A. CARL LEVAN, PhD

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CURRENT POSITION

Assistant Professor, School of International Service, American University (2008 – present) Instructor, School of International Service, American University (2006-2008)

Teaching responsibilities include courses on African politics, international and comparative political theory, and political institutions for undergraduate, Master's and PhD students. Other teaching experience includes courses at the University of California—San Diego, the George Washington University, and the University of Ibadan in Nigeria.

EDUCATION

- Ph.D., Political Science, University of California, San Diego. Dissertation: "Dictators, Democrats, and Development in Nigeria," advised by Clark Gibson and Karen Ferree (2007)
- M.A., Political Science, American University, Washington, D.C. (1998)
- B.A., Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (1992)

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

- Dictators and Democracy in African Development: the Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- African State Governance: Subnational Politics and National Power, co-edited with Joseph Olayinka Fashagba and Ned McMahon (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015).
- *Constituents before Assembly*, co-authored with Todd Eisenstadt and Tofigh Maboudi (forthcoming 2016, Cambridge University Press).
- In Democracy's Shadow: the Secret World of National Security, co-edited with Marcus Raskin (Nation Books, 2005).

Journal Articles:

- "When Talk Trumps Text: The Democratizing Effects of Deliberation during Constitution-Making, 1974-2011," (with Todd Eisenstadt and Tofigh Maboudi), *American Political Science Review* 109, 3 (August 2015): 592-612.
- "Parallel Institutionalism and the Future of Representation in Nigeria," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 33, 3 (July 2015): 370-90.
- "Parties or Portfolio? The Economic Effects of Africa's Cumbersome Cabinets, 1971-2006," (with Assen Assenov) *Government and Opposition* 40 (January 2015): 1-30.
- "'I am Here until Development Comes:' Displacement, Demolitions, and Property Rights in Urbanizing Nigeria," (with Josiah Olubowale) *African Affairs* 113, 452 (July 2014): 387-408.
- "Analytic Authoritarianism and Nigeria," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 52, 2 (January 2014): 212-231.
- "Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 7, 3 (May 2013): 335-352.

- "Questioning Tocqueville in Africa: Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Civil Society during Democratization," *Democratization* 18, 1 (February 2011): 135-159.
- "Power Sharing and Inclusive Politics in Africa's Uncertain Democracies," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 24, 1 (January 2011): 31-53.
- "The Political Economy of African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command," *Africa Today* 57, 1 (fall 2010): 1-23.
- "Elections in Nigeria: Is the Third Time a Charm?" (with Joyce Pitso and Bodunrin Adebo) in *Journal of African Elections* 2 (October 2003): 30-47.

Reviews and other Publications:

- Review, Oil Wealth and Insurgency in Nigeria, by Omolade Adunbi, International Journal of African Historical Studies (spring 2016)
- "Legislative Strengthening Programs in Uganda and Nigeria," (with Nicholas Smith) for US Agency for International Development (Contract GS-10F-0033M/AID-OAA-M-13-00013), October 2015.
- "Burkina Faso: How to Get the Transition Back on Track," (with Jean-Baptiste Guiatin) *AllAfrica.com*, September 24, 2015
- "The US Must Raise the Cap for Syrian Refugees," *The Hill*, September 16, 2015.
- "Crafting a new constitution doesn't necessarily lead to democracy. Here's what does," (with Todd Eisenstadt and Tofigh Maboudi) *Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, August 19, 2015.
- "Teaching, Testing, and 'Filling the Pail," *The Hill*, February 23, 2015.
- "Postponed For Now: Nigerians to choose between General Buhari's populist promises and President Jonathan's status quo," *Africasacountry.com*, February 20, 2015.
- "Charlie Hebdo Meets 'The Interview," Washington Post's Monkey Cage, Jan. 16, 2015.
- "Nigeria Opposition Cohesion will Shape Poll," Oxford Analytica, December 19, 2014.
- "African Trade Summitry," *The Hill*, August 6, 2014.
- "Six Ways to #BringBackOurGirls in Nigeria," (with Priscilla Achakpa), *Christian Science Monitor*, May 2014.
- Review, "Militancy and Violence in West Africa: Religion, Politics and Radicalisation," edited by J. Gow, F. Olonisakin, and E. Dijxhoorn, *e-International Relations* (April 2014).
- Review, "Nigeria since Independence: Forever Fragile?" by J.N.C. Hill, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 51, 4 (Dec. 2013): 722-724.
- "America's Move in Niger," London School of Economics IDEAS blog, February 4, 2013.
- Review, "The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding," by Séverine Autesserre *Political Science Quarterly* 126, 4 (Jan. 2012).
- "Representation Reconsidered," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44,3 (July 2011): 692-93.
- Review, "Africa: Unity, Sovereignty, and Sorrow," by Pierre Englebert, *Political Science Quarterly* 125, 4 (Jan. 2011).
- "Next Steps for Nigeria's Democracy," International Affairs Forum, January 2008.
- "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

- "Reciprocal Retaliation and Inter-state Relations in Nigeria's Federal System" (under review)
- "Human Rights and Democratic Wrongs? The Effects of Legislative Capacity Building in

Africa" (with Nicholas T. Smith)

- "Counting on Contestation: The 'Talakawa Effect' in Nigeria's 2015 Elections" (with Matthew Page and Yoonbin Ha)
- From Parchment to Practice: Explaining When New Constitutions Fail to Improve Democracy (essays co-edited with Todd Eisenstadt and Rob Albro, for special journal issue consideration).

Book Chapters:

- "Subnational Legislative Politics and African Democratic Development," in *African State Governance: Subnational Politics and National Power*, edited by A. Carl LeVan, Joseph O. Fashagba, and Edward McMahon (Palgrave, 2015).
- "Collective Causes of Electoral Reform" (with Amarachi Utah) in Eghosa Osaghae, ed. (forthcoming 2016).
- "Politics in Nigeria" (lead co-author with Oladimeji Aborisade) in *Comparative Politics Today* (tenth edition), edited by Gabriel Almond, Bingham Powell, Kaare Strøm and Russell Dalton (Longman, 2014).
- "Nigeria" (with Patrick Ukata) in *Countries at the Crossroads 2012* (Freedom House, 2012).
- "Nigeria" (with Patrick Ukata) in Countries at the Crossroads 2010 (Freedom House, 2010).
- "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" and "The National Security State, War and Congress" (with Marcus Raskin), both in Raskin and LeVan, *op. cit*.

RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Professional Service and Offices:

- School of International Service Africa Certificate Coordinator (2014 –)
- Global and Comparative Governance, SIS Thematic Coordinator (2013 2014)
- Editorial board, Democracy and Development: Journal of West African Affairs (2015-)
- Board of Advisors, CompareAfrique.com (2012 –)
- Board of Advisors, Advancing Investment and Trade in Africa (2014 –)
- Africa Coordinator, Comparative and Regional Studies in SIS (2007 2013)
- Section Chair, "Peace and Conflict," African Studies Association 2012 Annual Meeting
- Treasurer, African Politics Conference Group (2010 2012)
- Chair, American University's Council on African Studies (2008 2010)

Visiting Fellow, Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja, Nigeria (spring 2012) Conducted research on ethnic networks and urban migration to Abuja.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 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.

Consulting:

- National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, the impact of legislative strengthening programs on democracy and human rights (March November 2015).
- International Election Observer, Nigerian Elections, National Democratic Institute (2015).
- Freedom House consultant on Africa for *Freedom in the World* (December 2011, 2012).
- Constitutional Design and Conflict Management, Project of the University of Texas at Austin's Climate Change and African Political Stability (May 2011).
- U.S. State Department Antiterrorism Assistance Program, Senior Crisis Management Seminar, curriculum development advisory group (2007 2009).
- Researcher, "Transaction Costs in Transitional Democracies," Kaare Strøm and the International Peace Research Institute (2005).
- Carter Center/National Democratic Institute Pre-Election Mission to Nigeria (2002).

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- Paper, "How Federalism Fuels Party Competition in Nigeria: Reciprocal Retaliation and Local Linkage," Western Political Science Association (March 2015)
- Paper, "Nigeria's Parallel Institutionalism," African Studies Association (November 2014)
- Panelist, "U.S. and other Foreign Interventions," African Studies Association (November 2014)
- Chair, "Neopatrimonialism Revisited," African Studies Association (November 2014)
- Paper (with Todd Eisenstadt), "How Participatory Deliberation on New Constitutions Advances Democratization," American Political Science Association (August 2014)
- Paper, "The Gap From Parchment to Practice: Ambivalent Effects of Constitutions in Latin America and Beyond," Latin American Studies Association (May 2014)
- Paper, "Nigeria's Parallel Institutionalism," Midwest Political Science Association (April 2014)
- Paper, "Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria," African Studies Association (November 2013)
- Paper, "Africa's Cumbersome Cabinets," African Studies Association (November 2013)
- Panelist, "Between Parchment and Practice: The Impact of Constitutional Changes since 1990," African Studies Association (November 2012)
- Panelist, "Foreign Policy towards Africa Under the Obama Administration," African Studies Association (November 2012)
- Chair, "State-Society Dynamics of Insurgency," African Studies Association (November 2012)
- Paper, "Urban Migration, Economic, Uncertainty, and Ethnic Networks in Suburban Abuja," International Studies Association (April 2012)
- Moderator, "Common Challenges for a Diverse Region," African Ambassadors Roundtable, African Studies Association (2011).
- Panelist, "National Security Funding for African Studies," African Studies Association Board Sponsored Panel (2011)

- Panelist, "Rethinking Counterterrorism in the Sahel," African Studies Association (2011)
- Discussant, "Citizen Representation in Autocracies," African Studies Association (2011)
- Paper, "Commitment or Coordination? Collective Goods and Madisonian Dilemmas in Nigeria, 1960 2007," Midwest Political Science Association (2011)
- Chair, "Resistance to Democratization," Midwest Political Science Association (2011)
- Paper, "Authoritarian Policy Processes and Performance," African Studies Association (2010)
- Discussant, "Legislative Challenges in Africa," American Political Science Association (2010)
- Paper, "The Economic Consequences of Africa's Cumbersome Cabinets," Midwest Political Science Association (2010)
- Roundtable, "Teaching African Politics," African Studies Association (2009)
- Paper, "Inclusive Governance in Africa's Democratizing Countries," American Political Science Association (2009)
- Paper, "The Consequences of Political Inclusion in Africa, 1990 2008," International Studies Association (2009)
- Discussant, "Constitutionalism and Legal Reforms in Africa An Institutional Fix?" African Studies Association (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 (November 2007)
- Paper, "Paradoxes of Power Sharing," African Studies Association (November 2006)
- Paper, "A Multi-Regime Analysis of Preferences, Political Institutions, and Performance," American Political Science Association (August 2006)
- Chair, "Challenges to Democratic Consolidation in Africa," Midwest Political Science Association (April 2006)
- Discussant, "Political Participation and Subnational Loyalties in Africa," Midwest Political Science Association (April 2006)
- "When More is Less: Political Coalitions and Government Performance," presentation at the International Studies Association (April 2006)
- Paper, "Does Democracy Deliver?" African Studies Association (November 2005)
- Paper, "Dictators, Democrats, and Political Coalitions," Working Group on African Political Economy (May 2005 and October 2005)
- Paper, "Dictators, Democrats and Political Coalitions," Midwest Political Science Association (April 2005)
- "Decentralization, Local Government, and Federalism," panel chair and discussant, Midwest Political Science Association (April 2005)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND INVITED PRESENTATIONS

- Lecture, "Boko Haram and Counter-insurgency under the new administration," Naval Postgraduate School / Joint Foreign Area Officers (June 2015)
- Roundtable, "Nigeria's New Administration: Implications for Peace and Economic

Prosperity," International Development Institute (May 2015)

- Roundtable, "Nigeria Post-Election Challenges and Critical Issues for Africa's Electorate," Gallup and FEEEDS Africa (April 2015)
- Roundtable, "Nigeria's Outlook 2015: Elections, Economic Growth, and Security," Corporate Council on Africa (January 2015)
- Roundtable, "Dictators and Democracy in African Development," Center for Strategic and International Relations (December 2014)
- Lecture, "Ballets, Bullets, or Boko Haram?" Council on Foreign Relations (October 2014)
- Lecture, "Nigeria's Political History and the 2015 Elections," State Department Foreign Service Institute (October 2014)
- Panelist, Analytic Exchange on Nigeria, National Intelligence Council (September 2014)
- Panelist, "Human Security in Nigeria," Defense Intelligence Agency (September 2014)
- Lecture, "Subnational Politics and Election Preparations in Nigeria," Center for Strategic and International Studies (May 2014)
- Panelist, "Nigeria's 2015 Elections," National Defense University, Washington (May 2014)
- Panelist, "Legislatures and Judiciaries in Africa's Potemkin States," Analytic Exchange, National Intelligence Council and U.S. Department of State (April 2014)
- Panelist, "African State Legislatures," National Endowment for Democracy (March 2014)
- Roundtable on "International Collaborations in Political Science Research," organized by the American Political Science Association (March 2014)
- Invited lecture, "Sectarian Violence in Nigeria and Boko Haram," University of Florida Center for African Studies (March 2014)
- Panelist, "Electoral Violence in Nigeria," U.S. Institute of Peace (December 2013)
- Invited lecture, "Participation's Missing Link? African Constitutionalism in Global Perspective," University of Vermont (November 2013)
- Lecture, "Displacement, Demolitions, and Property Rights in Urbanizing Abuja," Johns Hopkins University (November 2013)
- Panelist, "Surviving the National Security State," Institute for Policy Studies (October 2013)
- Discussant, "Africa as the Last Frontier," Woodrow Wilson Center (August 2013)
- Lecture, "Empirical Trends and Nigeria's Imagined Political Futures," National Intelligence Council, Directorate of Central Intelligence (May 2013)
- Moderator, "The Arms Trade Treaty and Africa," Institute for Policy Studies (May 2013)
- Panelist, "Turmoil in Africa: US Military Response," American University (April 2013)
- Panelist," Making Corruption 'Inconvenient' in Nigeria," conference on Corruption and Accountability at Yale University (February 2013)
- Moderator, "Africom and Human Rights in Africa," AU Human Rights Week (Nov. 2012).
- Lecture, "Post-colonial Political Regimes in West Africa," U.S. State Department Foreign Service Institute (October 2012)
- Roundtable organizer, "Young Voices and New Visions from Africa," Institute for Policy Studies (October 2012)
- Lecture, "African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command," U.S. State Department Foreign Service Institute (July 2012)
- Roundtable organizer, "Gentrification and Economic Development in DC," Institute for Policy Studies (July 2012)
- Lecture, "The Future of Representation in Nigeria," National Intelligence Council and State

Department Analytic Exchange on Nigeria (June 2012)

- Panelist, "The Political Basis for Negotiations with Boko Haram" at conference organized by the Jamestown Foundation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (June 2012)
- Lecture, "Housing Rights, Human Rights, and Property Rights in Abuja," Institute for Policy Studies (May 2012)
- Plenary speaker, "Constitutional Consequences Reconsidered in African Cases of Power-Sharing," International Seminar on Power Sharing, University of Antwerp (May 2012)
- Panelist, "Boko Haram and Unity in Nigeria," Catholic University (April 2012)
- Panelist, "Militarization of Aid to Africa," Ecumenical Advocacy Days (April 2012)
- Co-chair of Local Arrangements Committee for the 2011 African Studies Association Annual Conference
- Panelist, "Constitutional Design and Conflict Management," Univ. of Antwerp (May 2011)
- Guest lecture, "Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Democratization," Georgetown University, African Studies (April 2011)
- Panel moderator, "Africa's New Era: Learning from the Past and Preparing for the Future," Johns Hopkins University (March 2011)
- Panel chair, "Race and International Relations" at American University (November 2010)
- "Explaining African Growth," Maxwell School, Syracuse University (May 2010)
- "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)
- Roundtable, "Internal and Regional Conflicts in Africa: Assumptions and Challenges," Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Department of Defense (2008)
- Paper presentation, "Decentralization and Corruption in Nigeria's Education Sector," Weatherhead Center and African Studies Program, Columbia University (December 2008)
- Chair, "Africa Policy for the Obama Administration," American University (Nov. 2008)
- Moderator, "Tyranny of Oil," American University, broadcast on C-SPAN (October 2008)
- Panelist, State Department's Anti-Terrorism Senior Crisis Management Seminar (June 2008)
- Chaired panel on Darfur at American University, broadcast on C-SPAN (April 2008)
- Chair, "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 2007," Nigerian Peoples Forum (May 2006)
- Moderator, panel discussion on "The National Security State: From the Cold War to Iraq," for members of Congress and staff, Washington, DC (April 2005)
- 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)
- "An Overview of Legislative Oversight," testimony before the House Committee on Public Accounts, National Assembly, Abuja, Nigeria (August 2000)
- "Economic Sanctions on Iraq," presentation for a congressional staff briefing (July 1998)
- Member, Steering Committee, Congressional Progressive Caucus (1997 1999)
- Congressional delegation to Argentina with Council on Hemispheric Affairs (June 1999)
- Congressional staff delegation to Morocco with Council on US-Arab Relations (Nov. 1998)
- Congressional staff delegation to Taiwan, Republic of China (April 1998)
- Congressional staff delegation to Germany with the Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (Nov. 1995)

EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

- American Political Science Association Africa Workshop Alumni Publication Grant, Co-Principal with Joseph O. Fashagba on "State Legislatures in Africa," \$7,900 (2013-2014).
- National Endowment for Democracy, Co-Principal with Joseph Oleyinka Fashagba on "State Legislatures in Africa," \$32,750 grant #2013-347 (2013-14)
- Winner of Taylor & Francis Publishing's 2011 Frank Cass Prize for "Best article by a Young Scholar" for the article, "Questioning Tocqueville in Africa," published in *Democratization*
- Co-Principal, "From Parchment to Practice," \$22,000 grant from the Andrew Mellon-Latin American Studies Association Seminars Initiative, grant # ML-03-03 (2012)
- Co-Principal, American Political Science Association Africa Workshop, funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation, \$206,000 (2011)
- USAID, in-kind grant for workshop on "Governance and Development in Africa" (2011)
- U.S. Agency for International Development, in-kind grant for Africa Council two day 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).
- 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)
- Academic Excellence Award, Department of Government, American University (1998)
- Special Honors in Political Science from George Washington University (1992)

INTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

- SIS Dean's Summer Research Grant, "Counting on Contestation: Explaining Opposition Risk and Performance in Nigeria's 2015 Elections," \$7,490 (2015)
- School of International Service Conference Travel Award, \$1,340 (2014)
- Collaborative Research Award (with Profs. Todd Eisenstadt and Robert Albro) for field research and a workshop on comparative constitutionalism, \$15,000 (2013)
- Faculty Research Support Grant for "African State Legislatures" \$6,000 (2013)
- SIS Dean's Summer Research Grant for "From Parchment to Practice: Comparative Constitutionalism in Africa," \$6,100 (2012)
- Curriculum Development Award, "Representation in the Developing World," \$5,000 (2011)
- AU International Faculty Travel Award for research in Nigeria, \$2,000 (2011)

- American University Dean's Research Award, \$2,500 (2011)
- American University Faculty Research Award, \$2,500 (2010)
- AU International Faculty Travel Award for research in Nigeria, \$3,000 (2010)
- 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)
- Mark Twain Fellowship, University of California San Diego (2000-2004)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

PBS NewsHour, *New York Times* video, National Public Radio's Diane Rehm Show, BBC World News, Associated Press, *Washington Post*, Al Jazeera, Al Jazeera-English, *Time* Magazine, Amy Goodman's Democracy Now!, CNN.com, NBC.com, MSNBC.com.

MANUSCRIPT REVIEWER

Cambridge University Press Oxford University Press Am. Journal of Political Science Terrorism & Political Violence Journal of Politics Political Science Quarterly Council on Foreign Relations Am. Political Science Review Journal of Modern Af. Studies African Studies Review African Studies Quarterly Journal of African Elections Nigerian Institute of Legislative Studies Stability: International Journal of Security and Development Journal of Civil Society Journal of Legislative Studies United States Institute of Peace Publius: Journal of Federalism World Development African Journal of Political Science and Int'l Relations International Social Science Review African Affairs Comparative Political Studies Africa Today African Security Review