A Web of Attitudes: Public Opinion towards Immigration and the EU in Germany

by Başak Yavcan Ural

PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science

Immigration is often seen and presented as a panacea for the aging populations of Europe to maintain a functioning welfare state. Nevertheless, both very strong public opposition to immigration and substantive inter-group tensions exist in many European countries. Therefore, understanding why people oppose immigration is crucial for a better grasp of current and imminent societal dynamics, as well as for identifying where people stand in debates of multiculturalism, globalization, and national and supranational boundaries. A recent surge of research suggests that people’s opposition to EU integration and EU enlargement is largely informed by their fears of immigration.

Thanks to the generous support of the European Union Center of Excellence (EUCE), I was awarded two research fellowships in 2009 to investigate Germans’ attitudes towards immigration and how they are linked to support for the European integration in a unique way. Surprisingly, when explaining people’s immigration attitudes, most studies assume that the public perceives immigrants as a homogeneous group and analyze the issue based on a single survey question about support for overall immigration. Finding that highly contentious, I argued that opposition to immigration is largely a function of what people understand by the word “immigration,” that what groups come to mind are significant, and that the ethnic background of the immigrants does matter.

First, I probed the plausibility of my hypotheses with in-depth cognitive interviews I conducted in Germany with a previous EUCE summer fellowship I was awarded in 2007. With evidence from these interviews, I demonstrated that for the majority of respondents immigrants are thought of as belonging to different ethnic groups and classified into the following categories: Muslim/Turkish, East European/Russian, and West European. Clearly, there was reason to believe that immigrants are not seen as a homogeneous group, and people may actually have different reasons for opposing the immigration of each ethnic group. Furthermore, their attitudes for each group may relate to their support for European integration differently. I hoped to address all of these issues with more in-depth field research via an original survey experiment.

For my fieldwork, which I conducted with the support of the EUCE during the summer of 2009 in Berlin, I had three major objectives. The first was to illustrate how Germans differentiate immigrants from one another and to identify the role cultural similarity plays in this differentiation, in addition to possible economic and symbolic influences on people’s attitudes. For that purpose, I embedded an experiment in my survey for prime respondents with fabricated newspaper articles incorporating pictures of and information about one of three major immigrant categories: Turks, Poles, and Italians. By incorporating an evaluation of costs vs. benefits and economic vs. symbolic issues into the experimental design, the scope of articles exhausted the
CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Monday, April 5th
Panel: “Turkey’s New Foreign Relations: Implications for Europe and the U.S.”
Ronald Linden of the University of Pittsburgh, Kemal Kirisci of Bogazici University in Istanbul, and Nathalie Tocci of Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome will present on changes in Turkey’s relations with its neighborhood (Black Sea, Middle East) and on what it means for Europe, followed by a time for discussion and questions. 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall.
For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Studies Center, European Union Center of Excellence, and the Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies.

Friday, April 16th
Lecture: “Truth, Self-Evidence, and the Colonial Question”
Gonzalo Lamana, Assistant Professor of Hispanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Pittsburgh. Lama is also the author of Domination with Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru (Duke, 2008). 3:00 p.m., 501 Cathedral of Learning. For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Studies Center, European Union Center of Excellence, and the Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures.

Friday, April 9th
Undergraduate Research Symposium
Selected Undergraduate Research Symposium participants will give 10 to 15-minute presentations based on their research to a panel of faculty and graduate students. For more information, please contact Gina Peirce at gbpeirce@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Studies Center, European Union Center of Excellence, and the Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies.

Tuesday, April 20th
Lecture: “Islam, Islamism, and Culture Talk in Europe”
Asef Bayat, Professor of Sociology and Middle Eastern Studies, Academic Director of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), and ISIM Chair of Islam and the Modern World at Universiteit Leiden, the Netherlands. His latest book is titled Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn (2007). His academic interests include political sociology and social movements, urban space and politics, international development, the contemporary Middle East, and Islam. 12:00 noon - 1:30 p.m., 4130 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Studies Center, European Union Center of Excellence, and the Global Studies Program.

Wednesday, April 21st
Lecture: From Judeo-Bolshevism to the Judeo-Christian Tradition: Christianity and Anti-Communist Politics in Postwar Europe
Paul Hanebrink, Associate Professor of History, Rutgers University. His research interests include Modern East Central Europe with a particular focus on Hungary. 2:00-4:00 p.m., History Lounge, 3rd Floor, Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Studies Center, European Union Center of Excellence, the Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies, and the Department of History.

Friday, April 30th
EUCE/ESC Awards Ceremony
4:00 p.m., Pittsburgh Athletic Association. For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu.

FACULTY, STUDENT, AND ALUMNI NEWS

Boryana Dobreva, German Department Ph.D. student, won the Mellon Dissertation Completion Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies (ALCS) for next academic year. Boryana Dobreva is writing her dissertation under the supervision of Professor Sabine von Dirke on the experience of migration reflected in German-language literature by Eastern European émigrés living in Germany and Austria today. According to the ACLS, only 5 percent of the 1,148 applications received nation-wide were funded, which made the competition extremely rigorous this year.

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Code-Switching: the Key to Understanding the Arab Perspective on the European Neighborhood Policy

by Hethba Fatnassi

PhD Student, Department of Political Science

Hethba Fatnassi received a Foreign Language & Area Studies Fellowship for the 2009-2010 academic year.

This year I have been fortunate to receive a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship through the European Studies Center. This scholarship has enabled me to pursue two unique, yet related courses of study: Arabic and the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). While at first one may question the study of Arabic as a secondary European language, it is important to recall that not only is there a significant Arabic-speaking population in Europe, but also that many EU member states have historical and colonial ties to the Arab world. Thus, the linkages between Europe and Arabic-speaking populations are long-established, and these ties are reflected, to a large extent, in the shape of European policies toward North Africa. Certainly, I was aware of these historical and political ties before I began my study; however, I was later to learn that the level of integration between Europe and North Africa extends much deeper than I ever expected.

Under the umbrella of the ENP, the EU has established a series of Association Agreements with neighboring states. These agreements address the following areas: politics and security; economics and finance; and social, cultural, and human affairs. Among the neighbors entering into such agreements are a number of Arabic-speaking countries: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, and Tunisia. Association Agreements under the ENP incorporate grants and trade incentives with economic and political development goals; however, much of the discussion about the ENP's success is based on European perspectives and European evaluations. My interest is not only to evaluate the success of these policies in encouraging development, but also to better understand how recipient countries address the requirements and changes that accompany the acceptance of such agreements. How do the policy recipients incorporate European ideals and prescriptions into their own development programs and goals? In brief, what is the Arab perspective on European-led development and increased integration with their neighbors to the north?

With those research questions in mind, during the summer of 2009, I began contacting members of the ministries of finance and commerce in Tunisia. While meeting with these political elites, I noticed something I had not previously encountered. The secretaries, assistants, and even security personnel were all nearly fluent in French, yet many of them interlaced Arabic terms throughout their speech. Further, this phenomenon occurred more frequently when Arabic was the primary language employed. French words and phrases frequently peppered not only casual conversation, but were also integrated heavily into more formal discourse including live speeches, televised interviews, and news broadcasts. I then realized my decision to study Arabic was prescient—not only would it be useful for the purposes I had envisioned, such as reading newspapers and opinion papers, but also for understanding the Arabic words and phrases that I heard being mixed into French conversations.

Curious about the reason for this integration of languages, I learned that this phenomenon is known to linguistics scholars as “code-switching,” wherein speakers of two or more languages use each language intermittently, sometimes for clarification and sometimes to signal distance from either the audience or the subject being discussed (for further discussion of code-switching, see the work of Howard A. Giles, particularly 1987 and 1991). The realization that code-switches occurred regularly in a variety of contexts in Tunisia clearly demonstrated that learning Arabic would be an even greater necessity for my research than I previously thought.

Because of those initial inquiries and my increasingly frequent encounters with code-switching, I began studying Arabic in Tunis over the summer, learning local dialect as well as Modern Standard Arabic (the language of news and print media). I was able to continue my study with the generosity of the European Studies Center's support and have since begun courses in Modern Standard Arabic at the University of Pittsburgh. I have also been fortunate to have Arabic professors who have encouraged me in the acquisition of specialized vocabulary not usually covered in the first year of study. The ability to acquire more targeted language skills has not only improved my understanding of news reports broadcast from North Africa over the internet, but has also enabled me to create my own brand of code-switching by conversing about a range of topics in Arabic and employing French when my Arabic vocabulary has been exhausted.

Recently, I conversed informally with one of the secretaries at the Ministry of Finance in Tunisia. Toward the end of our discussion, he commented that he was delighted not only that as an American student I was interested in the Tunisian perspective, but also that I had used the local language rather than relying only on French. It seemed that my attempt at code-switching had established a positive rapport and opened the door for further discussion in the future. While I have not yet advanced to the level of conducting a full interview in Arabic, my first six months of Arabic language instruction have rapidly accelerated my communication skills. It is my hope that having discovered the code-switching “key,” I will be able to engage in more complex and nuanced discussions on the Arab perspective in the future. •
2010 Summer Research Laboratory on Russia, East Europe, and Eurasia

The Russian, East European, and Eurasian Center and the Slavic and East European Library at the University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign are pleased to announce the 2010 Summer Research Laboratory (SRL) on Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia (REEE). Since 1973, the SRL has provided scholars with access to the university’s Slavic and East European Library (one of the largest REEE collections in the country), the services of Slavic Reference Service librarians, and specialized workshops and forums for junior scholars. For more information, please visit www.reeec.illinois.edu/srl/. The deadline for international applicants is April 1, 2010, and the deadline for U.S. citizens and permanent resident applicants is April 15, 2010.

Summer School on Interest Group Politics: Mobilization Processes and Interest Group Communities

The Summer School on Interest Group Politics is a new initiative of the ECPR Standing Group on Interest Groups. Three schools, to be organized in 2010, 2011, and 2012, aim to provide students of political science and public administration sound knowledge about these organized interests and their impact on public policy making. The Department of Political Science of the University of Antwerp will host the first summer school from June 30 to July 8, 2010. It focuses on the population ecology of interest representation as well as the professionalization of interest groups. The proximity to an important international base for interest groups—Brussels—allows for the inclusion of practitioners and visits to the EU institutions in Brussels. The summer schools in 2011 and 2012 will be hosted by the University of Virginia (US) and the Agder University (Norway). The course includes lectures and discussions led by well-known scholars in the field. Examples are drawn from both national and European politics. Furthermore, attendees receive constructive feedback on their own research on aspects of interest groups politics. For more information, please visit www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=SGIG/summerschool. The deadline for registration has been extended to April 15, 2010.

Call for Papers: “Diverging Paradigms on EU Trade Policy”

The Jean Monnet Centres of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and the Universiteit Gent (both in Belgium) are organizing a workshop on “Diverging Paradigms on EU Trade Policy” in Leuven on December 16-17, 2010. The purpose of the workshop is to bring together authors who analyze the EU’s external trade policies from different theoretical or paradigmatic perspectives. The central research question focuses on EU policy-making in this area and particularly on the respective roles of the European Commission, the member states, and non-state actors in determining and affecting these policies through the EU’s trade relations with third countries and in the WTO. The ultimate purpose of the workshop is to work on a special issue or a book volume (with a clear preference for a special issue) on this topic. Paper proposals should include a 250 word abstract, and need to be submitted via e-mail to the workshop convenors: Bart Kerremans at bart.kerremans@soc.kuleuven.be and Jan Orbie at jan.orbie@ugent.be. Please contact Bart Kerremans at bart.kerremans@soc.kuleuven.be with any questions. The deadline for paper proposals is April 16, 2010.

Bodossaki PhD Studentship on Greece

The Hellenic Observatory at the London School of Economics and Political Science has been allocated one PhD studentship by the Bodossaki Foundation (Athens). The studentship is for students registering in 2010-11 and is for two years with the possible extension for a third year. For more information, please visit www.bodossaki.gr/Default.aspx?lang=2. The deadline for applications is April 30, 2010.

Call for Papers: “From Iberian Kingdoms to Atlantic Empires: Spain, Portugal, and the New World, 1250-1700”

The Nanovic Institute for European Studies announces an interdisciplinary, international conference on the history and literature of the Iberian empires from the High Middle Ages through the conquest of the New World. This conference encourages new ways of approaching the topic, based on the conviction that medievalists, early modernists, and Latin Americanists can make meaningful contributions to each other’s fields. The conference will take place that the University of Notre Dame on September 17-18, 2010. Please submit paper proposals to John Moscatiello, Chair of the Conference Committee, at Iberia.conf@gmail.com. For more information, please visit iberiaconference.eventbrite.com. The deadline for paper proposals is May 1, 2010.

Research Positions: Initial Training Network on INCOOP

The multi-disciplinary Initial Training Network (ITN) on Inter-institutional Cooperation in the EU (INCOOP) brings together
From German Roots to a German Future  

by Richard Kyle

JD Candidate, School of Law

Richard Kyle was the recipient of a Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship for the 2009-2010 academic year.

I am currently a second year student at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law. I was drawn to Pittsburgh because of the diverse offerings and opportunities provided by its Center for International Legal Education (CILE). Thanks to the support from CILE and the gracious funding from the European Union Center of Excellence and European Studies Center (EUCE/ESC), I am spending my second year of law school studying German and preparing for a career in international law. To some, international law may seem to be a vague designation for legal work that does not fall within the traditional domestic confines of the legal profession. Frequently, however, legal conflicts must be solved in a global context as goods and services flow unhindered throughout the world.

Long before starting law school, I had great passion for the German language. From the time I took part in a month-long exchange in Leverkusen, Germany after high school, I was hooked. I knew I wanted to study in Germany and perhaps eventually move there. My grandfather emigrated from Stuttgart, Germany in the 1920s, and I hoped to become fluent in German before I visited my relatives still living in southwest Germany. I majored in German at Washington and Lee University and studied abroad as an exchange student at the University of Bayreuth. I spent the year following graduation as a Fulbright scholar in Stuttgart, living just ten miles from my grandfather’s birthplace. During this year of teaching high school English and mentoring the English Debate Team, I gained a deep appreciation for German cultural and historical offerings as I traveled throughout southern Germany. Then, I spent the summer prior to law school working for a German legal firm handling renewable energy investments in Eastern Europe. There I quickly realized how demanding it is to work exclusively in a foreign language. At that point, I wanted to pursue a career in which I could maintain and continually improve my German. Yet as I began a traditional domestically focused law school curriculum the following fall, this still seemed like a distant goal.

After meeting the prescribed requirements for my first year, I had time during my second and third years to pursue coursework and opportunities in preparation for a career abroad. Through the generosity of the Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship, I am spending this academic year taking challenging Master’s-level seminars in the Department of German in addition to the regular law course load. In the fall, I took a seminar titled “Plotting of History,” which mixed a challenging series of novels, dramas, films, and literary theory excerpts from the post-war Federal Republic of Germany until reunification. This seminar challenged me to improve my oral and written German skills for discussion of the German cultural evolution in post-war West Germany. The engaging discussions gave me a new understanding of collective memory and experience that evolved through the turbulent twentieth century and define modern German society. For the spring semester, a seminar in German romanticism will be a challenging study of a different era.

At the same time, taking an international business transactions course and a private international law seminar in the School of Law has allowed me to focus on the private practice of law in an international context. I am also on a four-person team competing in the Willem C. Vis International Commercial Arbitration Moot in Vienna, Austria this spring. The competition affords a practical opportunity to hone my legal and German language skills to effectively conduct research, prepare briefs, and compete in oral arguments against teams from law schools from around the world. Since a significant amount of European scholarship and case law on commercial disputes is in German, the competition has provided me a practical avenue to draw on my German language.

Thanks to the generous FLAS fellowship from EUCE/ESC, I have been able to focus my language and legal studies this year as I pursue a career in international law. With the benefit of my language studies, I hope to work in Germany next summer to explore what opportunities may exist for me there. The language training from which I benefited this year will also likely prove to be a critical asset for pursuing a Master’s in German Law (LL.M.) at a German university. An LL.M. involves an intensive year of German legal studies for which my FLAS language training will be ideal preparation. More than anything else, the FLAS has allowed me to broaden my education beyond the boundaries of the traditional law school curriculum.

**NOTE TO EUCE/ESC AFFILIATED FACULTY, STUDENTS, & ALUMNI:**

Please keep us informed about your professional achievements pertaining to the study of the EU and Europe. Send news of awards, grants, publications, job appointments, etc., to the Newsletter Editor at eucnews@pitt.edu.
list of possible predictors of immigration attitudes. Respondents were first randomly assigned to one of these articles and then answered a question about their immigration preferences.

The results of the survey experiment I conducted in cooperation with the market research company Schmiedl GmbH illustrate that the ethnic-group-specific content of the articles heavily impacted respondents’ preferences for immigration. People indeed differentiate along the lines of ethnicity, which strongly corresponds to how they rank immigrants based on their perceived cultural similarity. Accordingly, Poles, who are perceived least different from Germans, are most supported in terms of their possible immigration, followed by Italians. Turkish immigrants are seen least culturally similar, and their possible immigration is least supported. The highest support for Turkish immigration was recorded when the respondent read an article that had a positive tone and mentioned symbolic and cultural issues. For Poles, the highest support occurred when the provided article evaluated the economic benefits of immigration.

In addition to the role of ethnicity of immigrants and economic and symbolic costs and benefits in informing attitudes, I was interested in examining the impact of class or the professional skill level of the immigrant on people’s attitudes. When asked if their opinion would change if the immigrant had high skilled job training, 35 percent of the respondents changed their position on immigration. While 25 percent became more favorable towards the immigration of high skilled workers, nine percent further opposed their immigration. When respondents were then asked about immigration of low skilled workers, 27 percent changed their mind. While eight percent of the respondents became more favorable towards immigration of the low skilled workers, 19 percent became unfavorable. There were only slight differences across ethnic groups in terms of these opinion changes, suggesting that class is a cross-cutting factor mediating immigration attitudes.

My second goal with this fieldwork was to generate a better prejudice scale based on the previous cognitive interviews I conducted. With this, I hoped to achieve a better understanding of the effect of prejudice on opposition to immigration and illustrate if prejudice was more influential on attitudes towards some immigrants more so than others.

According to the results of the survey, people were least prejudiced towards Turks when the article talked about symbolic arguments for immigration. For Poles and Italians, on the other hand, people were least prejudiced when the article talked about economic arguments. Furthermore, prejudice and immigration attitudes were closely correlated for all groups, with Pearson's r correlation coefficients being very similar for Turks (.72) and Poles (.68) but much lower for Italians (.48).

My third objective with this fieldwork was to reveal how immigration attitudes relate to Euroskepticism and support for EU enlargement. In this part of the survey, I employed multiple scales as well as a list experiment.

My results, illustrated in Table 1, confirm that there is a strong relationship between immigration attitudes and EU attitudes, and it varies across different immigrant groups. For those primed by an article mentioning a Turkish immigrant,
In order to better specify what it is about EU enlargement that informs this fear, I embedded a list experiment with possible arguments against EU enlargement included in an unobtrusive manner. A series of statistical tests (difference of means test) reveal that a quarter of the respondents agree with the statement that enlargement constitutes a cultural threat due to possible future immigration. Furthermore, even 20 years after the fall of Berlin Wall, there are still major differences between respondents from former East and West Germany. In addition to eliciting higher exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants and higher levels of prejudice in general, the list experiment showed that 33 percent of Easterners feel threatened by EU enlargement due to immigration, as opposed to 19 percent of Westerners. Not surprisingly, four times more of anti-immigrationists feel culturally threatened than do pro-immigrationists. Furthermore, while only 30 percent of those who scored low on a separate prejudice scale were threatened by enlargement, as much as half of those with a high-prejudice score felt culturally threatened.

All in all, the results of my field research so far illustrate that immigrants are indeed differentiated and placed on a continuum of cultural similarity in people’s mental maps and that ethnic classification of immigrants by the majority can tap this differentiation. Furthermore, people seem to have different reasons for opposing immigration. This opposition can be mitigated by different frames, i.e. economic arguments for Poles and symbolic ones for Turks. This differentiation should be taken into consideration for future academic work in terms of multiple survey questions for each predominant immigrant group and for future policy making in terms of possible frames that can be used to mitigate public opposition. Also, immigration constitutes a major fear in relation to people’s attitudes towards the EU, though this is mitigated by the level of prejudice and the geographical background of the respondent (East vs. West), among other factors which remain beyond the scope of this article. A large part of this fear, however, seems to be informed by anxiety about a cultural invasion by immigrants, which remains to be addressed by policy makers seeking to obtain public consent for further EU enlargement as well as integration.

**FELLOWSHIPS Continued from page 4**
a group of 8 universities, 3 professional organizations, and high-level officials that share an interest in a better understanding of the functioning of institutions in the European system of multi-level governance. The participating Universities are: Maastricht University (coordinator), Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, Cambridge University, Fondation nationale des Sciences Politiques Paris (Sciences Po), University of Loughborough, Université de Luxembourg, University of Mannheim, and University of Osnabrück. All host institutions offer pre-doctoral positions (13 in total) and the Centre d’etudes européennes, Paris and the University of Cambridge each offer one post-doctoral position. Each position is available for a duration of 36 months (maximum) for PhD studentships and 24 months (maximum) for post-doctoral fellowships. For more information, please visit www.in-coop.eu. The deadline for applications is May 1, 2010.

**EUROPEAN SUMMER INSTITUTE 2010**
The Prague’s Centre for Public Policy (Centrum pro verejnou politiku - CPVP) is pleased to announce the forthcoming European Summer Institute 2010 (ESI 2010) on the Future of Europe: Lobbying in Brussels. The institute will be held in Prague, Czech Republic on July 3-10, 2010. The ESI 2010 is a seven-day academic program designed to bring together 30 undergraduate and graduate students of various nationalities and academic backgrounds to enjoy their summer holidays in the unique academic and cultural environment. The program provides students with an exciting opportunity to deepen their knowledge of current EU politics through the exchange of ideas with academics, policy practitioners and fellow students from different cultural environments. The ESI2010 combines intensive academic courses with cultural, social and recreational opportunities. For more information, please visit esi.cpvp.cz/ esi/. Please contact esi@cpvp.cz with any questions. The final deadline for applications is May 15, 2010.

**EUCNEWS Continued from page 3**

**EUCE/ESC Newsletter:**

Acting Director: Professor Carolyn Ban
Associate Director: Timothy Thompson
Editor: Julie Draper

For newsletter announcements, comments, or submissions, please e-mail: eucnews@pitt.edu

**EUCE/ESC would like to thank the U.S. Department of Education and the European Commission for funds for this issue.**
If you would like to be added to the EUCE/ESC newsletter's electronic distribution list, please email the Center at euce@pitt.edu. Include the subject line “Newsletter” and your name, address, and affiliation. You can also call us at 412-648-7405 or send a fax to 412-648-2199. In addition, the latest edition of the newsletter and a complete, updated list of events can always be found at our website: www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/euce.html.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS
- April 5 - Panel: “Turkey’s New Foreign Relations: Implications for Europe and the U.S.” 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall.
- April 9 - Undergraduate Research Symposium. Contact Gina Peirce at gbpeirce@pitt.edu for more details.
- April 15 - Teaching Workshop: “How to Teach the EU in 45 Minutes.” 5:00 – 8:00 p.m., 4130 Posvar Hall.
- April 20 - Lecture: “Islam, Islamism, and Culture Talk in Europe.” 12:00 noon - 1:30 p.m., 4130 Posvar Hall.
- April 21 - Lecture: Paul Hanebrink. 2:00-4:00 p.m., History Lounge, 3rd Floor, Posvar Hall.
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