

CURRICULUM VITAE

Clay Ramsay
Program on Public Consultation
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Washington DC, 20036
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EDUCATION

EDUCATION:

1976-89 Stanford University Ph.D. in history
Major: Modern Europe Minor: Medieval Europe
Supporting Field: Psychology
Dissertation advisor: Prof. Carolyn Lougee
Second reader: Prof. Peter Paret

1980-81 Université de Paris I (advanced research seminar, Prof. Albert Soboul); Archives Nationales; Archives départementales de l'Aisne; Archives départementales de L'Oise. London: Public Record Office, British Library.

1978-79 Research in Archives Nationales, Archives départementales de l'Aisne

1971-75 University of California at Santa Cruz B.A. in history (highest honors)

TEACHING:

2018 University of Maryland
Instructor. Taught Global Issues (BSGC 102), in the place of Prof. Virginia Haufler. This is a first-year course required for students in the Global Communities living-and-learning program. There were 71 students and a teaching assistant was provided. It is in effect an introduction to world policy problems, taught from a globalization perspective. Topics included pandemics, transnational crime, official corruption, nuclear non-proliferation and several others

1988-90 Oberlin College
Visiting instructor/assistant professor. Courses: Western Civilization I and II (full year); Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe; Religion in France (seminar); Pre-Modern Europe Through its Literature (seminar); the French Revolution (seminar)

1982 Stanford University
Teaching assistant: Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe (Prof. Peter Paret)

1978 Stanford University
Teaching assistant: Modern France (Prof. Gordon Wright)

AWARDS AND HONORS

1990-91 American Council of Learned Societies Fellow
1990 Research Grant-in-Aid, Oberlin College
1980-81 Whiting Fellow in the Humanities
1976-79 Stanford University Graduate Fellowship
1975 Highest honors in history (undergraduate), University of California at Santa Cruz

RESEARCH POSITIONS:

May 1999 – March 2017: Research Director, Program for Public Consultation (previously PIPA), School of Public Policy, Univ. Maryland. Senior Research Scholar, CISSM. Responsible for supervising content, execution and reporting of over 271 survey modules, managing work of 3-6 junior staff.

May 99 – Mar 17: Research Director, Program for Public Consultation, School of Public Policy, Univ. Maryland. Responsible for supervising content, execution and reporting of over 271 survey modules, managing work of 3-6 junior staff.

--Steered collaboration with the World Bank on a 15-nation survey on attitudes toward climate change, the first to specifically target developing countries. Oversaw questionnaire development, relationships with national partners, wrote final report to satisfaction of Bank representatives

--Worked closely with director on 27-country survey for the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: provided content and historical background to questionnaire; oversaw translation and testing with national partners, analysis; wrote final report

--Managed survey of seven Muslim countries on attitudes toward terrorism, US military presence, and the West in general, for the START research consortium sponsored by Dept. of Homeland Security, organizing question input from 8 other researchers

--Developed cycle of six surveys on the full spectrum of government spending (discretionary budget, defense budget, Social Security, Medicare, poverty-related spending, and energy/environment policy). Steered vetting of each survey by Congressional staffers, both houses, both sides of aisle

--Conducted repeated pairs of international polls on conflict issues: Iranians and Americans; Israelis and Palestinians; Iraqis and Americans. Also surveyed in Afghanistan and Pakistan

--Conducted surveys of Americans to measure perceptions in subject areas high in misinformation: foreign aid, Iraqi WMD, US use of torture, origin and outcomes of 2008 financial crisis. Correlated these with respondents' preferred sources of news and information

--Gave 80+ media interviews and public presentations on the Program's work

Apr 94 - May 99: Senior research fellow, Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA), School of Public Policy, Univ. Maryland. Responsible for background research, contributing to questionnaire development, and writing report texts for 18 major surveys

--As one of three founders of the program, closely involved in setting out its original form, messages, emphasis

--Developed, executed and wrote reports that strongly influenced the evolution of the Clinton administration's foreign policy, specifically:

- On American public willingness to have the US intervene in the Bosnia conflict and genocide
- On US public misperceptions re the size of US aid, and its support for a program that is actually 1% (not 10 or 20%!) of the federal budget
- On the US public's view that any new international trade agreement should include specific provisions on labor standards and the environment

TEACHING POSITIONS:

2018 University of Maryland
Instructor: course for the Global Communities living and learning program, "Global Issues"
(BSGC 102)

Prior to 1994 I was an historian of early modern and modern European history. (History publications begin on p. 9.)

1988-90 Oberlin College
Visiting assistant professor

PUBLICATIONS:

On Public Attitudes and International Affairs

(With Ebrahim Mohseni and Nancy Gallagher): "Iranian Public Opinion After the Protests," University of Maryland School of Public Policy, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, July 2018.

"And After Decertifying the Iran Deal?" University of Maryland School of Public Policy, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, October 18, 2017. In "The Bear and the Eagle" (blog): <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/and-after-decertifying-iran-deal>

(With Ebrahim Mohseni and Nancy Gallagher): "Iranian Public Opinion, One Year After the Nuclear Deal," University of Maryland School of Public Policy, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, July 2016.

(from the same series, same co-authors:) "Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Agreement," September 2015. --"Iranian Attitudes on Nuclear Negotiations: a public opinion study," September 2014.

"Iran's Nuclear Negotiations: Assessing the Anomaly of Success," Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, January 22, 2015. <https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/irans-nuclear-negotiations-assessing-the-anomaly-of-success>

"On Public Option, Public is Ahead of the Politicians," Baltimore Sun, October 27, 2009. Last retrieved: http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2009-10-27/news/0910260045_1_public-option-insurance-option-public-insurance

(With Angela Stephens:) "Among Key Iraq Partners, Weak Public Support for Troop Presence." Program on International Policy Attitudes website (www.pipa.org, currently on homepage), November 2005.

"In Search of European Anti-Americanism," in *The Media-Public Opinion-Policy Nexus in German-American Relations*, Karin Johnston ed., American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 2005. Also available at www.aicgs.org/Publications/PDF/25628_AICGS_GAI5_FINAL.pdf.

"French Divided Over EU Constitution: Support for EU Strong, But Little Enthusiasm for its Institutions," Program on International Policy Attitudes website (www.pipa.org), May 20, 2005.

"Understanding the 'Hall of Mirrors': Assumed Representation in the Congressional Foreign Policy Process." Paper delivered at the Midwest Political Science Association 2005 conference, Chicago, panel on Foreign Policy Opinions, April 8, 2005.

On Public Attitudes and International Affairs (coauthor with Steven Kull)

(And with Evan Lewis): "The Media, Misperceptions, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly*, winter 2004, vol. 118, pp. 569-598.

"U.S. Public Opinion on Intervention in Bosnia," in Richard Sobel and Eric Shiraev (eds.), *International Public Opinion and the Bosnia Crisis* (Lexington Books: Lanham, 2003).

"How Policymakers Misperceive U.S. Public Opinion on Foreign Policy," Fay Lomax Cook and Jeff Manza, eds., *Navigating Public Opinion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

"The Myth of the Reactive Public: American Public Attitudes on Military Fatalities In the Post-Cold War Period," in Philip Everts and Pierangelo Isernia (eds.), *Public Opinion and the International Use of Force*, (Routledge: London, 2001).

(And with Phillip Warf:) "The Myth of American Rejectionism" *Global Dialogue*, Spring 2000, Vol. 2, Num. 2 p. 87.

"Elite Misperceptions of U.S. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy" in Philip Everts and Pierangelo Isernia (eds.), *Decision Making in a Glass House* p. 95.

"Challenging U.S. Policymakers' Image of an Isolationist Public," *International Studies Perspectives*, (2000) Vol. 1, p. 105-117.

"Americans Support Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Service Journal*, December 1998, pp. 34-40.

"Klares Votum für die kollektive Sicherheit: Amerikaner zur NATO-Öffnung nach Osten," *Information für die Truppe*, October 1998, pp. 40-41.

(And with I.M. Destler:) "The Foreign Policy Gap," (summary) *The Polling Report*, Vol. 13, No. 24, December 22, 1997, pp. 1,7-8.

(And with I.M. Destler:) *The Foreign Policy Gap, How Policymakers Misread the Public*, (College Park, MD: Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland) October 1997.

"Public Support for US Action in Haiti Appears Malleable," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 1, 1994.

"Public Seeks Sense of Purpose in US Bosnia Policy," *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 22, 1994.

"Public Attitudes on Bosnia," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 9, 1993.

"Americans and the World" Website: www.americans-world.org

Maintained by the Program on International Policy Attitudes since July 2001. All reports on public attitudes are co-authored and updated by Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Phillip Warf. Reports currently include:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| U.S. Relations with China | Biotechnology |
| United Nations | Population |
| Africa | Global Warming |
| Russia | Terrorism |
| Israel and the Palestinians | Human Rights |
| Globalization | Women's International Issues |

Reports of the Program on International Policy Attitudes (coauthor with Steven Kull)

U.S. Public Attitudes on U.S. Involvement in Haiti (August 22, 1994)

U.S. Public Attitudes on U.S. Involvement in Bosnia (May 4, 1994)

U.S. Public Attitudes on U.N. Peacekeeping: Part I, Funding (March 7, 1994)

U.S. Public Attitudes on Involvement in Somalia (October 26, 1993)

U.S. Public Opinion on Intervention in Bosnia (May 15, 1993)

Written Expert Testimony

September 2010-- For **U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York, in Linde, et al. v. Arab Bank, PLC.** Assessment of survey evidence regarding the awareness, knowledge, and attitudes of the general population in Jordan and Palestine to attacks on civilians in Israel during the Second Intifada

Talks and Interviews Given for the Program on International Attitudes, 1999-2013 (forward chronological order)

November 30, 1999-- **Antenne 2 (Paris)**, interview (in French) following release of “Americans on Globalization” survey

Presentation: September 21, 2000--Africa-America Institute’s “Africa Thursday” Congressional Discussion Series, Washington D.C., re US public attitudes toward Africa

October 7, 2003 **New Hampshire Public Radio**, interview with Arnie Arneson (2:15-2:30)

October 9, 2003 **WPHT** (Philadelphia), interview on the “The Big Talk”

October 9, 2003 **Pacifica** (national, 94 affiliates), interview with Amy Goodman on “Democracy Now!” (8:55-9:00 AM)

December 10, 2003 **Channel 8 News**, Clay Ramsay and Steven Kull interview

January 28, 2004 **Radio Left (national)**, Clay Ramsay and Steven Kull interview

February 16, 2004 **WGVN** (Grand Rapids, MI PR), interview

May 4, 2004 **XM Radio**, interview with Dana Carter

June 1, 2004 **XM Radio**, interview on “The Power”

June 11, 2004 **BBC Radio Francophone Africa**, interview

August 27, 2004 **WRRL Radio (NYC)**, interview on climate change

September 22, 2004 **Florida Keys Radio** interview with Monica Stanny on 35-nation poll re US election

November 3, 2004 **der Tagesspiegel**, interview re US Election

January 18, 2005 **BBC Francophone Service**, interview

August 10, 2005 **BBC Radio**, interview on Iraq and US foreign policy

August 18, 2005 **BBC Radio**, interview on Iraq and US foreign policy

September 30, 2005 **La Presse (Montreal)**, interview with Alexandre Sirois on Chicago Council democracy study

September 30, 2005 **Le Point (Paris, news magazine)** interview with Emmanuel Saint-Martin/Roman Guibert on Chicago Council democracy study

October 5, 2005 **Mainstream Media Louisiana Live**, interview re Hurricane Katrina and public opinion

October 7, 2005 **Mainstream Media WHON AM** (Richmond, IN), interview re public response to war and reconstruction in Iraq²¹

October 8, 2005 **Mainstream Media KPOO FM** San Francisco, “Wake Up Everybody,” interview re Public Attitudes on US Policy toward Iraq

October 10, 2005 **Mainstream Media KBMS AM**, Portland, OR, “Community Potpourri” interview re Public Attitudes on US Policy toward Iraq

October 13, 2005 **Mainstream Media WGOW** Chattanooga, TN, “Free Radio Every Day” interview re Public Attitudes on US Policy toward Iraq

October 17, 2005 **Mainstream Media KSFR FM**, Santa Fe, NM, interview with Clay Ramsay re public response to war and reconstruction in Iraq

October 18, 2005 **Mainstream Media WEAA FM**, Baltimore, MD “The Morning Journey” interview re public opinion on current Bush Administration policies

October 18, 2005 **Mainstream Media WNSV FM**, Nashville, IL interview re public response to the war and reconstruction in Iraq

October 20, 2005 **Mainstream Media “American AM”** (Tampa Bay, FL) interview re public opinion on US policy toward Iraq

October 20, 2005 **Mainstream Media WKIZ** (Key West, FL), interview with Clay Ramsay re public opinion on US policy toward Iraq

October 27, 2005 **Mainstream Media KAOS** (Olympia, WA) interview re public opinion on US policy toward Iraq

Presentation: October 28, 2005-- American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Washington DC, re “Residual Strengths of the U.S. in European Public Opinion.” (Closed conference on public diplomacy; the ranking foreign service officers for public diplomacy at the US Embassy, Berlin, and the German Embassy, Washington, were present.)

October 31, 2005 **Mainstream Media WGCV AM** (Columbia, SC), interview with Clay Ramsay re public response to the war and reconstruction in Iraq

November 3, 2005 **Mainstream Media WOON AM** (Woonsocket, RI), interview with Clay Ramsay re public response to the war and reconstruction in Iraq

November 25, 2005 **Mainstream Media KZZZ** (Bullhead City, AZ), interview re public response to the war and reconstruction in Iraq

February 1, 2006 – **CKNW Vancouver “Nightline B.C.”**, interview re survey of Iraqis

February 2, 2006 – **BBC World Service “Focus on Africa”**, interview re US public attitudes on Africa

Presentation: April 20, 2006 – panelist at Environmental and Energy Studies Institute (EESI) Congressional Briefing: “Do Americans Believe Climate Change is Real? Do They Think the United States Should Do Something About It?”

Presentation: May 2, 2006 – luncheon presentation at board meeting of EESI on climate change

Presentation: August 16, 2006 – National Council of State Legislatures annual conference in Nashville, TN, re public attitudes towards the Millennium Development Goals, foreign aid, and the UN 17

Presentation: August 19, 2006 – annual board retreat of Education for Peace in Iraq (EPIC), re American and Iraqi public attitudes about Iraq’s situation

Presentation: September 14, 2006 – Provisions Library re world attitudes about the US and political cartoons

September 14, 2006 **Global Journalist (syndicated)**, radio interview on world attitudes and the fifth anniversary of 9/11

September 28, 2006 **WBAI Pacifica Radio**, interview re survey of Iraqis

October 10, 2006 **WOON (Woonsocket, RI)** interview re survey of Iraqis

November 7, 2006 **BBC Radio (UK broadcast)**, interview re US congressional election

January 23, 2007 **WBAI Pacifica Radio**, Clay Ramsay interview on BBC poll of perceptions of the US

January 29th, 2007 **Minneapolis Star Tribune**, interview with Eric Black, blogger of the State Tribune's "The Big Question"

February 1, 2007 **News 92.3 KTAR Radio**, the Pat McMahon Show, interview re Iran and BBC poll

March 30, 2007 **KGNU Boulder, CO 88.5 FM**, interviewed by Joel Eelstien, host of "Connections" show

Presentation: April 17, 2007 –membership meeting of the Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities, re US public opinion on budget priorities

Presentation: May 9, 2007—Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program conference titled "Trade and Economic Development," with Stephen Weber

May 17, 2007— **Islam Channel's** "Ummah Talk" internet broadcast show, interviewed by Basharat Ali

Presentation: June 25, 2007—annual conference of the START consortium at the University of Maryland re findings of the 2007 Muslim Public Opinion study

July 30, 2007—**Quality News Network**, "America Back on Track," interview re public opinion in general.

August 31, 2007—**TF1 (Paris)**, interviewed by Guillaume Debré re US public opinion of the war in Iraq

Presentation: September 8, 2007-- Reuniting America conference, re the US-Iran relationship

Presentation: September 10, 2007, "Evidence-based Counterterrorism Policy" a congressional briefing sponsored by George Mason University: "Muslim Public Opinion on the US Military in Counter-Terrorism Interventions"

October 11, 2007: **WHON AM**, Richmond, IN, interview re "Is Iran the Next Iraq?"

October 11, 2007: **KSFR FM**, Santa Fe, NM interview re "Is Iran the Next Iraq?"

Presentation: October 31, 2007-- the Evergreen Society in Rockville, MD, re "What is World Public Opinion?"

Presentation: November 6, 2007-- Washington International Trade Association (WITA), "What Does the Public Hear When Policymakers Talk About Trade?"

November 1, 2007: **KPSI** (ABC affiliate), Palm Springs, CA, interviewed by Stan Lane re survey of Pakistanis

Presentation: January 7, 2008-- US Institute of Peace, re survey of Pakistanis

January 7, 2008-- Voice of America, South Asia Service, interview re survey of Pakistanis 25

Presentation: January 25, 2007--Clay Ramsay, Steve Kull and Christine Fair present findings of the Pakistani public opinion poll to Congressional staffers on Capitol Hill

January 25, 2008: **Radio Islam**, Chicago, interviewed re survey of Pakistanis

Presentation: February 1, 2008— Berkeley City College, re “What Is World Public Opinion?”

May 20, 2008— **WFLA**, Tallahassee, FL, interview re world public opinion on the US role in the world

June 19, 2008— **Al Hurra television**, Steven Kull and Clay Ramsay interviewed re world opinion on world leaders

June 25, 2008— **AntiWar Radio**, Austin TX, interview re world opinion on torture

June 25, 2008— **University Radio Puerto Rico**, interviewed re world opinion on torture

Presentation: July 16, 2008—**Center for Strategic and International Studies** with Steven Kull, Chris Fair and Ambassador Tezi Schaffer; re Indian/Pakistani public opinion

October 13, 2008—**CBS Radio**, interview re US public opinion on socio-economic issues

October 14 and 16, 2008— **Voice of America**, interviews re world opinion on Millennium Development Goals

December 15, 2008— **Voice of America**, interview re world opinion on US bases

March 9, 2009—**Public Radio International**, “The World,” re world opinion on morality of foreign policy

Presentation: June 15, 2009— Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with Yashwant Deshmukh and Colin Irwin: Kashmiri opinion on both sides of the Line of Control

Presentation: July 1, 2009— Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with Christine Fair: Pakistani Public Opinion on the US

July 1, 2009— **BBC Asia** television, interview on survey of Pakistanis

Presentation: September 21, 2011-- Boston College’s Irish Institute program for Irish and Northern Irish political and media professionals, at Georgetown University: “Polling and Political Decisionmaking”

Presentation: April 16, 2013--National Food Policy Conference, for the panel on “Priority Setting in a Time of Reduced Resources,” re public attitudes on food policy and taxation 17

“Americans and the World” Website: content now at www.worldpublicopinion.org

Maintained by the Program on International Policy Attitudes since July 2001, .All reports on public attitudes were co-authored and updated by Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, Evan Lewis, Angela Stephens, and Phillip Warf. Reports currently include:

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| U.S. Relations with China | Biotechnology |
| United Nations | Population |
| Africa | Global Warming |
| Russia | Terrorism |
| Israel and the Palestinians | Human Rights |
| Globalization | Women’s International Issues |

Early Reports of the Program on International Policy Attitudes (coauthor with Steven Kull)

[Note: In PIPA’s first years all reports were collaborations of two people, Steven Kull and myself; from late 1994 on Steven Kull was listed as principal investigator and the writing of reports became a group effort involving more people.]

U.S. Public Attitudes on U.S. Involvement in Haiti (August 22, 1994)
 U.S. Public Attitudes on U.S. Involvement in Bosnia (May 4, 1994)
 U.S. Public Attitudes on U.N. Peacekeeping: Part I, Funding (March 7, 1994)
 U.S. Public Attitudes on Involvement in Somalia (October 26, 1993)
 U.S. Public Opinion on Intervention in Bosnia (May 15, 1993)

Reports on US Public Opinion on Domestic Issues

Note: PIPA also conducted studies of public attitudes on U.S. domestic issues, though foreign policy attitudes remained its central activity. I was a core participant in each phase of the following studies and wrote the report.

Americans on the Federal Budget, March , 2005
Americans on the Federal Budget, August, 2000
Americans on Education, September 2000
Americans on Health Care Reform, July 2000
Americans on the Public's Role in Government Decisionmaking, March 1999
Americans on Poverty and Welfare Reform, October 1994

On European History

The Ideology of the Great Fear: The Soissonnais in 1789 (Johns Hopkins, 1992).

Articles

“L’Europe, atelier de Mably: deux etats du Droit Public de l’Europe, 1746-1764,” in *Colloque Mably: La politique comme science morale*, vol. 1 (Palomar: Bari, Italy, 1995).

“L’Ideologie de la Grande Peur: le cas du Soissonnais,” *Annales historiques de la Revolution francaise*, no. 299 (1995, no. 1, janvier-mars).

“The End of Royal Clemency, 1788-1792: Regendering and Abolition,” in *The Consortium on Revolutionary Europe: Proceedings, 1993* (Florida State University, 1994).

“Law, Order, and the Bankruptcy Commissions of Early Nineteenth Century England” (with Stephen C. Hicks), *The Legal History Review* 55 (1987).

In *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution, 1789-1799* (Greenwood Press: Westport, Conn., 1985), the following articles:

Cambon, Pierre-Joseph
Commission of Twelve
Law of 14 Frimaire
Pache, Nicolas
Santerre, Antoine-Joseph

“La pauvreté dans le Laonnois a la veille de la Revolution,” *Annales historiques compiegnoises: etudes picardes modernes et contemporaines*, no. 16 (Oct.-Dec. 1981).

“Un episode de la Grande Peur dans le Noyonnais: l’attaque du chateau de Fretoy (juillet 1789),” *Annales historiques compiegnoises: etudes picardes modernes et contemporaines*, no. 16 (Oct.-Dec. 1981).

AWARDS AND HONORS

1990-91 American Council of Learned Societies Fellow
1990 Research Grant-in-Aid, Oberlin College
1980-81 Whiting Fellow in the Humanities
1976-79 Stanford University Graduate Fellowship
1975 Highest honors in history (undergraduate), University of California at Santa Cruz

