

ON LEADERSHIP FORUM PRESENTS:
THE FUTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA
CONFERENCE REPORT

ABUJA 2014

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I. About the Conference

The 2014 ON Leadership Forum (ONLF) in Abuja, Nigeria, focused on improving good governance and human rights in Sub-Saharan Africa. The ONLF was hosted by Stanford's CDDRL together with the Abuja-based Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), led by Clement Nwankwo ('06). Following the 2012 workshop in Nairobi, Kenya – which addressed endemic corruption – the Abuja workshop convened 19 ON Leadership Forum members (alumni of the Stanford Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program) representing 8 different African countries to share challenges and innovative solutions to some of the most pressing human rights and governance issues facing the region today. Among the many outcomes, conference participants highlighted the need for increased government oversight, tighter coordination among civil society organizations, higher quality education and improved leadership.

II. Objectives

The workshop aimed to strengthen the existing ON Leadership Forum Africa network and spark conversations that would lead to reform initiatives targeted at changing the landscape of poor governance in the Sub-Saharan Africa region.

III. Opening Keynote

Speaker of the House of Representatives of Nigeria Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal opened the workshop on June 26, with a keynote address urging African leaders to build institutions and not personalities, and to place national interests over selfish ones. In his speech, he placed emphasis on the development of a functional democracy, which unwaveringly supports free and fair elections.

IV. Panels

Workshop panels featured outside speakers from civil society together with ONLF members to discuss some of the most pressing issues on the agenda for reform and development in Africa today.

A. Human Rights and Good Governance in Africa

Human rights violations occur all too often in Africa, from trafficking to extrajudicial killings. Much of these violations stem from poor governance. In this panel, prominent human rights leaders (Chidi Odinkalu, Open Society Justice Initiative; Innocent Chukwuma, Ford Foundation; Hajia Saudatu Mahdi, #BringBackOurGirls Campaign) discussed the challenges in combatting human rights violations in Africa, calling on civil society to be more strategic and unified in their efforts to stimulate government action.

B. Africa Rising? Exploring Economic Development

Recent statistics indicate that countries classified as more democratic exhibit higher rates of economic development and better governance. Does Africa's economic boom defy this assumption with rising economic and social inequality? In this panel, Bechir El Hassen (Mauritania '06) and 'Bosun Tijani (Nigeria '14) discussed the interplay between economic development and democracy, providing recommendations on how to increase wealth while providing equal opportunities for all.

C. The Future of Human Rights and Governance in Africa

Citizen participation in civil society, public service and government has been declining all throughout Africa. Government efforts at shrinking civil society and the human rights space continue to exacerbate the issue, creating a vicious cycle, which suppresses fundamental freedoms and encourages corruption. In this panel, ONLF members working in the fields of human rights and citizen engagement (Kingsley Bangwell (Nigeria '05); Frank Rusa (Uganda '12); Jestina Mukoko (Zimbabwe '12); and David Tola Winjobi (Nigeria '11)) addressed such concerns and called for more coordinated and concerted efforts to educate and empower all citizens – both young and old.



D. The Challenges, Imperatives and Strategies for Political Reform in Nigeria.

Although Nigeria stands as one of the most influential countries in Africa, the country is host to a number of democratic deficits, including: poverty, inequality, disease, corruption, and security, which can stem from deficient leadership. ONLF members from Nigeria (Sani Ibn Salihu Aliyu ('06); Clement Nwankwo ('06); Sylvester Akhaine ('05); and Miabiye Kuromiema ('05)) emphasized the need for more reform-minded leaders who could bridge the many ethnicities and religions in the country, purge the government of corruption, and support educational institutions. It was agreed that establishing better leadership and good governance in Nigeria could set the precedent for other countries throughout Africa.

V. Towards Building an Alumni Network

At the close of the workshop, ONLF members provided recommendations on how to solidify the alumni network. In general, alumni sought more communications and learning resources from CDDRL and increased opportunities for sharing and collaboration among the network of 250 alumni.

VI. Workshop Partners and Sponsors

CDDRL would like to thank all of our partners and sponsors for their generous support: Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC); Omidyar Network; Citizens Governance Initiatives (via Agnes Ebo'o (Cameroon '11); Gulf of Guinea Citizens Network (via Agnes Ebo'o); Afrigrants Resources Limited (via Thelma Ekiyor (Nigeria '09) ; and a special thanks to Bechir El Hassen (Mauritania '06) for his kind donation.



VII. Conference Participants

1. Agnes Ebo'o (Cameroon, '11)
2. Pewee Flomoku (Liberia, '08)
3. Malcolm Joseph (Liberia, '09)
4. Bechir El Hassen (Mauritania, '06)
5. Sylvester Odion Akhaine (Nigeria, '05)
6. Kingsley Bangwell (Nigeria, '07)
7. Sani Ibn Salihu Aliyu (Nigeria, '06)
8. Ene Enonche-Nwankpa (Nigeria, '12)
9. Stanley Ibe (Nigeria, '14)
10. Miabiye Kuromiema (Nigeria, '05)
11. Clement Nwankwo (Nigeria, '06)
12. Lady Celine Nkiru Okoro (Nigeria, '10)
13. Olatunbosun Tijani (Nigeria, '14)
14. David Tola Winjobi (Nigeria, '11)
15. Davidson Kuyateh (Sierra Leone, '05)
16. Jamila Sulu (Tanzania, '13)
17. Frank Rusa Nyakaana (Uganda, '12)
18. Jestina Mukoko (Zimbabwe, '12)
19. Rindai Chipfunde Vava (Zimbabwe, '05)

Stanford CDDRL Representatives

Larry Diamond, CDDRL Director

Erik Jensen, Director, Rule of Law Program
Stanford Law School

Christian Ollano, Program Associate

KEYNOTE AND PANEL HIGHLIGHTS

KEYNOTE: SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NIGERIA, HONORABLE AMINU WAZIRI TAMBUWAL

Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal is the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Nigeria. He is a People's Democratic Party (PDP) member and represents the Kebbe/Tambuwal Federal Constituency of Sokoto State.



Hon. Tambuwal with CDDRL Director Larry Diamond after the keynote address.

Tambuwal has held several offices in the House. In 2005, he became the Minority Leader of the House until he defected to the PDP. Upon his re-election to the House in 2007, he was also elected the Deputy Chief Whip. He has been a member of several committees including the House Committees on Rules & Business, Communications, Judiciary, Inter-Parliamentary and Water Resources. He was also a member of the House Ad hoc Committee on Constitution Review.

Keynote Speaker Hon. Tambuwal opened the ONLF Forum Abuja workshop on June 26 urging African leaders to build institutions and not personalities, and to place national interests over selfish ones. In his speech, he emphasized the development of a functional democracy, which unwaveringly supports free and fair elections.

Addressing the issue of severe unemployment in Nigeria, Hon. Tambuwal acknowledged that many working age Nigerians were 'grossly underappreciated,' working in subsistence agriculture and surviving under living wage. Recognizing the detrimental external effects of endemic corruption, he highlighted the importance of transparency initiatives and faithful representatives, outlining several government outreach efforts to consult with the people on such critical issues. One such initiative - the Peoples' Public Sessions - has helped to engage the citizenry, ensuring their voice and opinions have leverage in shaping good policy and a better future for Nigeria.

"As representatives of the people, it is incumbent on the legislature to take the gauntlet on their behalf and defend the interests of the masses against the demons of nepotism, poverty, illiteracy, violence, and disease. We must constantly ensure that the needs of the people come first and that all forms of the political chicanery are jettisoned."

A full transcript of the Hon. Tambuwal's speech may be found here:

<http://stanford.io/1q5wkwb>

PANEL 1: HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Human rights violations occur all too often in Africa, from trafficking to extrajudicial killings. Much of these violations stem from poor governance. In this panel, prominent human rights leaders (Chidi Odinkalu, Open Society Justice Initiative; Innocent Chukwuma, Ford Foundation; Hajia Saudatu Mahdi, #BringBackOurGirls Campaign) discussed the challenges in combatting human rights violations in Africa, calling on civil society to be more strategic and unified in their efforts to stimulate government action.

CHIDI ODINKALU

Chief of the Nigerian Human Rights Commission;
Senior Legal Officer at Open Society Justice Initiative's Africa Program



Chidi Odinkalu (r) speaks with Innocent Chukwuma before panel 1.

In this talk, Odinkalu speaks in his capacity as the senior legal officer at Open Society Justice Initiative.

Chidi Odinkalu is senior legal officer for the Africa Program of the *Open Society Justice Initiative*. Based in the Abuja office, Odinkalu is a lawyer and advocate from Nigeria and currently also chairs the Governing Council of Nigeria's National Human Rights Commission. Odinkalu received his Ph.D. in law from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

After providing a comprehensive history of conflict on the African continent, Odinkalu outlined several main pathologies plaguing Africa today: failures of governance, fragmented multi-ethnic societies, lack of government administrations, and the failure of the administration of justice. A lack of a common identity and emphasis on differences in ethnicities have had a ripple effect on government administration, weakening such institutions and allowing a space for human rights violations to occur.

On accountability, Odinkalu identified a vital need to establish good systems that administer justice. Without proper accountability of people for small crimes, such as bribery and domestic violence, Africa cannot expect to hold accountable the recent large atrocities of the terrorist group, Boko Haram. Odinkalu also called for stronger accountability measures that uphold the values of democracy, prompting a need for better documentation and accounting of votes and funds.

"To hold people accountable for large crimes, we need to hold people accountable for small crimes."

Odinkalu concluded with words of caution, suggesting that the 'per diem culture' has destroyed civic participation in Africa, and in turn, must be destroyed, underscoring the necessity for Africa to reinvent philanthropy so as to not cause dependency.

"If we cannot count, we cannot account. If we cannot account, we cannot have democracy."

INNOCENT CHUKWUMA

West Africa Representative, Ford Foundation West Africa

Innocent Chukwuma serves as representative for the Ford Foundation's office in West Africa. He oversees all grant-making in the sub-region from the Lagos office, whose mission is to ensure that all people have equal access to economic and social opportunities. In this position, Chukwuma manages the work on issues of democratic and accountable government, freedom of expression, and sexuality and reproductive health and rights issues. In addition, Chukwuma makes grants to support arts and culture.



Innocent Chukwuma speaks with a conference participant after the opening panel.

Innocent Chukwuma addressed some of the many external and internal challenges confronting African civil society today, identifying the changing role of philanthropy, and urging civil society to set aside differences, collaborate, share information and work toward common goals rather than staying on the fringes of social change in human rights and good governance.

Despite optimistic trends on the African continent, which include urban migration, rapid economic growth, and decreased dependency on foreign aid, Chukwuma listed a number of issues that have become increasingly difficult for civil society to confront: inefficient government, regression toward illiberal democracy, rise of identity politics and climate change. In such an environment, Chukwuma urged an atomized and fragmented civil society to push aside stubbornness; to work together; and to combat the factors that undermine the integrity of democracy.

As West Africa representative for the Ford Foundation, Chukwuma acknowledged the crippling culture of dependency in Africa and described how he has worked to break this dependency through funding and capacity building initiatives that encourage collaboration, reflection, stronger linkages to academia, and increased oversight of government functions and elections. Before change can be implemented on the government level, Chukwuma said civil society organizations must depoliticize their movements; trust each other; and adapt to a changing environment to prove unified in the face of diminishing democratic institutions.

HAJIA SAUDATU MAHDI

Head, Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative

Hajia Saudatu Mahdi is head of Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative, WRAPA, a national non-profit organization, one of seven recipients of 2014 MacArthur Foundation Award for Creative and Effective Institutions. Her work spans gender advocacy and policy analysis, gender-based violence, women's rights under Shari'a law, women in democracy, and education, with a number of studies on bodily integrity of women and girls. Recently, she has become a prominent figurehead in organizing the #BringBackOurGirls campaign in response to the kidnapping of hundreds of girls in northern Nigeria by terrorist group, Boko Haram.



Hajia Saudatu Mahdi speaks with CDDRL Director Larry Diamond and Sani Ibn Saliyu Aliyu (Nigeria '06)

Saudatu Mahdi began by tracing her steps into activism, and asserted the need for more youth activists, particularly female youth, in Africa. As a main organizer for the #BringBackOurGirls (BBOG) campaign, which was formed in response to the kidnapping of over 200 schoolgirls in Chibok in the northern part of Nigeria, Saudatu Mahdi remarked on some of major challenges confronting the campaign and African civil society, generally.

The BBOG campaign was originated not in response to the singular kidnapping event, but rather from the culmination of kidnappings in tandem with a culture that rejects and objectifies women as nothing more than physical bodies. Citing Rosa Parks, Angela Davis and other prominent global female figures of civil rights movements, Saudatu Mahdi underscored the integral role women have in society and in the enactment of change in Nigeria and the African continent. Additionally, she claimed failures of state capacity to protect women and girls have made that group more vulnerable to human rights abuses. The BBOG campaign was established with a multi-faceted mission: to 'bring back our girls' and to advocate for women's justice, empowering them to be more vocal citizens and challenge the current system, which leaves the door open for abuse to occur.

Despite a large and rapid global following, the BBOG campaign has met many roadblocks, stemming from a diverse yet disjointed base of supporters; an influx of new membership; and declining interest from the government. Claiming earlier counter-terrorism efforts would have alleviated the Boko Haram threat, Saudatu Mahdi said the terrorist group has been allowed to incubate in northern Nigeria, where state presence is minimal and underdeveloped. This has led to a continuous barrage of kidnappings and violence, costing the lives of countless citizens, and the creation of a large, disciplined and well-organized terror threat. Saudatu Mahdi calls for a strong government response to terror, and more so, a vocal civil society with innovative and trustworthy leaders that can push for more government action.

PANEL 2: AFRICA RISING? EXPLORING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Recent statistics indicate that countries classified as more democratic exhibit higher rates of economic development and better governance. But does Africa's economic boom defy this assumption with its rising economic and social inequality? In this panel, Bechir El Hassen ('06) and 'Bosun Tijani ('14) discuss the interplay between economic development and democracy, providing recommendations on how to increase wealth while providing equal opportunities for all.

BECHIR EL HASSEN (MAURITANIA, '06)

Economics and Governance

Bechir El Hassen is a private entrepreneur and a precursor of his country's democratic forces. He has more than 20 years of entrepreneurship experience in Western Africa crafting leading-edge economic development innovations. Well-versed in the realm of poverty alleviation and economic development, El Hassen's business skills have been married to a broader array of political stands. As an activist and professional, El Hassen has accumulated academic and practical experience. He was arrested many times by the Mauritanian military and forced into a two-year exile.

Despite positive reports indicating increased GDP growth over the past three decades in Africa, Bechir El Hassen claimed such findings should be met with a sense of pessimistic optimism. While citing the successes of burgeoning industries such as mobile and solar power technologies, El Hassen cautioned that to sustain growth and development, Africa must first diversify beyond its lucrative natural resources market and refrain from falling victim to the resource curse. Economic progress must translate into the reduction of poverty, job creation, increased gender equality and decreased inequality, he said. Revenues must be channeled into human capital and infrastructure development.

El Hassen called for stronger accountability of governments, increased transparency, and larger investment in institutions. This would ensure that governments efficiently allocate resources, giving back to the people when possible, and advancing political and economic freedoms. Should this be realized, El Hassen believes the continent would be better positioned to be rebranded as the next big hub of business opportunity, placing Africa on the global playing field and attracting more foreign and private sector investment. However, this cannot be achieved in the absence of good governance structures and reliable accountability measures.



Bechir El Hassen responds to a question during the first day of panels.

'BOSUN TIJANI ('14)

A Tech Revolution in Africa

Olatunbosun ('Bosun) Tijani is the CEO of Co-Creation Hub Limited. Co-Creation Hub Nigeria is a social innovation center dedicated to accelerating the application of social capital and technology for economic prosperity in Nigeria. The organization aims to bridge the gap between government and citizens by engaging creative talents and non-state actors in the provision of public goods and services in conjunction with government and civil society.

Believing that the government alone cannot be held responsible for the delivery of good governance, Tijani emphasized the large role civil society and individuals have in shaping better governance. Calling on civil society organizations and citizens to adopt new forms of technology, particularly ICT's (information and communication technologies) and mobile tech, Tijani believes such a movement can empower



'Bosun Tijani speaks with Agnes Ebo'o (Cameroon '11) during the reception after day one of the workshop.

populations with faster mobilization, access to information, and a platform to speak freely about the government with minimal risk.

Although advanced mobile technologies have not penetrated all parts of Africa, Tijani suggested they will become major players in the development of Africa's future as economies of scale yield cheaper rates and wider accessibility.

Whether on a smartphone or dumb-phone, opportunities for large corporations and fledgling entrepreneurs alike are numerous in Africa. However, Tijani argued that Africa should support more concerted efforts to educate youth on how to use these tools for positive change. A beneficiary of the Omidyar Network -- a partner of CDDRL and the Africa Leadership Forum -- Tijani's Co-Creation Hub is known for taking bold risks, engaging in innovative projects that have advanced society in Nigeria and West Africa, most recently, achieving a grant to install internet cables in suburban areas of Lagos State.

PANEL 3: THE FUTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Citizen participation in civil society, public service and government has been declining all throughout Africa. Government efforts at shrinking civil society and the human rights space continue to exacerbate the issue, creating a vicious cycle, which suppresses fundamental freedoms and encourages corruption. In this panel, ONLF members working in the fields of human rights and citizen engagement (Kingsley Bangwell (Nigeria '05); Frank Rusa (Uganda '12); Jestina Mukoko (Zimbabwe '12); and David Tola Winjobi (Nigeria '11)) addressed such concerns and called for more coordinated and concerted efforts to educate and empower all citizens – both young and old.

KINGSLEY BANGWELL (NIGERIA, '07)

Increasing Youth Engagement

Kingsley N. T. Bangwell is the founder and executive director of the Youngstars Foundation, an organization mobilizing youth participation in democracy and development in Nigeria and Ghana, where his most recent undertaking was a three-part youth training project on good governance and civic participation in several provinces across Nigeria. In the past, Bangwell has served as the Nigerian representative in the World Youth Alliance and as a consultant for the British Council on a youth publication project, which he co-authored.

Kingsley Bangwell introduced his talk by revealing a deficit in youth participation in government and human rights throughout the continent. Although explosive growth of Africa's youth population could assume large benefits, it does not discount the many challenges that will come along with such growth. Bangwell highlighted the need to provide better incentives for youth to engage in such sectors in an attempt to sustain a better future for the continent altogether. With the quality of education in Nigeria on the decline, Bangwell called on youth to be more civilly active, in hopes that one day, they could facilitate the positive change that the country and the continent need.



Kingsley Bangwell asks a question during panel 2 of the workshop.

Bangwell's vision is slowly being realized, albeit with a number of challenges: Current incentives have created an environment not amenable to youth participation. The

political process has been extremely monetized, making entrance into politics an expensive endeavor. Additionally, the current culture dissuades civic participation in government and human rights, with issues such as endemic corruption seemingly too large for youth to address.

Through his YoungStars Foundation program -- which invites youth for a three-day program to learn about youth leadership and citizenship participation/engagement -- Bangwell has attempted to address this deficit by cultivating a new generation of good leaders. By creating and permeating a culture of values, which upholds hard work and ethics, Bangwell has been instrumental in inspiring youth to take action, suggesting simple measures -- such as investing in similar type workshops and promoting better awareness and education -- are indispensable to the future of human rights and good governance in Nigeria and Africa.

JESTINA MUKOKO (ZIMBABWE, '12)

Civil Society in Zimbabwe --Lessons for Africa

Jestina M. Mukoko is the National Director of the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), a nonprofit organization that monitors and documents political violence in Zimbabwe. Serving as Zimbabwe's premier monitoring body, ZPP operates through a strong network of monitors throughout the country, casting the net wider in bringing attention to occurrences of political violence. Prior to her joining the Zimbabwe Peace Project, Mukoko worked for the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), an organization whose mandate was to foster a culture of coexistence and tolerance.



Jestina Mukoko speaks to other alumni on the human rights situation in Zimbabwe.

After being labeled an enemy of the state and a puppet of the West, Jestina Mukoko warned that engaging in the protection and defense of human rights is a high risk occupation in her country of Zimbabwe, and for many countries in Africa. Government efforts to punish civil society have been used more as tools to degrade and dehumanize such groups. Despite such drawbacks,

Mukoko recognized many advances in the sector of human rights in Zimbabwe: The new constitution

expanded the Bill of Rights, installing an elections and media commission and creating new freedoms and liberties for the country, if only just minimally. A new law reformed prison procedures for women, allowing them to keep their clothes on during the inspection process, upholding the dignity of women. Additionally, recent implementation of mobile technologies has created faster communication pathways, enabling human rights groups to coordinate more quickly in response to pressing circumstances.

Yet, Mukoko cautioned that government easing on human rights organizations may be deceitful and that conciliation efforts initiated by the government may be ploys at fragmenting civil society. Thus, Mukoko urged civil society and human rights organizations to work closely together, collaborating when appropriate, and standing as a singular unified front. Additionally, Mukoko admitted, Zimbabwe's human rights commission has had little leverage and power in overseeing human rights violations, indicating a need for stronger reforms. Mukoko also identified certain government measures that have debilitated civil society, such as recent government legislation in Zimbabwe restricting foreign funding for NGO's. These pitfalls continue to trouble civil society in Zimbabwe today, but Mukoko believes stronger coalitions and networks can help counter government aggressions in the future.

FRANK RUSA NYAKAANA (UGANDA, '12)

Activating the Citizenry

Frank Rusa Nyakaana currently works as a senior program officer in the Deepening Democracy component of the Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) in Kampala, Uganda, which supports Ugandan State and non-state

initiatives to deepen democracy, increase access to justice, protect human rights and promote public accountability. In his work, Rusa leads initiatives to design intervention strategies, identify potential partnerships, monitor and evaluate projects and provide technical support in the broad areas of civic engagement and electoral integrity. Presently, he oversees the work of over ten national organizations involved in a wide range of interventions to promote citizen awareness and engagement on issues of governance and human rights. Rusa has also served as the Head of the Legal department of the Uganda Electoral Commission.



Frank Rusa presents during panel 3 of the conference.

Frank Rusa targets the problem of patronage as one of the main ailments facing Uganda today, calling it a system of government in which oppressive leadership is recycled

under the guise of democracy. This has, in effect, skewed the perception of the ideal African leader over time. The fostering of embedded clientelistic relationships have warped the boundaries of what defines a just and good democratic leader, leaving citizenries disillusioned and unmotivated to challenge the status quo.

"The more information we give to the citizens, the more we see them responding, the more they take the initiative."

To address this concern, Rusa underscored the importance of citizen engagement in holding government accountable. By enlightening citizens with credible and relevant information, Rusa believes this gives the people the opportunity to

influence public decision. The challenge is how to enable citizens to make the connection between their quality of life and the decisions of the leaders. Rusa asserted the need for substantial investment in civic education. His organization has supported a number of citizen engagement initiatives, educating the Ugandan public on government accountability through a variety of mediums: town hall meetings, film screenings, ICT's, discussions, focus groups, etc.

One initiative, the Citizens Manifesto platform, has given people the power to monitor government actions and to engage in dialogues with government officials. By gauging what type of government the people desire, citizens 'scorecards' are created, allowing citizens to rate legislatures, and in some cases, prompt impeachments. In response, the government has indicated that it is considering electoral reforms. However, it has also clamped down on civil society, creating barriers to receive foreign funding. Thus, Rusa suggested civil society in Africa move toward sustainable avenues of maintaining their work in times where foreign funding is difficult to acquire, lessening dependency on foreign aid. Additionally, Rusa called on civil society to focus efforts on more day-to-day engagement with the citizenry, which, he claimed, would sustain citizen accountability of the government beyond election years.

DAVID TOLA WINJOBI (NIGERIA, '11)

Reaching the Millennium Development Goals

Dr. David Tola Winjobi is a human rights activist, a seasoned trainer of trainers, a gender analyst, a community development consultant, an in-depth researcher, and a conflict manager. He has about 20 years successful senior management work experience as development officer of Amnesty International Nigeria training members across Nigeria; as coordinator of research and Programmes on democracy and human rights; as policy advocacy officer of CAFOD; as National Coordinator of GCAP/MDGs Nigeria, and as Convener of Campaign2015+.



As National Coordinator of GCAP/MDGs Nigeria, David Tola Winjobi has directed the efforts to push the government and civil society to meet the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) in Nigeria by 2015. Such development goals range from seeking an end to extreme poverty to ensuring environmental sustainability. Winjobi acknowledged that such goals have been difficult to achieve in Nigeria and Africa.

Winjobi outlined several shortcomings of the development goals: One, they were not inclusive of many African countries and did not hold governments accountable for ensuring the goals were achieved. Two, developed countries were not delivering on the aid promised to certain countries, including Nigeria. Additionally, after internal UN

assessments indicated many of the MDG's would not be achieved by 2015 in many countries, the UN MDG Committee sought to establish 12 new Sustainability Development Goals, although as it stands, none directly target the issue of human rights.

Winjobi urged the global community to dedicate more efforts toward upholding fundamental human rights and prosecution of human rights violations, especially those targeted toward civil society. In a world where journalists and civil society members are being tormented, beaten, silenced, jailed and killed, there is an imperative for the world to react and uphold the integrity of human rights - otherwise there can be no development. This 'shrinking' of civil society and human rights space is a growing issue, reducing the capacity of organizations to produce the most meaningful impact. Such an issue, Winjobi asserts, must be addressed with more government accountability and oversight initiatives before repressive regimes and dictators silence civil society altogether.

PANEL 4: THE CHALLENGES, IMPERATIVES AND STRATEGIES FOR POLITICAL REFORM IN NIGERIA

Although Nigeria stands as one of the most influential countries in Africa, the country is host to a number of democratic deficits, including: poverty, inequality, disease, corruption, and security, which can stem from deficient leadership. ONLF members from Nigeria (Sani Ibn Salihu Aliyu ('06); Clement Nwankwo ('06); Sylvester Akhaine ('05); and Miabiye Kuromiema ('05)) emphasized the need for more reform-minded leaders who could bridge the many ethnicities and religions in the country, purge the government of corruption, and support educational institutions. It was agreed that establishing better leadership and good governance in Nigeria could set the precedent for other countries throughout Africa.

SANI IBN SALIHU ALIYU (NIGERIA, '06)

Countering Bad Leadership

Sani Ibn Salihu has achieved extensive experience in broadcasting and media throughout Nigeria through his work at the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). Currently working at the Kaduna Network Centre, Salihu was recently redeployed from the NTA's Ibadan Network Centre where he served as assistant director of news covering prison reform and human rights. At the NTA, he has covered some of Nigeria's most high-profile general elections and current affairs, partnering with local civil society groups to advance and promote democracy, development and peaceful coexistence through his reporting.

Recognizing the challenge of Nigeria's immense diversity of perspectives, peoples, cultures and religions, Sani Ibn Salihu Aliyu asserted the value of transparency, accountability, civic participation and government responsiveness, claiming that good governance is the greatest imperative of any political system. The current system has failed, he said, by allowing the retention of leaders harboring the qualities of ignorance, greed, religious fanaticism, and insincerity.



Sani Ibn Salihu Aliyu is pictured here with his wife and Larry Diamond.

Aliyu urged the implementation of reforms that adopt democratic norms and values in the broadest sense. Leaders should refrain from engaging foreign actors and instead, focus inwardly toward nation building and the development of a cohesive Nigerian identity and state. Throughout Nigeria's political history of military rule and dictatorships, a cohesive political ideology was never fully established, he claimed. What is needed is a strong, reform-minded leader with a reform agenda in hand; one who can deliver change and institutions that allow for better elections and governance.

As of now, although tools for oversight and accountability are in place, they are not exercised -- impeachment has never proved as a productive tool and no elected official has been successfully recalled. The government is bound to an oil economy, fostering corruption all around. Reform is needed and it must involve a leader who is amenable to varying perspectives, one who can best represent the values of all people. For Nigeria especially, Aliyu admitted, finding the right candidate is a difficult challenge.



Clement Nwankwo welcomes conference participants at the opening dinner.

CLEMENT NWANKWO (NIGERIA, '06)

The Challenge of Endemic Corruption in Nigeria

Clement Nwankwo is the executive director of Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), an organization which hosts and leads the Civil Society Nigeria Election Situation Room in Abuja, Nigeria. He is also an attorney and principal counsel at LawRight Associates, a law and consultancy firm taking on broad range of cases and providing consultancy services in the field of constitutional law, political

economy, and institution and capacity building. Nwankwo also has had deep involvement in the founding of the modern Nigerian civil society movement. He was the co-founder and executive director of Nigeria's oldest human rights organization, the Civil Liberties Organization. In addition, he served as the co-founder and executive director of the Constitutional Rights Project.

With little less than half a year until the next presidential elections, Nigeria still stands at a loss of potential candidates for both the ruling and opposition parties. Yet, Clement Nwankwo claimed that now is the opportune time to search and breed the proper leader who can steer the country toward a liberal democracy and away from endemic corruption. Citing the disappearance of billions of dollars of government funds, overspending on oil subsidies, and exorbitant government expenditures on luxuries such as personal jet travel, Nwankwo suggested a major structural overhaul is long overdue, calling for a reassessment of anti-corruption commissions and other programs that oversee government functions.

The challenge stems from a weak and decentralized government, which allows state governments to govern without any checks or controls. Additionally, with the violent reach of terrorist group Boko Haram moving closer from the north to Abuja, the nation's capital, the prospect of administering free, fair, and safe elections are proving extremely difficult. Endemic corruption, lack of government oversight, and decentralization of central authority has contributed to low levels of unemployment and manufacturing. Nigerians are becoming increasingly intolerant of such transgressions, and Nwankwo believes it is only a matter of time until such intolerance escalates into more vocal and assertive action.

SYLVESTER ODION AKHAINE (NIGERIA, '05)

An Inadequate State Structure

Sylvester Odion Akhaine is currently a senior lecturer in the department of political science at Lagos State University and chairman of the board of trustees for the Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization. He was also one of the frontline leaders of the pro-democracy movement in Nigeria and was the general secretary of the Campaign for Democracy and the United Action for Democracy during an anti-military struggle.

Sylvester Odion Akhaine claimed that many of the fundamental issues surrounding Nigeria's problems lie with the inadequacy of the country's state structures. Akhaine suggested the country is burdened with a deficient government upheld by a deficient constitution in need of amendment. Such challenges have led to rampant corruption and election rigging by both parties. Akhaine even attributed many human rights violations, kidnappings, and murders to the weak leadership of Abuja, and such violations are increasing.

To address these issues, Akhaine suggested two possible solutions: one, the formation of a nation-building, progressive elite who have the leadership and leverage to bring about change for the country; and two, the strengthening and empowerment of the citizenship through education. An educated population would heighten pressure for government to deliver on its responsibilities to the people by which it serves.



Sylvester Odion Akhaine during the closing dinner.

MIABIYE KUROMIEMA (NIGERIA, '05)

The Trouble with Oil

Miabiye Kuromiema is the executive director and co-founder of Makrocom Integrated Services, a sustainable waste, environmental and engineering service company. He works on the strategic business vision and develops networks for the organization. Previously he worked as the executive director of Southernfield Development Partners, a stakeholder and development ideas management company. While there he worked on partner development and conflict management. Before that he was an associate director at Our Niger Delta, a conflict management, peace building non-government organization where he designed and managed programs in sustainable development.

Miabiye Kuromiema outlined three main issues of the Nigerian state: an inadequate political structure, a lack of a national structure around values, and the destruction of the enterprise spirit with the discovery of oil. Embedded within these issues is the overwhelming ailment of corruption, which has seemingly infiltrated almost every

corner of Nigerian society. Ironically, Kuromiema claims it is this interplay between corruption and oil that has given Nigeria its economic prominence today, allowing it to function under an illegitimate yet effective patronage system. Such an embedded system of corruption has grown so much so that it has infiltrated civil society organizations and military personnel alike.



Miabiye Kuromiema asks a question to a panelist.

Amidst such corruption, Kuromiema highlights some of the triumphs of the Nigerian electoral commission.

As an entity that regulates elections, it has sustained presence without intervention from the president and has functioned under a credible chair. Regarding freedom of expression, Nigerian President Jonathan Goodluck has freely allowed freedom of speech, regardless of expressions are positive or negative, although Kuromiema suggests that limits of expression are still yet to be tested. He also cites recent indictments of government officials engaged in corruption, which he asserts must be the model for addressing corruption going forward. This, alongside the promise of economic growth beyond oil and natural resource industries (i.e. agriculture and transportation), may lead Nigeria toward a more sustainable and democratic state, but first, its government must secure and support sound, ethical, and non-corrupt institutions.

STRENGTHENING THE ALUMNI NETWORK

During the final session of the conference, alumni provided valuable and insightful recommendations on how to strengthen the Africa alumni network, highlighting the need for more interaction and collaboration among alumni and additional infrastructure for communication. Below are some of the suggestions.

- Develop a regional and/or continental forum convening civil society and government officials in a series of constructive dialogues, following the model of the World Economic Forum.
- Establish a regional research think tank to provide more statistical analysis on the work of civil society, democracy, and rule of law.
- Offer more capacity building opportunities for civil society.
- Encourage more people to apply to the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program.
- Convene delegates attending other pro-democracy workshops/conferences around the world to reunite and continue strategic dialogues.
- Create a platform that facilitates seamless communication and information sharing among network.
- Increase access to CDDRL resources, including those located online.
- Access to Journal of Democracy and other democracy-interest publications.
- Create an easily navigable database of alumni, which includes information on their expertise, backgrounds, locations, and contact information.
- Create an 'Alumni Support' system: Alumni SOS system to rally support in times of turmoil.
- Organize regular online forums and panels for alumni to continue conversations across borders.
- Allow alumni to return to Stanford to engage in more training and networking, even beyond the summer.
- Engage more CSO's and NGO's in regional conferences to expand network and showcase of work.
- Provision of qualified interns to CSO's in Africa.
- Publishing of articles and research through CDDRL.
- CDDRL faculty participation in other regional workshops, lectures, and conferences throughout Africa.
- Provision of feedback and advice from CDDRL faculty.
- Showcase alumni work more proactively via social media and regular media.
- Broadcast and larger marketing of future conferences

APPENDIX

PHOTOS



CO-SPONSORS



Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)

Since 2002, CDDRL has collaborated widely with academics, policymakers and practitioners around the world to advance knowledge about the conditions for and interactions among democracy, broad-based economic development, human rights, and the rule of law. The mission of CDDRL is to understand how countries can overcome poverty, instability, and abusive rule to become prosperous, just, democratic, and well-governed states.



Omidyar Network

(<http://www.omidyar.com/>)

Omidyar Network invests in entrepreneurs who share our commitment to advancing social good at the pace and scale the world needs today. They are focused on five key areas they believe are building blocks for prosperous, stable, and open societies: Consumer Internet and Mobile, Education, Financial Inclusion, Government Transparency, and Property Rights.



Afrigrants

(<http://www.afrigrants.com/home/>)

Afrigrants Resources Limited is an indigenous social enterprise, set up as a resource mobilization, grants management and capacity building firm to respond to the complex challenges facing African communities in the areas of education, entrepreneurial development and agriculture.



Citizens Governance Initiatives (CGI)

(<http://www.citizens-governance.org/>)

CGI is an association under Cameroonian law seeking to address the absence of opportunities for citizens' participation in governance in Cameroon and in Central Africa in priority. CGI founds its action on domestic and international laws. At the local level, its action is based on constitutions and national laws of the countries where it works.



Gulf of Guinea Citizens Network

(<http://www.ggcn-rcgg.org/>)

The Gulf of Guinea Citizens Network is a new advocacy initiative by a concert of community, citizens and civil society actors for effective enforcement of standards of legal, political, and social responsibility in natural resources exploitation, management, and accounting in the countries of the Gulf of Guinea.



Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)

(<http://www.placng.org/new/index.php>)

PLAC is a non-profit capacity building organization that works to strengthen democratic governance and citizens' participation in Nigeria. Through broad-based technical assistance and training, PLAC works to promote citizens' engagement with government institutions and to advocate for legal and policy reforms and promote transparency and accountability in policy and decision-making processes.

We would also like to recognize **Bechir El Hassen** (Mauritania '06) for his generous contributions to the conference.

FEATURED SPEAKER PROFILES



INNOCENT CHUKWUMA

REPRESENTATIVE, WEST AFRICA OFFICE, FORD FOUNDATION

Innocent Chukwuma serves as representative for the foundation's office in West Africa. He oversees all grants making in the sub-region from the Lagos office, whose mission is to ensure that all people have equal access to economic and social opportunities. In this position, Innocent manages the work on issues of democratic and accountable government, freedom of expression, and sexuality and reproductive health and rights issues. In addition, Innocent makes grants to support arts and culture.

Innocent is a globally renowned advocate for human rights and good governance. Before joining the foundation in 2013, he founded and led the CLEEN Foundation to promote public safety, security and accessible justice in West Africa. CLEEN was the first African NGO to receive the prestigious MacArthur Foundation Creative & Effective Institutions Award. In addition, Innocent has held various posts within the Civil Liberties Organization, one of Nigeria's first human rights organizations. He was also the chair of the Altus Alliance, a global network of nonprofits.

Innocent is the recipient of numerous honors, including the Reebok International Human Rights Award. He served as visiting lecturer at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, where he designed and taught a course on management of nonprofits in the Global South. He holds a master's degree in criminal justice from the University of Leicester and a bachelor's degree in religion from the University of Nigeria.



HAJIA SAUDATU MAHDI

HEAD, WOMEN'S RIGHTS ADVANCEMENT AND PROTECTION ALTERNATIVE

Hajia Saudatu Mahdi is head of Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative, WRAPA, a national non-profit, one of seven recipients of 2014 MacArthur Foundation Award for Creative and Effective Institutions. Under her leadership, WRAPA has gained a positive reputation, expertise for touching the lives of women, increased awareness and respect for women's human dignity leading to positive shifts in institutions of faith and culture. Her work spans gender advocacy and policy analysis, gender-based violence, women's rights under Shari'a law, women in democracy and education, with many reforstudies on bodily integrity of women and girls.

She has served as advisor for Nigeria on UN CEDAW Committee and a nominee for its membership in 2006. She is a fellow of Nigeria's Institute for Corporate Administration, a recipient of national and international awards, including the American Ms. Magazine 2004 Woman of the Year Award, Ralph U. Stone Memorial Scholarship CEDPA award for acclaimed Change Agents. In 2011, she was awarded the National Honour of MFR by the Federal Government of Nigeria. She serves on the Council of Nigeria's National Human Rights Commission. Saudatu is a 1978 graduate of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria, and had her post graduate qualification with distinction from the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON).



CHIDI ODINKALU

SENIOR LEGAL OFFICER, AFRICA PROGRAM, OPEN SOCIETY JUSTICE INITIATIVE, OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

Chidi Odinkalu is senior legal officer for the Africa Program of the Open Society Justice Initiative. Based in the Abuja office, Odinkalu is a lawyer and advocate from Nigeria and currently also chairs the Governing Council of Nigeria's National Human Rights Commission.

Prior to joining the staff of Open Society Justice Initiative, Odinkalu was senior legal officer responsible for Africa and Middle East at the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights in London, Human Rights Advisor to the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, and Brandeis International Fellow at the Centre for Ethics, Justice and Public Life of the Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

Odinkalu has extensive networks across Africa built up over several years of working for human rights and social justice on the continent. He is associated with several non-governmental and academic institutions within and outside Africa. Among other affiliations, Odinkalu is a member of the Human Rights Advisory Council of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, of the Boards of the Fund for Global Human Rights and of the International Refugee Rights Initiative. He is also the founder of the Section on Public Interest and Development Law (SPIDEL) at the Nigerian Bar and member of the Executive Committee of the Nigerian Bar Association. Odinkalu received his Ph.D. in law from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

STANFORD FACULTY PROFILES



LARRY DIAMOND (Moderator)

DIRECTOR, CDDRL, STANFORD UNIVERSITY
DRAPER HILLS SUMMER FELLOWS PROGRAM CORE FACULTY

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution; a professor of political science and sociology, by courtesy; and director of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He is a specialist on democratic development and regime change and on U.S. foreign policy affecting democracy abroad. His research examines comparative trends in the quality and stability of democracy in developing countries, and public opinion in new democracies. During 2002-2003, he has served as consultant to the U.S. Agency for International Development and is also a senior consultant for the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. During the first three months of 2004, Diamond served as a senior adviser on governance to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, and he has also advised and lectured to the World Bank, the United Nations, the State Department, and other governmental and nongovernmental agencies dealing with governance and development. Diamond's latest book, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (Times Books, 2008), explores the sources of global democratic progress and the prospects for future democratic expansion.



ERIK JENSEN (Moderator)

PROFESSOR OF LAW, STANFORD LAW SCHOOL
DIRECTOR, RULE OF LAW PROGRAM, STANFORD LAW SCHOOL
DRAPER HILLS SUMMER FELLOWS PROGRAM CORE FACULTY

Erik Jensen is a professor of the practice of law at the Stanford Law School; director of the Stanford Law School's Rule of Law Program; and a faculty member at the Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law faculty member. For the last 20 years, he has taught, practiced, and written about the field of law and development in about 20 countries. He has been a Fulbright scholar, a consultant to the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, and a representative of the Asia Foundation, where he currently serves as a senior law advisor. His teaching and research activities include reform aimed at strengthening the rule of law; the connections between legal systems and their economic, political, and social contexts; and the relationship of Islam to the rule of law.

KEYNOTE PROFILE



HON. AMINU WAZIRI TAMBUWAL

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NIGERIA

Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal is the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Nigeria. He is a People's Democratic Party (PDP) member and represents the Kebbe/Tambuwal Federal Constituency of Sokoto State.

Tambuwal has held several offices in the House. In 2005, he became the Minority Leader of the House until he defected to the PDP. Upon his re-election to the House in 2007, he was also elected the Deputy Chief Whip. He has been a member of several committees including the House Committees on Rules & Business, Communications, Judiciary, Inter-Parliamentary and Water Resources. He was also a member of the House Ad hoc Committee on Constitution Review.

Among his professional affiliations, Tambuwal has been a very active member of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), over the years. He started off as Public Relations Officer of the NBA, Sokoto State chapter between 1996 and 1997. He was a member of the Constitution Review Committee of the NBA (1997–1998). He was the Sokoto branch Secretary of the Association (1997–1998) and Assistant National Financial Secretary of the NBA (1998–2000).

ALUMNI PARTICIPANT PROFILES



AGNES EBO'O (CAMEROON, CLASS OF 2011)

Agnès Ebo'o is the founder of the Citizens Governance Initiatives (CGI) in Cameroon, a nonprofit association that promotes accountability and citizens' participation in governance by using international law, constitutionalism and constitutional rights as the foundation of its work.

A lawyer by training, Ebo'o is involved in several regional initiatives that promote open government and the rule of law in Africa. These include the Academy for Constitutional Law and Justice in Africa, an annual summer program for the training of future constitutional law experts in Africa, and the Gulf of Guinea Citizens Network (GGCN), a network of advocates for accountable management of the natural resources in the Gulf of Guinea region.

Ebo'o holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Poitiers, France; an LLM from the University of Wales Cardiff, UK; and is currently a doctoral candidate in the International Maritime Law Institute (IMLI) in Malta, where her research focuses on the problem of maritime piracy off African coasts.



PEWEE FLOMOKU (LIBERIA, CLASS OF 2008)

Pewee S. Flomoku is the Deputy Chief of Party at The Carter Center where he works to increase access to justice programs in rural Liberia. He is a former photojournalist who worked for the Associated Press West African bureau as photo-news stringer throughout the Liberian civil crisis under former president Charles Taylor. He also free-lanced for the London-based magazines *New African*, *West Africa*, *Africa Weekly*, and BBC's *Focus on Africa*.

As a frontline journalist, Flomoku provided photo-news to the outside world on happenings in Liberia. He also advocated human rights and press freedom to civil society under former President Taylor. Flomoku worked as senior project coordinator with Access to Justice, a justice advocacy group based in Africa, as well as with the Carter Center.

Flomoku holds a BA in mass communication and is pursuing an MA at the Koffi Annan school of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation.



MALCOLM JOSEPH (LIBERIA, CLASS OF 2009)

Malcolm Joseph is a career media executive with over fifteen years of experience in reporting, producing and sports media programming at the local and international levels. He currently serves as board chairman for the West Africa Network on Peacebuilding (WANEP Liberia).

Prior, Joseph has served as chairman of the Liberia Coalition for Freedom of Expression; program coordinator for Liberia Media Law and Policy Reform; and national coordinator for the West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOF). He has served as assistant secretary, secretary and vice president of the Press Union of Liberia and as vice president of the sub regional West Africa Association of Journalists. Malcolm pioneered the Center for Media Studies and Peacebuilding (CEMESP) of which he is the extant Executive Director.

Joseph holds a BA in mass communication at the University of Liberia; an MA in International Relations at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Liberia; and an MPA in Public Sector Management from the Cuttington University. He has acquired over 20 certifications in the disciplines of journalism, mass communication, human rights, corporate governance, NGO management, elections monitoring and policy advocacy.



BECHIR EL HASSEN (MAURITANIA, CLASS OF 2006)

Bechir El Hassen is a private entrepreneur and a precursor of his country's democratic forces. He has more than 20 years of entrepreneurship experience in Western Africa crafting leading-edge economic development innovations. Well-versed in the realm of poverty alleviation and economic development, El Hassen's business skills have been married to a broader array of political stands.

As an activist and professional, El Hassen has accumulated academic and practical experience. He was arrested a number of times by the military regime that ruled Mauritania and was forced into a two-year exile.

El Hassen has held a number of positions including president of the Mauritanian students' organization, spokesman for the opposition and head of its human rights commission. He was also president of Pacte Republicain, an organization advocating political, economic and social reforms in Mauritania and was involved in international activities striving to make a positive difference in the world.



SYLVESTER ODION AKHAINE (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2005)

Sylvester Odion Akhaine is currently a senior lecturer in the department of political science at Lagos State University and chairman in the board of trustees for the Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization. He was also one of the frontline leaders of the prodemocracy movement in Nigeria and was the general secretary of the Campaign for Democracy and the United Action for Democracy during an anti-military struggle.

Currently, he doubles as an editor at *The Constitution*, journal of constitutional development, one of the leading journals in Nigeria today, and the newly inaugurated *Ola Oni Journal of Social Sciences*. He is also a contributing editor to the UK-based *Review of African Political Economy* as well as a visiting member of *The Guardian* Editorial Board. He has been published in journals such as *African Affairs*, *Review of African Political Economy*, *Journal of Asia and African Studies* and *Political Studies Review*. His latest work is *The Case of a Nursing Father* (2014), a collection of non-fictional narratives. Akhaine earned his PhD in Politics at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2004.



KINGSLEY BANGWELL (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2007)

Kingsley N. T. Bangwell is the founder and executive director of the Youngstars Foundation, an organization mobilizing youth participation in democracy and development in Nigeria and Ghana, where his most recent undertaking was a three-part youth training project on good governance and civic participation in several provinces across Nigeria. In the past, Bangwell has served as the Nigerian representative in the World Youth Alliance and as a consultant for the British Council on a youth publication project, which he co-authored.



SANI IBN SALIHU (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2006)

Sani Ibn Salihu has achieved extensive experience in broadcasting and media throughout Nigeria through his work at the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). Currently working at the Kaduna Network Centre, Salihu was recently redeployed from the NTA's Ibadan Network Centre where he served as assistant director of news covering prison reform and human rights. At the NTA, he has covered some of Nigeria's most high-profile general elections and current affairs, partnering with local civil society groups to advance and promote democracy, development and peaceful coexistence through his reporting.

In 2009, Salihu was selected as one of the 15 Nigerian participants in the Community Exchange Program between the City of Jos in Nigeria and Bradford City in the United Kingdom, which also contributed 15 participants who were paired to learn from each other in their various fields. Organized by the British Council in conjunction with Voluntary Services Overseas, the program leveraged the common heritage of both cities as plural societies, which had experienced ethno-religious strife and are working towards harmonious coexistence.

Prior, he was a principal editor of the news and current affairs section of the NTA. There, he supervised all the newsroom operations and coordinated the production of all current affairs programming. Salihu was also the national vice president of Nigeria's umbrella youth body, NACOMYO, where he struggled to "imbibe" the culture of peaceful coexistence and civil responsibility. In addition, he was also the national secretary of the Association of Christian Muslim Mutual Relations, one of the foremost bodies working for peaceful interfaith relations in the country.



ENE ENONCHE-NWANKPA (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2012)

Ene Enonche-Nwankpa is a founding board member of the Right To Information Initiative (R2K), Nigeria, a non-profit organization that promotes the right of citizen's to access officially held information at all levels of government institutions and establishing legal standards for these rights in Nigeria. As R2K's National Coordinator, Enonche-Nwankpa helped R2K become among the three organizations in Nigeria that advocated for the enactment of a Freedom of Information Law in Nigeria in 2011.

Prior to joining the R2K, Enonche-Nwankpa worked with the Freedom of Information Coalition, the Africa Freedom of Information Centre and as a consultant with the Africa program of the Open Society Justice Initiative. She is currently involved in ensuring the effective implementation of the Freedom of Information Act in Nigeria.

Enonche-Nwankpa holds an undergraduate degree in mass communication and a master's degree in international affairs and diplomacy from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in Northern Nigeria.



STANLEY IBE (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2014)

Stanley Ibe is a Nigerian human rights attorney with professional and research interests in Africa's regional human rights system; criminal justice reforms (particularly pretrial justice and police reforms; and economic, social and cultural rights. Based in Abuja, Nigeria, he is associate legal officer for Africa at the Open Society Justice Initiative, which advances the rule of law and legal protection of rights worldwide through advocacy, litigation, and the promotion of legal capacity.

Most recently, he worked with Constitutional Rights Project and Network of University Legal Aid Institutions both in Nigeria. He has led or participated in rule of law projects in Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. He is deeply involved in a continent-wide civil society effort to develop guidelines for regulating police custody and pretrial detention at the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights.

Ibe holds an advanced degree in law specializing in globalization and human rights from The Netherlands' Maastricht University. He also holds human rights/rule of law certifications from institutions in Brazil, Finland and the United States of America.



MIABIYE KUROMIEMA (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2005)

Miabiye Kuromiema is the executive director and co-founder of Makrocom Integrated Services, a sustainable waste, environmental and engineering service company. He works on the strategic business vision and develops networks for the organization.

Previously he worked as the executive director of Southernfield Development Partners, a stakeholder and development ideas management company. While there he worked on partner development and conflict management. Before that he was an associate director at Our Niger Delta, a conflict management, peace building non-government organization where he designed and managed programs in sustainable development.

Kuromiema graduated from Rivers State University of Science and Technology with a bachelor of technology and a master's of philosophy.



CLEMENT NWANKWO (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2006)

Clement Nwankwo is the executive director of Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), an organization which hosts and leads the Civil Society Nigeria Election Situation Room in Abuja, Nigeria. He is also an attorney and principal counsel at LawRight Associates, a law and consultancy firm taking on broad range of cases and providing consultancy services in the field of constitutional law, political economy, and institution and capacity building.

Nwankwo has had deep involvement in the founding of the modern Nigerian civil society movement. He was the co-founder and executive director of Nigeria's oldest human rights organization, the Civil Liberties Organization. In addition, he served as the co-founder and executive director of the Constitutional Rights Project, through which he represented victims of human rights abuses in courts. Nwankwo also founded Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), which played a big role in bringing democracy back to Nigeria.

Nwankwo has consulted widely for various Nigerian and International organizations including the Nigerian Senate and House of Representatives, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the British Department for International Development (DFID), the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), and the Overseas Development Agency, UK. He is the recipient of the National Endowment for Democracy's annual Democracy Award and many other national and international honors.



LADY CELINE NKIRU OKORO (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2010)

Lady Celine Nkiru Okoro is the founder and Executive Director of Center for Organizational Development (COD Nigeria), a registered, national, gender focused non-governmental, non-political, not-for-profit organization in special consultative status with the United Nations Economic & Social Council.

Lady Okoro is currently coordinating Nigerian NGOs' response to the United Nations CEDAW Committee by facilitating the development and production of the 2014 Nigerian NGO CEDAW Shadow Report. On April 21, 2014, she was inducted into the Order of the Knight of St. Christopher (Anglican Communion) in Nigeria as a Lady Knight. She is married with four children and lives in Abuja, Nigeria.

Lady Okoro is currently completing her doctorate degree in gender studies at the University of Abuja, Nigeria.



OLATUNBOSUN TIJANI (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2014)

Olatunbosun Tijani is the CEO of Co-Creation Hub Limited. Co-Creation Hub Nigeria is a social innovation center dedicated to accelerating the application of social capital and technology for economic prosperity in Nigeria. The organization aims to bridge the gap between government and citizens by engaging creative talents and non-state actors in the provision of public goods and services in conjunction with government and civil society.

As the CEO/Co-founder, Tijani manages a team of people committed to bringing together stakeholders from different walks of life to work collaboratively on solutions to social challenges faced by the average Nigerian.



DAVID TOLA WINJOBI (NIGERIA, CLASS OF 2011)

Dr David Tola Winjobi is a human rights activist, a seasoned trainer of trainers, a gender analyst, a community development consultant, an in-depth researcher, and conflict manager. He possesses the following qualifications: B.A. Ed. English (1986); M.Ed Counselling (1989); M.A. Peace and Conflict Studies (2006), and PhD Psychology (2000).

He has about 20 years successful senior management work experience as Development Officer of Amnesty International Nigeria training members across Nigeria; as Coordinator of Research and Programmes on democracy and human rights; as Policy Advocacy Officer of CAFOD; as National Coordinator of GCAP/MDGs Nigeria, and as Convener of Campaign2015+ etc. In 2010, he was the only Nigerian invited by the UN General Assembly in New York as a speaker on MDGs situation in Africa.

Among the publications to his credit are *Essentials of Amnesty International* (2002); *MDGs Implementation in Nigeria*(2008); *Manual on Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria* (2004); *HIV/AIDS Handbook for Africa* (2006); *Advocacy Handbook for CSOs* (2011); *Nigeria Shadow Report on the Paris Declaration Monitoring and Evaluation* (2011); *A Position paper on Gender-Based Violence* (2013); *A Compendium of Deliberations on Post-2015 Development Agenda* (2014).

Dr Winjobi is a Fellow, Human Rights Learning Alliances, Fundar Center of Analysis, Mexico. He is also the Regional Rep., West African CSOs Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE-WA) and the Southwest Coordinator, Freedom of Information Act Network, Nigeria. He is the Convener, Campaign2015+ an international organization campaigning towards achieving MDGs by2015 and challenging government to look beyond 2015 and give the lives of people a meaning. He is also a Justice of the Peace, Oyo State.



DAVIDSON KUYATEH (SIERRA LEONE, CLASS OF 2005)

Davidson Kuyateh is the secretary-general of Sierra Leone's Teacher's Union. He is a former teacher and a leader of the pro-democracy movement. He is also national coordinator of a prominent advocacy organization for universal education. His work and experiences bridge the themes of democracy and development. Kuyateh and the union have been at the forefront of the movement for democracy and civilian rule in Sierra Leone.



JAMILA SULU (TANZANIA, CLASS OF 2013)

Jamila Sulu is an investigation officer and legal advisor at the [Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance](#) (CHRAGG) of Tanzania. Her previous work with Amnesty International and now with CHRAGG gives her 15 years of solid experience in human rights work. Her current responsibilities include liaising the Commission with international, regional and national actors in promoting respect for human rights, rule of law and democracy in the country. She also serves as CHRAGG's Focal Person for the Universal Periodic Review process of the UN Human Rights Council and the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights -- an AU organ whereby she coordinates preparation and submission of parallel reports to mechanisms.

Sulu studied International Relations and Diplomacy at the Mozambique-Tanzania Centre for Foreign Relations, and later on joined Tumaini University Dar es Salaam College for a law degree course. These combined fields of study make her conversant with contemporary international relations and international law trends.

Sulu has translated into practical use the knowledge gained from Stanford's Draper Hills Summer Fellowship (2013) whereby she is currently coordinating the Rule of Law Program being implemented jointly by CHRAGG and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) aimed at building the capacity of Law Enforcement Officers in Tanzania.



FRANK RUSA NYAKAANA (UGANDA, CLASS OF 2012)

Frank Rusa Nyakaana currently works as a Senior Program Officer in the Deepening Democracy component of the Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) in Kampala, Uganda. The DGF is a US \$120 million basket fund contributed to by the Governments of Austria, Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom to support Ugandan State and non-state initiatives to deepen democracy, increase access to justice, protect human rights and promote public accountability.

In his work, Rusa leads initiatives to design intervention strategies, identify potential partnerships, monitor and evaluate projects and provide technical support in the broad areas of civic engagement and electoral integrity. Presently, he oversees the work of over ten national organizations involved in a wide range of interventions to promote citizen awareness and engagement on issues of governance and human rights.

Before joining the DGF, Rusa served as the Head of the Legal department of the Uganda Electoral Commission.



JESTINA MUKOKO (ZIMBABWE, CLASS OF 2012)

Jestina M. Mukoko is the National Director of the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), a nonprofit organization that monitors and documents political violence in Zimbabwe. Serving as Zimbabwe's premier monitoring body, ZPP operates through a strong network of monitors throughout the country, casting the net wider in bringing attention to occurrences of political violence.

Prior to her joining the Zimbabwe Peace Project, Mukoko worked for the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), an organization whose mandate was to foster a culture of coexistence and tolerance. ZIMCET spearheaded community based conflict transformation. For her steadfastness to issues related to human rights Mukoko received the 2009 Laureate of the City of Weimar (Germany) Human Rights Prize and was a 2010 honoree of the US Secretary of State International Women of Courage Award. In 2009 Jestina was awarded the National Association of Non Governmental Organisations Peace Award. For her commitment and perseverance Mukoko was admitted to the French Legion of Honour in 2011.

Mukoko holds a BS in politics and administration from the University of Zimbabwe; is a 2010 Fellow of the Oak Institute at Colby College (ME), USA; and a fellow of the Leadership for the Environment and Development. From 2013-2014, Mukoko was a visiting Fellow at the Centre for Applied Human Rights at the University of York.



RINDAI CHIPFUNDE VAVA (ZIMBABWE, CLASS OF 2005)

Rindai Chipfunde Vava is an elections expert and a specialist in good governance and democracy particularly in elections and electoral issues. She is the National Director of Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), a network of thirty local non-governmental organizations that promotes democratic elections in Zimbabwe.

The key areas ZESN's work address include: election monitoring and observation; public outreach; research and advocacy; media; and information dissemination on electoral updates. ZESN also is the secretariat to SADC Election Support Network comprising domestic observer groups promoting democratic elections.

In addition, Chipfunde Vava is a BRIDGE Accrediting Facilitator and has undertaken various training activities at local, regional and international level. She has also been part of numerous observer missions in Africa and beyond.

Chipfunde Vava holds a BS in politics and administration, an MS in policy studies and is a Commonwealth professional fellow.

AGENDA

ON Leadership Forum: Africa Workshop **The Future of Human Rights and Good Governance in Africa**

June 26-28 2014

Abuja, Nigeria

Sheraton Hotel

Overview: The ON Leadership Forum Africa workshop will convene for a two-day workshop June 27-28 in Abuja, Nigeria to discuss and highlight some of the most pressing issues facing governance on the African continent. Over 25 alumni from the Stanford Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program drawn from 10 African countries will assemble in Abuja to host a workshop to help reshape the agenda on democratic reform across the continent. Hailing from diverse backgrounds and sectors, these leaders remain committed to launching a robust network of reform-minded leaders who are committed to new practices and innovations in governance reform, economic development and advancing social justice.

On June 27, the workshop will feature guest speakers from the public, private and civil society sector to highlight innovative approaches to advancing democratic reform across the African continent. Guest speakers will join together with Draper Hills Summer Fellows alumni to discuss new ideas and practices and highlight actionable ways to contribute to reshaping the agenda on democratic development. Workshop participants will leave inspired with new ideas, innovations and relationships to advance new democratic practices in Africa and beyond.

On June 28, alumni will meet in a closed-door session to focus on building a network of leaders, practitioners and scholars committed to democratic development to share new practices, seed collaborations and provide peer support.

The ON Leadership Forum is a program of Stanford's Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law and is supported by the Omidyar Network. This workshop has benefitted from the generous support of local organizations: Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), Afrigrants, the Gulf of Guinea Citizens Network and Citizens Governance Initiatives.

Thursday, June 26

6:00 PM Opening reception and welcome dinner. (Luigi's Italian Restaurant at Sheraton; buffet style; private room)

- Introductory welcome from Larry Diamond
- Welcome Address from Speaker on the House of Representatives Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal.

Friday, June 27

8:00-9:00 AM BREAKFAST (Sheraton Buffet Breakfast at Papillon Restaurant)

9:00-11:30 AM Panel I: Human Rights and Governance in Africa (moderator: Clement Nwankwo '06, Executive Director, Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre)

1. **Chidi Odinkalu** (Open Society Justice Initiative, West Africa)
2. **Innocent Chukwuma** (Ford Foundation Lagos)
3. **Hajia Saudatu Mahdi** (Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) and organizer #BringBackOurGirls)

11:30-11:45AM TEA BREAK

11:45- 1:30 PM Panel II: Africa Rising? Exploring Economic Development
(moderator: Larry Diamond)

1. **Bosun Tijani** (Chief Executive Officer, Co-Creation Hub Nigeria)
2. **Bechir El Hassen** (Mauritania '06), (Private Entrepreneur in West Africa; activist)

1:30 – 2:30 PM LUNCH

2:30 – 5:00 PM Panel III: The Future of Human Rights and Governance in Africa
(moderator: Agnes Ebo'o, '11)

1. **Frank Rusa Nyakaana** (Uganda '12) (Senior Program Officer, Deepening Democracy at Democratic Governance Facility, Uganda)(Topic: Citizen Engagement and Participation)
2. **Kingsley Bangwell** (Nigeria '07), Founder and Executive Director, Youngstars Foundation (Topic: Youth Development)
3. **David Tola Winjobi** (Nigeria '11), Principal Coordinator, CAFSO-WRAG for Development (Topic: The Millennium Development Goals post-2015)
4. **Jestina Mukoko** (Zimbabwe '12), National Director, Zimbabwe Peace Project (Topic: Human Rights and Civil Society in Zimbabwe)

5:30-7:30 PM Open Reception at Pool Deck (in case of inclement weather, move to Wazobia Hall at Sheraton)

Saturday, June 28: Alumni Workshop (Closed to the general public for alumni only)

8:00 AM-9:00 AM BREAKFAST (Sheraton Buffet Breakfast at Papillon Restaurant)

9:00-11:30 AM Panel IV: The Challenges, Imperatives and Strategies for Political Reform in Nigeria (moderator: Clement Nwankwo, '06)

- 1. **Sani Ibn Salihu** (Nigeria '09), Assistant Director of News, Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)
- 2. **Sylvester Odion Akhaine** (Nigeria '05), Senior Lecturer, Political Science, Lagos State University
- 3. **Miabiye Kuromiema** (Nigeria '05), Executive Director and Co-Founder, Makrocom Integrated Services

11:30-11:45 AM SHORT TEA BREAK

11:45 AM-1:30 PM Sharing of Alumni Experiences in Dynamic Format (moderated by Erik Jensen)

1:30-2:30 PM LUNCH

2:30-5:00 PM Large Group Discussion and Closing Remarks (moderated by Larry Diamond)

7:00-9:00 PM: Closing Dinner at Sheraton Papillon Restaurant