                                 | <b>14</b> | <b>8</b> |



| Status of implementation of the EUEOM recommendations | No. of Rec. | Change in legislation | Admin. / procedural change |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. No change                                          | 5           | 5                     | 0                          |
| 2. Ongoing activity                                   | 14          | 8                     | 6                          |
| 3. Partial implementation                             | 2           | 0                     | 2                          |
| 4. Full implementation                                | 0           | 0                     | 0                          |
| 5. Too early to determine                             | 1           | 1                     | 0                          |
| 6. No longer relevant                                 | 0           | 0                     | 0                          |
|                                                       | <b>22</b>   | <b>14</b>             | <b>8</b>                   |

## 1. Legal framework (Recommendations 1 and 2)

**Recommendation 1 (Priority recommendation):** Review the legal framework in a holistic manner in order to address loopholes, ambiguous and contradictory provisions related to candidate registration, campaign finance and submission and adjudication of complaints and appeals for all stages of the electoral process so as to ensure a coherent application and implementation by the NEC election magistrates and hearing officers, as well as better understanding by electoral stakeholders.

**Ongoing Activity:** Election reform seems to be on the agenda, and the mission was told that a review of the election legislation was taking place. The EFM understands that the above-mentioned NEC report from its nationwide consultations contains concrete proposals for amending the 1986 NEL as amended in 2014, which might, in part, address issues mentioned by the EU EOM, in particular regarding complaints and appeals timeframes, gaps and inconsistencies in requirements for new and existing political parties, the inclusion of citizens who turn 18 between voter registration and election day, and clarifications on election expense ceilings, among others.

It must be noted however, that there is a general lack of formal sources of information on the legislative process, making any analysis subject to further clarification. This problem is illustrated by the amendments announced by the House in its 22 April 2026 Facebook post. Some of the reported changes touch upon topics raised by the EU EOM, but from a preliminary reading, the

package would not seem to address the loopholes and ambiguous provisions highlighted by the 2023 EU EOM.

*Recommendation 2: Review delimitation of the electoral constituency boundaries in line with the national legislation, international standards and good practice, to uphold equality of the vote and proportionate representation.*

**Ongoing Activity:** As noted by the EU EOM, the current 73 Lower House electoral districts are in conflict with the constitutional requirement of ‘*approximately equal population*’ (Art.80) with a strong over-representation of less-populated areas, an under-representation of urban/densely populated areas, and regional imbalances. This pre-existing issue was aggravated by the evolutions of the population of Liberia, as shown by the most recent census.<sup>17</sup>

Redistricting raises sensitive political, constitutional, and budgetary concerns, which are complex to reconcile. A reallocation of the current 73 seats by population would result in an important shift of seats from less-populated counties to Monrovia/Montserrado county. Most interlocutors expressed concerns at the political sensitivity of this prospect and would prefer a solution that guarantees more equal representation, without any county losing a seat. This would imply the total number of seats going over 100, which would be both unconstitutional and too onerous for the State budget.

The Constitutional rules are clear as regards re-districting (Art.80): (1) the Legislature must set a reference number of citizens per constituency, commonly referred to as the ‘threshold’, based on census numbers, (2) the NEC allocates and delineates districts using this ‘threshold’, and (3) the total number of seats may not exceed 100. These rules were never fully implemented in the post-war context. The current malapportionment stems from a post-war compromise reached ahead of the 2005 elections, which was slightly modified in 2010 by a Joint Resolution of the Legislature.<sup>18</sup> When asked in 2011 on the constitutionality of the electoral districts, the Supreme Court declined to take position.<sup>19</sup>

The Supreme Court’s approach was further developed in 2023. As the NEC was preparing for voter registration ahead of the 2023 elections, the Collaborating Political Parties (ANC-LP) filed a petition to the Supreme Court seeking to stop NEC from registering voters on the ground that districts were unconstitutional and should be first reapportioned by NEC. The Court allowed NEC to proceed with voter registration without reapportioning seats, ruling that “while the NEC has a duty under Article 80 (e) to reapportion constituencies, the said duty is not self-executing; the duty to reapportion constituencies can only be executed based upon the preconditions stated supra, viz. a concluded National Census Report, the Legislature’s threshold, then the NEC’s duty to reapportion the constituencies pursuant to Article 80(e)”.<sup>20</sup> Importantly, while the Supreme Court adopted a holistic reading of the Constitution to avoid a disruption of the 2023 election process, it also based its decision on the absence of two constitutional preconditions for the reapportionment to take place: the national census and the legislature’s threshold. With the availability of the national census since August 2025, the constitutional onus has now shifted to the Legislature’s lack of action.

<sup>17</sup> Liberia Institute of Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS), [2022 Liberia Population and Housing Census - Thematic Report on Population Size, Distribution and Structure](#), August 2025.

<sup>18</sup> Joint Resolution of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia, LEG-002(2010) on the Setting of an Electoral Threshold for the conduct of the 2011 Presidential and Legislative Elections, 12 August 2010.

<sup>19</sup> See: [Liberty Party v. NEC](#), 14 June 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Supreme Court: [In Re: The Constitutionality of the National Elections Commission Planned Conduct of the Voters Registration Without the Demarcation of the Constitutional Electoral Constituencies](#), 12 April 2023.

In the past months, several initiatives appear to have originated in the HoR announcing various numbers of additional seats and proceeding to allocating them in diverse ways. This included some discussions in July 2025 to add 14 seats reserved for women and persons with disabilities (PwD), a vote in December 2025 to add 14 seats across various districts, and another proposal in April 2026 to create 16 new seats also allocated to specific counties.<sup>21</sup> None of these initiatives are in line with the Constitution's parameters setting forth equal representation and NEC competency for redistricting.

At the time of reporting, it is difficult to predict how the Legislature will resolve this puzzle. Complex as it may be, the mission believes that settling this matter cannot be delayed for too long, as it will soon start impacting election preparations. NEC is currently doing preparatory work, such as clarifying the limits of administrative units on the ground and their population, but it cannot start essential processes including planning for voter registration, until there is more clarity on this issue.

## 2. Election administration (Recommendations 3, 4 and 5)

The EU EOM 2023 issued three recommendations related to election administration. Recommendation 3 proposed to provide the NEC with sufficient and timely allocated financial resources. Recommendation 4 advocated a more transparent election body by publishing relevant information on all aspects of the electoral process. Recommendation 5 called for strengthening NECs capacities and broadening training activities.

*Recommendation 3 (Priority recommendation): Provide the NEC with the requisite and timely allocated financial resources corresponding to its legal and operational responsibilities to ensure its independence and efficiency.*

**Ongoing activity:** The 2026–2030 NEC Strategic Plan includes measures aimed at addressing concerns regarding the timely and adequate financing of electoral processes. In particular, it envisages the establishment of a National Electoral Sustainability Fund (NESF), a dedicated state-owned financing mechanism intended to strengthen the NEC's financial autonomy, reduce its dependence on ad hoc funding and promote more predictable financing of electoral activities throughout all the electoral cycle. At the time of reporting, however, the NESF remains a strategic proposal, and no legislation or formal financing mechanism has yet been adopted.

The NEC received sufficient and timely funding to organise the two by-elections held since the 2023 elections in Nimba County, namely the 2025 senatorial by-election and the by-election for the HoR seat in District 5. Together with assurances received by the EU EFM from government interlocutors regarding the importance of adequately funding electoral activities, this may indicate a growing recognition of the need to ensure the NEC's financial stability.

Nevertheless, full implementation of the recommendation would require addressing the shortcomings of Section 11.2 of the NEL concerning the timely and adequate financing of the NEC. The draft bill amending certain sections of the NEL approved by the HoR in April 2026 includes a modification to the NEL in this regard, which is unclear. The NEC has explored a number of alternative mechanisms aimed at securing funding for electoral activities. These include proposals to establish surcharges on mobile money transactions or on petroleum products, which could contribute to the proposed NESF. At the time of reporting, these ideas remain at a conceptual stage and have not been translated into concrete legislative proposals. Furthermore, despite the

<sup>21</sup> See, inter alia: The Liberian Investigator, [Speaker Koon proposes reserved legislative seats for women and disabled persons](#), 19 July 2025; The Liberian Investigator, [Liberians outraged as House adds 14 new seats, expanding legislature ahead of 2029](#), 10 December 2025; Front Page Africa, [Special Committee Calls for 16 More Legislative Seats in House of Representatives](#), 22 April 2026.

constitutional requirement to undertake constituency boundary delimitation no budgetary allocations have yet been made available to NEC for this exercise.

*Recommendation 4: Publish relevant information on all aspects of the electoral process, including decisions, regulations and general documentation, in a timely and comprehensive manner to enhance transparency and public confidence in the NEC's work.*

**Ongoing activity:** NEC's transparency and access to information was one of the topics most observation missions addressed in their recommendations after the 2023 elections. These included improving public communication strategy, enhancing relations with stakeholders and reviewing procedures for the announcement of preliminary election results. The NEC appears to be aware of these shortcomings. as its strategy for the implementation of the EU EOM recommendations includes capacity-building activities aimed at strengthening the skills of staff within the Commission's Communications Section. While these initiatives are a positive development, it remains too early to assess their potential impact on the conduct of the 2029 elections.

In parallel, the LESP+ is providing technical assistance to the NEC in the area of public information and communication. This support includes an ongoing review of the NEC's communication strategy, the development of an improved website, and capacity-building in digital communications, with a view to enhancing the quality, accessibility and effectiveness of the NEC's public outreach.

The NEC Strategic Plan 2026–2030 further addresses the recommendation through a range of measures designed to strengthen transparency and stakeholder engagement. These include the dissemination of electoral information through multilingual civic and voter education campaigns, the institutionalisation of regular briefings for political parties, civil society organisations and the media, the expansion of public outreach activities, and the establishment of measurable targets for public legal awareness. The Plan also envisages the creation of a public-facing tracker to monitor progress on electoral reforms. These commitments appear to demonstrate an intention to improve communication and transparency, however, at the time of reporting, they were largely at the planning stage.

*Recommendation 5: Strengthen capacities and broaden scope of activities of the NEC training department to implement comprehensive and continuous training for permanent and temporary electoral personnel.*

**Ongoing activity:** The NEC Strategic Plan outlined the importance of strengthening the capacity and professionalism of the election staff. A key initiative is the proposed establishment of an Electoral Training Institute, to be operated by the NEC as a dedicated centre for professional development in election administration. According to the Strategic Plan, the Institute is meant to provide structured training for both permanent and temporary staff. The Plan also envisages train-the-trainers programmes, the decentralisation of training through magisterial offices, standardised training curricula, and the development of a professionalised pool of temporary election workers.

### 3. Voter registration (Recommendations 6, 7 and 8)

*Recommendation 6: Introduce effective measures to ensure equal opportunity to register and exercise the right to vote for all eligible voters.*

**Ongoing activity:** Full implementation of this recommendation would require an amendment to Section 3.1 of the NEL to allow the registration of citizens who attain the age of 18 between voter

registration and election day.<sup>22</sup> From the NEC's perspective, the Strategic Plan 2026–2030 envisages mechanisms to facilitate the registration of these voters. Registration schedules, procedures and database systems would be adapted to accommodate first-time voters.

However, these measures have not yet been implemented in practice. During the 2025 Nimba County by-elections, the NEC did not conduct a new voter registration exercise or an update of the existing one. Instead, the process was limited to the replacement of lost, damaged or worn voter cards. As a result, citizens who attained the age of 18 between the 2023 voter registration exercise and the 2025 by-elections were unable to register and vote, despite otherwise meeting the constitutional requirements to do so.

Beyond this initiative, the EFM has not identified any concrete measures, legislative proposals or policy discussions aimed at addressing the second component of the recommendation, namely the enfranchisement of eligible citizens who are unable to present themselves at voter registration centres. This includes categories such as pre-trial detainees, persons in in-patient medical facilities and other individuals whose circumstances may prevent them from registering in person.

***Recommendation 7:** In a coordinated effort of all relevant state institutions, continue establishing the national civil register by harmonising all pertinent registers and databases to provide an accurate and reliable basis for verification of the voter registration roll.*

**Ongoing activity:** The NEC has identified cooperation with the NIR as a key element to strengthen interoperability between the ID and electoral databases. The long-term objective is to move away from periodic, event-driven voter registration exercises towards a more sustainable system based on continuous or passive voter registration drawing on civil and national identification records. According to the NEC, however, such a system is unlikely to be operational ahead of the 2029 elections, and the EU EFM was told that an update of the existing voter register was being considered as an intermediate solution.

To support this objective, the NEC has provided approximately 500 biometric devices to the NIR for their activities. Nevertheless, several challenges remain. These include limited access to civil registry documents such as birth certificates in remote areas, the incomplete rollout of the national biometric identification card system, and the lack of full interoperability between the databases and technological systems used by the NEC and the NIR. Moreover, many interlocutors informed the EFM that the NEC currently possesses more comprehensive and reliable data than the NIR, following the registration of the vast majority of eligible citizens during the 2023 voter registration exercise. While the NEC Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) database counts some 2.4 million records, the NIR has reportedly only registered some 723.000 citizens, about 13 per cent of the population.<sup>23</sup>

***Priority recommendation 8:** Further decentralise the voter registration process and increase the number of voter registration centres to provide appropriate opportunities for voters to participate in the electoral process.*

**Ongoing activity:** While no specific figures have been provided so far regarding a possible increase in the number of voter registration centres for the 2029 elections, in line with the EU EOM recommendations the NEC has indicated its intention to plan a nationwide assessment of voter

<sup>22</sup> Article 77b of the Constitution: “every Liberian citizen not less than 18 years of age, shall have the right to be registered as a voter and to vote in public elections and referenda”. Section 3.1 of the NEL establishes that “every citizen of Liberia who has attained the age of eighteen (18) years or older, may register as a voter”.

<sup>23</sup> The Liberian Investigator, [NIR Director Blames Low Registration on Government Agencies Issuing Unauthorized Identification](#), August 12, 2024.

registration and polling locations and facilities with the aim to improve access to voter registration by establishing registration centres closer to where voters reside. The NEC Strategic Plan includes decentralisation of the voter registration as a means to facilitate access for all voters to ensure that they can register close to where they live.

#### 4. Registration of candidates and political parties (Recommendation 9)

*Recommendation 9: Revise candidate registration and nomination requirements, such as registration and processing fees, bank deposit and unified numbers of supporting signatures for independent candidates and facilitate the corresponding administrative process to ensure equal opportunities to participate in elections.*

**No Change:** The EU EOM noted that undue registration requirements, in particular considerable registration and processing fees and financial deposit, posed unreasonable obstacles to candidacies, and created particular challenges for independent candidates, who do not benefit from the support of a political party, and therefore must meet additional conditions such as bank deposit requirements, insurance policy, and the collection of a number of voters' signature which is the same irrespective of the size of the constituency. In general, candidate registration requirements were not mentioned as a major concern by interlocutors, with only a few stakeholders considering that the fees and deposit requirements may be too high for independent candidates.

#### 5. Election campaign (Recommendation 10)

*Recommendation 10: Make operational the Office of the Ombudsman, as established in the Code of Conduct Law of 2014, to effectively monitor and sanction abuse of state resources during election campaigns.*

**Partially implemented:** This recommendation has been implemented but its impact is uncertain. In April 2024, President Boakai appointed a Chairperson to the Office of the Ombudsman, thereby rendering the institution operational. Following the Chairperson's resignation in March 2026 amid allegations of misconduct, no successor has yet been appointed. While the appointment of the Chairperson represented a positive step in line with the recommendation, it remains to be seen whether the Office will be in a position to effectively fulfil its mandate in accordance with the 2014 National Code of Conduct for All Public Officials and Employees of the Government of Liberia.

Aiming at addressing these shortcomings, the EU-funded WYDE civic engagement programme organised an initiative to assess the Ombudsman's institutional capacity, current strengths and challenges, identify awareness levels among civil society and government on ethics, public oversight and participatory governance and to inform the design and implementation of education and awareness raising programs, targeting youth engagement initiatives.

The Ombudsman's mandate for election-related offences may need further clarification, in particular any possible overlap with those of NEC, since the Ombudsman's enforcement powers for electoral offences by public officials were transferred to the NEC following Supreme Court rulings in 2017 and subsequent amendments to the CoC.<sup>24</sup> Challenges persist, as the Office of the Ombudsman appears to face significant staffing and resource constraints and, at the same time, the NEC does not seem to be in the position to fully monitor and enforce compliance with the Code of Conduct.

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<sup>24</sup> See: [Abu Kamara vs. National Elections Commission](#) and [Harrison S. Karnwea and Liberty Party vs. National Elections Commission](#), 21 July 2017.

## 6. Campaign finance (Recommendations 11 and 12)

*Recommendation 11: Review the NEL and the CFR, creating a coherent and clear legal framework for campaign finance to ensure equal opportunity and transparency. Remove ambiguities regarding the spending limits, responsibilities and sanctions for reporting. Specify the deadlines for reporting and disclosure.*

**Ongoing activity:** The 2023 EU EOM noted that the campaign finance regulations are comprehensive and largely in line with international standards, but contain some ambiguities, discrepancies, and gaps that need to be addressed. This recommendation has been taken on board. NEC has integrated this issue in its Strategic Plan 2026-2030, specifically committing to developing clearer regulations on campaign finance enforcement, including on digital campaigning.

With support from the UNDP-led LESP+ project, the NEC plans, inter alia, a comprehensive review of the regulations to address accountability gaps; to make financial education for campaign finance officers of political parties mandatory; to define “pre-campaign activities”, to increase fines for infractions, and to raise public awareness about political parties' obligations.

*Recommendation 12 (Priority recommendation): Empower the NEC through enhanced resources and capacity to enforce the campaign finance regulations to improve the equality, transparency and accountability of the elections.*

**Ongoing activity:** There is a general understanding that NEC's fulfilment of its supervisory mandate on campaign and political finance needs strengthening, and this recommendation has been taken on board. NEC will need significant resources and capacity building to monitor compliance with campaign finance rules, dedicated staff, digital tools, and improvement in enforcement mechanisms.

During the 2023 elections, the NEC concluded an MoU with the Liberian CSO Integrity Watch Liberia (IWL), which tested a new methodology for monitoring campaign finance. This initiative was welcome and can serve as a source of lessons learned for NEC to ultimately implement its mandate with its own capacities and methods.

The EU Delegation contributes to NEC's capacity building in this area. A two-day workshop on party and campaign finance was held under the AHEAD Liberia in September 2025 for NEC Commissioners and senior staff, Ombudsman Office, the Inter-Party Consultative Committee (IPCC), and IWL. The workshop provided recommendations for follow up, including to ensure clearer understanding of the distinction between party finance and campaign finance, as well as on the development of NEC methodological tools for implementation.

## 7. Media (Recommendations 13 and 14)

*Recommendation 13: Guarantee equal and better access for parties through the transformation of the state-owned LBS into a full-fledged public service broadcaster, accountable to the public through the legislature rather than the government. The broadcaster could make sure that the public receives politically balanced information, particularly during election periods.*

**No change:** President Boakai emphasised in his 2025 Annual Address to the Legislature a commitment to press freedom, to fostering an environment in which the media can thrive, and to establishing a public broadcaster capable of informing, educating and entertaining the public. However, no measures have been adopted to make the Liberia Broadcasting System (LBS) accountable to the Legislature rather than to the Government, or to strengthen safeguards ensuring that state-owned media provide politically balanced coverage.

Despite concerns raised by media organisations during meetings with the EU EFM, no steps appear to have been taken to amend the Public Authorities Law or to reform the appointment process and institutional accountability of LBS management. The Director General of the LBS continues to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The enactment of the Kamara Abdullah Kamara Act on Press Freedom (KAK) in 2019 represented a significant improvement in the legal framework governing freedom of expression and media freedom, notably through the decriminalisation of libel and other press-related offences, as assessed by the EU EOM in 2023. However, this important step has not been followed by reforms aimed at strengthening the independence of state-owned media or establishing additional safeguards to protect the media sector from political influence. As a result, the concerns identified by the EU EOM regarding the governance and accountability of public broadcasting remain unaddressed.

*Recommendation 14: Introduce a permanent and independent media regulator that could contribute to a diverse and unconstrained media sector without direct or indirect state interference.*

**No change:** No progress has been observed in the implementation of the recommendation, which was also included in the 2017 EU EOM final report. Registration, licensing and oversight remain in the hands of several different government institutions, namely the Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism (MICAT), the Liberia Telecommunications Authority (LTA) and the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications (MPT). Proposals aimed at reforming the institutional framework governing the media sector or establishing an independent media regulator appear not to be a priority, neither for the Legislature, nor the NEC. NEC media related measures focus primarily on strengthening communication, improving access to electoral information and addressing misinformation and disinformation through training activities (*see section Digital Communication and Social Media*).

## 8. Digital communication and social media (Recommendations 15 and 16)

*Recommendation 15: Implement media and digital media literacy programmes for journalists, educational institutions and vulnerable groups in collaboration of fact-checking initiatives and relevant civil society organizations to facilitate a better-informed choice of voters”.*

**Partially implemented:** The NEC Strategic Plan 2026–2030 recognises the importance of public information, stakeholder engagement and addressing the challenges posed by misinformation and disinformation. It envisages regular engagement with media organisations, the dissemination of electoral information through multiple communication channels, and the use of digital tools and social media to improve outreach and transparency.

The relevance of the recommendation was further underscored by a study conducted by the Mozilla Foundation following the 2023 elections, which identified misinformation and disinformation as significant challenges to public trust in electoral institutions and processes.<sup>25</sup> The study concluded that long-term investment in media literacy, journalist training and fact-checking expertise would be essential to strengthening the integrity of the information environment in Liberia. It also noted that, “due to the combination of low levels of literacy, [the lack of] government regulation of social media, and limited access to the internet in Liberia, misinformation and disinformation spread through word-of-mouth after emerging on social media, or vice versa, posing a significant challenge to democracy and stability in the country.”

<sup>25</sup> [“The 2023 Election in Liberia: Platform Interventions in a Low Trust Election Environment”](#), February 2024. The Mozilla Foundation is a non-profit organization that promotes openness, innovation and participation on the Internet.

Some concrete activities have already taken place. Ahead of the 2025 Nimba by-elections, the NEC, with support from the LESP+ and the EU funded Internews project Liberia Media Empowerment Project (LMEP), organised public symposiums for journalists and security personnel on fact-checking and election-related information. During these activities, NEC officials highlighted the importance of equipping electoral stakeholders with the skills necessary to identify and counter false or misleading information. In addition, Liberian fact-checking organisations such as Local Voices, in partnership with Internews Europe and with support from LMEP, organised training sessions for journalists and other outreach activities in several parts of the country aimed at strengthening capacities in digital journalism, media literacy and fact-checking.

***Recommendation 16:** Develop legislation with precise definitions of ‘hate speech’, ‘incitement of violence’, ‘inflammatory language’, ‘disinformation’, ‘cyber-bullying’ and ‘cyber-stalking’ to tackle the malicious usage of social media platforms by political actors, while taking into account regional and international standards and ensuring adherence to the freedom of expression.*

**Ongoing activity:** There has been some activity towards the implementation of this recommendation although the core objective of adopting a comprehensive legal framework regulating harmful online content in line with international standards has not been yet achieved. The 2025 Cybercrime Act establishes offences related to cybercrime and online conduct and provides a legal basis for addressing certain forms of abuse committed through digital platforms,<sup>26</sup> including on criminalising cyberstalking. The act, however, does not provide for clear definitions on the remaining topics in the recommendation.

A bill entitled the Gender-Based Online Abuse and Harassment Act of 2026 was introduced in the HoR in March 2026. The proposal seeks to amend several provisions of the 2019 Act on Press Freedom and to criminalise certain forms of online abuse and harassment, particularly were directed at individuals on the basis of gender. While the initiative aims to address a growing concern regarding online intimidation and abuse, the current draft relies primarily on criminal sanctions. As a result, it has raised concerns among Liberian media organisations and freedom of expression advocates regarding its compatibility with the spirit of the KAK Act and with international standards on freedom of expression.<sup>27</sup>

The NEC Strategic Plan 2026–2030 also envisages the establishment of rapid-response mechanisms based on digital monitoring, fact-checking and cooperation with media networks. While these measures demonstrate increasing awareness of the risks associated with harmful online content, they are operational rather than legislative in nature and therefore do not fully address the objectives of the recommendation.

## 9. Participation of women (Recommendation 17)

***Recommendation 17 (Priority recommendation):** Adopt temporary special measures (gender quotas) to achieve gender equality in the legislature.*

**No change:** The share of women in the Legislature after the 2023 elections is particularly low (10 per cent in the Senate, and 11 per cent in the House), with the total number of women elected to the House decreasing from 9 in 2017 to 8 in 2023. Liberia currently ranks 160<sup>th</sup> among the 183 members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) as regards women in national parliaments.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> [“Senate Concurrence Clears Path for Cybercrime Act of 2025”](#). The Daily Observer, 16 January 2026.

<sup>27</sup> [“PUL Rejects Proposed Amendment to KAK Act, Warns Against Threat to Free Speech”](#). The Liberian Observer, 15 March 2026.

<sup>28</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, [Monthly ranking of women in national parliaments](#), 1<sup>st</sup> May 2026.

The election law does not provide effective incentive in this regard. It establishes a non-binding quota, requiring parties to “endeavour to have” no less than 30 per cent candidates of each gender, but does not define what constitutes “endeavour” nor does it provide for an enforcement mechanism. Moreover, candidate quotas, even if mandatory, tend to have limited impact in single-member constituency systems, and are effective only if parties nominate women in winnable seats. In practice, most political parties were far from meeting the 30 per cent target in the 2023 elections, despite having publicly committed to it.<sup>29</sup> NEC statistics show a higher rate of women candidates running as independents (22 per cent) than of those running as party candidates (15 per cent), pointing to a specific responsibility of political parties in this respect.<sup>30</sup>

This issue has been a recurring topic in Liberia’s debates, and several attempts have been made over the years to improve women representation. Past measures have included: a soft quota of 30 per cent candidates established in the NEC candidate registration guidelines for the 2005 elections; the enactment of the current non-binding quota in the NEL in 2014; an ‘Affirmative Action Bill’ in 2016, which foresaw reserved seats for women, youth, and PwD, but was not signed into law.<sup>31</sup> Before the 2023 elections, the above-mentioned 2022 electoral reform bill provided for a strict 30 per cent quota in party leadership and party candidate lists, and established an enforcement mechanism through the imposition of fines by NEC in case of non-compliance.

More recently, the bill announced by the HoR in a Facebook post on 22 April 2026 provides a stricter 30 per cent candidate quota but includes a clause allowing parties to evade the quota if they can show that they made “best efforts” to nominate women candidates. Civil society organisations criticised the bill and demanded stricter language.<sup>32</sup> The bill would leave it to the NEC to determine the extent to which a party made “best efforts”, a margin of discretion which would also raise enforceability challenges for the NEC. Besides, the bill appears to foresee that political parties not in compliance would be excluded from the elections, an excessive sanction which would violate the right to political participation. In comparison, the 2022 reform bill foresaw a set of financial penalties for parties found non-compliant, a more equitable approach.

Numerous activities have been implemented by UNDP and UN Women to raise awareness among parties, CSOs and State bodies, many of which in collaboration with the Women Legislative Caucus of Liberia (WLCL). These include technical briefings on the various types of temporary special measures and their effects in relation to electoral systems, study visits, attempts to reach common positions on temporary special measures, developing advocacy strategies, mentorship, among others.

There does not seem to be a political consensus currently on this matter, neither on the measures to adopt, nor on their implementation modalities. Interlocutors, including among women legislators, expressed various positions ranging from keeping the status quo, to making a candidate quota mandatory, or the inclusion of reserved seats. Temporary special measures are often perceived by the EFM interlocutors as raising issues of constitutionality, in particular as regards the principles of equality before the law and non-discrimination (Art.11).

While temporary special measures are currently not agreed upon in the national context, interlocutors recommended to focus on addressing contextual issues such as traditional stereotypes,

<sup>29</sup> EISA, [Liberia’s political parties fall short of gender quota commitment](#), 18 July 2023.

<sup>30</sup> Ducor Institute, [Liberia’s 2023 Elections: Prospects for Continuity or Change](#), September 2023.

<sup>31</sup> The Carter Center, [NGO Submission to the U.N. Human Rights Committee Prior to the Adoption of the List of Issues: 120th Session \(July 2017, Geneva\)](#), April 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Front Page Africa, [Liberia’s House Backs 30 Percent Gender Quota for Candidates, but Women’s Groups Warn of Easy Escape Clause](#), 11 May 2026.

lack of access to funding, weak media presence, intimidation on- and offline. They suggested more indirect or non-legislative strategies, such as engagement with political parties, awareness raising projects, support to women caucuses, equal media access, training programmes for women candidates, public cross-party commitments, targeted police trainings, among others.

## 10. Participation of persons with disabilities (Recommendation 18)

**Recommendation 18:** Improve access and opportunity to vote for PWDs through access to information, accessible registration centres and polling places, suitable layout of polling places, provision of tactile ballot guides, and systematic civic and voter education.

**Ongoing Activity:** The election law requires the location and arrangement of voter registration centres and polling places to be accessible to PwD ‘to the extent which is reasonably and practicably possible’.<sup>33</sup> The EU EOM and other observer groups assessed that efforts had been made as regards the availability of tactile ballot guides on polling day, and that preferential treatment was generally granted to PwD, pregnant women, elderly voters, and other voters needing assistance in the queues. However, observers noted that 63 per cent of observed polling places were not accessible to persons with reduced mobility. Observers of the Nimba by-elections in 2025 reported that problems of accessibility have remained.<sup>34</sup>

There appears to be strong commitment from NEC to take this recommendation on board, which will need translation into practice. Participation of PwD features prominently in the NEC Gender Equality & Social Inclusion Policy of 2024, and in its 2026 Strategic Plan. The measures envisaged include reviewing the accessibility of voter registration centres and polling places, designing accessible communication tools and voter education material, and collecting and analysing data disaggregated by age and disability status, in cooperation with PwD groups.

## 11. Electoral disputes (Recommendations 19, 20 and 21)

Liberia follows a very distinct election disputes model, in which most of the adjudicating track is handled by the election commission, with final appeal to the Supreme Court. The election law and NEC regulations establish a relatively dense election dispute resolution (EDR) system, which mirrors judicial procedures, starting, for minor offences, at local level with NEC election magistrates, or with NEC hearing officers, with appeals to NEC Board of Commissioners, and finally to the Supreme Court.

EFM interlocutors have discussed the EDR matters in various ways: While generally assessing the system as transparent, they raised a number of challenges, namely: (1) the NEC is seen as both “a player and the referee” for a large part of the EDR process, (2) first-instance election magistrates are seen as needing more legal training, (3) a relatively high number of cases are dismissed on procedural grounds or for lack of evidence, and (4) complaints timeframes are tight.

**Recommendation 19:** *The law to provide for a broader legal standing for pre- and post-election complaints and appeals.*

**No change:** Some EFM interlocutors agreed that legal standing should be broadened as regards challenges to candidate registration in the pre-election period. As a matter of fact, a major shortcoming in the NEL is that it does not provide a framework for challenges related to candidate registration. This is only partly addressed in the NEC Nomination and Registration Procedures (p.7), but they restrict the right to challenge the eligibility of a candidate to parties, candidates and

<sup>33</sup> The New Election Law, Sections 3.2 and 4.2.

<sup>34</sup> OHCHR, op. cit., p.15.

coalitions. While broadening the standing to interested citizens would have added an extra layer of accountability on the candidate nomination process, the Supreme Court case-law has confirmed this restriction.<sup>35</sup>

There was less support for granting any voter legal standing for post-election complaints. Liberian legal provisions on this matter are generally not considered as violating international standards among Liberian interlocutors, and some argued that extending legal standing on election results would require amending Article 83(c) of the 1986 Constitution, and that it might risk overburdening the EDR system with frivolous petitions.

*Recommendation 20 (Priority recommendation): Secondment of court magistrates during the electoral period to address complaints at first instance level could be considered, in order to adjudicate complaints in a more expedient manner and increase public confidence in the process. Sufficient funding to be provided for the organization of multiday training on electoral dispute resolution for NEC election magistrates and hearing officers.*

**Too early to determine:** The secondment of judges to serve as hearing officers was among the amendments proposed in the 2022 reform bill as part of a broader restructuring of the complaints process, with the aim of making electoral adjudication more independent and professional. President Weah vetoed these provisions in March 2023, together with the other amendments on electoral dispute resolution.

The list of amendments posted by the House on Facebook on 22 April proposes, inter alia, to second stipendiary magistrates to the NEC to serve as hearing officers and to conduct initial investigations into election complaints or challenges. If adopted, the practical implementation of this measure will have to be carefully calibrated in order to avoid raising constitutional concerns about NEC's competencies, the separation of powers, and possible confusion between the respective mandates of the NEC and of the court system.

As mentioned in the EU EOM report, the NEC is already supported by the Liberia National Bar Association (LNBA). NEC and LNBA signed a Memorandum of Understanding before the 2023 elections, according to which the latter provides support not only to NEC election magistrates and hearing officers but also endeavours to raise awareness about election law and EDR procedures among political parties, CSOs, and other stakeholders.<sup>36</sup>

NEC's response to this recommendation focuses on enhancing legal training for elections magistrates and hearing officers on the election law and hearing procedures, and on enhancing knowledge and awareness with political parties, candidates and civil society actors.

*Recommendation 21: Review the provisions of the law related to election offences as well as review the scope and breadth of penalties and sanctions, in order to ensure greater certainty and enforceability of sanctions and remove ambiguities and inconsistencies.*

**Ongoing activity:** Based on reports from observer groups and other organisations, election offences in the Liberian context mostly relate to vote-buying, abuse of state resources, and campaign violations.

Most of these offences are addressed quite comprehensively in Chapter X of the NEL, but observers and other interlocutors report particular difficulties in addressing the practice of 'voter trucking', the organised transport of voters to a district where they don't reside in order to influence results. This costly exercise involves transporting voters at the time of registration, and again at the time of

<sup>35</sup> See, inter alia, [Siah Jarmie Tandapolie, New Liberia Party et al. v. Thomas Nimene Tweh](#), 31 August 2023.

<sup>36</sup> [Memorandum of Understanding between the NEC and LNBA](#), 11 July 2023.

voting.<sup>37</sup> This reportedly widespread practice is not easy to prove as one would need to establish that a voter does not genuinely reside in the constituency. The problem is compounded by the broader issue of insufficiencies of reliable identity documents.

Abuse of state resources is covered under the Code of Conduct Law,<sup>38</sup> which contains a chapter dedicated to election-related offences, which the NEC is meant to enforce. While these matters seem well covered in legislation, enforcement remains a major issue.

NEC's strategic plan includes reviewing the current regulations on dispute resolution to ensure harmony and compliance with all laws and regulations and Supreme Court decisions.

## 12. Voting, counting and tabulation (Recommendation 22)

*Recommendation 22: Review election-day procedures and results forms; conduct comprehensive training programme for all polling staff to ensure their coherent implementation and avoid procedural errors.*

**Ongoing activity:** NEC aims to introduce, for the 2029 elections, a results management system intended to reduce the time required for the announcement of election results. If implemented, the system would involve the deployment of technology and data connectivity in the magisterial offices. This initiative is further complemented by the establishment of an Information and Communications Technology Department and comprehensive training for election staff, as outlined in the NEC 2026-2030 Strategic Plan. During the 2025 Nimba by-elections, NEC introduced several procedural changes in the management of election results, and implemented a training programme for election staff to this aim.

## VI. The stakeholder roundtable

The EFM convened a stakeholder roundtable on 29 May, bringing together 33 representatives from 20 institutions and organisations, including the NEC, members of the Senate, political parties, the judiciary, the Office of the Ombudsman, civil society organisations, citizen observer groups and representatives of the international community. The discussion focused on the implementation of the EU EOM recommendations, ongoing electoral reform initiatives and broader electoral issues, while also providing a platform for stakeholders to exchange views well ahead of the next electoral cycle. The roundtable was chaired by the Chief of Mission of the EU EFM and Member of the European Parliament, Andreas Schieder. Participants engaged actively in the discussions and welcomed the opportunity to address election-related issues outside the immediate context of an electoral period.

The discussion was organised around thematic blocks corresponding to the principal areas of assessment of the EU EOM. The first block, devoted to the legal framework, focused on ongoing electoral reform debates. Among other issues, participants discussed the 2022 Election Reform Bill, which was adopted by the Legislature and subsequently partially vetoed by then-President Weah. Several participants expressed concern about the lack of clarity regarding the current status of the bill and the legislative proposals presently under consideration. On the issue of constituency boundary delimitation, participants noted that the decision to undertake the exercise falls within the constitutional mandate of the NEC, while the Legislature's role is limited to determining the average number of voters per constituency on the basis of the latest census data. Reference was also

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<sup>37</sup> Ducor Institute, [The Cost of Politics in Liberia](#), May 2024, p.13.

<sup>38</sup> Code of Conduct for Public Officials and Employees of Government, 2014, amended in 2017 and 2022.

made to proposals currently being discussed in the HoR concerning the creation of additional constituencies and the reapportionment of existing electoral districts.

The second and third thematic blocks addressed election administration and voter registration, covering recommendations three to eight of the EU EOM. Participants broadly agreed on the importance of ensuring the NEC's financial sustainability and institutional independence as prerequisites for the integrity and credibility of future electoral processes. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to provide comprehensive training to electoral staff sufficiently in advance of elections. Discussions also touched upon the NEC's communication strategy, with participants generally agreeing that greater transparency and more proactive engagement with stakeholders would contribute to strengthening public confidence in the Commission and the electoral process. On voter registration, there was broad consensus regarding the benefits of the BVR exercise conducted in 2023, while several participants advocated for the deployment of mobile voter registration units ahead of the 2029 elections.

The fourth and fifth thematic blocks focused on the campaign environment and campaign finance. Participants welcomed the establishment of the Office of the Ombudsman as an important step towards strengthening oversight of the conduct of public officials. At the same time, concerns were raised regarding the overlap of mandates between the Ombudsman and the NEC for monitoring and enforcing compliance with the Code of Conduct for Public Officials and Employees of the Government of Liberia in election-related matters. On campaign and political party finance, participants generally considered the existing legal framework to be broadly adequate. However, there was widespread agreement that enforcement remains weak, particularly with regard to the verification and publication of candidates' declarations of assets and liabilities, as well as compliance with campaign finance reporting obligations. Several participants suggested that additional legal provisions and stronger enforcement mechanisms should be considered to improve transparency and accountability in political financing.

The sixth and seventh thematic blocks addressed media and social media. Participants agreed that little, if any, progress has been made towards transforming the Liberia Broadcasting System (LBS) into a genuine public service broadcaster. At the same time, they emphasised that private media outlets also have a responsibility to serve the public interest by providing accurate, balanced and professional coverage of political and electoral issues. The need for an independent media regulator was also highlighted, with participants noting the absence of legislative initiatives aimed at establishing such a body. Discussions further underscored concerns regarding misinformation, disinformation and harmful online content, with participants noting the growing influence of social media on political discourse and electoral processes. While acknowledging recent initiatives aimed at strengthening fact-checking and digital media literacy, participants considered that additional efforts would be required to address these challenges effectively ahead of the 2029 elections.

The final thematic block focused on gender and inclusion. Most participants supported the introduction of mandatory measures to promote the meaningful participation of women in political life and called for the adoption of quotas or similar mechanisms, in line with the relevant EU EOM recommendation. Participants also stressed that increasing women's representation would require not only legal reforms but also efforts by political parties and public institutions to address the structural barriers that continue to limit women's participation in electoral and political processes.

## VII. Conclusions

The EU EFM notes the implementation of the EU EOM recommendations remains limited. Since the 2023 elections, a number of initiatives aimed at advancing electoral reform have been launched,

both driven by local actors as well as by international partners. These efforts have contributed to raising awareness of the recommendations and have helped place several electoral issues on the reform agenda.

Two of the 22 recommendations issued by the EU EOM can be assessed as partially implemented. These are recommendation 10 on the operationalisation of the Office of the Ombudsman, and recommendation 15 on the promotion of digital media literacy programmes for journalists and other stakeholders in cooperation with national fact-checking organisations.

A defining feature of the electoral reform environment in Liberia is the lack of clarity regarding which reform proposals are ultimately being advanced through the legislative process, which have been proposed at the institutional level by the NEC, and which are likely to be enacted in the future.

The consultations, reviews and lessons-learned exercises undertaken by the NEC with civil society organisations and other stakeholders following the 2023 elections have contributed positively to placing electoral reform on the public agenda. These efforts have helped generate discussion around a number of longstanding electoral issues and have fostered a broader awareness of the recommendations of the election observation missions. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen to what extent these discussions will translate into concrete legislative or institutional reforms ahead of the 2029 elections.

The sharp reduction in development cooperation funding resulting from the dismantling of the USAID, together with cuts by several European donors, has significantly constrained the activities of Liberian civil society organisations. This has particularly affected organisations working in the areas of election observation, democratic governance and civic engagement, with some being forced to scale down their operations substantially or cease activities, as has been the case for the LEON and the ECC. As a result, the capacity of the civil society to contribute to electoral reform and advocate for the implementation of election-related recommendations has been considerably weakened and may decline further in the run-up to the 2029 elections if these organisations are unable to secure alternative sources of funding. This challenge is likely to be compounded by the completion of the LESP+ at the end of 2026.

The reduction in available donor resources may provide an opportunity to prioritise support in a limited number of areas where it could have the greatest impact. These could include strengthening the NEC's ICT capacity, data management and software development capabilities, in line with EU EOM recommendations. It would also be highly valuable to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the election-related jurisprudence of the Supreme Court of Liberia, in particular on disputes related to candidates' nomination, electoral results, and electoral irregularities.

Also addressing EU EOM recommendations, strengthening the NEC's capacity to monitor and enforce campaign finance regulations; enhancing strategic communications and election results management. In the long run, supporting the transition from periodic, event-driven voter registration exercises to a more continuous and sustainable voter registration system through continued cooperation between the National Identification Registry (NIR) and the NEC.

Finally, in light of the withdrawal of significant donor support to Liberian civil society organisations, including major domestic election observation groups, consideration could be given to supporting domestic election observation efforts, not only in preparation for the 2029 elections but also throughout the foreseeable electoral reform process in the years ahead.

## VIII. Annexes

### Annex 1. Press release



EUROPEAN UNION  
ELECTION FOLLOW-UP MISSION  
LIBERIA 2026

**PRESS RELEASE**

**EU Election Follow-up Mission Calls for Concrete Electoral Reforms**

**Monrovia, 29 May 2026**

**The EU mission notes that its recommendations are contributing to the discussions and stresses that time is of the essence to ensure implementation ahead of the 2029 elections**

The European Union deployed an Election Follow-up Mission (EU EFM) on 10 May 2026 to assess progress on electoral reform and the degree of implementation of the recommendations issued by the 2023 EU election observation mission (EU EOM). The mission is non-partisan, independent in its findings, and is conducted in full respect for the sovereignty of the country.

The EU EFM is led by Andreas Schieder, member of the European Parliament and former chief observer of the 2023 EU EOM. Over the past days, the mission has met with a broad range of interlocutors, including President Josef Nyuma Boakai, the Minister of Justice, the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Chief Justice, the Chairman and Commissioners of the National Elections Commission (NEC), political parties, civil society organisations, the media, and the international community.

At a press conference today in Monrovia, Andreas Schieder called on Liberian institutions, in particular the Government, the Legislature and the National Elections Commission, to translate current initiatives into concrete measures and to *"take, in an appropriate manner, the steps necessary to ensure the timely implementation of the recommendations ahead of the next elections, with a view to further enhancing public confidence, and in particular, to review the electoral constituency boundaries in line with the national legislation, to address existing gaps in the electoral legal framework, to ensure the timely disbursement of funds to the National Elections Commission, and adopt measures to achieve gender equality in politics"*.

Andreas Schieder stated that the EU recommendations, together with those issued by other domestic and international election observation groups, are contributing to the discussions on electoral reform and serve as a reference point for stakeholders and donors engaged in strengthening Liberia's electoral processes. *"I note a strong commitment from the authorities and most notably from President Boakai to use the EU recommendations as one of the bases to improve the election process"*, Schieder highlighted.

Andreas Schieder further stressed the importance of advancing reforms in other key areas addressed by the EU recommendations, including the media and social media environments and regulations, campaign finance, and the resolution of electoral disputes. He emphasised that these reforms should be pursued *"in the same consultative manner that has characterised reform processes thus far in order to strengthen public confidence in, and the integrity of the 2029 elections"*.

The EU EOM formulated 22 recommendations based on its observation of the 2023 elections. Among these, the mission called for an increase in the number of voter registration centres, strengthened NEC capacity to oversee and enforce campaign finance provisions, the timely publication of election-related information, enhanced training for polling staff, the harmonisation of the existing population register with a view to improving the quality of the voter register, ensuring equal opportunities for all candidates, and improving accessibility to polling stations, among other issues.

On 29 May, the EU EFM organised a roundtable where participants, including electoral authorities, legislators, civil society, and the media, discussed the progress made in implementing the recommendations and the next steps for electoral reform. In the coming weeks, the EU Election Follow-Up Mission will release a final report outlining its findings on the implementation status of the 2023 EU EOM recommendations.

*The complete repository of reports and recommendations of EU election observation missions, including those of Liberia, is available at: <http://database.eueom.eu>.*

## Annex 2. Coverage of the EU EFM activities

National Elections Commission:



Speaker of the House of Representatives. 27 May 2026.



The Daily Observer, 1 June 2026

**EU Urges Urgent Electoral Reforms to Safeguard 2029 Poll Credibility**

By Rahab N. Meankimie and Emery Watson  
Jun 1, 2026



The EU Election Observation Follow-up Mission led by Andreas Schieder (middle), Member of the European Parliament and former Chief Observer of the EU Election Observation Mission to Liberia for the 2023 elections, during a press briefing held at the EU Mission office in Monrovia.



The European Union (EU) has called on Liberian authorities to urgently accelerate electoral reforms, warning that delays could undermine public trust and the overall credibility of the country's 2029 General and Presidential Elections.

The appeal was made on Friday, May 29, 2026, by Andreas Schieder, Member of the European Parliament and former Chief Observer of the EU Election Observation Mission to Liberia for the 2023 elections, during a press briefing held at the EU Mission office in Monrovia.

Schieder emphasized that Liberia has reached a decisive stage in its electoral reform process, stressing that discussions must now translate into legal and institutional action.

Liberia News Agency (LINA), 23 May 2026



**ELECTIONS LEGISLATURE NATIONAL POLITICS**

**EU Mission Engages Liberian Lawmakers On Electoral Reforms Ahead Of 2029 Polls**

May 23, 2026 / LINA

By Rancy S. Teewia

MONROVIA, May 23 (LINA) – The House Committee on Elections and Inaugurations of the 55th Legislature of Liberia hosted a pivotal meeting with the European Union Elections Follow-Up Mission (EUFUM), underscoring the EU's

## Annex 3. Roundtable agenda

|  | <p><b>EUROPEAN UNION</b><br/><b>ELECTION FOLLOW-UP MISSION</b><br/><b>LIBERIA 2026</b></p>                 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Roundtable agenda</b><br/><b>Boulevard Palace Hotel, fifth floor</b></p>    |                                                                                                            |
| Time                                                                              | Activity                                                                                                   |
| 09:00 – 09:15                                                                     | Arrival and registration of participants                                                                   |
| 09:15 – 09:20                                                                     | <p><b>Opening</b><br/>Andreas Schieder, Chief of mission, EU Election Follow-Up Mission</p>                |
| 09:20 – 09:45                                                                     | <p><b>SESSION ONE</b><br/><b>Legal framework and boundary delimitation</b><br/>Recommendations 1 and 2</p> |
| 09:45 – 10:15                                                                     | <p><b>SESSION TWO</b><br/><b>Election Administration</b><br/>Recommendations 3, 4 and 5</p>                |
| 10:15-10:45                                                                       | <p><b>SESSION THREE</b><br/><b>Voter Registration</b><br/>Recommendations 6,7 and 8</p>                    |
| 10:45 – 11:15                                                                     | <p><b>SESSION FOUR</b><br/><b>Campaign environment and finance</b><br/>Recommendations 10,11 and 12</p>    |
| 11:15-11:30                                                                       | <b>PAUSE</b>                                                                                               |
| 11:30– 12:00                                                                      | <p><b>SESSION FIVE</b><br/><b>Media and social media</b><br/>Recommendations 13,14, 15 and 16</p>          |
| 12:00-12:30                                                                       | <p><b>SESSION SIX</b><br/><b>A More inclusive election process</b><br/>Recommendations 17 and 18</p>       |
| 12:30-13:00                                                                       | <p><b>SESSION SEVEN</b><br/><b>Election Disputes</b><br/>Recommendations 19,20 and 21</p>                  |
|                                                                                   | <b>Conclusions and closing remarks</b>                                                                     |

#### Annex 4. List of meetings

| Date   | Institution / Individual                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| May 11 | - EU Delegation, Ambassador Nona Deprez                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| May 13 | - NIMD / ECC Oscar Bloh                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| May 14 | - OHCHR Christian Mukosa                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| May 15 | - Prof. T. Debey Sayndee, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre<br>- NEC Chairperson and Board of Commissioners                                                                                                                          |
| May 18 | - LEON<br>- Office of the Ombudsman                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| May 19 | - UNDP LESP+ CTA Katherine Green<br>- Integrity Watch, Harold Aidoo<br>- UNDP LESP+ team<br>- UN Women Tsega Gebremeskel                                                                                                                                 |
| May 20 | - CDC Vice chairman for elections<br>- Women Legislative Caucus<br>- Former Chief Justice Gloria Musu Scott<br>- HoR Committee on Elections & Inauguration – Romeo Quioh                                                                                 |
| May 21 | - NEC Executive Director<br>- Law Reform Commission                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| May 25 | - NEC Executive Director<br>- National Commission on Disabilities<br>- PUP Leadership<br>- MDR Leadership<br>- NEC consultant on boundary delimitation Archie Delaney                                                                                    |
| May 26 | - LISGIS Executive Director<br>- Former Associate Justice Philip Banks                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| May 27 | - Minister of Justice / Attorney General<br>- Chief Justice<br>- Speaker of the House of Representatives<br>- ECOWAS Acting Resident Representative, Nathaniel Walker<br>- NEC Board of Commissioners                                                    |
| May 28 | - Amb. Dee Maxwell Kimaya, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs<br>- H.E. Joseph Nyuma Boakai, President of the Republic of Liberia<br>- President Pro Tempore of the Senate<br>- LEON<br>- UNDP acting Res. Rep, Louis Kuukpen<br>- EU member states HoMs |
| May 29 | - Roundtable with Stakeholders<br>- Press Conference                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| June 1 | - Press Union of Liberia, Julius K. Kanubah                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| June 2 | - NEC Legal Counsel                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| June 3 | - EUDEL on Follow Up matrix                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| June 4 | - NEC Commissioner Dukuly<br>- NEC Head of Operations<br>- Liberia National Bar Association<br>- NIMD / ECC Oscar Bloh                                                                                                                                   |
| June 5 | - US Embassy, Sarah Horner, Political and Economic Counsellor                                                                                                                                                                                            |

## Annex 5. Matrix on the implementation status of the EU EOM recommendations

| Category | Description                                                                                        |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1        | No change                                                                                          |
| 2        | Action or activity is ongoing, but implementation of the recommendation has not yet been confirmed |
| 3        | Partial implementation of recommendation                                                           |
| 4        | Full implementation of recommendation                                                              |
| 5        | Too early in electoral cycle to determine                                                          |
| 6        | Recommendation is no longer relevant                                                               |

| No. | Recommendation (priority in bold)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Electoral theme | Status (1-6) | Comments and additional information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | <b>Review the legal framework in a holistic manner in order to address loopholes, ambiguous and contradictory provisions related to candidate registration, campaign finance and submission and adjudication of complaints and appeals for all stages of the electoral process so as to ensure a coherent application and implementation by the NEC election magistrates and hearing officers, as well as better understanding by electoral stakeholders.</b> | Legal framework | 2            | The amendments announced by the House in its 22 April Facebook post. Some of the reported changes touch upon topics raised by the EU EOM. The NEC report from its nationwide consultations contains concrete proposals for amending the 1986 New Election Law as amended in 2014, which might, in part, address issues mentioned by the EU EOM, in particular regarding complaints and appeals timeframes, gaps and inconsistencies in requirements for new and existing political parties, the inclusion of citizens who turn 18 between voter registration and election day, and clarifications on election expense ceilings, among others.                                                                                                            |
| 2   | Review delimitation of the electoral constituency boundaries in line with the national legislation, international standards and good practice, to uphold equality of the vote and proportionate representation.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Legal framework | 2            | In the past months, several initiatives appear to have originated in the House of Representatives announcing various numbers of additional seats and proceeding to allocating them in diverse ways. This included some discussions in July 2025 to add 14 seats reserved for women and persons with disabilities, a vote in December 2025 to add 14 seats across various districts, and another proposal in April 2026 to create 16 new seats also allocated to specific counties. NEC is currently doing preparatory work, such as clarifying the limits of administrative units on the ground and their population, but it cannot start essential processes including planning for voter registration, until the Legislature determines a 'threshold'. |

| No. | Recommendation (priority in bold)                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Electoral theme         | Status (1-6) | Comments and additional information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3   | <b>Provide the NEC with the requisite and timely allocated financial resources corresponding to its legal and operational responsibilities to ensure its independence and efficiency.</b>                                                                     | Election administration | 2            | The 2026–2030 NEC Strategic Plan includes measures aimed at addressing concerns regarding the timely and adequate financing of electoral processes. In particular, it envisages the establishment of a National Electoral Sustainability Fund (NESF). Full implementation of the recommendation would require addressing the shortcomings of Section 11.2 of the New Elections Law.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 4   | Publish relevant information on all aspects of the electoral process, including decisions, regulations and general documentation, in a timely and comprehensive manner to enhance transparency and public confidence in the NEC's work.                       | Election administration | 2            | The NEC Strategic Plan 2026–2030 further addresses the recommendation through a range of measures designed to strengthen transparency and stakeholder engagement. These include the dissemination of electoral information through multilingual civic and voter education campaigns, the institutionalisation of regular briefings for political parties, civil society organisations and the media, the expansion of public outreach activities, and the establishment of measurable targets for public legal awareness                                                                            |
| 5   | Strengthen capacities and broaden scope of activities of the NEC training department to implement comprehensive and continuous training for permanent and temporary electoral personnel.                                                                      | Election administration | 2            | Although the NEC placed utmost importance to develop its training capacities, most of the measures envisaged remain at an early stage of implementation. Their impact, particularly with regard to the proposed Electoral Training Institute and the professionalisation of temporary election workers, will likely become clearer only as preparations for the 2029 elections progress, and would require specific funding.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 6   | Introduce effective measures to ensure equal opportunity to register and exercise the right to vote for all eligible voters.                                                                                                                                  | Voter registration      | 2            | Full implementation of this recommendation would require an amendment to Section 3.1 of the NEL to allow the registration of citizens who will attain the age of 18 by election day, rather than only those who are already 18 years old at the time of registration. This is not envisaged in the proposed bill. The EFM has not identified any concrete measures, legislative proposals or policy discussions aimed at addressing the second component of the recommendation, namely the enfranchisement of eligible citizens who are unable to present themselves at voter registration centres. |
| 7   | In a coordinated effort of all relevant state institutions, continue establishing the national civil register by harmonising all pertinent registers and databases to provide an accurate and reliable basis for verification of the voter registration roll. | Voter Registration      | 2            | The NEC has identified enhanced cooperation with the National Identification Registry (NIR) as a key element of its efforts to improve the accuracy of voter registration data and strengthen interoperability between civil and electoral databases. such a system is unlikely to be operational ahead of the 2029 elections, and an update of the current biometric voter register is being considered as an intermediate solution.                                                                                                                                                               |

| No. | Recommendation (priority in bold)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Electoral theme                                  | Status (1-6) | Comments and additional information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8   | <b>Further decentralise the voter registration process and increase the number of voter registration centres to provide appropriate opportunities for voters to participate in the electoral process.</b>                                                                                                                                                      | Voter Registration                               | 2            | While no specific figures have been provided so far regarding a possible increase in the number of voter registration centres for the 2029 elections, in line with the EU EOM recommendations, the NEC has indicated its intention to improve access to voter registration by establishing registration centres closer to where voters reside.                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 9   | Revise candidate registration and nomination requirements, such as registration and processing fees, bank deposit and unified numbers of supporting signatures for independent candidates and facilitate the corresponding administrative process to ensure equal opportunities to participate in elections.                                                   | Registration of candidates and political parties | 1            | In general, candidate registration requirements were not mentioned as a major concern by interlocutors, with only few stakeholders considering that the fees and deposit requirements may be too high for independent candidates. The HoR-proposed amendments raise the fees, which is not in line with the EU EOM recommendations.                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 10  | Make operational the Office of the Ombudsman, as established in the Code of Conduct Law of 2014, to effectively monitor and sanction abuse of state resources during election campaigns.                                                                                                                                                                       | Campaign environment                             | 3            | This recommendation has been implemented but its impact is uncertain. In April 2024, President Boakai appointed a Chairperson to the Office of the Ombudsman, thereby rendering the institution operational. The Ombudsman's mandate for election-related offences may need further clarification, in particular any possible overlap with those of NEC, since the Ombudsman's enforcement powers on electoral matters were transferred to the NEC following amendments to the CoC in 2017 and upheld by Supreme Court rulings the same year |
| 11  | Review the NEL and the CFR, creating a coherent and clear legal framework for campaign finance to ensure equal opportunity and transparency. Remove ambiguities regarding the spending limits, responsibilities and sanctions for reporting. Specify the deadlines for reporting and disclosure.                                                               | Election Campaign                                | 2            | The NEC plans a comprehensive review of the regulations to address accountability gaps; to make financial education for campaign finance officers of political parties mandatory; to define "pre-campaign activities", to increase fines for infractions, to extend authority to cover pre-campaign violations, and to raise public awareness about political parties' obligations.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 12  | <b>Empower the NEC through enhanced resources and capacity to enforce the campaign finance regulations to improve the equality, transparency and accountability of the elections.</b>                                                                                                                                                                          | Campaign finance                                 | 2            | The EU Delegation contributes to NEC's capacity building in these areas. A two-day workshop on party and campaign finance was held under the AHEAD Liberia in September 2025 for NEC Commissioners and senior staff, Ombudsman Office, the Inter-Party Consultative Committee (IPCC), and Integrity Watch Liberia (IWL)                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 13  | Guarantee equal and better access for parties through the transformation of the state-owned LBS into a full-fledged public service broadcaster, accountable to the public through the legislature rather than the government. The broadcaster could make sure that the public receives politically balanced information, particularly during election periods. | Media                                            | 1            | No measures have been adopted, in line with the recommendation, to make the Liberia Broadcasting System (LBS) accountable to the Legislature rather than to the Government, or to strengthen safeguards ensuring that state-owned media provide politically balanced coverage.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

| No. | Recommendation (priority in bold)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Electoral theme                            | Status (1-6) | Comments and additional information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14  | Introduce a permanent and independent media regulator that could contribute to a diverse and unconstrained media sector without direct or indirect state interference.                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Media                                      | 1            | Proposals aimed at reforming the institutional framework governing the media sector or establishing an independent media regulator do not appear to be a priority, neither for the Legislature, nor the NEC. NEC media related measures focus primarily on strengthening communication, improving access to electoral information and addressing misinformation and disinformation through training activities.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 15  | Implement media and digital media literacy programmes for journalists, educational institutions and vulnerable groups in collaboration of fact-checking initiatives and relevant civil society organizations to facilitate a better-informed choice of voters.                                                                                                             | Social Media and Digital Rights            | 3            | Ahead of the 2025 Nimba by-elections, the NEC, with support from the Liberia Elections Support Project (LESP+), organised training activities for journalists and security personnel on fact-checking and election-related information. During these activities, NEC officials highlighted the importance of equipping electoral stakeholders with the skills necessary to identify and counter false or misleading information. The Liberian fact-checking organisations such as Local Voices, in partnership with Internews Europe and with support from the EU-funded Liberia Media Empowerment Project, organised training sessions for journalists and other outreach activities in several parts of the country aimed at strengthening capacities in digital journalism, media literacy and fact-checking. |
| 16  | Develop legislation with precise definitions of ‘hate speech’, ‘incitement of violence’, ‘inflammatory language’, ‘disinformation’, ‘cyber-bullying’ and ‘cyber-stalking’ to tackle the malicious usage of social media platforms by political actors, while taking into account regional and international standards and ensuring adherence to the freedom of expression. | Social Media and Digital Rights            | 2            | There has been some activity towards the implementation of this recommendation although the core objective of adopting a comprehensive legal framework regulating harmful online content in line with international standards has not yet been achieved. The 2025 Cybercrime Act establishes offences related to cybercrime and online conduct and provides a legal basis for addressing certain forms of abuse committed through digital platforms, including on criminalising cyberstalking. The act though does not provide for clear definitions on the remaining topics in the recommendation.                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 17  | <b>Adopt temporary special measures (gender quotas) to achieve gender equality in the legislature.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Participation of Women                     | 1            | Although, numerous activities have been implemented by UNDP, EPD, and UN Women to raise awareness among parties, CSOs and State bodies, many of which in collaboration with the Women Legislative Caucus of Liberia (WLCL), the mission has noted that there is no consensus among stakeholders on the implementation of the recommendation.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 18  | Improve access and opportunity to vote for PWDs through access to information, accessible registration centres and polling places, suitable layout of polling places, provision of tactile ballot guides, and systematic civic and voter education.                                                                                                                        | Participation of persons with disabilities | 2            | There is strong commitment from NEC to take this recommendation on board, which will need translation into practice. Participation of persons with disabilities features prominently in the NEC Gender Equality & Social Inclusion Policy of 2024, and in its January 2026 Strategic Plan.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

| No. | Recommendation (priority in bold)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Electoral theme                 | Status (1-6) | Comments and additional information                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 19  | The law to provide for a broader legal standing for pre- and post-election complaints and appeals.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Election Disputes               | 1            | Liberian legal provisions on this matter are generally not considered as violating international standards among Liberian interlocutors, and some argued that extending legal standing on election results would require amending Article 83(c) of the 1986 Constitution, and that it might risk over-burdening the EDR system with frivolous petitions.                                                                                                                                                     |
| 20  | <b>Secondment of court magistrates during the electoral period to address complaints at first instance level could be considered, in order to adjudicate complaints in a more expedient manner and increase public confidence in the process. Sufficient funding to be provided for the organization of multi-day training on electoral dispute resolution for NEC election magistrates and hearing officers.</b> | Election Disputes               | 5            | The bill announced by the House in its 22 April Facebook post proposes to second stipendiary magistrates to the NEC to serve as hearing officers and to conduct initial investigations into election complaints or challenges. The practical implementation of this measure will have to be carefully calibrated in order to avoid raising constitutional concerns about NEC's mandate, the separation of powers, and possible confusion between the respective mandates of the NEC and of the court system. |
| 21  | Review the provisions of the law related to election offences as well as review the scope and breadth of penalties and sanctions, in order to ensure greater certainty and enforceability of sanctions and remove ambiguities and inconsistencies.                                                                                                                                                                | Election Disputes               | 2            | NEC's strategic plan includes to review the current regulations on dispute resolution to ensure harmony and compliance with all laws and regulations and Supreme Court decisions.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 22  | Review election-day procedures and results forms; conduct comprehensive training programme for all polling staff to ensure their coherent implementation and avoid procedural errors.                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Voting, counting and tabulation | 2            | The National Elections Commission aims to introduce, for the 2029 elections, a results management system intended to reduce the time required for the announcement of election results. If implemented, the system would involve the deployment of technology and data connectivity in the magisterial offices. This initiative is further complemented by the establishment of an Information and Communications Technology Department                                                                      |

