ERIK BLEICH

Charles A. Dana Professor Department of Political Science

Middlebury College Middlebury, VT 05753 tel: (802) 443-3254

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EDUCATION

Harvard University, Department of Government	Cambridge, MA
Ph.D. in Political Science	June 1999
M.A. in Political Science	June 1994
Brown University , Providence, Rhode Island Honors BA, International Relations, <i>magna cum laude</i>	1991
Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France Certificat d'Etudes Politiques, mention bien	1990

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Middlebury College, Department of Political Science	Middlebury, VT
Charles A. Dana Professor of Political Science	2017 – present
Chair	2018 - 2021
Professor of Political Science	2011 - 2017
Director of International Politics & Economics	2011 - 2014
Associate Professor of Political Science	2006 - 2011
Director of European Studies	2001 - 2003
Assistant Professor of Political Science	1999 - 2006

PUBLICATIONS

Books and Edited Volumes

Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective, with A. Maurits van der Veen, Oxford University Press, 2022

Migrants, Minorities and the Media: Information, Representations and Participation in the Public Sphere, editor, with Irene Bloemraad and Els de Graauw, Routledge, 2017; also published as a special issue of the Journal of Ethnicand Migration Studies, 2015

Punir la Haine, editor, with Charles Girard; special issue of Esprit, October 2015

The Freedom to Be Racist? How the United States and Europe Struggle to Preserve Freedom and Combat Racism, Oxford University Press, 2011

Muslims and the State in the Post-9/11 West, editor, Routledge, 2010; also published as a special issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 2009

Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s, Cambridge University Press, 2003

Refereed Journal Articles

"Chronic Frames of Social Inequality: How Mainstream Media Frame Race, Gender, and Wealth Inequality," Sora Jun, Rosalind Chow, A. Maurits van der Veen and Erik Bleich, *PNAS*, 119, 21, 2022: 1-9. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.211071211

"Assessing the Effect of Media Tone on Attitudes toward Muslims: Evidence from an Online Experiment," Erik Bleich, Jeffrey Carpenter, and A. Maurits van der Veen, *Politics and Religion*, 15, 3, 2022: 441-61.. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048321000328

"Diplomats in Robes? Judicial Career Paths and Free Speech Decision-Making at the European Court of Human Rights," Erik Bleich, Thomas Keck, Neha Sharma, and Claire Sigsworth, *Law & Social Inquiry*, 29, 2, 2021: 1-32. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/lsi.2021.9

"The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: A Corpus Linguistics Analysis of US Newspaper Coverage of Latinx, 1996-2016," Erik Bleich, James P Callison, Georgia Grace Edwards, Mia Fichman, Erin Hoynes, Razan Jabari and A. Maurits van der Veen, *Journalism*, 22, 6, 2021: 1522-39. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918818252

"Atheism in US and UK Newspapers: Negativity about Non-Belief and Non-Believers," A. Maurits van der Veen and Erik Bleich, Religions, 12, 2021: 291. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12050291

"Media Portrayals of Muslims: A Comparative Sentiment Analysis of American Newspapers, 1996-2015," Erik Bleich and A. Maurits van der Veen, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 9, 1, 2021: 20-39. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2018.1531770

"The Qualitative Transparency Deliberations: Insights and Implications," Alan M. Jacobs, Tim Büthe, et al., *Perspectives on Politics*, 19, 1, 2021: 171-208. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001164

"Afro-Pessimist or Africa Rising? US Newspaper Coverage of Africa, 1994-2018," with Mira Chugh, Adrienne Goldstein, Amelia Pollard, Varsha Vijayakumar, and A. Maurits van der Veen, *Journalism Studies*, 21, 13, 2020: 1775-94. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1790027

"What Factors Best Explain National Identification among Muslim Adolescents? Evidence from Four European Countries," Lars Leszczensky, Rahsaan Maxwell, and Erik Bleich, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46, 1, 2020: 260-76. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1578203

"Group Status, Geographic Location, and the Tone of Media Coverage: Jews and Muslims in New York Times and Guardian Headlines, 1985-2014," Hasher Nisar and Erik Bleich, Comparative Migration Studies, 8, 3, 2020: 1-18

"Leveraging Identities: The Strategic Manipulation of Social Hierarchies for Political Gain," with Kimberly Morgan, *Theory and Society*, 48, 4, 2019: 511-34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-019-09355-3

"Freedom of Expression, Public Morals, and Sexually Explicit Speech in the European Court of Human Rights," Neha Sharma and Erik Bleich, *Constitutional Studies*, 5, 2019: 55-80

"Media Coverage of Muslim Devotion: A Four-Country Analysis of Newspaper Articles, 1996-2016," with Julien Souffrant, Emily Stabler, and A. Maurits van der Veen, Religions, 9, 8, 2018: 247-61

"Investigating Status Hierarchies with Media Analysis: Muslims, Jews, and Catholics in *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* Headlines, 1985-2014," with Hasher Nisar and Cara Vazquez, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 59, 3, 2018: 239-57

"Historical Institutionalism and Judicial Decision-Making: Ideas, Institutions, and Actors in French High Court Hate Speech Rulings," *World Politics*, 70, 1, 2018: 53-85

"The Effect of Terrorist Events on Media Portrayals of Islam and Muslims: Evidence from New York Times Headlines, 1985-2013," with Hasher Nisar and Rana Abdelhamid, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39, 7, 2016: 1109-27

"Introduction: Migrants, Minorities, and the Media: Information, Representations, and Participation in the Public Sphere," with Irene Bloemraad and Els de Graauw, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41, 6, 2015: 857-73

"Media Portrayals of Minorities: Muslims in British Newspaper Headlines, 2001-2012", with Hannah Stonebraker, Hasher Nisar and Rana Abdelhamid, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41, 6, 2015: 942-62

"What Makes Muslims Feel French?" with Rahsaan Maxwell, Social Forces, 93, 1, 2014: 155-79

"Freedom of Expression versus Racist Hate Speech: Explaining Differences between High Court Regulations in the USA and Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40, 2, 2014: 283-300

"Why Racist Associations Are Free in Some States and Banned in Others: Evidence from 10 Liberal Democracies," with Francesca Lambert, West European Politics, 36, 1, 2013: 122-49

"What Is Islamophobia, and How Much Is There? Theorizing and Measuring an Emerging Comparative Concept," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55, December 2011: 1581-1600

"The Rise of Hate Speech and Hate Crime Laws in Liberal Democracies," Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 37, 6, July 2011: 917-34

"Social Research and 'Race' Policy Framing in Britain and France," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13, 1, January 2011: 59-74

"The Effects of 'Ethnic Riots' in Liberal Democracies: Evidence from Western Europe," with Carolina Caeiro and Sarah Luehrman, European Political Science Review, 2, 2, July 2010: 269-95

"Where do Muslims Stand on Ethno-Racial Hierarchies in Britain and France? Evidence from Public Opinion Surveys, 1988-2008," *Patterns of Prejudics* 43, 3-4, July/September 2009: 379-400

"Introduction: Muslims and the State in the Post-9/11 West," Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35, 3, March 2009: 353-60

"State Responses to 'Muslim' Violence: A Comparison of Six West European Countries," Journal of Ethnicand Migration Studies, 35, 3, March 2009: 361-79

"Immigration and Integration Studies in Western Europe and the United States: The Road Less Traveled and a Path Ahead," World Politics, 60, 3, April 2008: 509-38

"Quantifying Hate: The Evolution of German Approaches to Measuring 'Hate Crime'," with Ryan K. Hart, German Politics, 17, 1, March 2008: 63-80

"Hate Crime Policy in Western Europe: Responding to Racist Violence in Britain, Germany, and France," *American Behavioral Scientist* 51, 2, October 2007: 149-65

"On Democratic Integration and Free Speech: Response to Tariq Modood and Randall Hansen," in Modood, Hansen, Bleich, O'Leary, & Carens "The Danish Cartoon Affair: Free Speech, Racism, Islamism, and Integration," *International Migration* 44, 5, December 2006: 3-62

"Institutional Continuity and Change: Norms, Lesson-Drawing, and the Introduction of Race-Conscious Measures in the 1976 British Race Relations Act," *Policy Studies*, 27, 3, 2006: 219-34

"The Legacies of History? Colonization and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France," *Theory and Society* 34, 2, April 2005: 171-95

"Histoire des politiques antidiscrimination: du déni à la lutte," Hommes & Migrations, no. 1245, septembre – octobre 2003 : 6-18

"Integrating Ideas into Policymaking Analysis: Frames and Race Policies in Britain and France," *Comparative Political Studies* 35, 9, November 2002: 1054-76

"Antiracism without Races: Politics and Policy in a 'Color-Blind' State," French Politics, Culture & Society 18, 3, Fall 2000: 48-74

"From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France," *Comparative Politics* 31, 1, October 1998: 81-100

Other Publications

"What Did 9/11 Mean for US Media Coverage of Muslims and Islam?" A. Maurits van der Veen and Erik Bleich, Brown Journal of World Affair; Fall/Winter 2021: 164-178

Report on Media Portrayals: 2020 Newspaper Coverage of African Americans. Asian Americans. Native Americans. Latinos, Jews, and Muslims, Erik Bleich, Emma Brown, Abigail Chang, Lukas Kauth, Kai Milici, Nicolas Pantelick, Emily Wander and A. Maurits van der Veen. Media Portrayals of Minorities Project 2021

"Hate Speech and the European Court of Human Rights: Ideas and Judicial Decision-Making," Erik Bleich and Sylvia Al-Mateen, 29 Mich. St. Int'l L. Rev. 2021: 179-212

Report on Media Portrayals: 2019 Newspaper Coverage of African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, Jews, and Muslims, with Mira Chugh, Adrienne Goldstein, Lukas Kauth, Kai Milici, Amelia Pollard, Varsha Vijayakumar, Emily Wander, and A. Maurits van der Veen. Media Portrayals of Minorities Project 2020

"The Council for European Studies at 50: Looking Back and Looking Ahead," in Erik Jones, ed., European Studies: Past, Present, and Future, Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing, 2020.

Report on Media Portrayals: 2018 Newspaper Coverage of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Jews, and Muslims with Mira Chugh, Adrienne Goldstein, Yiyi Jin, Julien Souffrant, Emily Stabler, A. Maurits van der Veen, and Varsha Vijayakumar. Media Portrayals of Minorities Project, 2019

"Review Essay: Free Speech on Campus," *Contemporary Political Theory*, 18, 4, 2019: 226-31, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-018-0244-1

"What Is Hate Speech?", 61 Kanazawa L. Rev., 2018, 168-98. Translated and with a postscript by Koji Higashikawa.

"From Race to Hate: A Historical Perspective," in Thomas Brudholm and Birgitte Schepelern Johansen, eds., Hate, Politics, Law: Critical Perspectives on Combating Hate, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018: 15-33

"L'avènement des lois contre les discours et les crimes de haine dans les démocraties libérales," Raisons Politiques, 63, 3, August 2016: 35-49

"Deux poids, deux mesures? La justice française face aux discours islamophobes," Esprit, October 2015

"Que faire des discours de haine en démocratie?" with Charles Girard, Esprit, October 2015

"Data Access, Research Transparency, and Interviews: The Interview Methods Appendix," with Robert Pekkanen, in Tim Büthe and Alan M. Jacobs, eds., *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research*, 13, 1, Spring 2015: 8-13

"How to Report Interview Data," with Robert Pekkanen, in Layna Mosley, ed., *Interview Research in Political Science*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013: 84-105

- "Defining and Researching Islamophobia," Review of Middle East Studies Winter 2012, Vol. 46, no. 2, 179-88
- "Free Speech or Hate Speech? The Danish Cartoon Controversy in the European Legal Context," in Kavita Khory, ed., *Global Migration: Challenges in the 21st Century*, New York: Palgrave, 2012: 113-28
- "Les politiques de diversité raciale en France et en Grande-Bretagne: De l'incompréhension mutuelle à la concertation?" in James Cohen, Andrew J. Diamond, and Philippe Vervaecke, eds., L'Atlantique multiracial.. Discours, politiques dénis, Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2012: 181-203.
- "France," in David Samuels, ed., Case Studies in Comparative Politics, New York: Pearson, 2012: 114-49
- "Assessing Islamophobia though Survey Evidence: Where Do Muslims Really Stand?" with Rahsaan Maxwell, in Marc Helbling, ed., *Islamophobia in Western Europe and North America*, London: Routledge, 2012: 39-55
- "Faith and State: British Policy Responses to 'Islamist' Extremism," in Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, eds., *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain*, London: Routledge, 2010: 67-84
- "Responding to Racist Violence in Europe and the United States," in Joanna Goodey and Kauko Aromaa, eds., *Hate Crime*, Helsinki: HEUNI, 2008
- "From Republican Citizens to 'Young Ethnics' in the 'Other France': Race and Identity in France and the United States," French Politics, 6, 2008: 166-177
- "Des colonies à la métropole. Le poids de l'histoire sur l'intégration des immigrés en Grande-Bretagne et en France," in Patrick Weil and Stéphane Dufoix, eds., *L'esclavage, la colonisation, et après*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005
- "Racism and Racially Motivated Attacks," in Mathew J. Gibney and Randall Hansen, eds., *Immigration and Asylum: From 1900 to the Present*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005
- "Antiracism without Races: Politics and Policy in a 'Color-Blind' State," in Herrick Chapman and Laura Frader, eds., Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference New York: Berghahn Books, 2004
- "The French Model: Color-Blind Integration," John David Skrentny, ed., Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration and Civil Rights Options for America, University of Chicago Press, 2001
- "Re-Imagined Communities? Education Policies and National Belonging in Britain and France," in Adrian Favell and Andrew Geddes, eds., *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate/ICCR, 1999: 60-75

Recent Media and Blog Contributions

- "Tone-Checking' Articles About Muslims" Erik Bleich & A. Maurits van der Veen, Migration Policy Centre blog, European University Institute, May 30, 2022
- "Yes, Muslims are portrayed negatively in American media 2 political scientists reviewed over 250,000 articles to find conclusive evidence" Erik Bleich & A. Maurits van der Veen, The Conversation, May 27, 2022
- "How do newspapers cover racial and religious minorities? Here's the data." Interview with Erik Bleich, Washington Post/Monkey Cage, October 2, 2020.
- "How the Media Shapes What We Think About Religious Groups" Erik Bleich, Interfaith Radio, September 13, 2019
- "Sure, a lot of newspaper coverage of Latinos is negative—but not when it comes to cultural achievements" Erik Bleich & A. Maurits van der Veen, Washington Post/Monkey Cage, January 23, 2019

"Newspaper coverage of Muslims is negative. And it's not because of terrorism" Erik Bleich & A. Maurits van der Veen, Washington Post/Monkey Cage, December 20, 2018

"What makes Muslim devotion exceptional?" Erik Bleich, Media Portrayals of Minorities Project, October 18, 2018

"Most news coverage of Muslims is negative. But not when it's about devotion." Erik Bleich, Julien Souffrant, Emily Stabler & A. Maurits van der Veen, Washington Post/Monkey Cage, October 17, 2018

"Headlines about Muslims, Jews, and Catholics," Erik Bleich, Media Portrayals of Minorities Project, June 14, 2018

"Muslims in four countries." Erik Bleich, Media Portrayals of Minorities Project, May 18, 2018

"Après Charlottesville," Fellows: le regard de chercheurs internationaux sur l'actualité, Réseau français des instituts d'études avancées, No. 28, October 15, 2017; also published in The Conversation, October 25, 2017

"The Media, Marches, and Muslims," Vermont Public Radio Commentary, February 6, 2017

"France Has Had More Than Its Share of Terrorist Attacks: These 3 Factors Explain Why," Washington Post/The Monkey Cage, July 18, 2016

"Don't Blame Muslims: France's Failed Promise of Integration," Huffington Post, November 20, 2015

"Our France: Muslims Tell Their Stories," Financial Times, January 23, 2015, interviews by Erik Bleich in Lyon and Adam Thomson in Paris

"French Hate Speech Laws Are Less Simplistic Than You Think," Washington Post/The Monkey Cage, January 18, 2015

"Limiting Hate Speech Is Important, Even After Charlie Hebdo," Huffington Post, January 14, 2015

"After Charlie Hebdo: Muslims in France," Prospect Magazine, January 8, 2015

"Japan Needs a Hate Speech Law Now Rather than 30 Years in the Future," Asahi Shimbun, December 25, 2014

"Taking Stock of Muslim Integration Successes in Europe," Washington Post/The Monkey Cage, October 3, 2014

"Some Good News about Muslims in Europe," with Rahsaan Maxwell, Washington Post/The Monkey Cage, July 22, 2014

RECENT PRESENTATIONS

"Importing the Culture Wars: How US Ideas Diffuse to European Countries," presented at the Council for European Studies conference, Lisbon, Portugal, July 1, 2022

"Free Speech or Hate Speech? How Liberal Democracies Balance Core Values," presented to the Académie de Lyon, June 3, 2022

"The Diffusion of Ideas: Black Lives Matter, Systemic Racism, and Beyond," Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research, Humboldt University, May 23, 2022

"Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective," European University Institute, April 25, 2022

"Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective," Fulbright-Tocqueville Chair lecture, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Lyon, April 13, 2022

"Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective," Harvard University Comparative Inequality and Inclusion Research Cluster & Seminar on Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe, April 6, 2022

"Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective," D:Islam Webinar Series, Humboldt University Berlin, March 31, 2022

"Text Analysis of Marginalized Groups," presented to the Collegium de Lyon, March 28, 2022

"The Transnationalization of Black Lives Matter: US and French Newspaper Coverage Beyond American Borders," with Amelia Pollard and A. Maurits van der Veen, presented at the Council for European Studies conference, June 22, 2021

"Assessing the Effect of Media Tone on Attitudes toward Muslims: Evidence from an Online Experiment and Broader Implications," with A. Maurits van der Veen, presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, 2020

"Media Portrayals of Muslims: The United States in Comparative Perspective," presented at the University of British Columbia, February 27, 2020

"Hate Speech and the European Court of Human Rights: Judicial Decision-Making in an International Court," presented at the Michigan State International Law Review Symposium, February 14, 2020

"Media Portrayals of Muslims: The United States in Comparative Perspective," presented at Michigan State University, February 13, 2020

"Report on Media Portrayals of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Jews, and Muslims," presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Washington DC, August 29-September 1, 2019

"What Do Newspapers Talk about When They Talk about Muslims?," presented at the Council for European Studies annual meeting, Madrid, June 20-22, 2019

"Frontiers in the Study of Ideas in the Social Sciences," presented at the Council for European Studies annual meeting, Madrid, June 20-22, 2019

Discussant for book panel on Jean Beaman's "Citizen Outsider," Council for European Studies annual meeting, Madrid, June 20-22, 2019

"Newspaper Coverage of Latinos: More Than Just Bad News," presented at UMass Amherst, April 26, 2019

"Secularism, Separation of Church and State, and Laïcité: France in the 20th and 21st Centuries," presented at the Scott Symposium, Middlebury College, January 25, 2019

"Media Portrayals of Muslims: A Comparative Sentiment Analysis of American Newspapers, 1996-2015," presented at the University of Amsterdam, October 11, 2018

"Openness, Ethics, and Epistemology: From Abstract Principles to Research Practices," panel participant, American Political Science Association, Boston, August 30 – September 2, 2018

"Hate Speech and the European Court of Human Rights: Ideas and Judicial Decision-Making in an International Court," presented at the International Political Science Association meeting, Brisbane, July 20-23, 2018

"What is Hate Speech?" presented at the Middlebury in DC center, April 26, 2018

"What is Hate Speech?" keynote speech, Kanazawa University, Japan, December 16, 2017

"What is Hate Speech?" presented as part of the Middlebury College Carol Rifelj Faculty Lecture Series, November 8, 2017

"How Do Courts Enforce Hate Speech Laws? Values and Boundaries in the European Context," presented on the presidential panel "Social Movements, Boundaries and Rights" of the American Sociological Association annual meeting, Montreal, August 12-15, 2017

Panel chair and discussant for John Bowen's "On British Islam: Religion, Law, and Everyday Practice in Shari'a Councils," Council for European Studies annual meeting, Glasgow, July 12-14, 2017

"State of Emergency: Is France Transforming?" panel discussant, Council for European Studies annual meeting, Glasgow, July 12-14, 2017

"Race, Gender, and Class in the Politics of Migration: Empiricist and Normative Approaches," workshop participant, Social Science Research Center, Berlin, May 12-13, 2017

"The Future Prospects for Immigrant Integration in Europe," presented at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, April 7, 2017

"Media Portrayals of Muslims in the US and UK: How Bad Are They, Really?" presented at the Middlebury College Global Affairs Conference on Media & Minorities, January 19, 2017

HONORS AND GRANTS

Fulbright-Tocqueville Distinguished Chair Award

2021-22

Sabbatical grant and 6-month visiting appointment at Sciences Po, Lyon to support leave year project "Representations of Racial Justice Movements in the US and France"

Collegium de Lyon Fellowship

2021-22

10-month visiting appointment at the Collegium de Lyon to support leave year project "Representations of Racial Justice Movements in the US and France"

NSF Grant SES-1535250

2015 - 2018

Co-PI for \$419,907 grant: "Comparative Free Speech Jurisprudence"

Distinguished Article Award, Association for the Sociology of Religion

2015

"What Makes Muslims Feel French?" with Rahsaan Maxwell, Social Forces, 93, 1, 2014: 155-79

Senior EURLAS Fellowship at the Collegium de Lyon

2014 - 2015

Sabbatical grant of €38,000 and a 10-month visiting appointment at the Collegium de Lyon to support my leave year project "Restricting Racist Speech in France"

Fulbright Research Fellowship, Paris

2014 - 2015

Sabbatical grant and 6-month visiting appointment at Sciences Po, Paris to support my leave year project "Restricting Racist Speech in France"

Institute of Advanced Studies, Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon Five-week invited visiting Fellowship at the Collegium de Lyon 2010

American Philosophical Society

2008 - 2009

Sabbatical Fellowship of \$39,000 to support my leave year project *The Freedom to Be Racist?*

American Political Science Association

2008 - 2009

Travel grant of \$2,275 to support my leave year project The Freedom to Be Racist?

German Marshall Fund of the United States

2003 - 2004

Leave year grant of \$40,000 to pursue research on hate crimes in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States; Transatlantic Fellow, Brussels, Belgium, March-May 2004

German Marshall Fund of the United States

2000 - 2002

Grant of \$103,000 to a team of researchers for a series of three conferences on "Integration Policies in the U.S. and Europe: The Lessons of Colonization and Slavery"