

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

**PITA OGABA AGBESE**

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Waterloo, IA 50701  
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### **EDUCATION:**

**Ph.D.** Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, 1984  
Department of Political Science  
Field: International Relations/Comparative Politics

**M.B.A.** Keller Graduate School of Management, Chicago,  
Illinois, 1982

**M.A.** Northwestern University, 1981  
Department of Political Science  
Field: International Relations/Comparative Politics

**Graduate Certificate in African Studies**  
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

**B. Sc.** (First-Class Honors), Political Science  
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 1978  
Department of Political Science

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: ADMINISTRATION**

Director, Center for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPS),  
University of Northern Iowa, 2005-

Associate Director, Center for International Peace and Security Studies  
(CIPS), University of Northern Iowa, 2003-2005

Director of Research and Publications, African Center for Democratic  
Governance, Abuja, Nigeria: January-August, 2005

Acting Head of Department, Department of Political Science, University of  
Northern Iowa, January 1998-August, 1999.

Senior Fellow, Program on Federal and Ethnic Studies, University of Ibadan,  
Nigeria

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: TEACHING: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Northern Iowa,  
August 1998-

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar  
Falls, IA, August 1992-98

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar  
Falls, IA, August 1989-July 1992

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Grinnell College, Grinnell, IA, 1987-  
89

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Kalamazoo College, Summer, 1987

Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Northern  
Iowa, 1986-87

Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Loyola University of Chicago, 1985-86

Instructor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1984

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1981-84

## **INTERNATIONAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Visiting Professor, University of Jos (Jos, Nigeria), 2006-2007

Assistant Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Sokoto (Sokoto, Nigeria), 1979-80

High School Teacher: Ewatto Grammar School, Ewatto, Nigeria, 1978-1979

Elementary School Teacher, St Andrew's Primary School, Lafia, Nigeria, 1973-1974.

## **RECENT PUBLICATIONS**

### **A: Books**

1. The State in Africa: Issues and Perspectives (edited) with George Klay Kieh, Kraft Books, 2008
1. Reconstituting the State in Africa (with G.K. Kieh (eds.)), Palgrave/MacMillan, 2007
2. The Military and Politics in Africa: From Engagement to Democratic and Constitutional Control (edited) with G.K. Kieh, Ashgate, 2004.
3. Ethnicity and Governance in the Third World (edited) with J.Mbaku and M. Kimenyi, Ashgate, 2001

4. The Best is Yet to Come: Portrait of a Scholar-Activist (edited) with Kayode Fayemi, CDD, Lagos, 2002

## **B: Book Chapters**

1. "Traditional Institutions and Governance in Africa: Chiefs, Constitutions and Politics in Nigeria," in Kelechi A. Kalu and Peyi Soyinka-Airewele (eds.), Socio-Political Scaffolding and the Construction of Change: Constitutionalism and Democratic Governance in Africa, Trenton, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 2009
2. "The State and the Environment in Africa," in George Klay Kieh, Jr. and Pita Ogaba Agbese (eds.), The State in Africa: Issues and Perspectives, pp. 185-207.
3. "State Renewal in Africa: The Lessons" (with G.K. Kieh) in Agbese and Kieh (Eds.), Reconstituting the the State in Africa, pp. 279-294
4. "Democratizing States and State Renewal in Africa" (G.K. Kieh) in Agbese and Kieh (eds.), Reconstituting the State in Africa, pp. 3-29.
5. "The Travails of the Post-Colonial State in Africa," (with George K. Kieh) in Kieh and Agbese, (eds.), The State in Africa, pp. 11-31.
6. "Reconstructing the State in Africa: The Lessons," (with George K. Kieh) in Kieh and Agbese (eds.), The State in Africa, pp. 246-269.
7. "Taming the Shrew: Reconfiguring Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria," (with Ike Udogu) in Ike Udogu (ed.), Nigeria in the Twenty-First Century, Ashgate, 2005.
8. "The Military and the Politics of Lustration in Nigeria," in Constantine P. Danopoulos, Dharendra Vajpeyi and Amir Bar-or (eds.), Civil-Military Relations, Nation-Building, and National Identity: Comparative Perspectives, Westport, Praeger, 2004, pp.129-152.

9. "Nigeria: How to Derail a Transition" in John Mbaku and Julius Ihonvbere (eds.), Democracy and Political Change: Constraints to Democratization in Africa, Africa World Press, 2006, pp. 127-155
10. "Military Rule and Sociopolitical Crises in Nigeria" in G. Kieh and I. Mukenge (eds.), Zones of Conflict in Africa, Praeger, 2002, pp. 91-121.
11. "New Patterns of Civil-Military Relations in Africa," Preparing Africa for the Twenty-First Century in John Mbaku (ed.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
12. "Hometown Associations and Conflict Management: The Experience of the Agila Development Association," in Rex Honey and Stanley I. Okafor (eds.), Hometown Associations: Indigenous Knowledge and Development in Nigeria (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1998) pp. 75-88.
13. "Nigeria: How to Derail a Transition Program," in John M. Mbaku and Julius Ihonvbere (eds.), Multiparty Democracy and Political Change: Constraints to Democratization in Africa (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 123-149.
14. "Civil-Military Relations in the Adjustment Years," in Inusa Bello-Imam (ed.), Governance in Nigeria: The Adjustment Years, (Ibadan, 1998).
15. "Environmental Challenges Facing Africa: Governmental Response" in Joseph G. Jabbara and Onkar P. Dwivedi (eds.) Governmental Response to Environmental Challenges in Global Perspective, (Oxford: IOS Press, 1998), pp. 63-77.
16. "Nigeria's Environment: Crisis, Consequences and Responses," O. P. Dwivedi and D. K. Vajpeyi (eds.), Environmental Policies in the Third World: A Comparative Analysis (Greenwood, 1995), pp. 125-144.
17. "The State Versus Human Rights Advocates in Africa: The Case of Nigeria," in Eileen McCarthy-Arnolds, David R. Pena, and Debra Joy Cruz Sobrepna (eds.), Africa, Human Rights and the Global System: The Political

Economy of Human Rights in a Changing World, (Greenwood Press), 1994, pp. 147-172.

**18.** ATechnology Transfer or Automobile Imperialism? Some Evidence from Nigeria,@ in D. Vajpeyi and R. Natarajan (eds.), Technology and Development: Public Policy and Managerial Issues (Rawat, 1991), pp. 311-334.

**19.** ANigerian Agricultural Crisis,@ in Sheikh R. Ali (ed.), Third World at the Crossroads (Praeger, 1989), pp. 141-159.

### **Articles in Refereed Journals**

1. AParty Registration and the Subversion of Democracy in Nigeria,@ Issue: A Journal of Opinion, Vol. XXVII/1 1999, pp. 63-66.

2. AEnvironmental Justice: Beyond Ethnic Mobilization@ (with Chris Ogbondah), The International Journal of African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, Spring 1998, pp. 73-90.

3. AEthnic Conflicts and Hometown Associations: An Analysis of the Experience of the Agila Development Association,@ Africa Today Vol. 43, No. 2, April-June, 1996, pp. 139-156.

4. AThe Military as an Obstacle to the Democratization Enterprise: Towards an Agenda for Permanent Military Disengagement from Politics in Nigeria,@ Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 1-2, June, 1996, pp. 82-98.

5. AThe Military and the Crisis of Underdevelopment in Nigeria,@ (with George Klay Kieh) Third World in Perspective, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1996, pp. 35-50.

- 6.** AFrom Politics Back to the Barracks in Nigeria: A Theoretical Exploration,@ (with George K. Kieh), Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 30, No. 4, November 1993, pp. 409-426.
- 7.** AMilitary Disengagement from African Politics: The Nigerian Experience,@ (with George K. Kieh), Afrika Spectrum, No. 1, 1992, pp. 5-23.
- 8.** ASanitizing Democracy in Nigeria,@ TransAfrica Forum, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1992, pp. 41-55.
- 9.** ANigeria: Democratization and the Pathological Elite Thesis,@ (with George K. Kieh), ZAST (Austrian Journal of African Studies), Nos. 15/16, November 1992, pp. 19-35.
- 10.** AThe Autocratic Foundations of Nigeria=s Forthcoming Third Republic,@ Journal of International Studies, No. 28, January 1992, pp. 1-29.
- 11.** AWith Fingers on the Trigger: The Military as Custodian of Democracy in Nigeria,@ Journal of Third World Studies, Vol. IX, No. 2, Fall 1992, pp. 220-253.
- 12.** AMoral Economy and the Expansion of the Privatization Constituency in Nigeria,@ Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Vol. XXX, No. 3, November 1992, pp. 335-337.
- 13.** ADemilitarization and Prospects for Democracy in Nigeria,@ Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol. 22 (3), 1991, pp. 315-327.
- 14.** AThe Demise of Nigeria=s Forthcoming Third Republic,@ Africa Today, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1990, pp. 23-44.
- 15.** AThe Political Economy of Militarization in Nigeria,@ Afrika Spectrum, No. 3, 1990, pp. 293-311.
- 16.** AThe Military and the Privatization of Repression in Nigeria,@ Conflict, Vol. 10, 1990, pp. 239-266.

17. A New Technologies, The South and Technology Transfer,@ (with R. Natarajan), International Journal of Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2, January-April 1989, pp. 25-37.

18. A State, Media and the Imperatives of Repression: An Analysis of the Ban on *Newswatch*,@ International Journal of Third World Studies and Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1989, pp. 325-334.

19. A The U.S. Press and Political Change in the Third World: The Coverage of Military Coups,@ (with Chris W. Ogbondah), Political Communication and Persuasion, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1988, pp. 33-47.

20. A Defense Expenditures and Private Capital Accumulation in Nigeria,@ Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 3/4, 1988, pp. 270-286.

## **A: RECENT MAJOR EXTERNAL GRANTS**

### **1.**

**Funding Organization: The Ford Foundation**

**Amount-Funded: \$750,000**

**Project-Funded: The African State, 2004:** This two-year project was designed to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the political economy of the state in Africa. It was structured around several thematic issues such as democratization, ethnic relations, corruption, religious violence, national security, and environmental justice. Drawing on these themes, case studies of several African countries were undertaken. I was a co-author (with George Kieh) of the grant and I served as a co-principal investigator (with George Kieh).

### **2**

**Funding Organization: The Ford Foundation**

**Amount-Funded: \$440,000**



**Project Funded: The Military Question in West Africa (1999)** This project examined the dynamics, processes and ramifications of military rule in West Africa. Drawing on the experience of military rule in West Africa where fifteen out of the sixteen states in the region have had military rule, the project analyzed the socio-economic and political contexts of military interventions in politics and examined the ramifications and consequences of prolonged military rule on Africa. I was the co-author and co-principal investigator (with George Kieh) on the project.

**3.**

**Funding Organization: The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation**

**Amount-Funded: \$50,000**

**Project Funded: Crisis and Conflicts in the Niger Delta: Options for Long-term Solutions (1999):** The project sought to contribute to the national debate in Nigeria over the volatile oil-producing region of the country's Niger-Delta by proposing several long-term solutions. The solutions proffered by the project were informed by exhaustive field-research conducted by my co-investigators (Chris Ogbondah, Bolanle Wahab, Femi Olokeosusi, F. M. Roberts and Ebere Onwudiwe) and me. I was the co-author of the grant and a co-leading investigator.

**4**

**Funding Organization: University of Wisconsin, Madison,**

**Amount-Funded: \$750**

**Project Funded: Acquisition of pedagogical materials for a course on Africa (April 2000).**

**5.**

**Funding Organization: The Ford Foundation**

**Amount-Funded: \$250,000**

**Project-Funded: Government Policies, Constitutions and Ethnic Relations in Africa (1998).** This major international grant which I wrote and whose research I directed, analyzed the consequences of government policies and constitutional provisions on ethnic relations in Africa. I brought together leading researchers on various aspects of the continent's ethnic relations to conduct field-work on ethnic relations in twenty-five African countries.

**6.**

**Funding Organization: The Ford Foundation**

**Amount-Funded: \$60,000**

**Project-Funded: Ethnicity and Governance in the Third World (1998):** Drawing on cases from Asia, Africa, South America, the Middle-East and Central America, the project analyzed the impact of governance styles on the dynamics of ethnic relations. I co-wrote and co-directed the project with M. Kimenyi and Prof. John Mbaku, the Eccles Professor of Economics, at Weber State University, Utah.

**7.**

**Funding Organization: US Agency for International Development (USAID)**

**Amount-Funded: \$975,000**

**Project: The Iowa-Nigeria University Linkage Program:** This project was designed to establish academic linkages between the four largest institutions of higher education in Iowa (the University of Iowa, Iowa State University, the University of Northern Iowa, and the Des Moines Community College) and four corresponding institutions (the University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University, the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, and the Ibadan Polytechnic). I was part of the UNI team that participated with colleagues from UI, DMACC,

and Iowa State to write the grant proposal. I participated very actively in every facet of the project including making three trips to Nigeria, hosting participating colleagues from Nigeria, and initiating new research projects as a logical follow-up to the original project. This project is a model on how several institutions of diverse backgrounds and resources can successfully collaborate to achieve common objectives.

### **MOST RECENT INTERNAL (UNI) GRANTS**

**1. CSBS Dean's Challenge Grant** (March 2010): A grant awarded to me to enable me write and submit a grant proposal on **The Evolving Africa/US security Partnership** to grant-funding agencies.

**Amount: \$3000**

**2. Summer Research Grant on The Durability of Stability in the Aftermath of Insurgencies**

**3. PDL (2005)**

### **INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS**

**1. Wisconsin WIOC, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Seminar for College Teachers (Teaching Ethnicity), 1997.**

**2. Academic Council on the United Nations' System (ACUNS), International Seminar on the United Nations, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1993.**

3. National Endowment for Humanities (NEH), Summer Seminar for College Teachers, The Graduate College, City University of New York, 1989, **Power and Class in Africa**

### **OTHER AWARDS**

1. Board of Regents, State of Iowa, **Award for Faculty Excellence, 2004.**

2. Network Nigeria, **Excellence and Leadership Award in Education, 1994**

3. African Studies and Research Forum: ASFR Award for Academic Excellence, 1999, 2001 and 2003.

### **PAPER PRESENTATIONS: INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCES**

1. "Violence, Citizenship and the Indigene/Settler Imbroglio in Nigeria," **International Conference on the Territorial Origins of Africa's Civil Conflicts**, University of Kwazulu-Natal, **South Africa**, January 2010

2. "The Dynamics of US Threat Perceptions in West Africa," **International Conference on West Africa and the US War on Terrorism**, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, November, 2009

3. "Farewell to Military Rule? Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria Since 1999," **Annual Conference of Association of Third World Studies**, University of Cape Coast, **Ghana**, November, 2009

4. "Oil and Politics in Nigeria," **Nigerian Oil and Gas Conference**, London, **England**, 2005

5. "Independent Commissions and the 1999 Nigerian Constitution@ Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reforms, Lagos, **Nigeria**, May 18, 2000
5. "The Political Economy of the African State, Conference on Beyond State Collapse and State Failure: Making the State Relevant in Africa, Monrovia, **Liberia**, March, 2000
6. "The Resolution of the National Question: The Case of Ethiopia and Eritrea,@ Conference on the National Question and the 1999 Constitution,@ Center for Democracy and Demilitarization, Lagos, **Nigeria**, January 2000
7. "Obasanjo and the Military Question in Nigeria,@ Annual Meeting of the Association of Third World Studies, San Jose, **Costa Rica**, November, 1999
8. "Constitutions, Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Africa,@ Annual Conference of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacifici, Perth, **Australia**, November, 1999
9. "Racism and Ethnic Conflicts as Causes of Refugee Flows," Conference of Experts on Racism and Refugee Flows, United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, Geneva, **Switzerland**, December 1999
10. "Ethnic Minorities & Nigerian Federalism,@ Conference on New Directions in Federalism in Africa, African Center for Democratic Governance, Abuja, **Nigeria**, March, 1999.
11. "Conflicts and the Hometown Association: The Experience of the ADA,@ University of Ibadan, **Nigeria**, January 1995.

12. "The International Environment, Structural Adjustment Programs and Repression in Africa," at the Social Science Research Council's Workshop on Structural Adjustment and the Prospects for Peace in Africa, Toronto, **Canada**, 1990.

13. "Hometown Associations: Evidence From the Middle Belt" @ African Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, November 1998.

13. "The Politics of Ikonvberism" @ Annual Conference of the Association of Third World Studies, Durham, North Carolina, October 1998.

15. "Africa in the 21st Century," Annual Conference of the Association of Third World Studies, Hartford, Connecticut, October 1997.

16. "The Changing Basis of State Creation in Nigeria," @ Conference on Nigerian Federalism, Center for African Studies, Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, May 1997.

17. "Democratization in Nigeria: Strategies for Pro-Democracy Forces," @ Annual Conference of the African Studies Association (ASA), San Francisco, California, November 1996.

18. "Civil-Military Relations in Africa: A Post-Cold War Perspective," @ Annual Conference of the Association of Third World Studies, Montgomery, Alabama, October 1996.

19. "Ethnic Conflicts and Hometown Associations: The Case of the Agila Development Association," @ Annual Conference of the African Studies Association (ASA), Orlando, Florida, November 1995.

20. "Civil Society and Democratization in Nigeria," @ Annual Conference of the Association of Third World Studies, Jacksonville, Florida, October 1995.

21. "The State and Multinational Oil Companies Versus Peasants: The Struggle Against Environmental Pollution in Nigeria,@ International Studies Association (ISA) Conference, Washington, D.C., April 1995.

22. "Military Rule and the Electoral Process: The Annulment of the June 1993 Presidential Election in Nigeria,@ Annual Conference of the Association of Third World Studies, Williamsburg, Virginia, October 1994.

23. "Autocratic Rule and Threats to Peace and Security in West Africa,@ at the Social Science Research Council=s Workshop on Democratization and Security in Africa, University of Texas at Austin, November 1994.

24. "Something Happened on the Road to Democracy: Military-Press Relations in Nigeria," (with Chris Ogbondah), Annual Conference of the Association of Educators of Journalism and Mass Communications (AEJMC), Kansas City, Kansas, August 1993.

25. "Images of Liberation in the African Novel: A Critical analysis of Achebe=s *Anthills of the Savannah* and Ngugi=s *Petals of Blood*, National Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska, 1993.

26. "Elite Factionalism and the Politics of Privatization in Nigeria,@ National Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska, 1992.

27. "The State Versus Human Rights Advocates in Nigeria,@ Conference on Africa and Global Human Rights, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, May 1992.

28. "The Press and Authoritarian Regimes: A Critical Analysis of Public Reactions to Press Control Laws in Nigeria,@ (with Chris Ogbondah),

Annual Conference: Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communications (AEJMC), Minneapolis, Minnesota, August 1990.

29. “The Changing Roles of the Nigerian Military,@ International Studies Association (Midwest) Annual Conference, Iowa City, Iowa, October 1990.

### **DISCUSSANT: INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES**

- 1. Constitutionalism in East Africa, Kampala, Uganda, 2000**
- 2. Constitutionalism in Africa and Eastern Europe, Entebbe, Uganda, January 2002**
- 3. Governance and Constitutionalism, New Delhi, India, 2001**
- 4. Constitutionalism and National Security, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2002**

### **INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANCIES**

**1. DAI, WASHINGTON, DC, Senior Consultant on Trans-Saharan Security Symposium (A US Defense Department/State Department-funded project), Since 2007:** As part of a twelve-person team, I conduct a one week country-specific and a two-week regional seminar on civil-military relations and security threats in West Africa. Participants are drawn from the higher echelons of the region’s security establishments. My duties include the design and presentation of five lecture modules: the role of the armed forces in a democracy; ethnic and religious violence in West Africa; strategies of regional stabilization; the



history of civil-military relations in Africa; and the landscape of governance in contemporary Africa. In 2008, we conducted two training programs in **Nigeria** and three programs in **Ghana**. In 2009, we conducted three training sessions in Nigeria. This year, we have conducted two training programs in **Senegal**. Forthcoming training sessions for the rest of 2010 will take place in **Mali** (June), **Senegal** (July), **Mauritania** (September), **Mali** (October), and **Senegal** (**November**).

**2. United States Air Force Special Operations School, Fort Walton Beach, Florida, Lecturer, African Cultures 2005-2007**

**3. The Ford Foundation, Program Reviewer, 2003-2004:** Evaluation of Program Officer's portfolio on grants on governance and justice. The evaluation entailed several visits to interview grantees and beneficiaries of grant projects in Uganda, Nigeria and Harvard University.

**4. The Yakubu Gowon Center for National Unity and International Cooperation, Senior Grant Consultant, Since 1999:** Writing and submitting grant proposals to funding agencies on behalf of the Center. In 1999, 2000 and 2001, I wrote successful grant applications for projects on Consolidating Democracy in Nigeria, Democratic Stability and Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria, and Parliamentary Oversight of the Armed Forces, respectively. The first project resulted in a major international conference at Abuja, Nigeria and the key-note at the conference was former President Jimmy Carter. The then Nigerian president, Olusegun Obasanjo, and several other former presidents (General Yakubu Gowon, Chief Ernest Shonekan) also attended the conference.

**5. African Center for Democratic Governance, Abuja, Director of Research and Publications:** In 2005, the Center, based on a grant proposal that I wrote, participated in a very competitive bidding process to organize a series of conferences and training sessions for Nigerian

state legislators on the role of the legislature on human rights. The project was funded by the **European Union**.

**6. Center for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization, Lagos, Nigeria, Senior Trainer, Training on the Role of Civil Society in a Democracy**

**7. National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), Consultant on Photographic Documentation of Disasters, Since 2009.** In March 2010, I conducted a comprehensive training workshop for twelve officials of the Agency on how to use digital cameras to capture and document disasters.

8. The Damina School, The Aminu Kano Center, Kano, Nigeria: Conducted a training session on civil-military relations for graduate students drawn from various Nigerian universities, 2000

**9. Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1998: Rapporteur at the Conference on Stability in Nigeria.**

**10. Iowa Peace Institute, Grinnell, Iowa, 1987-1999: Consultant on peace and security in Africa.**

## REFEREES

Prof. George Klay Kieh,  
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University of West Georgia,  
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