

## **A. CARL LEVAN, Ph.D.**

School of International Service  
American University  
4400 Massachusetts Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016-8071

Spring 2010  
(202) 885-2457  
levan@american.edu  
<http://carllevan.com>

### **EDUCATION**

- Ph.D., Political Science, University of California, San Diego (2007)
- M.A., Political Science, American University, Washington, D.C. (1998)
- B.A., Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (1992)

### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

#### **Assistant Professor, School of International Service, American University (2006 – present)**

I teach graduate level courses on international and comparative political theory, comparative political institutions, corruption, and African politics. Undergraduate teaching responsibilities include courses on contemporary Africa, international relations research, and a general education course entitled “Civilizations of Africa.” Serve as Africa Coordinator for the Comparative and Regional Studies Program and chair the University’s Council on African Studies.

#### **Other teaching experience:**

Designed and taught course on “African Political Development” at the University of California, San Diego, where I later taught an introductory course on comparative politics. I also taught “Comparative Federal Systems” at the University of Ibadan (in Nigeria) in 2006 and a graduate course on “International Relations Theory” at George Washington University in 2008.

#### **Ph.D. Dissertation: “Dictators, Democrats, and Development in Nigeria,” advised by Clark Gibson and Karen Ferree.**

I dispute explanations for government performance in Nigeria based on regime type or fiscal resources. To test my theory that the number of policy actors better predicts performance, I build a veto player model that applies across regimes and to a new range of outcomes. Qualitative and quantitative analyses show that my theory better predicts some types of policy outputs. Since Nigeria’s rules of political inclusion impact the number of veto players, my findings pose a dilemma: increasing the number of political actors improves the representativeness of the policy process. But introducing additional preferences impairs the delivery of public goods.

#### **National Democratic Institute (NDI). Abuja, Nigeria (1999 – 2000).**

**Country Director.** Co-directed one of NDI’s largest field programs worldwide. Organized and participated in legislative training and capacity building programs for the National Assembly.

#### **U.S. Representative John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI). Washington, D.C. (1993 – 1999).**

**Legislative Director.** Oversaw legislative operations, interns, and staff in the member’s personal office. Drafted legislation, amendments, speeches, talking points, press releases and testimony. Organized oversight delegations overseas, briefings for members of congress, and congressional letters to administration officials concerning foreign policy, national security, and trade.

#### **Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. (1992 – 1993).**

**Consulting:**

- U.S. State Department Antiterrorism Assistance Program, Senior Crisis Management Seminar, curriculum development advisory group (2007 – 2009).
- Researcher for project on “Transaction Costs in Transitional Democracies” for Professor Kaare Strøm and the International Peace Research Institute and (2005).
- Carter Center/National Democratic Institute Pre-Election Mission to Nigeria (2002).

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Journal Articles and Other Publications**

- “Power Sharing and Inclusive Politics in Africa’s Uncertain Democracies,” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* (forthcoming, July 2010)
- “Questioning Tocqueville in Africa: Continuity and Change in Nigeria’s Civil Society During Democratization,” *Democratization* (forthcoming)
- “Understanding African Responses to AFRICOM” (revisions in progress)
- “Next Steps for Nigeria’s Democracy,” *International Affairs Forum*, January 2008
- “Elections in Nigeria: Is the Third Time a Charm?” (Principal co-author, with Joyce Pitso and Bodunrin Adebo) in *Journal of African Elections* 2 (October 2003): 30-47
- “Keeping Baloney Out of Africa,” op-ed in *The Hill*, April 28, 2008
- “Be Careful Libby Case Doesn’t Lead to More Secrecy,” op-ed in *The Hill*, November 2005.

**Working papers**

- “Africa’s Cumbersome Cabinets: Citizen Preferences and Economic Performance Since the 1970s” (with Assen Assenov, working paper)
- “Nigeria’s Authoritarianism Regimes” (under review)
- “Decentralization and Corruption in Nigeria’s Education Sector” (working paper)

**Books:**

- *In Democracy’s Shadow: the Secret World of National Security*, co-edited with Marcus Raskin, (Nation Books, 2005).

**Book Chapters:**

- “Nigeria” (with Patrick Ukata) in *Freedom at a Crossroads 2008* (New York: Freedom House, 2010).
- “Politics in Nigeria” (co-authored with Robert Mundt and Oladimeji Aborisade) in *Comparative Politics Today* (ninth edition), edited by Gabriel Almond, Bingham Powell, Kaare Strøm and Russell Dalton (New York: Longman, 2009).
- “Federal Structure, Decentralization and Government Performance” in *Nigerian Federalism in Crisis: Critical Perspectives and Political Options*, edited by Ebere Onwudiwe and Rotimi Suberu (Ibadan: Program on Ethnic and Federal Studies and John Archer Publishers, 2005).
- “The National Security State and the Tragedy of Empire” (co-authored with Marcus Raskin), in Raskin and LeVan, *op. cit.*
- “The National Security State, War and Congress” (co-authored with Marcus Raskin), in Raskin and LeVan, *op. cit.*

**CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

- “Teaching African Politics,” roundtable participant, African Studies Association (2009)

- “Inclusive Governance in Africa’s Democratizing Countries,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2009)
- “The Consequences of Political Inclusion in Africa, 1990 – 2008,” paper presentation at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting (2009)
- Discussant, “Constitutionalism and Legal Reforms in Africa – An Institutional Fix?” African Studies Association Annual Conference (2008)
- “Internal and Regional Conflicts in Africa: Assumptions and Challenges,” presentation to conference organized by the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Department of Defense (2008)
- Chair, “Macro Indicators and Micro Measurement: Contextualizing Corruption,” American Political Science Association (August 2008)
- Discussant, “Patronage in Africa,” American Political Science Association (August 2008)
- Chair “African Politics,” Midwest Political Science Association (April 2008)
- “Consolidation and Fragmentation in the Aftermath of Nigeria’s Elections,” presentation at the African Studies Association annual meeting (November 2007)
- “Paradoxes of Power Sharing,” presentation at the African Studies Association annual meeting (November 2006).
- “A Multi-Regime Analysis of Preferences, Political Institutions, and Performance,” presentation at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (August 2006).
- Panel chair, “Challenges to Democratic Consolidation in Africa,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting (April 2006).
- Panel discussant, “Political Participation and Subnational Loyalties in Africa,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting (April 2006).
- “When More is Less: Political Coalitions and Government Performance,” presentation at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting (April 2006).
- “Does Democracy Deliver?” presentation at the African Studies Association annual meeting (November 2005).
- “Dictators, Democrats, and Political Coalitions,” presentation before the Working Group on African Political Economy (May 2005 and October 2005).
- “Dictators, Democrats and Political Coalitions,” panel presentation at Midwest Political Science Association (April 2005).
- “Decentralization, Local Government, and Federalism,” panel chair and discussant, Midwest Political Science Association (April 2005).
- “Nigeria Stumbles Through its ‘Second Elections’ Test,” presentation at the Stanford-Berkeley Joint Conference on “Popular Culture in Africa” (April 2003).
- Presentation on “Nigerian Civil Society: From Dictatorship to Democracy” at Comparativists Day for Graduate Students, University of California, Los Angeles (February 2002).
- “Pluralism, Progress and Paradoxes: Judicial Reform in Mexico,” presentation at Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, UCSD graduate student conference (January 2002).

#### **RELATED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PRESENTATIONS**

- “Africa’s Cumbersome Cabinets,” presentation at the Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja (March 2010)
- Participant, panel on foreign aid, American University (November 2009)
- “Consequences of Political Inclusion in Africa,” presentation at USAID meeting on “Elections and Violence in Africa,” Nairobi, Kenya (May 2009).
- “Power Sharing in Africa,” presentation to USAID in Washington (September 2009)

- Moderator, “African Security Policy,” briefing for House Foreign Affairs Committee staff, U.S. Congress (December 2008)
- Invited presentation, “Decentralization and Corruption in Nigeria’s Education Sector,” Weatherhead Center and African Studies Program, Columbia University (December 2008)
- Chair of panel discussion, “Africa Policy for the Obama Administration,” at American University (November 2008)
- Moderator, “The Tyranny of Oil,” American University, broadcast on C-SPAN (October 2008)
- Panelist, State Department’s Anti-Terrorism Assistance Senior Crisis Management Seminar (June 2008)
- Chair of panel discussion on Darfur at American University, broadcast on C-SPAN (April 2008)
- Chair of panel discussion at American University on “Africa’s Oil, America’s AFRICOM, and the War on Terrorism,” (November 2007)
- “The Expansive National Security State” talk at the Institute for Policy Studies (July 2007)
- Panelist, “Electoral Administration: Preparing for 2007,” Nigerian Peoples Forum (May 2006)
- Lecture, “Nigeria: Old Culture, New Democracy,” San Diego Museum of Man (January 2006)
- Guest lecture for the course “The News in Context” at American University (November 2005).
- Moderator, panel discussion on “The National Security State: From the Cold War to Iraq,” for members of Congress and staff, Washington, DC (April 2005).
- Participant, Institute for Humane Studies’ conference on (June 2004).
- Accredited observer for the Nigerian local government elections (March 2004).
- “Comparative Legislative Ethics,” Presentation to the Nigerian Senate (February 2004).
- “Democratization and Nigerian Civil Society,” presentation at conference on “Math, Science and Society” at Ecole Normale Supérieure, Porto Novo, Benin (January 2004).
- “Nigeria’s 2003 Elections: Is the Third Time a Charm?” Presentation at the Nigerian Society for Information, Arts and Culture, Ibadan, Nigeria (January 2004).
- Presentation on “Decentralization and Government Performance in Nigeria” at the Fulbright Alumni Association’s Annual meeting, Kuru, Nigeria (November 2003).
- Accredited international observer for Nigerian national and gubernatorial elections (April 2003).
- “An Overview of Legislative Oversight,” testimony before the House Committee on Public Accounts, National Assembly, Abuja, Nigeria (August 2000).
- “The Relevance of Professional Staff,” Nassarawa State Assembly, Nigeria (July 2000).
- Moderator, workshop on media relations for Nigerian National Assembly (July 2000).
- Participant, conference on ethics in the legislature, Republic of Benin (February 2000).
- Rapporteur/Research Assistant, George Washington University Professional Seminar on the National Security State (September 1994 - spring 1996, spring 1997 - November 1999).
- “US Foreign Policy and the Sanctions on Iraq,” speech to meeting of American Muslims for Global Peace & Justice, Santa Clara, CA (October 1999).
- “Economic Sanctions on Iraq,” presentation for a congressional staff briefing (July 1998).
- Member, Steering Committee, Congressional Progressive Caucus (1997 - 1999).
- Congressional staff delegation to Argentina with Council on Hemispheric Affairs (June

- 1999).
- Legislative advocacy trainer, National Conference on Iraq, Ann Arbor, Michigan (October 1999).
  - Congressional staff delegation to Morocco with the Council on US-Arab Relations (Nov. 1998).
  - Advocacy trainer, American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (June 1998; June 1999).
  - Congressional staff delegation to Taiwan, Republic of China (April 1998).
  - “A Congressional Report on Haiti,” presentation at the Institute for Policy Studies (July 1997).
  - “Intelligence Reform and Congress” presentation to the Latin America Working Group National Conference, Washington, D.C. (October 1996).
  - Congressional staff delegation to Germany with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (November 1995).

### **HONORS AND AWARDS**

- U.S. Agency for International Development, in-kind support for Africa Council workshop on “The Consequences of Political Inclusion” (2009)
- American Political Science Association travel grant for Annual Conference (2006).
- Institute for International, Comparative and Area Studies field research grant (2005).
- Fulbright grant for dissertation research in Nigeria (2003 – 2004 academic year).
- Dean’s travel grant for research at Stanford University (February 2005).
- Dean’s travel grant for research at the University of California, Santa Cruz (May 2003).
- Seymour Melman Fellowship, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC (Summer 2001).
- Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science National Honor Society (1998).
- Pi Alpha Alpha Public Affairs National Honor Society (1998).
- Certificate of Academic Excellence, Department of Government, American University (1998).
- Special Honors in Political Science from George Washington University (1992).

### **MANUSCRIPT REVIEWER**

*Oxford University Press*  
*American Journal of Political Science*  
*Journal of Politics*  
*Political Science Quarterly*  
*Council on Foreign Relations*  
*African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*

*United States Institute of Peace*  
*Journal of Modern African Studies*  
*African Studies Review*  
*African Studies Quarterly*  
*Journal of African Elections*

### **MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS**

- Chair, Council on African Studies, American University
- Africa Coordinator, Comparative and Regional Studies, SIS, American University
- Co-Chair, Political Action Committee, Association of Concerned Africa Scholars
- African Politics Conference Group
- Fulbright Alumni Association