

# EUROPE • NYC

New York Consortium for European Studies

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY • COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

November 2008

CENTER FOR EUROPEAN AND  
MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES  
New York University

285 Mercer Street, 7th floor  
New York, NY 10003  
Telephone: 212.998.3838  
Fax: 212.995.4188

Larry Wolff, Director  
Jennifer Denbo, Assistant Director  
Leah Ramirez, Administrative Aide  
David Idol, Co-Editor  
Suzanne Bayard, Co-Editor  
Eleonora Corsalini, Co-Editor

THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTE  
Columbia University

School of International and Public  
Affairs  
420 West 118th Street  
New York, NY 10027  
Telephone: 212.854.4618  
Fax: 212.854.8599

Victoria de Grazia, Director  
John Micgiel, Executive Director  
Kevin Hallinan, Assistant Director

## SUBSCRIBE

The Center for European Studies hosts EUROLIST, an electronic medium through which the NYU community can be kept aware of information and events relating to Europe. To subscribe to EUROLIST, please go to <http://forums.nyu.edu/cgi-bin/nyu.pl?enter=eurolist> and click on "join eurolist". It is also possible for subscribers to submit messages to the list.

## "Europe and Its Schisms

### Religion, the European Project, and Euroskepticism"

By Michael Minkenberg

#### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

It has been argued that the entire project of European integration was inaugurated and pushed along primarily by Christian Democratic forces and inspirations, as the Catholic "founding fathers" Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi illustrate – one might add to this list more Catholic leaders such as Jean Monnet, Jacques Santer and Jacques Delors.<sup>2</sup> With the ongoing processes of deepening and widening of the EU, however, a new pluralism has emerged which challenges some of the commonly held assumptions and inspirations of the founding generation and those in their footsteps. This is particularly relevant, as in the post-Cold War era, the EU has reached unprecedented levels of cultural and religious pluralism (see below, Table 3), having to deal with a variety of new actors and interests within old and new member states. In this light, then, the question arises to what extent religious patterns still structure the European project, whether they unify or divide the EU, how confessional and other religious



*Minkenberg is the 2007-2009 Max Weber Chair for German and European Studies at New York University*

differences translate into support for – or rejection of – the process of European integration.

This essay takes a particular look at the degree to which religious forces (confessional traditions and the religious public on the one hand, churches and religiously oriented parties on the other) favor or oppose

*Continued on page 4*

## More in this issue:

- Austria Day at the CEMS.....2
- Feminism and Its "Other".....3
- From Africa to the Balkans.....9
- America's Edge: A global country in a global century.....10
- Mercè Rodoreda, So Far So Close.....10
- Multiculturalism, Islam and Women's Rights in Britain.....11
- EuroDigest.....12
- Visit by German Teachers.....12
- Upcoming Events.....13



*Professor Silvia Maier, Max Weber Chair Michael Minkenberg, CEMS Student Sophia Papadopoulos*

## Austria Day at the CEMS

*New York University: Tuesday,  
October 28  
By Prof. Silvia Maier*

Quickly! What comes to mind when you hear "Austria?" Sachertorte. Mozart. The Sound of Music. Arnold Schwarzenegger. The Alps. Skiing. Sigmund Freud. Gustav Klimt. Art, culture, cuisine, spectacular vistas, and elegant imperial Baroque architecture. All true, of course, but despite Austria's popularity in the United States, very few Americans, even those who study European politics, actually know very much about Austria beyond these images. This is why the author of this essay, Viennese herself, took the opportunity of two recent significant days in Austrian history—September 25 and October 26—to organize an **Austria Day** party at the CEMS with traditional Austrian delicacies—chocolate and fruit cakes, pastries, Kekse, Mandelkipferl, D'Arbo Konfitüre, soft whitebread, coffee, tea and the popular Red Bull energy drink—Austrian music and a slide show of images of Austria. Made possible by the generous sponsorship of CEMS

Professor Michael Minkenberg, Max Weber Chair—the CEMS community enjoyed two hours of lively conversations about Max Weber (he taught Economics at the University of Vienna and considered the imperial metropolis the second most beautiful German-speaking city next to Munich), the histories of the Austrian flag and anthems, Johann Strauß waltzes, Falco, Sachertorte and tidbits from Austria's past and present.

Our Austria Day Party confirms one of the more charming—and completely true—stereotypes about Austrians: that we love to celebrate and never miss an opportunity to have a good time. Think of Prince Orlofsky's aria in Austria's most famous operetta, *Die Fledermaus* [The Bat], the countless songs about "Wein, Weib und Gesang" [wine, women and songs] at the *Heurigen* (wine pubs) in Grinzing, the lively Strauß polkas, and you get the idea. What are we now celebrating on October 26 and September 27?

*October 26—Austria's Nationalfeiertag*

What July 4th is to Americans, October 26th is to Austrians – our Independence Day. On this day we

commemorate the adoption of a constitutional law proclaiming Austria's "*immerwährende Neutralität*," her permanent neutrality, on October 26, 1955. The previous day, October 25, 1955, in conformity with the stipulations of the Austrian State Treaty, signed on May 15, 1955 by the Austrian provisional government and the representatives of the four Occupying Powers, the U.S., the U.K., France, and the Soviet Union, who jointly had liberated Austria from the yoke of Nazism on May 8, 1945, the last foreign soldier had left Austrian territory. In return for the restoration of her sovereignty, Austria agreed to remain neutral in foreign affairs, never join a military alliance or use its military, except in self-defense or with the authorization of the United Nations Security Council. To this day, she has kept her side of the bargain. Since 1965, the *Nationalfeiertag* is an official holiday, which Austrians traditionally celebrate with parades, visits to museums, and, of course, playing sports.

*September 25—Austrian-American Day*

In 1997, President Bill Clinton proclaimed September 25 Austrian-American Day, "in gratitude for the many gifts that Austrian Americans bring to the life of our [the United States, auth.] country" and to "recognize and celebrate the important contributions that millions of Americans of Austrian descent have made—and continue to make—to our Nation's strength and prosperity."<sup>1</sup> Exactly how many Austrians crossed the Atlantic to make a better life for themselves and their families in the land of opportunity is not known. The 1990 census listed 948,558 citizens of Austrian ancestry,<sup>2</sup> but since "Austria" was until 1918 a multi-cultural empire composed of dozens of nationalities whose members were classified in censuses and by immigration agencies as either Austrian, German, or by their self-declared nationality, Hungarian, Czech, or Slovenian, for

example, determining who is "Austrian," "Austrian-American" or "of Austrian descent" is difficult. What is known, though, is that the first documented Austrian immigrants were Protestant refugees from Salzburg who settled in Savannah, Georgia, in 1734. For the next two hundred years, tens of thousands of Austrians of different nationalities fled anti-Semitism, religious discrimination, and political oppression, most important hundreds of highly educated liberal professionals, the so-called Forty-Eighters, in 1848-49. Between 1901-1910, about two million Austrians—mostly Catholic farmers, miners, laborers and Jewish professionals—settled in the industrial centers of the East and Midwest, mainly New York, Pennsylvania, Chicago. However, as a result of a postwar anti-German backlash, increasing American

isolationism and newly restrictive immigration policies, Austrian immigration almost came to a standstill in the interwar period. While Jewish Austrians fleeing Nazi persecution and the Holocaust did not exactly find open doors in Ellis Island nonetheless about thirty thousand Jews, mostly artists and professionals, were able to find refuge in the United States, including Franz Werfel, Arnold Schoenberg, Max Reinhardt and Otto Preminger.<sup>3</sup> Post-war immigration picked up after 1960 and, until the late 1990s, approximately eighty thousand Austrians, including Arnold Schwarzenegger and the author of this essay, made America their new home.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=54673>. Retrieved October 28, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.everyculture.com/multi/A-Br/Austrian-Americans.html>. Retrieved October 25, 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## Feminism and Its "Other"

*New York University: Friday, October 24*  
By Prof. Silvia Maier

CEMS welcomed Maleiha Malik, a reader at the Law School at King's College, London, whose thought-provoking lecture on "Feminism and its 'Other': Female Autonomy in an Age of 'Difference'" to a large interdisciplinary group of faculty and students from NYU, Columbia and CUNY spurred a lively discussion. Dr. Malik, a barrister by training, has published widely on anti-discrimination laws in the United Kingdom, Muslims in Britain, women's rights and cultural difference. In her presentation, which was based on her forthcoming book, *The 'Other Woman': Feminism and Minority Women* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), Ms. Malik stated that a central challenge for contemporary feminist theory is to formulate more sophisticated approaches to the intersection between sexual and cultural difference. She argued that "the problem of understanding the 'other' is rendered yet more complex when the subject is the 'other woman' because of the complex way in which

gender and culture operate within each category such as 'self' and 'other' or 'Western' and 'non-Western'. Many of the responses to this debate have converted the fact of cultural difference as a problem of values, so that the argument is converted into a clash between the positive values that 'we' have (e.g. freedom and choice) as contrasted with the more negative values that 'they' are committed to ('tradition', 'culture' and 'religion'). This confrontation of values maps on to debates about modernity that use a linear concept of time that pushes 'them' back in history so that their values of tradition and culture are rendered 'backward' as compared with 'modern' and 'progressive' ways of living."<sup>1</sup> Maleiha Malik advocated the adoption of a more nuanced, sophisticated method to deconstruct and reconstruct woman, difference and identity: what she terms the "human sciences approach," which, in her view, "will allow a greater focus on the purposes, intentions, motives of subjects [...] and allows a better understanding of the subject from her own perspective."

Malik acknowledged that "there will be wide variety of purposes and inner-states of consciousness which

will vary between minority women and within the individual lives of minority women," and indeed much of the discussion focused on the questions how any method can capture such an unstable, uncertain subject matter and whether, in embracing Malik's approach, run the danger of essentializing culture. While a definite answer to these questions is likely to prove elusive, Maleiha Malik deserves the highest praise for rejecting ethnocentric categories and methods of analysis and for theorizing instead a "thick culture" approach to gender identity, individual interest, the construction of meaning and cultural difference that compels Western feminists to understand and respect women who locate themselves in a particular culture, their motives and intents not as "brown women that need to be rescued by white sisters", to paraphrase Gayatri Spivak, but as autonomous subjects possessive of reason and individual agency.

#### Endnote

<sup>1</sup> This and subsequent direct quotes taken from the lecture abstract provided by Maleiha Malik as well as from the author's lecture notes.

*Continued from page 1*

European integration. The starting point is the hypothesis that due to the founding situation and some path-dependency, Catholic traditions, publics and actors are more pro-European than others, and the major argument is that this "cleavage" retreats in the face of the new pluralism and the emergence of new religious actors and patterns, due to immigration to Western Europe before (and after), and EU enlargement after 1989. The essay does not attempt a full account of the EU as a whole (both in terms of the EU as a supranational entity and in terms of all EU member states) but sheds some light on a selected group of countries which follow the logic of sufficient variation on key parameters of religion and EU membership. They include Denmark, Finland and Sweden (the Scandinavian group shaped by Lutheran Protestantism); the United Kingdom (also a Protestant country), Germany and the Netherlands (bi-confessional countries with a Protestant national legacy); Ireland, Italy and Portugal (the Catholic group), and Poland and Estonia (post-socialist EU member states, one Catholic, the other historically Protestant).

### Schisms and the European Project

Religious cleavages have structured European history from the early days until the modern age, from the tensions accompanying the division of the Roman Empire into its Western and Eastern part in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, to the resulting schism between the Roman Church and the Orthodox Church in 1054, to the Great Schism within the Western Church around 1400 to the Protestant Reformations in 1517 and after, to the subsequent multiplication of denominations and the modern divide between the religious and the secular forces following the French Revolution of 1789 – to name only the most important examples. Whether the division of the continent into a

capitalist West and a communist East after 1945 continued the series of schisms and has religious connotations, shall not be addressed here. But the religious (Christian) visions of Europe after 1945, be they Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox, all called for a united (Christian) Europe as a civilization, and the European project from the beginning on strove for such a goal of civilizational – if not economic and political – unification.<sup>3</sup>

This was particularly pronounced among European Catholics: "In the Catholic case, transnational unity, skepticism toward the sovereign state, and an embrace of human rights and democracy, combined with strong ecclesial resistance to state encroachment, generated a powerful opposition to communist regimes [...] as well as strong support for European integration from its inception in 1950."<sup>4</sup> With the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of communist regimes, this goal seemed for the first time within reach, but in the meantime, new religious divides emerged which contrast the process of political and economic convergence with processes of cultural differentiation – and may pose new challenges for a civilizational unification of Europe

### Structures and European Integration: confessional divides, religiosity, and church-state regimes

One of the first empirical analyses exploring the link between religion and European integration at the level of public opinion reports a major religious influence on support for or skepticism about the European Union: after controlling for a variety of variables, "In the end, religion, mainly Catholicism - remains a strong, independent influence on attitudes towards integration. Catholic devotion, even in the 'secular' 1990s, still pushes respondents to favour integration more than might be expected given their scores on a host of other variables. The same is true in reverse for Protestants, though the influence is not as strong. It should be noted that we are considering only the direct effect of religion. Religious affiliation and practice have important indirect effects on support for integration through their influence over partisanship, ideology and other political values. In short, both the historic assessment and the two models for 1994 lead us to conclude that religion does matter".<sup>5</sup> This finding at the individual data level of public opinion will be contrasted with country-level data. The question is: do countries with a Protestant legacy exhibit higher levels of Euroskepticism than mixed or

*Table 1: EU-Skepticism based on negative attitude towards EU in member state publics, 2006*

Low EUSk	Medium EUSk	High EUSk	EU membership "a bad thing" (2003)
Slovenia (6%) Estonia (7) Poland (7) Ireland (7) Spain (8) Belgium (11) Italy (11)	Portugal (14%) Denmark (20) Germany (20) Netherlands (20)	Hungary (19%) France (20) Finland (21) Austria (28) Sweden (30) United Kingdom (36)	Ireland (6%) Spain (7) Germany (10) Italy (10) Portugal (11) Belgium (12) Netherlands (12) France (17) Austria (20) Denmark (22) Finland (22) Sweden (27) UK (29)

*Notes:* Figures in parenthesis report % saying EU has "fairly negative" or "very negative" image (EU-25 average: 18%). Figures in bold indicate countries where the respective country's EU membership was considered "a bad thing" by at least 19% of the member state's public (EU-25 average: 16%). Countries were grouped into "high EUSk" (2006) if the public's share of a negative EU-image exceeded the EU-25 average AND if at least 19% of the public stated that their country's EU-membership was "a bad thing".

*Sources:* Eurobarometer 66, December 2006, results from September – October surveys, QA7a, QA10; Eurobarometer 60, 2004, results from October – November 2003 surveys.

Catholic countries? A larger group of countries than the core group studied later on shall be considered to allow for more variation and more cases. This group comprises "initial EU-members" Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, "early joiners" UK and Ireland; the Protestant Scandinavian group of Denmark (also an early joiner), Sweden and Finland (late joiners), as well as Catholic late-joiners Austria and Portugal; and "post-Communist joiners" Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia.

In order to study these links, a simple measure of Euroskepticism in various member states is constructed based on Eurobarometer surveys of 2006 and the above mentioned concept of Euroskepticism. The main criterion is the degree to which the EU conjures up a negative image among respondents in the member states. If the percentage of the respondents exceeds the EU-25 average AND if at least 19% of the public stated that their country's EU-membership was a "bad thing", the country falls into the category of those with a strong current of Euroskepticism. The data are presented in table 1.

A group of six countries stands out where Euroskepticism is particularly strong, with the newcomer Hungary having the weakest level in this group and with the UK representing the most extreme case in our country group. That this grouping is not simply a random snapshot at a particular time point is shown by the fourth column of table 1 which exhibits the extent of Euroskepticism in the EU-15 before enlargement (based only on the question whether the country's EU membership is "a bad thing"). Here, too, with the exception of Denmark, we find the "usual suspects" Scandinavia and the UK, along with France and Austria among those with a pronounced Euroskepticism. It is also noteworthy, that if in a country a sizable minority has a negative image of the EU (more than 20%), there also exists an above average impression that EU membership is "a bad thing".

Table 2: Confessional Legacies and Euro-Skepticism

	Low EUSk	Medium EUSk	High EUSk
Protestant	Estonia	Denmark	Finland Sweden United Kingdom
Mixed Protestant		Germany Netherlands	
Catholic	Belgium Ireland Italy Slovenia Spain Poland	Portugal	Austria France Hungary

Sources: see Table 1 and Michael Minkenberg, "Religion and Public Policy", in: *Comparative Political Studies* 35:2 (2002).

When this pattern of Euroskepticism is cross-tabulated with that of confessional legacies, the results for individual-level data appear to be replicated at the aggregate level, albeit with some modifications (see table 2).

The Protestant group clearly leans towards more Euroskepticism, with Estonia, a "post-Communist joiner", straying from the group along with Denmark being an ambiguous case (see Table 1, columns 2 and 4). The mixed Protestant group does what it often does in terms of policy patterns: it settles in the middle.<sup>6</sup> Most interestingly, the Catholic group seem split between a majority with low levels of Euroskepticism and a strong minority with a high level. It could be that we are dealing with an ecological fallacy and that Protestant minorities in this group of countries blur the picture. But only in Hungary is there a significant Protestant minority of nearly 20%. Nonetheless, this finding suggests that we must take a closer look at the religious composition and the level of religious pluralism in these countries. Table 3 presents such an overview.

Two major points deserve special attention with regard to religion and Euroskepticism: the presence of Islam and the degree of religious fragmentation. As shown elsewhere<sup>7</sup>, Islam is the third or even second largest religious community. In our sample all West European countries belong to this group – except for Sweden where sizable Catholic and Orthodox minorities exist besides Islam. In historically homogenous Belgium, France and

Denmark, Islam is the second largest religion today, and in Austria and Spain, Muslims are on the verge of leaving Protestants behind. Not surprisingly, Islam is almost invisible in Poland and Hungary (and also in Estonia, although no data were available). Although the presence of Islam – or rather the perceived threat from it and the related immigrant presence – may be assumed to contribute to Euroskepticism, the relationship between Euroskepticism (Table 1) and a strong Muslim presence seems rather inconclusive and deserves more in-depth scrutiny. In some countries, such as Austria, France, and the UK, a strong Islam corresponds with high levels of Euroskepticism, but in others (Sweden, Hungary, Finland) the relationship is inverse. A similar ambiguity can be found with regard to the degree of religious pluralization.

From around 1980 until around 2000, religious pluralism has increased in all European democracies (except for Sweden). In countries with a longer history of immigration and/or biconfessionalism, such as the Netherlands and Britain as well as Germany, religious pluralism has increased from an already high level. In the other West European countries – all traditionally Catholic with the exception of Denmark – the jump started from a much lower level and has been particularly pronounced. Again, only in some of these countries (Austria, Hungary) did a pronounced jump in religious pluralism correspond with high

continued from page 5

Table 3: Trends in Religious Composition (ca. 2000) and Pluralism in Selected European Democracies, ca. 1980–ca. 2000 (in percent)

	Catholics	Protestants	Orthodox	Jews	Muslims	Other/ None	Pluralism Index ca. 1980	Pluralism Index ca. 2000
Austria	73.6	4.7	1.9	0.1	4.2	15.5	0.15	0.41
Belgium	80.9	1.7	0.5	0.35	3.8	12.8	0.05	0.21
Denmark	0.6	88.5	0.0	0.1	2.8	8.0	0.07	0.23
Estonia	1.0	14.0	12.8	n.d.	n.d.	72.2	n.d.	n.d.
Finland	0.1	91.0	1.1	n.d.	0.4	7.4	0.09	0.25
France	78.8	1.6	0.3	1.1	8.5	9.7	0.08	0.40
Germany	32.1	31.8	1.1	0.1	3.7	30.3	0.54	0.66
Hungary	54.5	19.5	0.1	0.1	0.6	25.2	n.d.	0.33
Ireland	77.0	16.5	0.0	0.8	0.2	5.5	0.09	0.15
Italy	97.2	1.5	0.2	0.05	1.0	0.1	0.03	0.30
Netherlands	34.5	30.1	0.0	0.2	5.7	29.9	0.62	0.72
Poland	95.8	0.3	1.3	0.02	0.08	2.5	n.d.	0.05
Portugal	90.8	4.2	0.0	0.02	0.3	1.3	n.d.	0.14
Slovenia	57.8	0.9	2.3	n.d.	2.4	36.6	n.d.	n.d.
Spain	96.1	1.1	0.0	0.04	0.7	2.1	0.02	0.45
Sweden	2.0	95.2	1.3	0.2	1.1	0.2	0.29	0.23
United Kingdom	11.0	43.0	0.6	0.5	2.7	42.2	0.59	0.69

Sources: Michael Minkenberg, "Democracy and Religion", in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33:6 (2007), p. 898f., for Poland see <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/pl-poland/rel-religion> (Apr. 14, 08); for Hungary [http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/eng/volumes/18/tables/load1\\_26.html](http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/eng/volumes/18/tables/load1_26.html) (Apr. 14, 08), for Estonia <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/en.html> (Mar 4, 2008); for Slovenia <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/si.html> (May 5, 2008).

levels of Euroskepticism. What remains as a rather robust relationship, is the historical role of Protestantism in a country. When considering the historically Catholic countries with high levels of Euroskepticism (Austria, France), it seems that Islam rather than a Protestant minority can account for the distance to the EU. But this explanation does not work for Belgium and Slovenia. It may be, after all, the levels of religiosity are more important than the confessional divides.

Indeed, as Table 4 suggests, religiosity can claim more explanatory value than confessional legacy, at least at the aggregate level. The more religious the population in a country, the lower the level of Euroskepticism – and vice versa. The exceptions here are Estonia on the one hand and Austria on the other. Moreover, Catholicism in

combination with low religiosity produces the opposite effect from Catholicism combined with high religiosity.

The argument that the dogma of the Catholic Church which favors «the circumscription of the sovereign state and the creation of continent wide political institutions»<sup>8</sup> lends

support to European integration (see above) becomes less convincing in societies where the Catholic Church suffers a decline in membership and church attendance. Where the links are relatively strong, as in Poland, Italy and Ireland, a transmission of the church position to the general public can be expected. In France and Hungary (and also Austria), such a transmission does not take place.

The role of the churches may also be affected by their relative position vis-à-vis the state, i.e. the respective church-state-regime. This aspect of religion's public role in democracies has received growing attention and will not be reviewed here.<sup>9</sup> Based on a 9 point scale of church-state relations,<sup>10</sup> the pattern can be reviewed with regard to Euroskepticism (see table 5).

Unlike in the case of policy areas which are particularly relevant for religious and church interests (family policies, multiculturalism<sup>11</sup>), church-state regimes do not correspond with particular patterns in Euroskepticism in mass publics. The fact that countries with established state churches display medium to high levels of Euroskepticism, may have more to do with their Protestant legacies than with church-state relations per se (see above). But the institutional setting of church and state tells us little about the churches' positioning as interest groups in

Table 4: Religiosity and Euro-Skepticism

	Low EUSk	Medium EUSk	High EUSk
Low Religiosity	Estonia	Denmark	<b>France</b> Hungary Finland Sweden
Medium Religiosity	<b>Belgium</b> <b>Slovenia</b>	Germany Netherlands	United Kingdom
High Religiosity	<b>Ireland</b> <b>Italy</b> <b>Spain</b> <b>Poland</b>	<b>Portugal</b>	<b>Austria</b>

Note: Religiosity (except for CEE countries) is measured by frequency of church going, based on World Values Studies in the 1980s and 1990s (averaged). Countries in bold are Catholic countries. Countries in which less than 20% reported going to church "at least once a month" are categorized as cases with "low religiosity", those with more than 40% as "high religiosity" countries. Sources: see Tables 1 and 2; for CEE countries, see Detlef Pollack, "Das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik in den postkommunistischen Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas", in: M. Minkenberg and U. Willems (eds.), *Politik und Religion. PVS Special Issue* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2003), p. 443.

Table 5: Church-State Regimes and Euro-Skepticism

	Low EUSk	Medium EUSk	High EUSk
Establishment		Denmark	Finland Sweden
Partial Establishment	<b>Belgium</b> <b>Italy</b> <b>Slovenia</b> <b>Spain</b> <b>Poland</b>	Germany <b>Portugal</b>	<b>Austria</b> <b>Hungary</b> United Kingdom
Separation	Estonia <b>Ireland</b>	Netherlands	<b>France</b>

Note: Countries in bold are Catholic countries.

Sources: see Tables 1 and 2, for CEE countries see Pollack (Table 4 above).

the debate on European integration – a dimension of religion and Euroskepticism which shall be addressed in a later section of the essay.

### Actors and European integration: religious parties and churches

The final question to ask at this point is to what extent a strong Christian Democracy (CD) in the party system and/or churches can be attributed with particular effects on Euroskepticism in mass publics. Considering the deep involvement of CD parties in the launching of the European integration project (see above) one might expect that a strong CD party constrains the rise of Euroskepticism – or provokes a polarization around the issue if the party system is polarized in general. As a first step, the relative strength of CD parties is considered, as measured by the salience of the religious cleavage in voting behaviour, their closeness to churches' positions and a CD heritage, their length in national government participation (see Table 6).<sup>12</sup> In this overview, Central and Eastern European religious parties are not included because of their limited existence and – in some cases – problematic categorization.

The pattern in Table 6 indicates a relevance of these parties. While high religious partisan impact *per se* does not correlate with Euroskepticism, a strong Christian Democracy, the founding party family of the European project, does. With the exception of "latecomer" Austria, all countries with a strong Christian Democracy exhibit low to medium levels of Euroskepticism. The Scandinavian countries, where small Protestant parties have established themselves as permanent features of the party system and – in the case of Denmark and Finland, also as government coalition partners – Euroskepticism is higher (see also Table 1 above). How have these parties evolved, and how do they relate to the role of churches in the European project? These questions shall be addressed by looking at the "inside" of these parties and the churches, i.e. their programmatic stances on European integration, as classified into no, "soft" and "hard" Euroskepticism.<sup>1</sup>

A close look at the development of EU-related positions of religious parties and major European churches reveals that contrary to the general publics in EU member states, European churches do not split according to

Table 6: Religious Party Impact and Euro-Skepticism (Western Europe only)

	Low EUSk	Medium EUSk	High EUSk
Low religious partisan impact			<b>France</b>
Medium religious partisan impact	<b>Ireland</b> <b>Spain</b>	<b>Portugal</b>	Sweden United Kingdom
High religious partisan impact	<u>Belgium</u> <u>Italy</u>	Denmark <u>Germany</u> <u>Netherlands</u>	Finland <b>Austria</b>

Note: Countries in bold are Catholic countries, underlined countries are those with strong Christian Democratic parties.

Sources: see Tables 1 and 2.

7). Rather, they are almost united in their support for European integration, with a less than enthusiastic stance of the Protestant churches in Denmark and the Netherlands as well as the Catholic Church in Poland and the Orthodox Church in Estonia. What is true for the general population, i.e. that publics in Protestant countries with (national) state churches are more Euroskeptic than populations in Catholic countries, does not translate into positions of religious actors themselves (see Tables 2 and 5 above). Only fundamentalist groups, marginal in numbers and social and political relevance, exhibit strong levels of Euroskepticism. With the notable exception of Poland, these are prominent in countries which are characterized as rather secular and predominantly Protestant. In Western European countries with a (Protestant) state church, the Euroskepticism of fundamentalists seems even more pronounced – indicating a pronounced cleavage within the Protestant field between the state (and policy supporting) church and fundamentalist opponents to both, the state church and the European project. This split is replicated in Poland in a diverging context, i.e. Catholicism and high levels of religiosity, which may explain its higher political potency.<sup>2</sup>

Table 7 summarizes in a simplified way the findings of the country by country research on Churches' and parties' positions on the EU and European integration. It shows, for example, that with the exception of the British Conservative party and the Polish League for Polish Families, Euroskepticism – hard or soft – has no place in religious or Center-Right parties in the EU member states researched here. Over the last decade or so, there is a slight decline in support for European integration in a number of Christian parties, but this does not qualify as Euroskepticism (with some qualifications, the Bavarian CSU may be placed in the box of soft Euroskepticism but the CSU is not a national party). Euroskepticism in Christian parties can be found in

the confessional divide (see Table

Table 7: Euroskepticism among Christian Churches and Parties among Selected EU Member States: Position of Countries by Actors' Preferences (Particular Parties' Abbreviations in Parentheses)

		Euroskepticism among Christian Parties		
		Hard	Soft	None (pro EU)
Euroskepticism among Christian Churches	Hard	Netherlands(CU/SGP) Poland		
	Soft		Denmark	Sweden
	None (pro EU)	Great Britain Finland (SKL)	Germany (CSU) Portugal (CDS)	Germany (CDU) Netherlands (CDA) Finland (KK) Italy

Sources: author's data collection on churches' and parties' positions on European integration; see Michael Minkenberg, "Religion and Euroskepticism: cleavages, religious parties and churches in EU member states", unpublished manuscript (NYU 2008).

smaller parties with a more fundamentalist following: the Dutch Calvinist parties, the Scandinavian Christian parties (here, Sweden is the exception).

The overall message stemming from the preceding analyses is the following: if we move from treating the religious factor as a cultural or background variable to a variable of social agency, or the "translation" of the cultural heritage into actors' resources and preferences, the well established affinity between Catholicism and the European project and, accordingly, a certain Protestant distance to it (see above), dissolves. There is no hard Euroskepticism in any of the Christian mainline churches with the exception of Poland in the 1990s. This runs counter to the assumption that Churches – as interest groups – may have a more radical view than political parties because they are not under pressure to make compromises and compete for public support.

Moreover, one can find a double cleavage factor. In countries where the religious cleavage is relatively salient (Netherlands, Italy, Finland)<sup>3</sup>, the major Christian parties are strongly in favour of European integration. This is also true for Germany and Sweden with a medium-level salience of the religious cleavage. But in countries with a salient religious cleavage, the major Christian parties compete with smaller – and more radical ones – which show a hard Euroskepticism (CU/SGP in the Netherlands, SKL in Finland). It

may well be that other factors are involved as well, but our data suggest that a strong religious cleavage in Europe makes room for more than one Christian party and opens a new competitive space on the definition of religion in politics – and on the issue of identity and European integration.

In line with the results from previous research<sup>4</sup>, hard Euroskepticism prevails among smaller and more radical denominations, such as Evangelicals in the Nordic countries and Calvinists in the Netherlands. However, in no country analyzed so far did these positions have political relevance in terms of successful lobbying against the EU. The sources for hard Euroskepticism are religious-doctrinary (for example, the eschatological demonisation of the EU) and economic-nationalistic (see above). In the Nordic countries Euroskepticism mixes with anti-Catholic sentiments. In Poland, the main issue of concern is value decay represented by the West and the national sovereignty issue.

In general, both the Catholic and Protestant churches did and do support the process of European integration and enlargement as well. The respective national regimes of church-state relations do not bear on these positions (see table 4 above). At the same time, both churches cautiously observe and comment on this process. Here, we may identify slightly different perspectives or issues of concern: the Catholic churches pay much attention to the

"threat of secularism", which is represented by liberal legislation in the field of bioethics and reproduction. Another point of critique is the lack of a reference to God in the European constitution. There is, typically, a particular attention of the Catholic Church on morality and symbolism which does not mean, however, that socio-economic problems, issues of inequality etc. are ignored. Protestant churches seem to pay more attention to these socio-economic divides, migration and poverty as (possible) consequences of European integration. Furthermore, particularly in the Nordic countries and in the UK, the activism of the Catholic Church at the EU level is seen with (slight) animosity.

### Conclusion

With regard to the findings that Euroskepticism correlates with religiosity while Protestants are supposed to be more skeptical than Catholics, the analysis of church positions, at first glance, cannot help to explain this phenomenon. The mainline Churches are overwhelmingly pro EU, or at least not Euroskeptic as understood here. Thus, more in-depth research should be done with regard to fundamentalist groups and the sector of anti-EU single issue organisations as well as their interaction with – and possible impact on – larger groups and parties, including national governments.

As a general argument the findings in this essay suggest that on structural and actor-related levels the often-quoted confessional cleavage persists but mixes with another dimension of the religious cleavage, i.e. the dividing line between religious and secular actors and interests. Where Euroskepticism exists in the religious field, it is more radical with smaller religious groups and parties. Moreover, due to the higher power resources of Catholic Churches which are expected to be less Euroskeptic than protestant churches, it is politically less relevant in Catholic societies. Moreover, over

time, a shift has taken place from a general EU critique to issue related critique, depending on the status of the country (full member, recent member, candidate) and the salience of the issues at hand (religiously relevant policy issues, constitutional treaty).

(Endnotes)

<sup>1</sup> This essay is based on the author's cooperation in the research project R.E.M. (Religion, Euroscepticism, and the Media), financed by NORFACE and directed by Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam (see <http://www.rem-norface.org/>).

<sup>2</sup> See Daniel Philpott and Timothy Samuel Shah, "Faith, freedom, and federation: the role of religious ideas and institutions in European political convergence", in Tim Byrnes and Peter Katzenstein, eds. *Religion in an expanding Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 51 – 54. See also John Madeley, "Grit or pearl? The religious factor in the politics of European integration", paper at the 35<sup>th</sup> joint sessions of ECPR workshops, Helsinki, May 7-12, 2007; Scott Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations* (New York:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 167-169.

<sup>3</sup> See Philpott/Shah, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Brent F. Nelsen, James L. Guth, and Cleveland R. Fraser, "Does religion matter?", in: *European Union Politics* 2:2 (2001), p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Minkenberg, "Religion and public policy", in: *Comparative Political Studies* 35:2 (2002), pp. 221-247; *idem*, "The policy impact of church-state relations: family policy and abortion policy in Britain, France, and Germany", in: *West European Politics* 26:1, (2003), pp. 195-217.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Minkenberg, "Democracy and religion", in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33:6 (2007), pp. 887-909.

<sup>8</sup> See Philpott/Shah, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> See Minkenberg, "Religion and public policy"; John Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi (eds.) *The chimera of neutrality. Church and state in Europe. West European Politics Special Issue* 16:1, (2003); Veit Bader, *Secularism or democracy?* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Michael Minkenberg, "Staat und Kirche in westlichen Demokratien", in: Minkenberg/Willems, *Politik und Religion. PVS Special Issue*, p. 123

<sup>11</sup> See Minkenberg, "The Policy impact of church state relations", *op.cit.*, Minkenberg "Religious legacies, churches and the shaping of immigration policies in the age of religious diversity", in: *Politics and Religion* 1:4 (2008, in print).

<sup>12</sup> For details of this index, see Minkenberg, "Religion and public policy", *op.cit.*

<sup>13</sup> A more detailed content analysis has been provided in a series of papers by the author for the R.E.M. project.

<sup>14</sup> See Sabrina Ramet, "Thy will be done: the Catholic Church and politics in Poland since 1989", in: Byrnes/Katzenstein, eds., *op.cit.*, pp. 117-147.

<sup>15</sup> See Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen politics*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), p. 161; Michael Minkenberg, "Religion and euroscepticism: cleavages, religious parties and churches in EU member states", unpublished manuscript (NYU 2008), Table 3.

<sup>16</sup> See Madeley, *op.cit.*; Susan Sundback, "The Nordic Lutheran churches and the EU question in 1994", in: *Temenos* 37-38 (2002), pp. 191-208.

## From Africa to the Balkans: New Perspectives on Colonialism and Material Culture in Fascist Italy

*New York University: Thursday, October 16 and Friday, October 17*  
By Eleonora Corsalini

The conference "From Africa to Balkans" was held at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University. Organized by Lidia Santarelli (NYU) and Jennie Hirsh (Maryland Institute College of Art), the interdisciplinary discussion aimed to address a lacuna in the historiography of modern Italy and its relationship to the Mediterranean world. In the past two decades, there has been a significantly increased interest in the history, ideology, and material culture that evolved under Italian colonialism in Africa, and, more recently, scholars have begun to

consider issues as they occurred during the Italian occupation of the Balkans.

The numerous speakers and respondents, coming from a broad spectrum of disciplines, presented a wide range of research topics. There were three conference sessions, each with a different theme. The theme of the first session was "Theories and Practice of Violence," the theme of the second was "Material Culture and the Built Environment," and the theme of the third was "Social Behavior and Cultural Hybridization." Brown University Professor Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg delivered the Keynote Address: "Parentheses: Repression, Psychoanalysis, and Italian Modernity."

By examining the emergence of Italian colonialist strategies in Africa together with those articulated in Balkan contexts, which traditionally have been studied as separate spheres, this conference initiated a new, integrated approach to the historiography of Italian history and material culture in relation to twentieth-century Mediterranean and African studies: for the first time, the emergence of Italian colonialist strategies in Africa and those articulated in Balkan contexts, which traditionally have been studied as separate spheres, were examined together. *Peace Studies at Columbia University.*

## America's Edge: a global country in a global century

*New York University; Thursday,  
October 23  
By David Idol*

Anne-Marie Slaughter was the speaker at the sixth annual Remarque Institute lecture at NYU. Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, gave a talk entitled "America's Edge: a global country in a global century," in which she discussed the roles of the United States and the European Union within the changing dynamic of international relations of the 21st century. She argued that America, more than the EU or other emerging powers, is "poised to be the central nation of the 21st century." Many have commented on "the rise of the rest" — the increasing economic, social, and cultural power of the rest of the world. Slaughter said that, even in this context, the US still has a unique "edge" that can be exploited to secure its continued dominance in the world.

Slaughter posited two different ways of imagining dominance in international relations: as the top of a hierarchy, and as the center of a web. The hierarchy model has been the most-used model for understanding US power in the 20th century. The US is the greatest

military power, the biggest economy, and the dominant culture, it has been argued; thus the US is the dominant nation. In this model, the US is losing out to other powers — notably China and the EU. Using the web model, however, the US has a clear advantage to be at the center of the 21st century.

Slaughter believes that the 21st century will be a "networked" century. The nation-state is noticeably losing sovereignty within its own economy, multinational businesses are becoming more numerous, Non-Governmental Organizations are playing an increasing role in international relations, and people are becoming more mobile and more global. Because of these developments, the traditional understanding of nation-states as monolithic actors on the world stage is increasingly inadequate to describe global affairs. The view of these new phenomena together creates effects that Slaughter terms "networking." People are still linked hierarchically within the nation-state, but they are also increasingly linked horizontally within different networks, like transnational organizations, ethnic diasporas, and families.

She used the examples of business networks and terrorist networks to

expound upon the nature of global networks in the 21st century. These networks are transnational, egalitarian, and within them, power is understood as the degree of centrality — Mohammed Atta was considered the architect of the 9/11 terrorist attacks because he had the most connections to the other players involved.

The US, she concluded, has a clear advantage to be at the "center of the network" because of its geography, its diverse demography, and its culture of equality, innovation, and the constructive battle of ideas. Europe, however, has two clear advantages over the US in this regard: its virtual achievement of sustainable growth, and its more egalitarian society — it is now easier to advance socially within one generation in Europe than in the US. However, she does not frame the US-EU relationship as one of rivalry; on the contrary, she said that the first step the US must take if it wishes to remain dominant is to strengthen the trans-Atlantic alliance. If the US wants to set a liberal, capitalist agenda for the world, it must seek ideological allies — first in Europe, then in Latin America and Africa, and finally in Asia. But a strong partnership between the US and the EU has tremendous potential.

## Mercè Rodereda, So Far, So Close

*Friday, October 24, New York  
University  
By Eleonora Corsalini*

"Mercè Rodoreda, Seen from a Distant Shore," held at the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center (NYU), was organized in celebration of the centennial of the birth of Rodoreda (1908 – 1983), considered one of the most original European writers of the 20th century. Rodoreda belongs to a larger community of writers, bound by civil war, political repression, exile, and their hardships and consequences. Her innovative voice, influenced by political awakening, the 1936 – 1939 Spanish

Civil War, and years of exile and oblivion, has become one of the most influential in 20th century Catalan literature.

The symposium also celebrated the 30th anniversary of the North American Catalan Society, which promotes Catalan literature and culture at U.S. and Canadian universities (mostly through its scholarly journal, *The Catalan Review*). The title of the event refers to the fact that all the speakers, members of the association, are based at universities in North America: they study this extraordinary author "from a distant

shore." But, as the extremely interesting discussions showed, despite the distance they feel Mercè Rodoreda close to their intellectual, cultural and even emotional interests.

The event consisted of three sessions. In the morning session, Mercè Rodoreda: Views from the periphery, Kathryn Everly (Syracuse University) examined the use of the female figure in Rodoreda's literary works and paintings in the light of the surrealist tradition, bringing to bear texts by André Breton, René Girard, and Elaine Scarry both to understand disassociation, fragmentation, and the female body

in pain, and to underline the centrality of a surrealized woman's body in her oeuvre. Jo Labanyi also used the contrast between written and visual textuality, offering a close study of three versions of *The Time of the Doves*—the novel, the television series, and the edited version of the series, released as a film—to discover how the director's choices emphasized or downplayed aspects of the novel. For example, Labanyi cogently questions the view of critics who perceive a strong nationalistic tendency in the film by pointing to a greater presence of symbols of the Spanish Republic. In this interesting session, the peripheries of the written text were defined by the gaps and overlaps between writing and image.

The theme of the second session was "Mercè Rodoreda between Catalonia and Spain. War and Exile." Joan Ramon Resina, Stanford University, talked about the role of Rodoreda as a crucial witness of a tragedy, quoting her most important masterpieces and drawing parallels with Primo Levi, the Italian Jewish writer and Holocaust survivor.

Resina discussed the difficulty of the witness Rodoreda in reporting the degradation of the war and the exile and the shame of the witness in to that degradation: while in exile in Paris, the Catalan author wrote that the Nazi camps "paralyze" the Universe, while "love moves" it (Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto XXXIII). Geraldine Nichols, University of Florida, highlighted the political role of Rodoreda's work, as an intellectual in exile: she stated that her use of Catalan was, in itself, a political stance. She also established a comparison with James Joyce, quoting Rodoreda's words: the main difference lies in the fact that he exiled himself because he thought that his country was boring, while she was forcibly exiled for political reasons. Jaume Martí-Olivella served as respondent: a discussion among the speakers and the audience followed.

The third and final session was titled *Mercè Rodoreda: Writing and Translation*. Roser Caminals, Hood College, and Marta Marin, Wilfrid Laurier University, discussed the very technical moment of

translation, its importance and its essentiality for an international novel, such as Rodoreda's *La Plaça del Diamant*. This novel has been translated into more than twenty languages, and praised by such writers as Gabriel García Márquez as one of the best novels to be published in Spain after the Civil War. The two experts stated that a translator must first be a writer, because the translator rewrites the book. They also discussed the possible distorting effects of translation, quoting as an example the first English title of *La Plaça del Diamant*: *The Pigeon Girl*. Mary Ann Newman, Director of the Catalan Center at NYU, served as respondent. This final session also ended with a discussion among the speakers and the audience.

The event ended at Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimó with a concert by Catalan jazz musicians Alexis Cuadrado and Oscar Peñas, and a reading, with musical accompaniment, of a fragment from a Rodoreda story (in English and Catalan) by Mary Ann Newman.

### **Multiculturalism, Islam and Women's Rights in Britain**

*New York University; Friday, October 17*

*By Suzanne Bayard*

Ann Cryer, Labour Member of Parliament for Keighley, led an informal discussion hosted by CEMS with Professor Silvia Maier on forced marriages and the rights of women in Britain. Ms. Cryer related her career as an MP beginning with the 1997 effort by Labour to include more women into Parliament, adding 101 women.

Ms. Cryer spoke about the Pakistani minorities in her district and nearby districts. Ms. Cryer related the first encounter she had with forced marriages, which influenced her career. She said that forced marriages were not discussed at the time over political correctness concerns. In 1999, she spearheaded a Parliamentary debate on forced marriages, and was attacked as a

racist. She discussed how she was able to create a system to discover and protect «reluctant spouses,» unwilling spouses of a forced marriage. These spouses, typically women, were forced by their parents to file the paperwork to allow their spouses to enter the UK. Ms. Cryer insisted that all those applying to allow their spouse entry into the UK be interviewed privately, without their parents. If a reluctant spouse was discovered, Ms. Cryer's office worked to provide a secondary reason to reject entry applications to prevent backlash against this person.

In addition to speaking about her district, Ms. Cryer discussed some of the UK and EU legislation, including the development of a Forced Marriage Unit to defend women who do not wish to be married to their chosen spouse, and the European Union marriage rights. She also explained that as



*Ann Cryer, MP for Keighley*

Pakistani television is becoming more accessible, Pakistani children in the UK are becoming increasingly isolated from Western culture.

In the question and answer session, Ms. Cryer explained her belief that the problem of reluctant spouses and domestic abuse was not a problem with Islam, but rather the rural origins of some practitioners.

## EuroDigest: *Europe in October*

October 6: The Federal Chancellery announced Switzerland will hold another referendum on whether it will overturn the 1999 free movement of people agreement with the EU after a nationalistic group collected enough signatures.

October 8: Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko dissolved parliament and called for new elections.

October 10: Former Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

October 11: Belgian Luc Costermans broke the world speed record for a blind person by traveling 192 mph (309 km/h) while driving a Lamborghini Gallardo in a French airstrip.

October 17: Austria and Turkey beat out Iceland for the two European two-year seats on the United Nations Security Council. Japan, Mexico and Uganda won the remaining seats for their respective regions, beating Iran.

October 20: Spectators and reporters were asked to leave court proceedings in Turkey against 46 suspects, including retired military officers, charged in plotting attacks to incite a military coup against the Islamist ruling party, the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Nationalist demonstrators protested outside the court room.

October 21: Riots erupted in Athens during a 24-hour strike. Officials estimate that 90% of the Greek workforce participated in strikes.

October 22: The European Parliament passed a bill granting equal rights to temp workers for pay, hours and leave time.

October 24: A petition by Icelanders to condemn the use of UK anti-terrorism laws to freeze Icelandic bank accounts reached 40,000 signatures. The two countries clashed earlier when British assets in Icelandic banks were frozen in a government takeover as an attempt to save its economy from the global crisis.

### Visit By German Teachers

*New York University: Wednesday,  
October 15  
By Prof. Silvia Maier*

Under the leadership of Mr. Leonhard Soppa, twenty-six high school teachers from Hildesheim/Hannover in Lower Saxony, Germany, visited the CEMS for an afternoon of informal presentations and conversations about higher education policies in Germany and the United States, the challenges of teaching current political events in social studies courses, and careers in academia. As part of CEMS Professor Michael Minkenberg's Max Weber Salon series, the educators "compared notes" with Dr. Kathrin DiPaola, the Director of the Deutsches Haus at NYU, Mr. Volker Lehmann, policy analyst at the New York office of the Friedrich-

Ebert Stiftung (FES), the think tank of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), Dr. Sylvia Maier, assistant professor at the CEMS and graduate students Matt Bufford and Suzy Bayard, sharing perspectives on the state and changing nature of secondary and tertiary education in Germany and the US, in particular the increasing politicization of curricula and rising cost of obtaining a marketable education.

Dr. DiPaola's presentation called attention to the continued popularity of German language courses in New York--bucking the nation-wide trend among colleges to close down area-studies programs-- as well as the sustained interest in German art, cultural and political programs, such as those offered by the Deutsches Haus. Mr. Lehmann offered insights into

the challenges and opportunities afforded by FES's work as liaison between the UN and its partners in the developing world as it develops research and policy projects to influence the discourse at the United Nations on peace, security as well as social and economic development in the Global South.

Dr. Maier concluded the afternoon by outlining the challenging yet also very rewarding nature of a career in American academe and shared some of her own experiences as a junior woman academic at a major research institution.

CEMS was one stop on the educators' week-long professional visit to New York which also included meetings at the German Consulate General, the German Mission to the United Nations, the Chamber of Commerce, and various cultural events.

--NEW YORK UNIVERSITY--

**CENTER FOR EUROPEAN AND  
MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES**

285 Mercer Street, 7<sup>th</sup> Floor. All events  
take place at the center unless  
otherwise noted. Tel.: 212.998.3838.  
<http://www.cems.as.nyu.edu>

Friday, November 7 at 2:30 p.m.  
Roundtable Discussion: «The U.S.  
Elections: Transatlantic Perspectives»  
Moderator: Michael Minkenberg  
(Viadrina University, Frankfurt/  
Oder, and Max Weber Chair at NYU)  
Participants: Ariane Chebel  
d'Appollonia (Sciences Po Paris),  
James Goldgeier (George Washington  
University), Stephanie Hofmann  
(European University Institute in  
Florence), Marcia Pally (NYU), Simon  
Reich (Rutgers University), Andrew  
Rutten (Stanford University),  
Gregory Wawro (Columbia  
University)  
Deutsches Haus, 42 Washington  
Mews

Wednesday, November 12 at 12:30  
p.m.  
European History Workshop:  
Charles Walton, Assistant Professor  
of History, Yale University, «Is  
Revolutionary Violence Genocidal?  
The Case of the French Revolution»  
285 Mercer Street, 8th Floor

**INSTITUTE OF FRENCH STUDIES**

15 Washington Mews. Tel.  
212.998.8740. Email:  
[french.studies@nyu.edu](mailto:french.studies@nyu.edu).  
[http://www.nyu.edu/fas/program/  
frenchstudies](http://www.nyu.edu/fas/program/frenchstudies)

Wednesday, November 12 at 6:30  
p.m.  
Colloquium: Film Screening "Paris:  
Vélo Liberté", Karena Albers and Tad  
Fettig (Kontentreal, 2008, 30 min.)  
Round table: Bike Share: From Paris  
to New York?  
With Véronique Bernard, Senior  
Producer, Kontentreal; Rosemary  
Wakeman, Fordham University;

**MARK YOUR CALENDARS**

Caroline Samponaro, Director of  
Bicycle Advocacy, Transportation  
Alternatives; Ellen Cavanagh, Urban  
Planner, Governors Island  
Preservation and Education  
Corporation

**LA MAISON FRANCAISE AT NYU**

16 Washington Mews. All events take  
place at the Maison unless otherwise  
noted. Tel.: 212.998.8750  
<http://www.nyu.edu/maisonfrancaise>

Thursday, November 6 at 7:00 p.m.  
Illustrated Lecture: Surrealist  
Masculinity  
With Michele Cone  
Professor of Art History, School of  
Visual Arts; author of *Artists under  
Vichy; French Modernisms*

Friday, November 7 at 4:00 p.m.  
Lecture: Théâtre et philosophie  
With Alain Badiou, philosopher;  
author of *La Théorie du sujet; L'Etre et  
l'événement; Le Siècle*  
Discussants: Martin Puchner,  
Professor of English, Columbia  
University, editor, English edition  
of *Alain Badiou's Rhapsodie pour le  
théâtre*, forthcoming in Theatre  
Survey, 49:2, and Bruno Bosteels,  
Associate Professor of Romance  
Studies, Cornell University,  
translator, *Rhapsodie pour le théâtre*

Monday, November 10 at 7:00 p.m.  
A Florence Gould Event: French  
Literature in the Making  
With Marie Nimier, novelist, author  
of *Sirène* (Prix de l'Académie  
française), *La Girafe, Anatomie d'un  
chœur, La Reine du silence* (Prix  
Médicis), *Les Inséparables* in  
conversation with Olivier Barrot,  
writer, journalist, *Un Livre un jour*  
(France 3), publisher, *Senso*  
In French. Simultaneous  
translation available for this event

Thursday, November 13 at 7:00 p.m.  
Illustrated Lecture: Art and  
Catastrophes: René Thom's Legacy  
With Marc Chaperon,  
mathematician, professor, Université  
de Paris 7 – Denis Diderot  
Co-sponsored by the Institut des  
Hautes Etudes Scientifiques

Friday, November 14 at 4:00 p.m.  
Discussion: Kurt Weill in Paris  
With Yves Abel, conductor, music  
director, OFNY; Jean-Philippe Clarac  
and Olivier Deloeuil, stage directors,  
artistic directors, OFNY; Kim  
Kowalke, President, Kurt Weill  
Foundation for Musics  
Presented in conjunction with the  
U.S. premiere of Marie Galante,  
Weill's only work in French, at the  
French Institute Alliance Française:  
[www.fiaf.org](http://www.fiaf.org)  
Co-sponsored by L'Opéra Français  
de New York (OFNY)

Monday, November 17 at 7:00 p.m.  
Discussion: Surrealism and the  
Caribbean, a discussion of  
Martinique – Charmeuse de  
Serpents, by André Breton and  
André Masson  
With David Seaman, Professor of  
French, Georgia Southern  
University, translator, *Martinique  
Snake Charmer* (University of Texas  
Press, 2008); Martica Sawin, Art  
historian and critic, author of  
*Surrealism in Exile* and the *Beginning  
of the New York School*; J. Michael  
Dash, Professor of French, NYU,  
author of *The Other America: Caribbean  
Literature in a New World Context*

Thursday, November 20 at 7:00 p.m.  
Illustrated Lecture: "Magic of the  
Masquerade: Africa and the  
Caribbean", With Phyllis Galembo,  
SUNY, author of *Divine Inspiration  
from Benin to Bahia; Voudou: Visions  
and Voices of Haiti*. Presented in  
conjunction with the exhibitions *The  
Poetics of Cloth: African Textiles/Recent  
Art* (Grey Art Gallery); *The Essential  
Art of African Textiles: Design Without  
End* (Metropolitan Museum of Art)  
and *Shrines and Masquerades*  
(Washington Square East Galleries)

Friday, November 21 at 4:00 p.m.  
Illustrated Lecture: Bandes Dessinées  
With Nicolas De Crecy, writer and  
illustrator of graphic novels: *Le  
Bibendum céleste*; *Léon La Came*;  
*Prosopopus*; *Période glaciaire*

Tuesday, November 25 at 6:00 p.m.  
Discussion: Albi Cathedral and the  
Architecture of Louis Kahn  
With Nathaniel Kahn, filmmaker,  
*My Architect*; Carol Krinsky,  
Professor of Art History, NYU;  
Robert McCarter, Architect,  
Professor of Architecture, University  
of Washington, author of *Louis I.  
Kahn*  
Co-sponsored by the AIA – New  
York  
Center for Architecture, 536  
LaGuardia Place, between West 3rd  
and Bleecker Streets  
Reservations: [rsvp@aiany.org](mailto:rsvp@aiany.org)

#### KING JUAN CARLOS I OF SPAIN CENTER

53 Washington Square South. All  
events take place on the first floor  
unless otherwise noted. Tel.:  
212.998.3650  
<http://www.nyu.edu/pages/kjc>

Sunday, November 2 at 6:00 p.m.;  
Monday, November 3 – Friday,  
November 7 at 7:00p.m.  
Theatre: Teatro Vivo/Live Theatre:  
A Festival.  
Sponsored by the new Creative  
Writing in Spanish Program at NYU.  
For program and further information  
visit <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/kjc>

Saturday, November 8 at 6:00 p.m.  
Event: 70th Anniversary of La  
Despedida  
In partnership with the Abraham  
Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA)  
For program and further information  
visit [www.alba-valb.org](http://www.alba-valb.org)

Monday, November 10 at 7:00p.m.  
Lecture: The Phenomenal Rise of  
Spain's Multinationals  
With writer and scholar William  
Chislet

Co-sponsored by the Embassy of  
Spain in the US  
In English

Tuesday, November 11 at 7:00 p.m.  
Lecture: Memories/Correspondences  
By photographer Marcelo Brodsky  
Reception to follow  
Sponsored by NYU's Hemispheric  
Institute in collaboration with the  
King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center

Thursday, November 13 – Tuesday,  
November 18 at 8:15 p.m.  
Film Festival: Documenta Brazil  
2008 - Rhythms of Brasilidade  
Curated by Micaela Kramer and  
Fernando Perez, and with a selection  
of shorts curated by Moara Rossetto.  
Check website for more information.  
Co-sponsored by the NYU  
Coordinating Council for Music,  
the NYU Center for Latin American  
and Caribbean Studies (CLACS),  
the NYU Department of Spanish  
and Portuguese, the Albert  
Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities  
and NYU Department of  
Comparative Literature.

#### DEUTSCHES HAUS AT NYU

42 Washington Mews. All events  
take place at the Deutsches Haus  
unless otherwise noted. Tel.:  
212.998.8660  
<http://www.nyu.edu/deutscheshaus>

Wednesday, November 5 - Saturday,  
November 15  
Kino 2008  
MoMA's twenty-ninth annual  
survey of new films from Germany  
includes recent fiction features,  
documentaries, student works, and  
animated films by both veteran and  
first-time filmmakers. All of this  
year's films are making their New  
York premieres.  
For a complete list of screenings  
visit the MoMA Website

Thursday, November 6, 6:00 p.m.  
Lecture: "When Kafka Says We"  
Vivian Liska (University of  
Antwerp) This event takes place at

19 University Place, 1st Floor Great  
Room

Friday, November 7, 6:00 p.m.  
Film: *The Colors of Tigua* (*Die Farben  
von Tigua*), Documentary, Germany,  
1994, 43min, English Subtitles  
Talking with Fish and Birds (*Mit  
Fischen und Vögeln reden*),  
Documentary, Germany, 1999, 43  
min., English Subtitles

Tuesday, November 11, 6:00 p.m.  
Film: *The Call of Fayu Ujmi* (*Der Ruf  
des Fayu Ujmi*)  
Germany/Ecuador, 2002, 44 min.,  
Documentary, English Subtitles  
Followed by: Q & A with Rainer  
Simon

Friday, November 14, 6:30 p.m.  
Reading: "17 Vorurteile, die wir  
Deutschen gegen Amerika und die  
Amerikaner haben und die so nicht  
ganz stimmen können"  
Misha Waiman (Author)  
In German. Co-sponsored by the  
Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache

Tuesday, November 18, 7:00 p.m.  
Reading & Film: Margot Friedländer,  
who survived Nazi Germany hidden  
by Germans, reads from her book  
*Versuche, dein Leben zu machen*  
followed by the documentary by  
Thomas Halaczinsky, *Don't Call it  
HEIMWEH...*, about her return to  
Berlin to resolve her search for home  
and identity.  
In German & English.

Thursday, November 20, 6:30 p.m.  
Concert: "NEW YORK, NEW YORK!"  
Listen to the phenomenal voice of  
German entertainer Margaretha  
Bessel (vocals) and to the acclaimed  
Jazz-musicians Sven Hack  
(saxophone) and Andrei Likhanov  
(piano) performing songs with a  
swing. Enlightening stories about  
the City, its most famous musicians  
and their music are accompanied by  
projected photo-impressions of the  
"Sidewalks of New York".  
Concert will take place at the  
Consulate General of the Federal  
Republic of Germany, 871 United

Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 (Entrance is 1st Avenue at 49th Street).

RSVP to: [german-consulate-ku@nyct.net](mailto:german-consulate-ku@nyct.net) or automated RSVP-Line 212 610 9759. Please indicate "New York, New York"

Tuesday, November 25, 7:00 p.m.  
Lecture: "The Messianic Mathematician: Benjamin and Scholem in 1916"

Peter Fenves (Northwestern University)

In collaboration with the Department of German at NYU

#### CASA ITALIANA AT NYU

24 West 12<sup>th</sup> Street.

Telephone: 212.998.8730. E-mail:

[casa.italiana@nyu.edu](mailto:casa.italiana@nyu.edu)

[http://www.nyu.edu/pages/casaitaliana/index\\_flash.html](http://www.nyu.edu/pages/casaitaliana/index_flash.html)

Tuesday, November 11 at 6:00 p.m.  
Book presentation: *The Golden Age of Italian Travel Posters* (Abrams, 2007)

With the author Lorenzo Ottaviani

Friday, November 14 and Friday, November 21, 4:00 p.m.

"Man Enough": an Interdisciplinary NYU Graduate Student Colloquium on Masculinity

Organized by The Department of Comparative Literature, The Department of Italian Studies, Sponsored by the NYU Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality

Friday, November 21 at 6:30 p.m.  
Panel discussion: *The Italian Contribution to the reform of the United Nations*

With Alessandra Baldini (ANSA), Ambassador Francesco Paolo Fulci (Vice President Ferrero Internacional), Justice Dominic R. Massaro (New York State Supreme Court), Arturo Zampaglione (LaRepubblica)

During the panel discussion Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimò – New York University will present the book:

L'ITALIA ALL'ONU 1993-1999, Gli anni con Paolo Fulci: Quando la diplomazia fa gioco di squadra (Rubettino, 2007), edited by Ranieri Tallarigo

#### GLUCKSMAN IRELAND HOUSE

1 Washington Mews. All events take place at the house unless otherwise noted. Tel.: 212.998.3950

<http://www.irelandhouse.fas.nyu.edu>

Thursday, November 6th at 7:00 p.m.

Ernie O'Malley Lecture Series: Professor and Glucksman Ireland House Director Joe Lee on "Michael Davitt (1846-1906): Cosmopolitan Irish Nationalist?"

NYU Kimmel Center, 60 Washington Square South, Room 914

Friday, November 7th at 7:00 p.m.  
Irish-language singer Seosaimhín Ní Bheaglaioich performs

Thursday, November 13th at 7:00 p.m.

Lecture: "Mangan's Golden Years", Dr. Matthew Campbell (University of Sheffield) on poet James Clarence Mangan

Presented in collaboration with the University of Notre Dame.

Friday, November 14th at 9 p.m.  
The Blarney Star Concert Series: Sean Quinn and Gabe Donohue

Thursday, November 20th at 7:00 p.m.

Film: *Kings* (2007) (bilingual, Irish and English dialogue with English subtitles)

Introduction and post-screening commentary by Glucksman Ireland House faculty members, Pádraig Ó Cearúill, Senior Irish Language Lecturer and Miriam Nyhan, Research Scholar, Oral History of Irish America Project.

Cantor Film Center NYU, 36 East Eighth Street (between University Place & Broadway)

#### --COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY--

#### THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTE

420 West 118th Street, International Affairs Building (IAB), room 1228.

Tel: 212.854.4618; email:

[europeaninstitute@columbia.edu](mailto:europeaninstitute@columbia.edu)

Thursday, November 6, 12:00-1:30 p.m.

"Tacit Agreement: How Allen Dulles shielded SS-General Karl Wolff from prosecution at Nuremberg, 1945-1949"

Speaker: Dr. Kirsten von Lingen, Tubingen University

Introduction by Professor Istvan Deak

1219 International Affairs Building

Thursday, November 6, 5:00 p.m.

Film Series: Marshall Plan Films and America's Cold War Image in the Mediterranean

*Jour de Fete, 1949*

Speaker: Silvio Pons

Located at the Italian Academy

Friday, November 14 at 9:30 a.m. and Saturday, November 15 at 9:30 a.m.

Conference: Great Powers in the Mediterranean

Room 1501, International Affairs Building

For program details, see <http://www.ei.columbia.edu/main/conferences.html>

#### THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE

420 West 118th Street, International Affairs Building (IAB), room 1219.

Tel.: 212.854.4623

<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/HI/>

Thursday, November 6 at 6:30pm

Lecture: "Kazakh Articulations of Modernity"

With: Professor Zifa-Alua Auezova, Lecturer, Leiden University, Netherlands

On the intellectual discourse of early 20th Century Kazakh national identity in Mukhtar Auezov's epic novel *Abai*.

Introduction: Rafis Abazov, author of "The Culture and Customs of the Central Asian Republics"  
 Contact: Rafis Abazov  
 ra2044@columbia.edu  
 1219 International Affairs Building

Friday, November 7 at 6:00pm  
 Panel: "Forgotten Communities of Inner Eurasia China, Central Asia, and the Uyghurs: Exploring the Challenges of Cultural Hybridity"  
 Moderator: Robert Barnett  
 Panelists: Sean Roberts, George Washington University; Nabijan Tursun, Radio Free Asia; Gardner Bovingdon, Indiana University; James Millward, Georgetown University  
 707 International Affairs Building  
 Contact: contact@oasies.org

Monday, November 17 at 12:00pm  
 Lecture: "Africa in Russian Texts of the Silver Age"  
 With: Professor Peter I. Barta, Chair in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies, University of Surrey  
 1219 International Affairs Building

Wednesday, November 19 at 12:00pm  
 Lecture: "Trains of Thought: Approaching Nabokovian Ideology"  
 With: Join David H. J. Larmour, Professor, Department of Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures, Texas Tech University  
 1219 International Affairs Building

Wednesday, November 19, 6:30pm–8:30pm  
 Lecture: "Food and Culture"  
 With Professor Vladimir Zoric of the University of Nottingham  
 In honor of the publication of the new book, *Tastes of Belgrade*, by Branka Todorovic and Krsnija Rakic  
 1219 International Affairs Building

Monday, November 24 at 12:00pm  
 Art presentation: "From Soviet to Global Underground"  
 With: Artists Valera and Natasha Cherkashin  
 1219 International Affairs Building

**DEUTSCHES HAUS AT COLUMBIA**  
 420 West 116th Street  
 212-854-1858  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/german/dhaus/>

Tuesday, November 11 at 7:00 p.m.  
 "Black Othello", A New Play from Sweden by Cecilia Sidenbladh  
 Translated from the Swedish by Verne Moberg Directed by Robert Greer  
 Sponsored by the Swedish Program with the assistance of Columbia's European Institute  
 For more information please contact Verne Moberg at (212)854-4015, vam1@columbia.edu, or check events on the Swedish program page.

Thursday, November 13 at 8:00 p.m.  
 Lecture: "Heidegger on Resoluteness and Heritage" with Taylor Carman, Professor of Philosophy at Barnard College.

**LA MAISON FRANCAISE AT COLUMBIA**

Broadway at 116th Street, Buell Hall, 2nd Floor. Tel.: 212.854.4482; email: [maisoncoordinator@columbia.edu](mailto:maisoncoordinator@columbia.edu)  
<http://www.maisonfrancaise.org>

Thursday, November 6 at 7:30pm  
 Film: "Regarde les hommes tomber (See How They Fall)"  
 By: Jacques Audiard, 1994

Monday, November 10 at 7:00pm  
 Book Club: "Tintin au Congo" by Herge  
 Moderator: Prof. Vincent Debaene  
 Contact: [bookclubinfo@columbia.edu](mailto:bookclubinfo@columbia.edu)  
 Note: The Book Club is open to Members of the Société des Amis de La Maison Française and Columbia University students with a valid and current CUID.

Tuesday, November 11 at 5:00pm  
 Café Conversation  
 Note: The Café Conversation is open to Members of the Société des Amis de La Maison Française and

Columbia University students with a valid and current CUID.

Wednesday, November 12 at 6:00pm  
 Talk with Fatou Diome  
 With the aid of the Cultural Services of the French Consulate, the Maison will host Senegalese novelist and literary critic Fatou Diome for a special lecture in November. Author of *Le Ventre de L'Atlantique* (2003) and *Ketala* (2006), her latest book, *Inassouvies, Nos Vies*, has just been published by Flammarion.

Thursday, November 13 at 7:30pm  
 Film: "Un Dimanche a la campagne (Sunday in the Country)"  
 By: Bertrand Tavernier, 1984

Friday, November 14-16  
 French MBA Conference: Grow Your Network  
 The Conference for French-Speaking Graduate Students, Alumni, and Professionals  
 Contact: [contact@frenchmbaconference.com](mailto:contact@frenchmbaconference.com)  
 Speakers: Daniel Piette, CEO, LV Capital (LVMH), Renaud Dutreil, Ancien Ministre, Chairman LVMH Inc., Jean-Francois Theodore, Chairman and Deputy CEO, NYSE-Euronext, Hubert Joly, CEO, Carlson, Pierre Vimont, French Ambassador to the United States, Philippe Lagayette, Vice-Chairman EMEA, JP Morgan  
[www.frenchmbaconference.com](http://www.frenchmbaconference.com)

Tuesday, November 18 at 6:00pm  
 Eugene J. Sheffer Distinguished Lecture: "The Impossible Life of Christian Boltanski"  
 With: Christian Boltanski

Thursday, November 20 at 7:30pm  
 Film: "Peindre ou faire l'amour (To Paint or Make Love)"

Tuesday, November 25 at 5:00pm  
 Café Conversation  
 Note: The Café Conversation is open to Members of the Société des Amis de La Maison Française and Columbia University students with a valid and current CUID.

**THE ITALIAN ACADEMY FOR  
ADVANCED STUDIES IN AMERICA**

1161 Amsterdam Avenue  
Tel: 212.854.2306; email:  
itacademy@columbia.edu

Thursday, October 23 - Thursday,  
November 20

Exhibition: Paintings and Videos:  
"Out of Sync"

By: Giorgio Brogi

Wednesday, November 5 at 8:00pm

Concert: The Grand Tour Orchestra:  
Telemann and Galuppi

With: Sari Gruber, soprano, Charles  
Brink, flute,

Claire Jolivet, violin, Loretta  
O'Sullivan, cello

Admission: \$15/\$10 for students and  
seniors

Friday, November 14 at 9:30am

Conference: "The Project of Andrea  
Palladio"

With: James Ackerman, Howard  
Burns, and others

Tuesday, November 25, 11:00 a.m.

Italy at Columbia Lecture Series:  
"Ronald Firbank and the Powers of  
Frivolity"

With Richard Howard

--THE GRADUATE CENTER, CUNY--

**THE EUROPEAN UNION STUDIES  
CENTER**

365 Fifth Avenue. Tel: 212-817-2051;  
email: [eusc@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:eusc@gc.cuny.edu) [http://  
euromatters.org](http://euromatters.org)

Wednesday, November 12, 5:30 p.m.

Lecture: Europe's Population  
Pauperism: Long-term Economic  
Consequences

With Vincenzina Santoro, Economic  
Consultant

365 Fifth Avenue, The Skylight  
Room

Please RSVP by November 11th

Tel: 212-817-2053/51; E-mail:  
[eusc@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:eusc@gc.cuny.edu)

**New York University**

*A private university in the public service*

**EUROPE•NYC**

*Center for European and  
Mediterranean Studies*

*285 Mercer St, 7th Floor  
New York, NY 10003*