

## A. CARL LEVAN, PhD

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### CURRENT POSITION

**Associate Professor**, School of International Service, American University (2016 – present)

**Assistant Professor**, School of international Service (2007-20016)

**Instructor**, School of International Service, American University (2006-2007)

Teaching responsibilities include courses on African politics, international and comparative politics, 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.

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Books:

- *Constituents before Assembly: Participation, Deliberation, and Representation in the Worldwide Crafting of New Constitutions*, co-authored with Todd Eisenstadt and Tofigh Maboudi (Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- *Oxford Handbook of Nigerian Politics*, co-edited with Patrick Ukata (forthcoming 2018, Oxford University Press)
- *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).
- *In Democracy's Shadow: the Secret World of National Security*, co-edited with Marcus Raskin (Nation Books, 2005).

#### Book manuscript in progress:

- *The Party's Over: Transition, Terrorism, and Turnover in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*

#### Journal Articles:

- "Reciprocal Retaliation and Local Linkage: Federalism as an Instrument of Opposition Organising in Nigeria," *African Affairs* (forthcoming 2017).
- "Talakawa and Terrorism: Voting Behavior in Nigeria's 2015 Elections" (with Matthew Page and Yoonbin Ha), requested revisions under review.
- "Human Rights and Democratic Wrongs? The Effects of Legislative Capacity Building in Africa" (with Nicholas T. Smith), requested revisions in progress (August 2016).
- "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* 51, 4 (December 2016): 661-90.

- “‘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:

- “Nigeria’s Neo-Biafrans will Push New Rights Claims,” *Oxford Analytica* (July 12, 2017).
- “Nigeria’s ruling party will speed up post- Buhari plans,” *Oxford Analytica* (May 2, 2017).
- Review, *Civil Society, Conflict Resolution and Democracy in Nigeria*, by Darren Kew, *Political Science Quarterly* (forthcoming 2017).
- Review, *Oil Wealth and Insurgency in Nigeria*, by Omolade Adunbi, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (vol. 49, 1, 2016): 154-56.
- “On Africa, will isolationist Trump fight an internationalist Congress?” *The Hill*, Dec. 5, 2016.
- “Donors Dither as Bureaucrats Exploit Nigeria’s Humanitarian Crisis” (with Matthew T. Page) *AllAfrica.com*, October 16, 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.

### **Book Chapters:**

- “Trump the Troublemaker,” in *Trump in Africa*, Abuja: Centre for Democracy and Development (2017).
- “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.*

### **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)

### **RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

#### **Professional Service and Offices:**

- PhD Placement Officer, School of International Service (2017-present)
- Coordinator, Africa Research Cluster, School of International Service (2016-present)
- School of International Service Africa Certificate Coordinator (2014 –16)
- Global and Comparative Governance, SIS Thematic Coordinator (2013 – 2014)
- Editorial board, *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*
- Co-Editor, *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, democratization research for the US Agency for International Development (May – September 2017)
- 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, “Terrorism vs the Economy in Nigeria’s 2015 Elections,” American Political Science Association (August 2017)
- Panel Chair, “State Responses to Boko Haram,” African Studies Association (November 2016)
- Panel Chair, “Human Rights Horizons: Obama’s Legacies and Transnational Advocacy Strategies,” African Studies Association (November 2016)
- Keynote speech, “From Terrorism to Talakawa in Nigeria’s 2015 Election,” Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (September 2016)
- Panelist, “Improving U.S. Anti-corruption Policy in Nigeria,” American University of

Nigeria (September 2016)

- 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)

## **RECENT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PRESENTATIONS**

- Lecture, “The Rational Counterterrorist? Economy and Insecurity in Nigeria’s 2015 Presidential Election,” Africa Conflict Location Event Database conference at Rift Valley Institute (June 2017)
- Lecture, “The Trump Administration’s Turn Against Africa,” ACLED conference (June 2017)
- Lecture, “Africa Board of Experts,” at Leidos (May 2017)
- 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)

#### **EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS**

- American Political Science Association William A. Steiger Fund for Legislative Studies, “Terrorism and Party Turnover in Post-Transition Nigeria,” \$2,500 (2016-17)
- 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**

- International Faculty Travel Award, “Violent Insurgency and Partisan Realignment in Nigeria” \$1,980 (2016)
- 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, *New York Times*, 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*  
*Journal of Civil Society*  
*Journal of Legislative Studies*  
*Nigerian Institute of Legislative Studies*  
*Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*

*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*  
*Democracy and Security*  
*Ethnopolitics*  
*Peace and Conflict Studies*  
*International Areas Studies Review*