Social Integration and Solidarity: Lessons from the Holocaust

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Puzzle: Within Country Differences Holocaust (figure 1)

Occupied Village 1: Oldenzaal

Occupied Village 2: Haaksbergen

- Vital pre-WW2 Jewish community (ca 200)

- Protestant
- Nazi-governor
- No Solidarity: 19 percent of the Jews survived the war, no help Gentiles

- Vital pre-WW2 Jewish community (ca 200)
- Economy: Textile Industry
 Economy: Textile Industry
 - Protestant
 - Nazi-governor
 - Solidarity: 68 percent of the Jews survived the war with help of Gentiles

Two Faces of Social Integration

Although most scholars agree that a relationship between social integration and solidarity exists, the exact nature of this relationship is disputed. Liberal conflict theorists, of whom Montesquieu is probably the most prominent, emphasize the bright face of integration and argue that it results in more solidarity and brings different communities closer together (Bright Line Figure 1).

Opposing the positive relationship between integration and solidarity, competition theorists who build on Freud's Narcissism of Small Differences, emphasize the dark face of social integration, by arguing that increases in between-group interaction create personal tensions between members of different groups which in turn damages intergroup-solidarity (Dark Line Figure 2).

Social Integration and Solidarity Revisited: A Formal Model

Building on both approaches and following a two-group repeated prisoners' dilemma model developed by Fearon and Laitin (1996). I demonstrate that the relationship between social integration (the number of times people from a different group meet) and solidarity is not monotonic but curvilinear (Figure 3).

Retaliation can only induce cooperation if a certain social integration threshold is reached. Increases in integration that do not reach this threshold will result in more noncooperative interactions and lower solidarity. Once this threshold is reached however, solidarity is fostered by increased integration.

Figure 1: Map of Occupied villages in Overijssel, the Netherlands, 1941



Figure 2: Two faces of Social Integration

Figure 4: Sipo-List

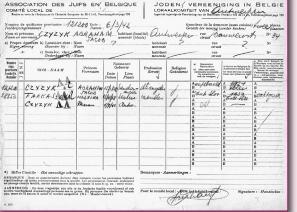
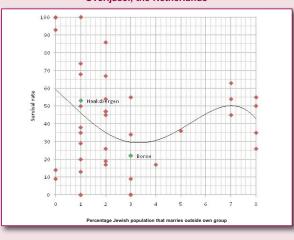




Figure 5: : Deportation List



Figure 6: Survival Rate and Social Integration Jews in Overiissel, the Netherlands



Three important lessons:

First, highlights local dynamics of mass-killing, overlooked by most comparative work on Genocide.

Wider Implications

Research Design

The Holocaust in the Netherlands provides a unique albeit

macabre laboratory to test this model. Recently discovered German SIPO-lists (figure 4) will be combined with deportation lists (figure 5) to calculate the levels of survival and social

integration (residential, marital and professional) for all

Preliminary Results

So far I have been able to calculate Jew-Gentile marriage rates and Survival rates for counties in Dutch province

Overijssel, including Oldenzaal and Haaksbergen. The data

provides some support for my model (figure 6)

Dutch counties.

Second, unlike most survey and experimental work, there is no external validity problem because competing theories on integration and solidarity are systematically tested in an important historical context in which stakes were high.

Third, the suggestion that integration may not solve problems immediately, but has important and positive long-term effects, has import policy implications in that it can improve conflict-resolution strategies.

Figure 3: Social Integration-Solidarity Curve

