

June 2015

Vita

**MARK A. TESSLER**

Samuel J. Eldersveld Collegiate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Michigan  
505 South State Street  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1045  
734 615-9149 Fax: 734 764-3522  
E-mail: tessler@umich.edu

**Education**

Northwestern University, Ph.D. in Political Science (1969)  
The University of Tunis, *Certificat* in North African and Islamic Sociology (1964-1965)  
Case-Western Reserve University, B.A. (1963)  
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1961-1962)

**University Teaching**

Courses taught include: Politics and International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa, Politics and International Relations of Developing Areas, Social Science Research Methods, Cross-National Political Analysis, the Arab-Israeli Conflict, International Development and Social Change, Literature and Politics in North Africa, African Politics, International Organization

**Previous Appointments and Administrative Experience**

University of Michigan  
Vice Provost for International Affairs, 2005-2013  
Director, International Institute, 2005-2010  
Director, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, 2003-2004  
University of Arizona  
Professor of Political Science, 1999-2001  
Director, National Resource Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1999-2001  
Interim Chair, Department of Near Eastern Studies, 1999-2001  
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
Professor of Political Science, 1968-1999  
Director, National Resource Center for International Studies, 1991-1999

**Selected Professional Service and Associations**

United States Department of State: recipient of Franklin Fellowship for in-residence collaboration and consultation on public opinion and public diplomacy relating to the Middle East (2014)  
Indiana University Press: General Editor of scholarly book series in Middle East Studies, which presently includes thirty-six titles (1987-present)  
Editorial Boards: *Public Opinion Quarterly* (2008-present); *Middle East Law and Governance* (2013-present), *Israel Studies* (1995-2012); *Journal of North African Studies* (1997-present); Occasional Papers of the *Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research* (1995-present)  
American Political Science Association: International Committee and co-leader of APSA-Middle East and North Africa workshop in Doha and Kuwait (2013-present)  
World Economic Forum: member of the Knowledge Advisory Group, with meetings in Tokyo and Geneva to discuss issues associated with higher education (2012-2013)  
Tufts University: Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies; Board of Directors (2001-2011)  
Georgetown University: Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Academic Council (2006-2011)  
Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris: (Sciences-Po), Paris, France, professeur invité (2010)

Brookings Institution: Saban Center for Middle East Policy; member of Study Group on Arab Democracy and Development (2007-2008)

United Nations Development Programme: reader and consultant for Arab Human Development Report (2006)

Université Panthéon-Assas: (Paris II), Paris, France, professeur invité (2005)

American Institute for Maghrib Studies: (Washington, Tunis, Tangier, Oran): international scholarly society and member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers; Board of Directors (1984-present), President (1995-2004)

Association for Israel Studies: Board of Directors (1985-present), Vice-President (1987-1989), and President (1989-1991)

United States Department of State/United States Information Agency: conduct of workshops and seminars on public opinion research in United Arab Emirates (2004-2008), Bahrain (2003), Oman (2003), the West Bank and Gaza (1997 and 1994) and Madagascar (1996), and consultant on education reform in Senegal (1988)

World Bank: consultant for assessment of education reform in the Middle East and North Africa (1996)

American Academy of Arts and Sciences: member of Study Group for research on Transition to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (1990-1992)

### **Selected Grants and Awards**

#### *Institutional*

- \$295,000 Carnegie Corporation of New York; grant for collaboration and visits to the University of Michigan by Arab social scientists (2013-2015)
- \$4,748,902 Qatar University, Doha; contract with University of Michigan for continuing assistance in the development and expansion of the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute at Qatar University (2013-2018)
- \$750,033 World Leadership Program; grant from the United Arab Emirates to develop and administer an international learning program for students from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, co-PI with Sherman Jackson (2010)
- \$4,748,902 Qatar University, Doha; contract with University of Michigan to assist in establishment and development of the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute at Qatar University (2008-2013)
- \$159,000 Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi; contract with University of Michigan for consulting and training in public opinion research (2004-2005)
- \$215,000 United States Department of State; University Affiliations grant for a partnership between the University of Michigan and the University of Algiers, Algiers, Algeria (2002-2005)
- \$995,262 United States Department of Education; grant through the National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program, to support the University of Arizona Center for Middle Eastern Studies (2000-2003)
- \$400,000 University of Wisconsin-System; grant from the University's Central Investment Fund, to develop programs of instruction and research in international studies involving cooperation between Letters & Science and Business Administration and also involving enhanced collaboration between UW-Milwaukee and UW-Madison (1998-2000)
- \$975,200 United States Department of Education; grant through the National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program, to support the University of Wisconsin Joint Center for International Studies at Milwaukee and Madison (1997-2000)
- \$2,156,000 United States Information Agency and United States Department of Education; twelve grants, eight earned in national competition, to support operations and programs of the American Institute for Maghrib Studies (1996-2004)

\$754,800 United States Department of Education; grant through the National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program, to support the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee/Marquette University Joint Center for International Studies (1994-1997)

\$210,000 Helen Bader Foundation and Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning; grant for Jewish Studies programming at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1996-1999)

\$515,800 United States Department of Education; grant through the National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program, to support the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee/Marquette University Joint Center for International Studies (1991-1994)

\$108,000 United States Information Agency; University Affiliations grant for a partnership between the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Mohammed V University, Rabat, Morocco (1994-1997)

\$50,000 United States Information Agency; University Affiliations grant for a partnership in the field of international studies between the UW-Milwaukee, UW-Madison, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1989-1993)

\$60,000 United States Information Agency; University Affiliations grant for a partnership between the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and An-Najah National University, Nablus, the West Bank (1986-1991)

Individual

--- United States Department of State; Franklin Fellowship for six months in the Office of Public Opinion Research (January-July 2014)

\$501,485 Qatar National Research Foundation; grant for research on “Regional Integration in the Gulf: A Survey of Citizen Attitudes toward the Gulf Cooperation Council,” co-PI with Justin Gengler (2014-2016)

\$441,291 Qatar National Research Foundation; grant to conduct the Arab Barometer survey in Qatar and another country belonging to the Gulf Cooperation Council, co-PI with Justin Gengler (2014-2016)

\$1,020,000 International Development Research Council of Canada, United States Institute of Peace, and the Mo Ibrahim Foundation through the Afrobarometer; three grants for support of the third wave of the Arab Barometer Cross-National Survey project, co-PI with Amaney Jamal and others (2012-present)

--- Lijphart/Przeworski/Verba Prize, shared with Amaney Jamal and awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best publicly available data set in comparative politics (2010)

\$260,542 Qatar National Research Foundation; grant for research on “From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar,” co-PI with Abdoulaye Diop (2010-2012)

\$920,000 United Nations Development Programme, International Development Research Council of Canada, and United States Institute of Peace; three grants for support of the second wave of the Arab Barometer Cross-National Survey project, co-PI with Amaney Jamal and others (2010-present)

\$100,000 Carnegie Corporation of New York, Carnegie Scholars Program; award for research on “Popular Conceptions and Preferences Relating to the Place of Islam in Political Life: Insights from Cross-National and Longitudinal Survey Research in the Arab World,” (2009-2010)

\$591,705 Middle East Partnership Initiative of the United States Department of State; grant for research and programming on “Contributing to Democracy in the Arab World through Survey Research: Incorporating Arab Countries into the Global Democracy Barometer” (2005-2008)

\$120,438	<u>National Science Foundation</u> ; grant for a survey of continuity and change in the political attitudes and social values of the Iraqi public, co-PI with Mansoor Moaddel and Ronald Inglehart (2004-2006)
\$900,000	<u>Russell Sage Foundation</u> ; grant for research on “Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit After 9/11,” co-PI with Wayne Baker and others (2003-2004)
\$250,000	Citizen Exchanges Program of the <u>United States Department of State</u> ; grant to expand expertise and institutional capacity relating to public opinion research in Kuwait, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates (2003-2008)
\$71,000	<u>United States Department of State</u> ; three grants to University of Michigan for consulting and training in public opinion research in Oman and Bahrain (2003-2008)
\$228,898	<u>National Science Foundation</u> ; grant for research in Jordan, Kuwait, and Palestine on determinants of regime preference and political values (2002-2008)
\$106,887	Citizen Exchanges Program of the <u>United States Department of State</u> ; grant to expand Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian expertise and institutional capacity relating to public opinion research (2001-2003)
\$29,700	<u>United States Institute of Peace</u> ; grant for cross-national research in the Middle East on the economic determinants of public attitudes toward international conflict (1996-1997)
\$74,000	<u>United States Information Agency</u> ; grant for conduct of a cross-national survey of social attitudes and behavior in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (1994-96)
\$25,000	<u>Ford Foundation</u> ; grant for conduct of a cross-national survey of social attitudes and behavior in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (1994-96)
\$37,500	United States Information Agency; <u>Fulbright Islamic Civilization</u> grant for research in Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco on public opinion in the Arab world (1982-1984)
\$20,000	<u>Ford Foundation</u> ; grant for convening an international conference on the evaluation and application of survey research in the Arab world (1983)
\$24,000	<u>Rockefeller Foundation</u> ; grant for international conference on the evaluation and application of survey research in the Arab world at the Bellagio Study and Conference Center (1983)
\$26,500	United States Information Agency; <u>Fulbright</u> award for teaching and consulting on development studies at the National University of Rwanda (1980)
\$28,000	United States Information Agency; <u>Fulbright</u> award for teaching on research methods at the national universities of Zaire and Ivory Coast (1976)
\$ 3,000	<u>Social Science Research Council</u> ; grant for research on the political culture of non-assimilating minorities in the Middle East and North Africa (1972-1973)
\$ 3,000	<u>American Philosophical Society</u> ; two grants for research on the political culture of Jews in Tunisia and Morocco and Arabs in Israel (1972-1973, 1974)

### **Foreign Experience and Language Ability**

Eight years residence in the Middle East, North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa, including Tunisia, Morocco, Israel, the West Bank, Egypt, Liberia, Rwanda, and Zaire (Congo)

Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences-Po), Paris, Chercheur invité (2010)

Université Panthéon Assas (Paris II), Paris, Chercheur invité (2005)

Research associate in political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1982)

Research associate in sociology at the University of Tunis (1972-1973)

Social science research consultant for universities and research centers in Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Algeria, Morocco, Bahrain, Oman, Palestine, Madagascar and Senegal

Teaching on development studies and research methods at the national universities of Liberia (1983); Rwanda (1980); and Zaire, Ivory Coast, and Niger (1976)

Fluent French, good (though rusty) Hebrew, some Arabic, some Spanish

## **Publications**

### **Books**

- Islam and Politics in the Middle East: Explaining the Views of Ordinary Citizens*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015.
- Public Opinion in the Middle East: Survey Research and the Political Orientations of Ordinary Citizens*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, second edition, 2009. First edition was a featured selection of the History Book Club, listed as a “Notable Book of 1994” by the *New York Times*, and named a “1994 National Jewish Honor Book” by the National Jewish Book Council.
- Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit After 9/11* (coeditor and contributor). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009.
- Islam, Democracy and the State in Algeria: Lessons for the Western Mediterranean and Beyond* (coeditor and contributor). London: Taylor and Francis, 2005. Also published as a special issue of *Journal of North African Studies*.
- Democracy and its Limits: Lessons from Latin American, Asia, and the Middle East* (coeditor and contributor). Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1999.
- Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (editor and contributor). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Democracy, War, and Peace in the Middle East* (coeditor and contributor). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Transition to Palestinian Self-Government: Practical Steps toward Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (associate author). Cambridge and Bloomington: American Academy of Arts and Sciences and Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinians: From Camp David to Intifada* (coauthor). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- The Evaluation and Application of Survey Research in the Arab World* (editor and contributor). Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.
- Political Elites in Arab North Africa* (coauthor). New York: Longman, 1982.
- Arab Oil: Impact on the Arab Countries and Global Implications* (coeditor and contributor). New York: Praeger, 1976.
- Tradition and Identity in Changing Africa* (coauthor). New York: Harper and Row, 1973.
- Survey Research in Africa: Its Application and Limits* (coeditor and contributor). Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973.

### **Chapters and Articles: Behavioral and Public Opinion Research**

- “Change and Continuity in Arab Attitudes toward Political Islam: The Impact of Political Transitions in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011-2013.” In Mansoor Moaddel and Michele Gelfand (eds.), *Visions and Perspectives in the Study of Human Values in the Middle East*. Under review.
- “Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out?” (coauthor), *Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming.
- “Civic Life and Democratic Citizenship in Qatar: Findings from the First Qatar World Values Survey (coauthor), *Middle East Law and Governance* 5 (2013): 258–279.
- “Attitudes towards High-skilled and Low-skilled Migrant Workers in the Arab Gulf Countries: Evidence from Qatar” (coauthor). *Journal of Arabian Studies* 2.2 (December 2012): 172-187.
- “Arab Attitudes toward Democracy and Governance: Findings from the 2010-2011 Arab Barometer” (coauthor). *Journal of Democracy* 23, 4 (October 2012): 89-103; reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.), *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

- “The Effect of Elections on Public Opinion toward Democracy: Evidence from Longitudinal Survey Research in Algeria” (coauthor). *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (October 2012): 1255-76.
- “The Arab Barometer: Taking Stock after Five Years” (coauthor). *APSA-CD Newsletter* 10 (October 2012).
- “L’Islam dans les sociétés arabes, hier et aujourd’hui,” In Frédéric Charillon and Alain Dieckhoff (eds.), *Afrique du Nord-Moyen Orient*. Paris: La documentation française, 2011.
- “Les comportements de la population arabe face à l’islam et à la politique.” *Moyen Orient* (Paris) 10 (Avril-Juin 2011): 48-53.
- “Religion, Religiosity and the Place of Islam in Political Life: Insights from the Arab Barometer Surveys.” *Middle East Law and Governance* 2 (2010): 221-252.
- “Social Networks, Civic Participation, and Trust” (coauthor). In Wayne Baker et al., *Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit After 9/11*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009.
- “Democracy and the Political Culture Orientations of Ordinary Citizens: A Typology for the Arab World and Beyond” (coauthor). *International Social Science Journal* (UNESCO) 192 (2009): 197-207.
- “Foreign Occupation and National Pride: The Case of Iraq” (coauthor). *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (Winter 2008): 677-705.
- “Saddam Hussein and the Sunni Insurgency: Findings from Values Surveys” (coauthor). *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (Winter 2008-09): 623-644.
- “Has the United States Poisoned Democracy?” (coauthor). *Arab Reform Bulletin*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2008.
- “Transnational Communication among Arab-Americans in Detroit: Dimensions, Determinants and Attitudinal Consequences.” *American Studies Journal* 52 (Winter 2008/09).
- “Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy” (coauthor). *Journal of Democracy* 19 (April 2008): 74-87; reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc Platner (eds.). *How People View Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- “Dimensions of Democratic Support in the Arab World” (coauthor). *Journal of Democracy* 19 (January 2008): 97-110; reprinted as “The Arab Aspiration for Democracy,” in Larry Diamond and Marc Platner (eds.). *How People View Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- “What Leads Some Ordinary Men and Women in Arab Countries to Approve of Terrorist Acts against the West: Evidence from Survey Research in Algeria and Jordan” (coauthor). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (April 2007): 305-328.
- “Comparative Politics of the Middle East and Academic Freedom” (coauthor). *APSA-CP Newsletter* 18 (Winter 2007): 12-15.
- “Public Opinion in the Arab and Muslim World: Informing U.S. Public Diplomacy.” In Joseph McMillan (ed.), *In the Same Light as Slavery: Strengthening International Norms against Terrorism*. Washington: National Defense University Press, 2007.
- “Xenophobia and In-Group Solidarity in Iraq: A Natural Experiment on the Impact of Insecurity” (coauthor). *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (September 2006): 495-505.
- “Political Attitude Research in the Arab World: Emerging Opportunities” (coauthor). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39 (July 2006).
- “Getting to Arab Democracy: What Do Iraqis Want?” (coauthor). *Journal of Democracy* 17 (January 2006): 38-50.
- “Assessing the Influence of Religious Predispositions on Citizen Orientations Related To Governance and Democracy: Findings from Survey Research in Three Dissimilar Arab Societies.” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 1 (January 2006): 1-12.

- “L’occupation américaine en Iraq: perspectives américaines et irakiennes.” *Annuaire Français de Relations Internationales* VII (2006): 623-632.
- “L’opinion des irakiens face à l’occupation américaine.” *Questions internationales* (Paris) 16 (novembre-décembre 2005).
- “Gauging Arab Support for Democracy” (coauthor). *Journal of Democracy* 16 (July 2005): 83-97.
- “Political Generations in Developing Countries: Evidence and Insights from Algeria” (coauthor). *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68 (Summer 2004): 184-216.
- “Political Culture in Turkey: Connections Among Attitudes Toward Democracy, the Military, and Islam” (coauthor). *Democratization* 11 (March 2004): 22-51.
- “Arab and Muslim Political Attitudes: Stereotypes and Evidence from Survey Research.” *International Studies Perspectives* 4 (May 2003): 175-180; also in *Items & Issues*, Social Science Research Council.
- “Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes Toward Democracy in the Arab World: Evidence from the World Values Survey in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Algeria.” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 2 (Spring 2003): 229-249. Reprinted in Mansoor Moaddel (ed.), *Values and Perceptions of the Islamic and Middle Eastern Publics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- “Islam and Democracy in the Arab World: Evidence from Opinion Research in the Maghrib.” In Amin Saikal and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.), *Democracy and Peace in the Middle East*. Tokyo: United Nations University, 2003
- “How Should Americans Understand Arab and Muslim Political Attitudes: Combating Stereotypes with Public Opinion Data from the Middle East” (coauthor). *Journal of Social Affairs* 19 (Winter 2002): 13-34.
- “Palestinian Attitudes toward Democracy and Its Compatibility with Islam: Evidence from Public Opinion Research in the West Bank and Gaza” (coauthor). *Arab Studies Quarterly* (Fall 2002): 1-20.
- “How Americans Responded: A Study of Public Reactions to 9/11” (coauthor). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 35 (September 2002): 511-516.
- “Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes Toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries.” *Comparative Politics* 34 (April 2002): 337-354.
- “The Political Economy of Attitudes toward Peace among Palestinians and Israelis” (coauthor). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 2002): 260-285.
- “Morocco’s Next Political Generation.” *Journal of North African Studies* 5 (Spring 2000): 1-26; also earlier version in Roel Meijer (ed.), *Alienation or Integration of Arab Youth: Between Family, State, and Street*. Richmond, England: Curzon Press, 2000.
- “Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis: Evidence from Cross-National Survey Research in the Middle East” (coauthor). *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (1999): 519-531. Reprinted in Bruce Russett (ed.), *International Security and Conflict*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008.
- “A Test of the Gender and Pacifism Hypothesis: Contributions from a Comparison of Findings from Opinion Research in Israel and the Arab World” (coauthor). *Israel Affairs* 5 (Winter-Spring 1999): 264-273; also in David Levi-Faur, Gabriel Sheffer, and David Vogel (eds.), *Israel: The Dynamics of Change and Continuity*. London: Frank Cass, 1999.
- “Explaining Women’s Support for Political Islam: Contributions from Feminist Theory” (coauthor). In Mark Tessler, with Jodi Nachtwey and Anne Banda (eds.), *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

- “Religion and International Conflict: an Individual-level Analysis” (coauthor). In Mark Tessler, with Jodi Nachtwey and Anne Banda (eds.), *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- “Islam and Attitudes Toward International Conflict: Evidence from Survey Research in the Arab World” (coauthor). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (October 1998): 619-636.
- “The Contribution of Public Opinion Research to an Understanding of the Information Revolution and its Impact in North Africa.” In Jamal S. Al-Suwaidi (ed.), *The Impact of the Information and Communication Revolution on Society and State in the Arab World*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.
- “Gender Feminism, and Attitudes toward International Conflict: Exploring Relationships with Survey Data from the Middle East” (coauthor). *World Politics* 49 (January 1997): 250-281.
- “The Origins of Popular Support for Islamist Movements: A Political Economy Analysis.” In John Entelis (ed.), *Islam, Democracy, and the State in North Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- “Gender and Support for Islamist Movements: Evidence from Egypt, Kuwait, and Palestine” (coauthor). *Muslim World* LXXXVI (April 1996): 194-222.
- “Gender and International Relations: A Comparison of Citizen Attitudes in Israel and Egypt” (coauthor). In Michael Barnett (ed.), *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- “The Alienation of Urban Youth.” In I. Wm. Zartman and Mark Habeeb (eds.), *Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993.
- “Les enquêtes d’opinions dans le monde arabe.” In Nicholas Hopkins and Rahma Bourqia (eds.), *Le Maghreb: Approches des mécanismes d’articulations*. Rabat, Morocco: Al-Kalam Editions, 1991.
- “Women and Religion in a Modern Islamic Society: The Case of Kuwait” (coauthor). In Emile Sahliyah (ed.), *The Politics of Religious Resurgence in the Contemporary World*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- “The Economic Orientations of Kuwaiti Women” (coauthor). *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (November 1988): 443-468.
- “Acculturation, Socioeconomic Status, and Attitude Change in Tunisia” (coauthor). In Tawfic Farah and Yasumasa Kuroda (eds.), *Political Socialization in the Arab World*. Boulder: Lynn Rienner, 1987; reprinted from *Journal of Modern African Studies* 17 (December 1979): 473-495.
- “Studying Attitude Change in Tunisia” (in Arabic). In Louis Kamel Meleika (ed.), *Readings in Social Psychology in the Arab World: Volume IV*. Cairo: Egyptian National Organization of the Book, 1985.
- “Gender and Participant Citizenship in Tunisia” (coauthor). In Tawfic Farah (ed.), *Political Behavior in the Arab States*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983; reprinted from *Journal of Arab Affairs* 3 (October 1982).
- “Regime Orientation and Participant Citizenship in Developing Countries: Hypotheses and a Test with Longitudinal Data from Tunisia” (coauthor). *Western Political Quarterly* 34 (December 1981): 479-498.
- “Information et gestion.” In David Gould and Jacques Katuala (eds.), *Development Administration Modules for Francophone Africa*. Washington: National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1981.
- “Ethnic Change and Non-assimilating Minority Status: The Case of Jews in Tunisia and Morocco and Arabs in Israel.” In Charles Keyes (ed.), *Ethnic Change*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.
- “The Political Culture of Jews in Tunisia and Morocco” (coauthor). *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 11 (January 1980): 59-86.
- “Political Change and the Religious Revival in Tunisia.” *The Maghreb Review* 5 (January-February 1980): 8-19.



- “The Identity of Religious Minorities in Non-secular States: Jews in Tunisia and Morocco and Arabs in Israel.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20 (July 1978): 359-373.
- “Women’s Emancipation in Tunisia” (coauthor). In Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- “Tunisian Attitudes Toward Women and Childrearing” (coauthor). In James Allman (ed.), *Women’s Status and Fertility in the Muslim World*. New York: Praeger, 1978.
- “Political Generations.” Russell Stone and John Simmons (eds.), *Change in Tunisia: Essays in the Social Sciences*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976.
- “Response Set and Interview Bias.” In W. O’Barr, D. Spain, and M. Tessler (eds.), *Survey Research in Africa: Its Applications and Limits*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- “Measuring Abstract Concepts in Tunisia.” In W. O’Barr, D. Spain, and M. Tessler (eds.), *Survey Research in Africa: Its Applications and Limits*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- “Le concept de modernité au miroir des sciences sociales.” *Cultures et Développement* 5 (1973): 779-793.
- “Problems of Measurement in Comparative Research: Perspectives from an African Survey.” *Social Science Information* (International Social Science Council) 12 (August 1973): 29-43.
- “The Application of Western Theories and Measures of Political Participation to a Single-Party North African State.” *Comparative Political Studies* 5 (July 1972): 175-191.
- “Cultural Modernity: Evidence from Tunisia.” *Social Science Quarterly* 52 (September 1971): 290-308.
- “Interviewer Biasing Effects in a Tunisian Survey: A Cross-Cultural Note.” *Journal of Social Psychology* 84 (June 1971): 153-154.

### **Chapters and Articles: Political Studies**

- “Maghribi Youth in the Wake of the Arab Spring: General Observations and Evidence from Surveys in Tunisia and Algeria” (coauthor). In Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White (eds.), *North African Politics: Change and Continuity*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- “The Political System Preferences of Arab Publics” (coauthor). In Marc Lynch (ed.), *The Arab Uprisings in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- “Title VI and National and Global Security: Current Status and Concerns Going Forward.” In David Wiley and Robert Glew (eds.), *International and Language Education for a Global Future*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010.
- “The View from the Street: The Attitudes and Values of Ordinary Algerians.” In Mark Tessler, Michael Bonner, and Megan Reif (eds.), *Islam, Democracy and the State in Algeria: Lessons for the Western Mediterranean and Beyond*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2005. Also published in *Journal of North African Studies*.
- “Democratic Concern and Islamic Resurgence: Converging Dimensions of the Arab World’s Political Agenda.” In Howard Handelman and Mark Tessler (eds.), *Democratization and its Limits: Lessons from Latin American, Asia, and the Middle East*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1999.
- “Democracy and Islam in Arab Politics” (coauthor). *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* (December 1995): 1-24.
- “The Relationship Between Democracy in the Arab World and the Arab-Israeli Conflict” (coauthor). In David Garnham and Mark Tessler (eds.), *Democracy, War, and Peace in the Middle East*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- “Kingdom of Morocco” (coauthor). In D. Long and B. Reich (eds.), *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press, 3rd edition, 1995.
- “Republic of Tunisia” (coauthor). In D. Long and B. Reich (eds.), *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press, 3rd edition, 1995.
- “Anger and Governance in the Arab World: Lessons from the Maghrib and Implications for the West.” *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 13 (Fall 1991): 7-33.

- “Tunisia: The Gulf War Heightens Anger.” *Bulletin of the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars* 33 (Summer 1991): 7-9.
- “The Middle East, Morocco, and the United States.” In Jerome B. Bookin-Weiner and Mohamed El Mansour (eds.), *The Atlantic Connection: 200 Years of Moroccan-American Relations, 1886-1986*. Rabat, Morocco: Edino, 1991.
- “Morocco and Israel: The Political Calculus of a ‘Moderate’ Arab State.” In Gregory Mahler (ed.), *Israel in the Post-Begin Era*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- “Tunisia's New Beginning.” *Current History* (April 1990): 169-184.
- “Center and Periphery Within Regional International Systems: The Case of the Arab World.” *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 11 (Fall 1989): 74-89.
- “Libya in the Maghreb: The Union with Morocco and Related Developments.” In Rene Lemarchand (ed.), *The Green and the Black: Qadhafi's Policies in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- “Moroccan-Israeli Relations and the Reasons for Moroccan Receptivity to Contact with Israel.” *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 10 (Spring 1988): 76-108.
- “Image and Reality in Moroccan Politics.” In I. W. Zartman (ed.), *The Political Economy of Morocco*. New York: Praeger, 1987.
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### **Monographs and Reports for the Universities Field Staff International**

*Explaining the “Surprises” of King Hassan II: The Linkage between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Morocco*

- Part 1. Tensions in North Africa in the Mid-1980s, December 1986.
- Part 2. The Arab-African Union between Morocco and Libya, January 1987.
- Part 3. The Hassan-Peres Summit and other Contacts with Israel, January 1987.

*Continuity and Change in Moroccan Politics*

- Part 1. Challenge and Response in King Hassan’s Morocco, April 1984.
- Part 2. New Troubles and Deepening Doubts, May 1984.

*Liberia's Difficult March toward Civilian Rule*, December 1983.

*Israel's Drive into the West Bank and Gaza* (coauthor), September 1983.

*Arab Women’s Emancipation in Israel*, May 1982.

*Post-Sinai Pressures in Israel and Egypt*, May 1982.

*Secularism and Nationalism in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, January 1982. *Politics in Morocco:*

*The Monarch, the War, and the Opposition*, August 1981. *Israeli Politics and the Palestinian Problem in the Wake of Camp David*

- Part 1. The Camp David Accords and the Palestinian Problem, June 1980.
- Part 2. Israeli Party Politics and the Issue of Palestinian Autonomy, July 1980.

*Arabs in Israel*, January 1980.

### **Other Publications**

Approximately 100 policy briefs, newspaper articles, book reviews and encyclopedia entries, including contributions to the United States Department of State, *The Middle East Channel*, *The New York Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The New Republic*, *The World & I*, *American Political Science Review*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, and others.

### **Selected Papers and Invited Presentations**

- “Islam and Politics in the Middle East: Mapping and Explaining the Views of Ordinary Citizens,” invited presentation at Michigan State University, 2015.
- “Mapping and Explaining Attitudes toward Political Islam among Ordinary Citizens in the Middle East and North Africa: Selected Findings from the Arab Barometer,” presentation at regional conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Doha, Qatar, 2015.
- “Mapping and Explaining Attitudes toward Political Islam among Ordinary Citizens in the Middle East and North Africa: Selected Findings from the Arab Barometer,” presentation at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 2014.
- “Accounting for Variance in Attitudes toward Political Islam among Muslim Arab Publics,” presentation at workshop on “Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Uprisings Using Public Opinion Data” at Paris Duaphine University, Paris, France, 2014.
- “The Civic Orientations of Arab Publics: Selected Findings from the Arab Barometer,” presentation at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 2014.
- “Selected Findings from the Arab Barometer,” presentation at annual conference of the Project on Middle East Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, DC, 2014.

- “Islam and the Struggle for a Political Formula, keynote presentation at workshop at Harvard University on “The Pulse of the Arab Streets,” Cambridge, MA, 2014.
- “Political Islam after the Arab Spring,” presentation at United Nations workshop on “Hostile and Unconventional Threats,” organized by Social Science Research Council, New York, 2014
- “Political Islam after the Arab Spring,” presentation at U.S. Government Inter-Agency round-table on Elections and Public Opinion in Transitioning Societies, Washington, DC, 2013.
- “Political Islam after the Arab Spring,” presentation to United Nations Secretary General and senior UN personnel at UN Secretariat conference on North Africa, organized by Social Science Research Council, New York, 2013.
- “Impact of the Arab Spring on Attitudes about Political Islam in Egypt and Tunisia,” presentation at a United Nations workshop on “The United Nations and North Africa,” Tunis, Tunisia, 2013.
- “Women’s and Men’s Attitudes toward Islam’s Political Role: Findings from the Arab Barometer,” presentation at Qatar University Social and Economic Survey Research Institute conference on “The Rise in Public Engagement: Qatar, the Region and the World” at Qatar University, Doha, Qatar, 2013.
- “Arab Attitudes toward the Role of Religion in Politics,” invited presentation at U.S. Department of State workshop on “The Shifting Dynamics of Power in the Middle East and North Africa,” Washington, DC, 2013.
- “Arab Attitudes in the Context of the Arab Spring,” forum on Middle East Policy organized by the Washington Post, Washington, DC, 2013.
- “Islam and the Struggle for a Political Formula: Findings from the Arab Barometer Survey Project,” keynote presentation at conference on “The Many Faces of Public Opinion” at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel, 2013.
- “The Arab World’s Debate about the Political Role of Islam,” invited presentations at Peking University, Beijing, China, and at Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Shanghai, China, 2012.
- “What Do Arab Publics Think about Islam’s Political Role,” presentation at Arab Barometer conference on “The Arab World in Transition,” Cairo, Egypt, 2012
- “Islam and the Struggle for a Political Formula: Findings from the 2010-2011 Arab Barometer,” invited presentation at Harvard University, 2012.
- “The Effect of the Arab Spring on Support for Democracy” (coauthor), invited presentation on a workshop on the Arab Spring at Princeton University, 2012.
- “Continuity and Change in Maghrebi Political Attitudes: Findings from the Arab Barometer,” invited presentation at a Rand Corporation conference on “The Implications of Unrest in the Maghreb,” Washington, DC, 2012.
- “Some Survey Findings about Religion and Militancy among Muslim Arabs,” presented at workshop organized by the Academic Peace Orchestra for the Middle East, Barcelona, Spain, 2012.
- “Research on Islam and Muslim Communities in the Middle East,” invited presentation at Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, 2011.
- “What Do Ordinary Citizens Want: Democracy, Political Islam, or Democracy and Political Islam?” invited presentation at Stanford University, 2011.
- “Islam and Democracy in the Arab World,” presentation at workshop on “The Transformation of the Arab World” at the University of Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland, 2011.
- “Israel and the Peace Process,” invited presentation at symposium on “The Middle East: the Regional Landscape Beyond 2001,” organized by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Warrenton, Virginia, 2011.
- “The Arab Spring,” invited presentation and symposium organized by the Legatum Institute, London, England, 2011.
- “Area Studies in the United States: Contributions and Challenges,” invited presentation at a University of Southern Denmark workshop on “Area Studies in a Globalized World,” Odense, Denmark, 2010.

- “Lessons from Higher Education in the U.S.,” invited remarks at symposium on “The University’s Mission in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” at the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies, Tangier, Morocco, 2010.
- “Current Research: What do we know about attitudes toward terrorism and counterterrorism strategies?” invited presentation at workshop on “Innovative Survey Methods” organized by the Institute for Homeland Security Solutions, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2010.
- “Islam and the Search for a Political Formula: The Views of Ordinary Citizens in the Muslim Middle East,” invited presentation at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences-Po), 2010.
- “Reflections on the Study of Middle East Politics, Preceded by Some Comments on the Contributions of John Waterbury’s Early Work,” paper presented at Princeton University conference on “Democracy and Development in the Middle East: Conference in Honor of John Waterbury,” Princeton, New Jersey, 2009.
- “The United States and the Middle East: Will There Be a New Dynamic,” keynote address at Tufts University conference on “Foreign Policy Challenges for the New Administration: Iran and the Middle East,” Medford, MA, 2009.
- “Accounting for Variance in Popular Attitudes toward the Place of Islam in Political Life: Findings from the Arab Barometer Surveys in Algeria, Morocco and Other Arab Countries,” paper presented at Yale University conference on “The Everyday Functioning of Politics and Dissent in the Maghreb,” New Haven, 2009.
- “Arab Attitudes about Governance and Religion,” invited lecture at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 2009.
- “Religion, Religiosity and the Place of Islam in Political Life: Insights from the Arab Barometer Surveys,” paper presented as part of World Bank and Yale University research project on “Rethinking Development: Societal Transformations and the Challenges of Governance in Africa and the Middle East,” Washington, DC, 2008 and New Haven, Connecticut, 2009.
- “Arab Attitudes toward Democracy and Governance,” invited presentation at seminar organized by the National Endowment for Democracy on “Public Opinion and Democracy: What Africans, Asians, and Arabs Think,” Washington, DC, 2008.
- “Political Attitude Research in the Arab World,” workshop organized by the Office of Naval Research, Washington, DC, 2008.
- “Attitudes about Religion and Governance in the Arab World,” lecture at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 2008.
- “Attitudes Pertaining to Islam in the Arab World,” invited presentation at U.S. Department of State conference on “Global Religious Trends,” Washington, DC, 2008.
- “Arab Attitudes toward Politics, Religion and International Relations,” MillerComm Lecture at University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, 2008.
- “The Arab Barometer,” invited presentation to Arab political party leaders at conference on “Making Democracy Deliver: The Challenge of Political Parties in the Arab World,” organized by the National Democratic Institute and the Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support, Oslo, Norway, 2008.
- “Opportunities and Challenges in Cross-National Research,” invited presentation at U.S. Department of State workshop on “International Survey Research: Challenges and Opportunities,” Washington, DC, 2008.
- “Attitudes about Democracy and Governance in the Arab World, Brandeis University workshop on “Voting and Electoral Participation in the Middle East,” Waltham, Mass., 2008.
- “Political Attitudes in the Arab World,” invited presentation at World Bank seminar, 2008.
- “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Where We Are and How We Got Here,” invited presentation at Michigan State University, 2008.
- “Arab Attitudes toward Democracy and Governance,” invited presentation at Princeton University, 2008 “Report on the Arab Barometer,” invited presentation at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, 2008. “Public Views of Political Islam,” invited presentation at Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 2007.

- “Palestinian Politics and the Conflict with Israel,” invited presentation at Northwestern University, 2007.
- “Some Change But Mostly Continuity in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, invited presentation at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007.
- “The Political Attitudes of Ordinary Arab and Muslim Citizens,” remarks at the Council on Foreign Relations; panel on “Muslim Views of the West,” 2007.
- “Why Are Some Algerians and Moroccans ‘Security’ Democrats?” invited presentation at Brigham Young University, 2007.
- “Recherches sur l’opinion publique dans une ère de globalisation,” presentation at Université Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco, 2006.
- “Israel and Palestine: Historical Perspectives,” keynote address at international conference on the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict, sponsored by the Institute for Global Dialogue, Pretoria, South Africa, 2006.
- “Arab Attitudes toward Religion and Politics,” presentation at the College of William & Mary, 2006.
- “Attitudes toward Religion and Politics in the Arab World,” paper presented at an international conference on “Public Opinion, Democracy and Peace-making,” held in Jerusalem and sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, 2006.
- “Keynote Address,” presented at an international conference on “Opinion Polls in the Arab World: Opportunities and Challenges,” held in Abu Dhabi, UAE, and sponsored by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2006.
- “Measuring Support for Democracy in the Arab World and Across the Globe” (coauthor), paper presented at a Vanderbilt University-United Nations Development Programme conference on “Candidate Indicators for the UNDP Democracy Support Index,” 2006.
- “What do Ordinary Arabs Think These Days about Religion and Politics,” invited lecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006.
- “Islam and Democracy in the Arab World,” invited presentation at Tufts University, 2006.
- “Citizen Attitudes about Politics and Religion in the Arab World, invited lecture at the UCLA, 2005.  
“The Attitudes toward Politics and International Affairs of Ordinary Citizens in the Arab World,” invited lecture at Center for Oriental Studies, Berlin, Germany, 2006.
- “The Study of Religion and Politics: Normative and Empirical Concerns,” keynote address at Taiwan Political Science Association conference on “Religion and Politics: A Holy but Controversial Affiliation,” Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2005.
- “Attitudes toward Democracy in the Arab World,” presentation at Congressional Briefing on “Transforming the Middle East: The Future of Democracy and Economic Growth,” Washington, DC, 2005.
- “Sources of Islamist Reaction: Value Conflicts or Policy Differences?” presentation National Defense University workshop on Public Diplomacy, Washington, DC, 2005.
- “Political Reform in the Arab World: The Attitudes and Values of Ordinary Men and Women,” presentation at Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Sciences-Po, Paris, France, 2005.
- “The Extent and Meaning of Popular Support for Democracy in the Arab World: Findings from Cross-National Survey Research,” invited lecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005.
- “Palestinian Political System Preferences: Secular Democracy and/or Political Islam,” presentation at invitational workshop on “The Struggle between Palestinian Secular Nationalism and Political Islam,” convened by the U.S. Government Strategic Assessment Group, Washington, DC, 2004.
- “Reflections on What Islam Does and Does Not Explain and Some Implications for Social Science Research,” presentation at invitational workshop on “Local, National, and Global Factors Contributing to Conflict and Tensions Within and Among States in the Middle East,” sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation and held in Istanbul, Turkey, 2004.
- “Determinants of Support for Terrorism among Ordinary Citizens in the Arab World: Evidence from Algeria and Jordan,” presentation at invitational workshop on “Suicide Terrorism,” cosponsored by NATO and the University of Michigan and held in Lisbon, Portugal, 2004.

- “Public Opinion Research and Prospects for a Middle East Democracy Barometer,” presentation at invitational workshop on Measuring Democracy, cosponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy and Israel Democracy Institute, Jerusalem, Israel, 2004.
- “The Nature and Determinants of Citizen Attitudes toward Governance and Democracy in the Arab World,” presentation at Ohio State University, 2004.
- “Research in the Service of Citizens: The Contribution of Public Opinion Research to Transparency and Performance,” presentation at international conference on “Transparency and Performance,” held at the University of Algiers, Algiers, Algeria, 2003.
- “Public Opinion Research and Prospects for an Arab Democracy Barometer,” presentation at invitational workshop on “Assessing, Refining, and Expanding the Democracy Barometer Surveys and the World Value Surveys,” held at Stanford University, 2003.
- “Islam and Democracy: Evidence from the World Values Survey in Four Arab Countries,” presentation at invitational conference on “Exploring the Worldviews of Islamic Publics: Theoretical and Methodological Issues,” co-sponsored by the National Science Foundation and held in Cairo, Egypt, 2003.
- “Arab Intransigence Toward Israel: Reality or Myth,” presentation at invitational conference on “Myth and Narrative in the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict” sponsored by Harvard University and the World Peace Foundation in Cambridge, 2003.
- “Research on Political Attitudes in the Arab World,” presentation to the comparative politics workshop of the University of Chicago, 2003.
- “The Nature and Determinants of Arab Attitudes toward Israel,” paper presented at invitational conference on “Anti-Semitism: The Politicization of Prejudice in the Contemporary Modern World,” convened by the University of Toronto, 2003.
- “Anger and Governance in the Arab World,” presentation at invitational workshop on “Political Participation in the Middle East and North Africa, convened by the U.S. State Department/Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the Wye River Conference Center, 2002.
- “The Impact of Islam on Citizen Attitudes Toward Democracy in the Arab World,” presentation at an invitational conference on “Islam and Democracy,” convened by Ohio State University and the State Islamic Studies Institute, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2002.
- “Gauging Public Opinion in the Middle East,” presentation to the U.S. National Intelligence Council, Washington, D.C., 2002.
- “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Where We Are and How We Got There,” invited presentation at the University of Utah, 2002.
- “Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries,” invited lecture at the University of California, Berkeley, 2001.
- “Normative and Behavioral Correlates of Education: An Inter-Generational Analysis Based on Survey Research in Morocco,” paper presented at American Institute for Maghrib Studies international conference on “Education and Educational Reform in the Maghrib,” Tunis, Tunisia, 2000.
- “Area Studies and Social Science: Current Trends in Middle East Studies,” presentation at Directors meeting of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, Cairo, Egypt, 2000.
- “The Political and Social Attitudes of Moroccan Men and Women: Generational Change and Other Observations,” lecture at Princeton University, Princeton, 2000.
- “Democracy and Islam in the Middle East,” paper presented at invitational workshop on “Democracy and Peace in the Middle East,” sponsored by the United Nations University, Amman, Jordan, 1999.
- “Economic Development and Political and Social Change: What Possible Interactions,” presentation at invitational conference on “The Impact of Free Trade in the Euro-Med Region,” sponsored by the European Commission, Malta, 1999.
- “Iran and the Middle East: Toward a Cross-Cultural Dialogue,” participant in invitational conference hosted by Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Pocantico, N.Y., 1999.