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Table of Content

List of Abbreviation	3
List of Tables and Diagrams	4
Introduction	6
Part I Social and Discursive Practices	33
.1. Preliminary and Contextual Sequences: Bio-Politics and Geo-Politics of Assimilation Concepts	41
.2. Social Scientific Knowledge in the International: The UNESCO's Promotion of Social Scientific Research	52
.3. The Global Range of Cooperation and the Levels of Negotiation	66
.4. The Experts and Their Selection	81
.5. Output	99
.6. Research Techniques and Foci, Disputes and Controversies	120
Part II Discursive Fragmentations of 'Assimilation' and 'Integration'	128
.7. Interpretations of Assimilation - Terms and Notions	132
.8. Defining Tensions and the Problematization of Migration	156
.9. Disseminating the 'Assimilation' Concept in Questionnaires	169
.10. Imagined Forms of 'Society' and the Visibility of Differences	188
.11. Group Categorisations	197
.12. Perceptions, Contributions and the Assimilability of Migrants	205
.13. The Concepts of Social Progress and Cultural Enrichment Adapted to the 'Cultural Assimilation' of Immigrants	222
Conclusion	230
Annex I: Literature	235
Annex II: Resources	241
Annex III Abstract	325

List of Abbreviation

DSS: The UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences

ECOSOC: The Economic and Social Council

EXB: The Executive Board of the UNESCO

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization

GC: The General Conference of the UNESCO

IBE: International Bureau of Education

ICIC: International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

IIIC: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

IEA: International Economic Association

ILO: International Labour Organization

ISA: International Sociological Association

ISC: International Studies Conference

IUSSP: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population

ODG: The Office of the UNESCO's Director-General

S: The Secretariat of the UNESCO

TP: The UNESCO's Tensions Project, which correlates with the project's name 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding'

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WHO: World Health Organization

List of Diagrams and Tables

Diagram 1	Fairclough's 'Three-dimensional conception of discourse'	23
Diagram 2	Analysing Assimilation Discourses – a Model	24
Diagram 3	Usage of the terms the 'integration of immigrants' and the 'assimilation of immigrants' in digitized books and articles published in the USA, in the English language	35
Diagram 4	Usage of the terms the 'integration of immigrants' and the 'assimilation of immigrants' in digitized books and articles published in Great Britain, in the English language	36
Diagram 5	Statistical overview of the usage of the terms the 'cultural integration' and the 'cultural assimilation' of immigrants in books and articles published in the English-language in general	38
Diagram 6, 7	Usage of the terms 'l'assimilation des immigrants', 'l'integration des immigrants', and 'l'assimilation culturelle des immigrants'	39
Diagram 8	A Model of Socio-Psychological Aspects of Migration, by Alfred Sauvy	149
Table 1	Awad, Mohammed, 'Tensions Crucial to Peace – Analytical Break up'	59
Table 2	Cooperating Individuals and Bodies on the Governmental Level	70
Table 3	Individual Collaborators associated to Universities (I)	71
Table 4	Individual Collaborators associated to Universities (II)	72
Table 5	Individual Collaborators associated to Universities (III)	73
Table 6	Cooperating Bodies (I): International Organizations, Institutes of Public Opinion and University Departments	74
Table 7	Cooperating Bodies (II)	75
Table 8	Individual Collaborators in Public Opinion	76
Table 9	Private Individuals in their Roles as Collaborators to the Tensions Project	77
Table 10	'Other' Individual Collaborators not Captured by the Categories above (I)	78
Table 11	'Other' Individual Collaborators not Captured by the Categories above (II)	79
Table 12	Types of 'Assimilation'	146
Table 13	Types of 'Integration'	146

Table 14	Types of ‘Absorption’	146
Table 15	‘Assimilation’ as Outcome	155

*'The notion of assimilation,
obscure at the start, is obscure at the finish,
which is all the more dangerous as it then appears
to have the backing of an entire process of scientific investigation.'*¹

Introduction

The history of concepts about the 'assimilation' and/or 'integration' of immigrants is a history of success. Discourses have been reproduced and utilized in domestic and foreign policy, the media, and the social sciences without questioning their means since the mid-1890s. Backed by social scientific 'expertise' the ideas developed within the social sciences from the 1920s. Successfully influenced by 'national' and 'inter-national' politics and law, the concepts were perpetuated and evolved into a kind of 'common sense', which occurred throughout the international intellectual and political community as well and by its means.

This doctoral dissertation shall foremost reflect the social scientific knowledge on such concepts as formulated in terms of the 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' of migrants after 1945. Approaching the concepts from this perspective will elucidate discursive sequences that consistently guided discussions in the social sciences in the two decades following World War II. This dissertation shall illuminate (1) the social scientific disciplinary and interdisciplinary considerations engaged within the conceptualizations of the 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' of migrants, as embedded within (2) the international co-operation and dissemination of the concepts and discourses; and which included (3) trans-disciplinary discussion and negotiation between different actors possessing the accepted and justified 'expertise' on the matter. These three sublevels aim to reveal the discursive interconnectedness and merging interests, as well as to indicate the constructive design of the assimilation and integration concepts. This doctoral dissertation questions how, in the aftermath of World War II (1945-1962), discourses on 'cultural' assimilation and integration evolved in the social sciences and within international relations, as represented by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and in its interactions with international and national associates.

¹ UNESCO, Study on the Assimilation of Aliens in France by Professor L. CHEVALIER, 28.7.1950, UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/TAIU/Conf.2/9 Annex II, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

In a speech to an audience of former Turkish immigrants delivered in Germany in May 2012, Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan dramatically asserted that ‘assimilation is a crime against humanity’.² His statement provoked nervous predictions and occasional diplomatic discord ever since, particularly in Germany and Austria. Erdoğan intimated to his ‘fellow countrymen’ or former ‘nationals’, as he called them (and with which he meant to indicate Turkish emigrants in Germany of *all* generations), to integrate into German society but not to ‘assimilate’. His wording revealed both the lack of clarity between the terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ that has dominated public, political and demographic discourse within individual European nation states since the 1960s, and an idea of how the concepts were determined in the public and political discourse in 2012. Erdoğan’s opinion regarding the ‘assimilation’ of migrants into a national setting and his demand to his ‘fellow nationals’ does not coincide with the official use of the term ‘integration’ in Germany and Austria. In fact, the term ‘assimilation’ has not been used in political and social scientific discourse in a German context since the 1960s, but the general public and political leadership seemed to inherently understand the term and its meaning nonetheless. Beyond German social and discursive practices regarding the meanings of integration and assimilation and the preferred terminology, Erdoğan’s demand for the non-assimilation of a nationally defined group stands in sharp contrast to commonly accepted immigration politics and the general public discourse in Europe.

In a European context, the term ‘assimilation’ had been increasingly replaced by ‘integration’. In 2004 the European Union (EU) released the ‘Common Basic Principles’ for dealing with immigrant ‘integration’ policy within its borders. The official publication states that these principles ‘form the foundations of the EU initiatives in the field of integration’.³ The first paragraph goes on to read that ‘integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.’⁴ A similar approach to the concept was discussed after 1945 and through the early 1960s. The ‘two-way process’ was understood as counterpart of a ‘one-way’ procedure, both referred to in the historical debates as either ‘assimilation’ or ‘integration’, according to a nationalized or internationalized context and the corresponding political requirements. However, in the past decades the notion of assimilation was not necessarily dropped in the EU, as Erdoğan’s statement and the

² See the speech online (in German): Süddeutsche.de, 17.5.2012: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/Erdoğan-rede-in-koeln-im-wortlaut-assimilation-ist-ein-verbrechen-gegen-die-menschlichkeit-1.293718>; (as accessed 17.9.2014).

³ EU, Integration - Common Basic Principles. see: http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/EU_actions_integration.cfm; (as accessed 10.3.2013).

⁴ Ibid.

reaction to his public speech clearly revealed. In the United States and Australia, the term ‘assimilation’ is still in use and commonly accepted and is separate from ‘integration’, the technical term for legal (including the right to vote) and economic integration to the labour market. The former Turkish Prime Minister’s statement that ‘assimilation is a crime against humanity’ is hence directly opposed to the most influential and internationally accepted social scientific models and studies on the assimilation of immigrants.⁵ And assimilation has yet again a certain degree of popularity, more than all other discussions on integration in Germany.⁶ The former Turkish Prime Minister and current President of Turkey (since 2014), however, obviously used a term that had not been officially applied to German immigration politics and the public discussion for decades. By doing so, Erdoğan clearly differentiated ‘assimilation’ from ‘integration’ and German media and politicians understood what he meant.

But how was that possible? Obviously, there was (and is) an implicit common discourse connecting the meanings of integration and assimilation. The two terms have always been closely related and carry a common implicit meaning. In the course of the past decades, both terms have been repeatedly redefined with mixed assigned meanings. Thus, one consequence is the manifestation of consistent uncertainty and situational and accommodating usage. But, as Schneider and Crul stated, ‘Studying this aspect [...] would probably reveal more similarities than differences.’⁷ This doctoral dissertation will prove this, as well as the differing usages’ dependence on political context and power interests. Did the German reaction to Erdoğan’s point reveal a discourse loaded with ambiguity and double *entendre*? First of all, his speech represents an exemplification of the common utilization of the terms and revealed an interesting ambiguity between the discursive lines serving different interests. From the immigrant-receiving country’s perspective (in this case, Germany), some (Turkish) immigrants were regarded as ‘unwilling’ to ‘integrate’ into society, whatever that meant to the many parties of interest. Secondly, from the emigrant-sending country’s point of view, as well as from one of foreign policy, it is about providing ‘their’ emigrants with ties to a national collective in order to keep them ideologically connected and in solidary with their homeland.

⁵ See: Assimilation basic models by Robert E. Park (Chicago School, 1921) to Milton M. Gordon (USA, 1964); ‘Neo-assimilationism’ by Richard Alba and Victor Nee in the 2000s (USA); Theory of ‘segmented assimilation’ by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou in the 1990s (USA). In between, and especially up to the 1960s, several distinct investigations on assimilation and integration guided the discourses, such as Charles Price and W.D. Borrie in Australia, David Glass in England, etc. In the course of the first chapter I shall name all contributors and their fields of work in detail.

⁶ See: Brubaker, Roger, *The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States*. In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2001) 24/4. 531-548.

⁷ Jens Schneider/Maurice Crul, *New insights into assimilation and integration theory: Introduction to the special issue*, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (2010) 7. 1143–1148, p.1145.

Erdoğan's agenda was based on his country's foreign political interests and he seemed to have had a clear idea of the concept when he advised 'his fellow' Turkish nationals abroad not to assimilate.⁸ He was probably the first politician after 1945 to clearly pose integration against assimilation without an attempt at mutually agreeable phrasing.

His approach of correlation based on nationalism is not unique and we find similarities throughout history as well as in the present. Nazi Germany's dissimilation and assimilation policy in the decades before 1945, for example, showed a similar aim of keeping *German* those they identified as being of German ethnicity but living in other countries.⁹ The German Reich was not keen on seeing *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) assimilate into the society in which they resided.¹⁰ This connection to National Socialist ideas about assimilation tainted the term and caused it to be abandoned in German social scientific research, politics and public discourse after 1945.

Erdoğan's foreign policy regarding Germany's Turkish immigrants, as acknowledged by Harris Mylonas' argument, was that nation states 'cultivate relations with non-core groups in other states to destabilize them, to increase their bargaining power, or because of ethnic ties.'¹¹ Mylonas pointed to the diverse interests involved in the creation and maintenance of a nation state's focus on politics and questions of power as the main motivation within the discussion. Erdoğan's manifest and clear wording is an example that reveals that the assimilation of so-called non-core groups – or 'minorities' – is of concern to both – 'sending' and 'receiving' countries –, but with crucial differences regarding their interests. Historical events of foreign policy targeting emigrants in foreign countries have shown, 'that intra-, and inter-state wars often result from conflict over' policies targeted at non-core groups.¹² For example, the Turkish military intervened in Cyprus in 1974 in order to 'protect' the Turkish population living there. Another and more recent event is Russia's 'occupation' of the Crimea in 2014. Russian President Wladimir Putin reasoning resembled that of the political leaders of Turkey in Cyprus in the 1970s; both argued along lines of discourse relating to 'international

⁸ Harris Mylonas analysis in his book *Politics of Nation-Building. Making Co-Nationals, Refugees and Minorities* (published 2012) the relationship between foreign policy and national interests by means of the Ottoman history.

⁹ Pinwinkler, Alexander, "Assimilation" und "Dissimilation" in der „Bevölkerungsgeschichte“, ca. 1918 bis 1960. In: Mackensen, Rainer (Ed.), *Bevölkerungsforschung und Politik in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für die Sozialwissenschaften 2006).

¹⁰ Different notions were applied to German emigrants calling themselves 'Volksdeutsche': German immigrants in Czechoslovakia were called *Sudetendeutsche*; German immigrants in south-eastern Europe (to Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia) were called *Swaben*.

¹¹ See Harris Mylonas, *The Politics of Nation-Building. Problems of International Politics* (New York, Cambridge University Press 2013). Kindle Version, Position 413.

¹² Mylonas, Position 504.

security’ and ‘national self-defence’. In the Russian case, the matter was linked to the ‘protection’ of Russian emigrants and ethnic Russians on foreign soil.¹³ This ambiguity between assimilation as a method for maintaining inter- and intra-national peace, as well as provocation and conflict-trigger in the post-World War II, illuminates the assimilation paradigm as socially constructed along different discursive sequences that mostly represent (foreign) national power-related political and economic interests.

Still other similar examples are specific lines of discourse within the intense public and political discussion after the so-called terror attacks in parts of the world commonly understood as ‘Euro-American’. Debates about the integration and assimilation of immigrants increased in number and intensity after such events and revealed the goal of the concepts’ inherent meanings: an invisibility of difference within an imagined national homogeneity. A German protest phenomenon¹⁴ called PEGIDA (Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes; translation: European Patriots against the Islamisation of the West) is yet another instance of the use of arguments of non-difference and national homogeneity along religious lines. The movement started in December 2014 and its supporters claim to quit ‘*Multikulti*’ (the German abbreviation and negatively connoted term for ‘multiculturalism’) in favour of proclaimed ‘occidental’ or Christian ideals. In the case of PEGIDA, the culture discourse was foregrounded, pointing specifically to religious differences and the deviation in visible customs referred to as ‘culture’.

All of these events – the incidents and their aftermath – have one common ingredient: the accentuation of differences along racial, ‘cultural’, national and psychological lines of discourse. Two crucial developments in the history of the differentiation of human beings are inherent in these discussions: (1) the social and natural scientific discourse (i.e. a scientific approach to the social and individual world of humankind); and (2) the national discourse implying a cultural relatedness and solidarity. Nationalism played and still plays an important role in the assimilation discourse. Gaining recognition since the work of Robert E. Park in the early 1920s,¹⁵ the process of establishing the assimilation paradigm and folding it into social scientific research underwent several phases through the end of World War II. One stage was Germany’s Nazi period, during which scientists and politicians focused on the biological and psychological components of nationalism, exaggerating visible differences and concentrating

¹³ From an international law perspective, ‘self-defence’ is the only argument that warrants military operations on foreign soil.

¹⁴ The protests started in December 2014 in Dresden, Germany.

¹⁵ See the work of Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess as representatives of the ‘Chicago School’ in 1921.

on the normative assumption of the superiority of the German people. We find yet another theoretical similarity in Italian Fascism, in regards to colonialism, and in Japan. Focusing on immigration restrictions in migrant classifications, the British Commonwealth and the United States highlighted visible differences before and after 1945 and often linked them to psychological characteristics in the social sciences and in the political sphere. In social scientific studies, ambiguities between the common and the distinct were expressed in different ways and the consequences were manifold.

The discussions shown above were embedded in several lines of discourse and guided by different interests: domestic politics, foreign politics and economics (connected or not to the political field). In my approach in this doctoral dissertation, I regard discourses of ‘cultural’ assimilation and ‘cultural’ integration in common social knowledge to be based on political interests. The political discourse in contemporary national and international European debate is often guided by a generally accepted ‘common sense’ of what the integration or assimilation of immigrants means or should mean. But the understanding of this within discussion in Europe is inherent and tacit; I have found questions in neither a political nor a media setting that ask what is concretely meant when talking about the ‘integration of immigrants’. What is our understanding of integration and assimilation? Do only political interests guide the discourse? What should the so-called immigrant understand when someone speaks about his or her integration process?

Assimilation and integration discourses are considered to be some sort of ‘common sense’ and the discussants – the ‘experts’ (mostly situated in the social sciences), non-experts (the public, or nonofficial individuals), and politicians (accepted as ‘experts’ and authorized to speak) – seem to have a fundamental idea about that of which they speak in sometimes heated and polarizing discussions. Some experts even help strengthen the political discourse on integration, often guided by exclusiveness. They usually do not dig into some of the ambiguities lying under the surface of the assimilation and integration discourse. Based on those questions and the ambiguities they have generated, this doctoral dissertation shall focus on discursive sequences developed in the social sciences and between 1945 and 1962. However, as acknowledgement of the influences and context is in the foreground of this study, the framework will not only include the influences but will also highlight the international contexts in which the discourses were created and reproduced after 1945. In doing so, this doctoral dissertation shall analyse the assimilation paradigm that includes the integration discourse by framing the study in terms of the UNESCO. This examination

follows both an international and transnational view on the assimilation and integration paradigm, and pays tribute to the role of international organizations after 1945 in developing these discourses. The analysis takes into account a specific chronological schedule and embeds the social scientific theoretical developments within the international relational order as established since 1945. Hence, the social scientific conceptualizations shall be contextualized on an international and transnational scale within the intellectual *Zeitgeist* represented by the United Nations' special agency UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. This approach recognizes international organizations on the macro-level as entities that took part in social scientific considerations and the process of determining paradigms. On the micro-level, the analysis points to the international organization as a social body that also pursues particular interests.

The UNESCO as a Tool for Analysing the Production of Social Scientific Knowledge on International and Trans-disciplinary Bases

The United Nations specialized agencies are a useful means for gaining an overview of international and transnational developments in the theory and methodology of assimilation and integration studies in the social sciences after 1945. Utilising the UNESCO as an analytical foundation, as will be done in this doctoral dissertation, should not be misunderstood, however. The UNESCO is not only a tool used to investigate assimilation and integration discourses on an international and trans-disciplinary level; the organization also influenced the concepts' distribution on a global and international scale. The UNESCO, in fact, introduced the topic with vehemence to international inter-political and non-political organizations and social scientific institutions. Social scientific and intellectual actors within the academic community were encouraged to undertake study on the topic.

In order to stabilize a 'nation's people' – often just referred to as 'a people' – the international community deemed useful a certain degree of patriotism and national loyalty within a politically defined geographical area, and promoted it. The UNESCO differentiated between nationalism and 'aggressive nationalism' in its post-World War II peace tradition to distance its promotion of nationalism from radical nationalism. The organization sought to educate people about the roots and consequences of aggressive nationalism in order to support international understanding. In a concession to the sovereignty of its member states, which made nationalism a 'good' intention and marked former developments, German colonialism, Italian fascism and Japanese nationalism were seen as 'aggressive'. Above the overall goal of avoiding war, another aim included the organization's concept of a 'world community', which

only stood on stable (financial) ground if the UNESCO granted its member states national independence and sovereignty. This caused – and still does – the branding of ‘a people’ within geographically defined, politically independent areas. In this discourse, ‘aggressive nationalism’ became a barrier hindering ‘international understanding’, whereas nationalism was perceived as an inevitable necessity for keeping member states powerful, satisfied and cooperative.

In the course of two decades, the collaborating partners contributed in their role as ‘experts’ by supplying ‘expertise’ on assimilation and integration, and influenced the conceptualization of assimilation and integration. The term ‘internationalism’ connotes that this doctoral dissertation shall examine the assimilation and integration discourses by means of the international: (1) the UNESCO is an international and inter-governmental organization and social body with a comprehensive global and international network of partners and collaborators; and (2) the ‘experts’ involved in the UNESCO’s work on assimilation and integration were based in national political contexts but worked commonly with other individuals in their roles as ‘experts’ around the world. The UNESCO supported the international co-operation between social scientists, and was prominent in the process of placing the concepts of assimilation and integration within social scientific and political discourses. By doing so, the UNESCO was a crucial entity in the process of determining these concepts in the post-World War II world. We shall therefore recognize that some of the leading contemporary social scientists in anthropology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, political science and economics were involved with the UNESCO or its Department of Social Sciences. Ruth Benedict, Julian Huxley, Margret Mead, Lucien Febvre, Anna Freud and Claude Levi-Strauss were only the tip of the iceberg.

I shall employ all terms that were used in contemporary studies and reports describing assimilation – ‘assimilation’, ‘integration’ and ‘absorption’. As will be elaborated in detail in part 2, the term ‘cultural integration’ was utilized as an equivalent or counterpart to ‘cultural assimilation’. ‘Social integration’, on the other hand, was applied mainly in order to represent legal and economic assimilation. Researchers who investigated cultural and social assimilation processes in Israel used the word ‘adaptation’, another significant term in the timeframe of interest. The most established of the investigators in Israel was Shmuel N. Eisenstadt. He was also the most important social scientist studying immigration there, and he collaborated with the UNESCO’s social sciences department for several years. From today’s perspective, the usage of these terms can be confusing or sometimes seem odd. But the

historical treatment within the framework of this research mirrors quite well the confusion and uncertainty. Therefore, I will not reject any of the terms and their combinations used so as to 'polish' the text. Besides, the most recent examples of the terms' applications have shown that the confusion seems not to have ended.

'Assimilation' is a term lacking a clear definition in social scientific thought. It represents, however, a notion that is imbedded in a diversity of discourses that are of great importance to the social world. In part 1, statistical data will reveal the development of the word's utilization since 1890. The concept's roots can be found in the social sciences in the United States in the 19th century, where it was first applied in historical and descriptive studies with favourable foci on the state and the nation state. The concept is characterized by different discourses that will be elaborated upon in detail in part 2. The first social scientific assimilation research began in the 1890s and was dominated by historical and descriptive studies. Most of the investigations compared nation states' immigration history and policy, or delineated case studies with the state as a localized entity. Starting in the early 1920s, more sophisticated investigations in the fields of sociology and social psychology appeared and focused on the 'migration problem' and community building. Those studies concentrated on economic, social political and psychological questions in order to build theoretical ideas and concepts.

All of the studies I examine in this doctoral dissertation are part of inter- and trans-disciplinary discourse: the 'population problem', the migration (immigration and emigration) 'problem' and the discussion surrounding the categorization of groups and individuals. One of characteristics of the assimilation paradigm is the change of the term 'migration' to 'immigration,' thus creating a new subject – the 'immigrant'. This process symbolized a paradigm shift that provoked the social scientific systematization and categorization of migrants to control and manage immigration. The modification of the processes evolved over the course of the last 120 years in different disciplines in the social sciences, humanities and philosophy. Hence, the paradigms' intellectual and societal determination is a historical process that started before the late 1890s and has not yet ended. The discourses are characterized by a rank growth of new terms related to the idea of assimilation and integration. The discourses' evolutions are distinguished by struggles of definition and fairly chaotic changes in the use of terms. Some revisions of notions did not stop, which is symptomatic of the uncertainty in handling this specific concept in the social sciences. It is therefore not distinguished by one common basic understanding, but rather is formed by several different dimensions of meanings that are used according to specific political and

economic circumstances and interests. When Erdoğan applied the term ‘assimilation’ in 2012, he did this in a specific context, one in which the term assimilation is rarely used to describe social integration. The particular setting was characterized by heated political and public discussion about a defined group, referred to as ‘the immigrants’, which favoured the perception of former Turkish nationals as ‘un-integrated’. However, politicians and the general public acted as if there was a common, intrinsic understanding to what Erdoğan said. And much like in 2012, in the early aftermath of World War II the concept or idea of assimilation was backed and promoted by social scientific investigation and by well-known supporters within the international and trans-disciplinary network of the UNESCO.

But critical voices arose as well. For example, L. Chevalier, collaborator with the UNESCO, figured that the ‘notion of assimilation, obscure at the start, is obscure at the finish, which is all the more dangerous as it then appears to have the backing of an entire process of scientific investigation.’ Chevalier further pointed out in 1950, ‘that the subject-matter of the research itself has never been adequately stated or clarified; one usually sets out to study the machinery of assimilation, without troubling to find out what exactly the phenomenon of assimilation is or amounts to, or even whether it exists or whether it is desirable that it should exist. Owing to these inadequate premises, the enquiry becomes entirely distorted or at best falls short of its goal.’¹⁶

International Migration and Human Rights

One consequence of the problematization of migration is the legal and political regulation of international migration, the detention of ‘illegal’ migrants and refugees in camps, the composition of a ‘migration apparatus’¹⁷ and the assessment of people categorizing them in legal and political terms. This development started to receive criticism in the European Union and its member states, the United States and Australia in the past decade. And although the angles of criticism vary – critique of the development itself as ‘inhuman’ or anti-migration – many are based on human rights questions that focus on human rights regarding international migration and have a long history. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, like the International Labor Organization (ILO), were already promoting rights for international labour migrants in 1949. Refugees were the subject of discussion in 1951 and resulted in the UNHCR Convention on the Status of Refugees. And stimulated by the post-war situation of

¹⁶ Chevalier, L., Study on the Assimilation of Aliens in France, 28.7.1950, Signature: UNESCO/SS/TAIU/Conf.2/9 Annex II, UNESDOC, p.1.

¹⁷ See: Feldman, Gregory, *Migration Apparatus. Security, Labor, and Policymaking in the European Union* (Palo Alto, Stanford University Press 2011).

stateless persons, the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* came into force in June 1960, six years after its adoption. Finally, the UN General Assembly adopted the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Family.

The rough path to making UN member states ratify the treaty indicated their economic and political interests. Additionally, and as an enhancement to the formal international and inter-governmental agreements acknowledging the rights of international migrants, the UN General Assembly adopted the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2009. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was ratified in 2013. This Covenant has one distinct similarity with the 1990s convention – the ratifying countries were mostly ‘sending’ countries rather than ‘receiving’ ones. That is, they were the countries that migrants left and not those to which they came. The refusal to grant basic political, economic and ‘cultural’ rights to international migrants (labour migrants as well as refugees and individuals with the status of stateless person) illustrated the nation states’ resistance to international treaties in favour of national political and economic interests. The treaties emphasized the right of individual distinctness of forced or voluntary migrants and stateless persons. They illustrated that international organizations and communities such as the United Nations started to take international migrants’ rights into account, as well as their reasons to migrate in comparison to the legal ‘citizens’ of a so-called receiving country. In short, similar thought processes created distinct outcomes: granting ‘cultural’ rights but demanding an abandonment of them as a migrant within a national setting.

This albeit short survey of recent developments in human rights with regard to international migrants serves the purpose of providing an idea of the international approaches that emphasize questions of economics and labour and now combat the discrimination of individual distinctiveness such as ‘cultural’ characteristics. This leads, of course, straight to the question of how the claim of cultural assimilation or integration fits into the idea of human rights, and especially into the concept of social human rights. Some discussions on social human rights provide interesting approaches and criticism about its focus on economic and political rights. However, those discussions only recently began, in the 2010s. The integration of an individual into a given society (which can be of different definition and size) has its history. ‘Assimilation’ is a clear and distinguishable outgrowth that has been developing in the social sciences since the late 1890s, as briefly introduced above. The terms ‘assimilation’

and ‘integration’ have been and are used differently in different regions. In Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Great Britain integration is used both when dealing with political and economic integration (explicitly) and with attributes and ‘culture’ attached to the term ‘assimilation’ (implicitly). In the United States, the term assimilation often describes integration and assimilation. Chapter 7 shall provide further explanation of the definitions and the terms’ history after 1945

Research Questions and Thesis

The purpose of this doctoral thesis is to investigate the establishment and the determination process of assimilation and integration discourses in the social sciences from 1945 to the early 1960s. It recognizes the influences introduced from ‘outside’ of the disciplinary and interdisciplinary social scientific elaborations. This refers to a diversity of non-social scientific interests and entities – for example, the political and economic dimensions. Hence, assimilation and integration discourses in the social sciences in the post-1945 world did not necessarily distinguish explicitly between economic, political and social or ‘cultural’ interests, although the UNESCO devoted itself to political peace and economic and social welfare and security. That means that political, economic and social concerns are interwoven in ‘cultural’ assimilation and integration discourses in the social sciences. Therefore, some basic questions cannot be ignored and form the very foundation of this study’s perspective:

To what extent were the concepts of assimilation and integration used as an instrument of power politics? And what was the role of the social sciences within the power relations or the political power interests?

The Turkish Prime Minister’s intention in 2012 was clearly political when stating that ‘assimilation’ was a ‘crime against humanity.’ He mainly demonstrated some type of power in a foreign political context. According to this end and in connection to the working method of this doctoral thesis, this study takes nationally and internationally oriented political interests into account, as well as those of the ‘experts’ – those with an accepted reputation within a social scientific discipline and those not necessarily attached to one specific field but nonetheless connected with the UNESCO projects in their role as ‘experts’. The hope and idea of sustaining peace and international security stood at the forefront of international social scientific endeavours regarding the ‘cultural’ integration and/or assimilation of immigrants. I argue that political power interests considerably guided the discussions and negotiations. An accepted ‘expertise’ on ‘cultural assimilation’ and/or ‘cultural integration’ was produced

within the two decades after 1945, in addition to an international accordance for the global application of the concepts of assimilation and integration to a variety of nation states' social contexts.

Bearing in mind the above, the following questions shall guide this doctoral dissertation:

How were the discourses on the assimilation and integration of migrants, and especially their 'cultural' dimension, discussed, negotiated and reproduced after 1945?

How did those discourses develop in the social scientific thought and within an increasingly international context in the first two decades after 1945?

And who was allowed to participate as an 'expert'? Who was permitted to judge the 'expertise' of other collaborators? Whose 'expertise' was taken into account and whose was not?

As shall be delineated below, the two parts of this doctoral dissertation will focus on the two main directions of concern: the contextual settings and social practices and the discursive practices as represented on behalf of the utilization and determination of terms and notions.

The State of the Art

This doctoral dissertation is concerned with a time and context that is not yet well studied. Various authors have described the historical developments of the assimilation and/or integration of immigrants in economic and legal terms. The assimilation and integration of immigrants as conceptualized in terms of 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration', however, is rarely examined. Both approaches usually left the timeframe between 1945 and the 1960s untouched, or only named the most well-known studies, such as those of Charles Price¹⁸ and Milton M. Gordon.¹⁹

Although, often 'rethought' in recent history and from a social scientific point of view, the analysis often intersected with an historical descriptive examination of the discourses' evolution.²⁰ When social scientists investigated the concepts they usually reproduced it in order to justify the concepts. Rogers Brubaker, for example, asked readers in 2001 if 'assimilation' was going to return to the general discourse. He described the transformation of

¹⁸ See: Price, Charles, *The Study of Assimilation*. In: Jackson, J. A. (Ed.), *Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1969), pp.181-237.

¹⁹ See: Gordon, Milton M., *Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press 1946).

²⁰ Especially Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee used the term of 'rethinking' assimilation in 1997 and 2003.

the concept of ‘assimilation’ – or rather the meaning of it – which he suggested be applied above all other terms utilized to date. From a historical analytical point of view, studies that put priority on the historicization of the ‘phenomena’ of the assimilation and integration of immigrants (rather than the discourses) focus on migration developments and the social processes of ‘integration’ and/or ‘assimilation’. They treat the notions and the concepts’ meanings as a given, without pointing to the social and discursive practices and its global dissemination. Within those delineations, the concept evolved into a type of common knowledge that was discursively perpetuated rather than investigated. From the discursive point of view, only recently humanists and social scientists investigated the assimilation discourse. Against this background and approached from different angles, the state of the art can be embedded within the following fields of studies:

- Linguistics and the study of literature;
- Sociology: Investigations done since the 1960s are primarily situated within social studies, population studies or demography;
- History – History of social sciences, international history.

In regards to analysing assimilation and integration discourses, the above-named fields intersect considerably. Linguists delivered some studies and discussed the assimilation discourses mainly with regard to fiction or fictional literature rather than within social scientific texts. John Alba Cutlers’ *Ends of Assimilation* is the most recently published book on the topic.²¹ Released in 2015, he describes the assimilation concept from the discursive point of view focusing on Chicano literature (‘Mexican American’) in the United States and South America. Cutlers’ considerations deal with the discourses expressed in novels and therefore expressed by the subjects of assimilation – the immigrants themselves. Cutler himself is professionally situated within the studies of American and Chicano literature. Similarly, Catriona Elder searched for assimilation discourses in Australia before and after 1945 in fictional literature and political discussions. She and her co-authors focused on assimilation as a concept with regard to ‘aborigines’ in Australian politics and fiction. As subjects of assimilation and integration, the migrant and the individual or groups defined as ‘minority’ – as the so-called aborigine individual and groups were and still are – shall also receive attention in this doctoral dissertation.

²¹ Cutler, John Alba, *Ends of Assimilation* (Oxford, University Press 2015).

Jutta Aumüller attempted an earlier approach to the histories of the concepts in 2009 when she described assimilation and integration models that were established in the 1920s. Hence, Aumüller traced the terms' histories and applications in social scientific engagement from the 19th century. She revealed trans-disciplinary intersections but failed to emphasize the concepts' discursive developments and international dissemination after 1945. She did, however, critically mark the concept as part of imagined homogeneous nation state building. She concluded that assimilation proves to be a flexible concept in diverse contexts. Aumüller dedicated only a concluding chapter of her book to the formation and determination of the discourses on assimilation and integration.²² In her 2006 article '*We Turks are no Germans*',²³ Patricia Ehrkamp dealt with assimilation discourses and the associated dialectical construction of identities in Germany between 1973 and 1992. As the title indicates, her study concentrated on one national context and a 'group' defined within national terms and as immigrants. Harry Mylonas approached the topic from a slightly different angle; that is, in the context of the politics of nation building. In his 2013 book *The Politics of Nation Building* he described the subtle connections between nation building, assimilation and integration politics.²⁴ Some cases of these intersections shall be highlighted in this doctoral dissertation. In 2010, Jens Schneider and Maurice Crul termed the assimilation discourse a 'paradigm' that showed their approach was from a social sciences point of view.²⁵ When referring to an 'assimilation paradigm' – as I shall also do in this doctoral dissertation – the two authors summarized the social scientific studies on assimilation and integration. It is rather an overview than an 'insight'.

Most scholars have not investigated the period from 1945 to 1960, as for example in Cutler's *Ends of Assimilation*. He argued that there is a gap in development and stated that the concept only had new implementation after 1960. I will prove this theory incorrect and show that it fails to point to a time at which the assimilation and integration discourses were not only spread and promoted globally but also when new studies were initiated.

²² Aumüller, Jutta, *Assimilation. Kontroversen um ein migrationspolitisches Konzept* (Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag 2009).

²³ Ehrkamp, Patricia, '*We Turks are no Germans*': *Assimilation Discourses and the Dialectical Construction of Identities in Germany*. *Environ Plan A* (2006), Vol. 38, No. 9, pp. 1673-1692.

²⁴ Mylonas, Harris, *The Politics of Nation-Building. Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (Cambridge University Press 2012).

²⁵ Schneider, Jens, Crul, Maurice, *New Insight into assimilation and integration theory*. In: Schneider, Jens, Crul, Maurice (Ed.), *Theorizing Integration and Assimilation* (Routledge, London/New York 2012).

Applied Methodology

As a historical study of the concepts and discourses that deals with a specific context, this doctoral dissertation shall concentrate on two working methods, (1) a historical and critical discourse analyses; (2) that takes into account - explicitly and comprehensively – the processes of ‘knowledge-in-the-making’. It targets the contextual social practices of international collaboration with the social sciences and individual ‘experts’ comprehension of the UNESCO not only as an international and inter-governmental organization but also as a social body. Regarding the latter, my methodological approach correlates with descriptions of a historical sociology of social sciences, whereas the former applies methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The working approach of this doctoral dissertation shall focus on the ‘experts’ who are:

- (i) Individuals in the role of ‘experts’ in the social sciences;
- (ii) Individuals other than social scientists but who are authorized to deliver and produce ‘expertise’ on the topic. This may be governmental representatives and diplomats, as well as individuals affiliated with cooperating or interested organizations;
- (iii) Social bodies that were allowed to participate or were considered for participation in the process of ‘knowledge making’, such as international or national organizations, non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations.

Furthermore this examination will expound upon the knowledge or ‘expertise’ itself and the produced and reproduced sequences of discourse that evolved in the first two decades after World War II.

Following a social-constructive point of view, the analysing process will be examined along two broad divisions: the macro- and micro-levels of discourse formation and determination. I aim to include the social contexts in which the discourses evolved and expanded; the formulations and interpretations of terms and notions that have been applied to the idea of assimilation; the established transfer of social scientific knowledge; and the social systems in which discursive development was determined.

Recognizing the contexts of production, transfer and dissemination of knowledge within social scientific disciplinary fields, this investigation is guided by the assumption that discourses can be traced through the UNESCO’s international, transnational, and inter- and trans-disciplinary collaborations. I recognize that international organizations are social bodies

in and of themselves. These principle assumptions determine the two approaches to the analyses – the discourse analysis and the social studies of sciences.

These foundational assumptions and determinations allow me to distinguish between two steps that will explain the archival material regarding assimilation discourses: (1) the social practices, and (2) the discursive practices that include the text analysis. This approach is conducted on behalf of Norman Fairclough's model of analysing discourses – the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – and it implements the principles of the study of science as applied to the social sciences and located in this investigation at the level of social practices. Fairclough's CDA enables me to pursue historical thoughts and ideas, intentions and propositions embedded within several contexts. The *social practice* (context) is combined with the analysis of spoken discourses, the *discursive practices*. As Fairclough puts it, discursive practice is 'constitutive in both conventional and creative ways: it contributes to reproducing society (social identities, social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief) as it is, yet also contributes to transforming society.'²⁶ The UNESCO shall be the social structure most relevant to this investigation. This dissertation's analysis, however, will not be restricted to the UNESCO, as the organization is not encapsulated and does not stand on its own. It is part of a global network, and not only that of the United Nations. Within the UNESCO's social structure, discursive practices are confined to social scientific discourse, political discourse, national and international discourse. Public discourses (for example, in the media), however, will not be found within the discursive practices of this social structure.

According to Michel Foucault, discourse contributes to the constitution of objects, subjects and concepts.²⁷ Adapting this theory, the immigrant (the object of assimilation and integration discourse and a social identity) is made up of the political discourses of nation-building and by scientific discourses of differentiation and categorization. Problematizing migration is part of the nation-building process or of power relations and struggles, from an assimilation and integration point of view. This approach acknowledges the constructive effects of discourse as well as its establishing contexts. Following Fairclough's perception, constructive effects of discourse are differentiated in three ways: (1) the construction of *social identities*; (2) the construction of *social relationships*; and (3) the construction of '*systems of knowledge and belief*'.²⁸ Applying this differentiation to the assimilation and integration discourses in the

²⁶ Fairclough, Norman, *Discourse and social change* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1992).

²⁷ Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (English Version of 1972, Reprint by Routledge Classics, London/New York 2002).

²⁸ Ibid, p.64.

aftermath of World War II, the immigrant was determined to be a social subject. National political and legal systems facilitated the subjective persona of the immigrant within a nationally defined frame. In addition and at the same time, knowledge production and expertise-production on assimilation and integration was promoted internationally. The following diagram is based on Fairclough's 'Three-dimensional conception of discourse' and shall be adapted to this case-study:

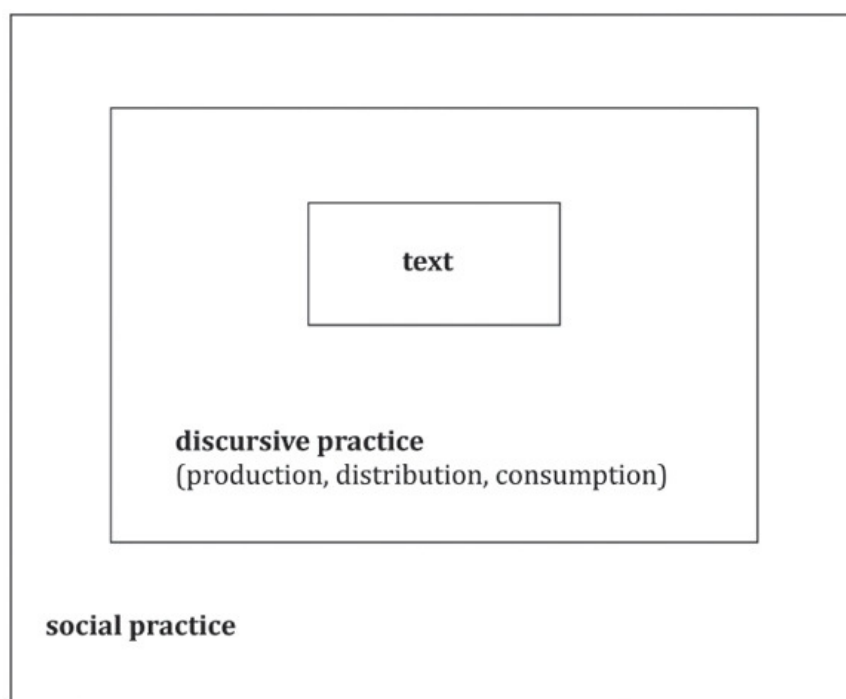


Diagram 1: Fairclough, Three-Dimensional conception of discourse.²⁹

The diagram above shows the three distinctions wherein discourses are formed and represented, as defined by Fairclough. Although I will in principle apply Fairclough's model to this analysis, I shall adapt it to its needs. The following diagram on page 19 delineates two levels of analysis of the assimilation discourse: the 'social practice' and the 'discursive practices'. Both form one greater whole wherein the macro and micro levels of analysis will lead to a comprehensive deconstruction of the assimilation concept and the discourses that form it. The texts, in their various types, represent a conglomeration of moulding and transformation of the assimilation discourses and shall be analysed on behalf of exposing the types of thought applied to (1) imagined homogenous systems; (2) the migrant as the object of

²⁹ Ibid, p.73.

problematization; (3) the categorizations and differentiations of the migrant and immigrant; and (4) the regime of the assimilation system.

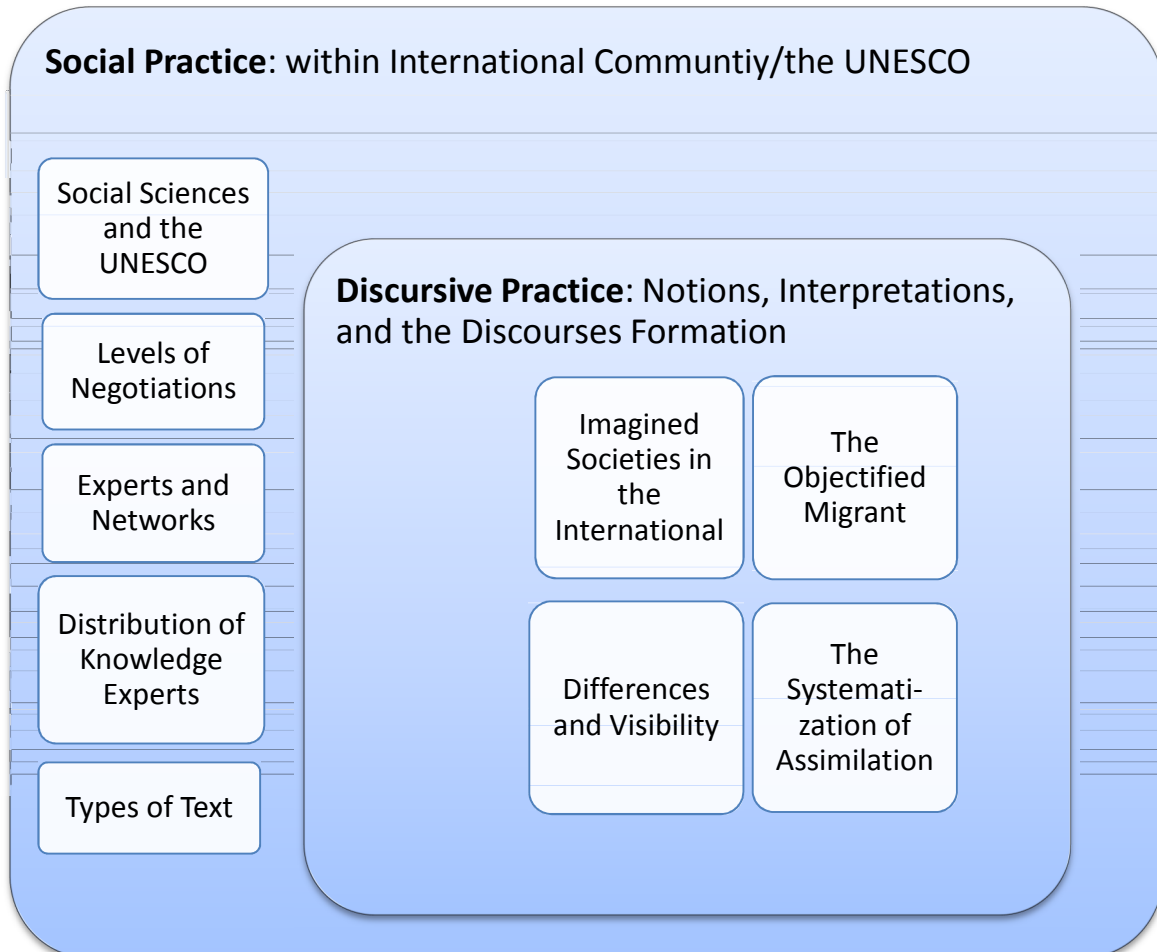


Diagram 2: Analysing Assimilation Discourses.

The level of ‘social practice’ illustrates the wider social context(s) that influenced and shaped the discourse(s), and some theoretical backgrounds in which the assimilation concept is embedded. In this case study, the wider social practice is the international community as a social entity spatially situated in Western Europe, specifically in London/UK and Paris/France, which indicates specific ideological, scientific and intellectual backgrounds. As an international and inter-governmental organization, the UNESCO is influenced by its member-states representing their nation state entities and by the ever-increasing global dissemination of social scientific knowledge. Discursive practices, on the other hand, shall deal with the notions and terms used in the international cooperation of experts – recognized

in the social sciences and by the international community – to fill the concept of the ‘assimilation’ of immigrants with social meaning. Analyses as situated in the greater ‘social practice’ and as inherent symbol of the ‘discursive practices’ shall be found in this second stage of investigation of the texts, representing the third level within the Fairclough model. Those two levels – discursive practice and social practice – shall form the complete analysis, whereas ‘interdiscursivity’ and ‘intertextual chains’ had to be considered as part of the discursive practice. ‘Interdiscursivity’ refers to the specification of discourse types, and ‘discursive chains’ describe the distributions of discourse and discourse types. Although, the ‘social practice’ and the ‘discursive practice’ are separated as two main stages of analysis, they are intersected by the distribution of discourse types and the involved experts.

This dissertation takes into account the basic assumption that the social sciences are spheres of society and thus subject to social conditions and restrictions. The social and theoretical contextualization of the discursive formation of assimilation is therefore an important part of this doctoral thesis. As shown in Diagram 2 of this introduction, the social practices involve the social contexts in which assimilation as a concept was formed and globally distributed on behalf of the international community and especially the UNESCO. As already pointed out, from the point of view of this analysis, the UNESCO is considered to be a social body and therefore underlies the laws of its functions.

Resources and Quotations

As highlighted above in the section on the state of the art, earlier studies detailed assimilation and integration discourses and dealt with their development foremost within fictional literature. Studies dealing with nonfictional sources usually contained different types of texts, as does this dissertation. The sources on which this work is based are contained in the UNESCO’s archive (Paris, France) and in the National Archives of Australia (Canberra and Sydney, Australia). Those are, without exception, primary sources, the documents either originally authored by the UNESCO or collected by its archive and library in relation to the topic. All documents are open to the public, as they are no longer bound by copyright regulations. Some of the documents are accessible through the UNESCO’s online archival platform, UNESDOC. However, the unpublished documents – which most are – of the Department of Social Sciences and related materials, such as correspondence between UN members and officials of NGOs with which the UNESCO collaborated, are only obtainable in the UNESCO’s archive in Paris.

Overall, this doctoral dissertation is based on 1,280 texts and text-accumulation, and 1,097 documents are quoted therein. All documents are mentioned in the list of resources (Annex II) and linked to the original archival location or, if possible, to the location in the UNESDOC online archive. This dissertation is composed of documents of different extent and sort, which are distinguished as follows:

Promoted and officially published studies (outcome):

(1) Official reports and memoranda, as prepared by the UNESCO's staff or consultants under temporary contract, for official distribution through public and private channels. This also concerns documents that were composed by several authors but edited by one advisor (external or internal) or staff member.

(2) Reports authored by social scientists or individuals approved as 'experts' in a relevant social scientific field at universities around the world. Most of these reports were requested or claimed by the UNESCO and authorized by national governments or university administration in accordance with governmental advisers.

Staff members and external consultants under contract who wrote studies on the topic promoted by the UNESCO are responsible for the texts' content. Reasons for outsourcing some of the production of texts to external advisors, as well as the distribution of these texts and ensuing knowledge transfer, are discussed in part 1, wherein I delineate the social practices involved in the process of knowledge production.

Texts concerning the negotiations and discussions on the topic:

(1) Memoranda for internal circulation within the UNESCO. These reports usually served as pre-dispositive papers in advance of meetings and were open for discussion. Or they were prepared for internal discussion on specific topics. These types of texts circulated through 1947, and contain preliminary program recommendations to the Executive Board made by the Department of Social Sciences.

(2) International correspondence – confidential and non-confidential, between different actors and entities, usually at least one of which was an official of the UNESCO. They deal with various topics and projects.

(4) Reports and memoranda sent to the UNESCO by UN agencies, such as the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health

Organization (WHO) and the Economic and Social Organization (ECOSOC). These agencies closely cooperated with the UNESCO in order to reach a common understanding on migration and population questions. Although the UNESCO was the only organization working with the assimilation and integration of 'im'-migrants, UN agencies commented on the composition of its program, its development and its implementation. All of the named UN agencies gathered in migration meetings from 1950 (called the 'Technical Working Group on Migration') and left protocols recording discussions and negotiations on questions of assimilation and integration.

This study essentially deals with primary sources, as previously stated. All primary source references are quoted directly in the footnotes on the respective page and include the detailed archival location of documents. A list of all resources collected for this doctoral dissertation is condensed in Annex II. The quotation of resources follows the arrangement of the archival system: the shelf mark (as it used at least until the time of this dissertation's submission), the box and folder numbers and the signatures available on the document itself. Not all documents, however, were marked with a signature, and therefore in some cases none has been cited.

References to the literature will be stated separately in the footnotes and summarized in Annex I. The quotation of literature is ordered in British quotation style.

The Organization of Analysis

As detailed above, I shall separate and organize this analysis into two stages: *Part 1: Social and Discursive Practices*; and *Part 2: The Discursive Fragmentations of 'Assimilation' and 'Integration'*.

The first part shall elaborate upon the intersections between bio-, geo- and socio-politics as they form the 'world population problem' and the basis of assimilation and integration discourses. The first chapter contains the intellectual prehistory on population questions and its problematizations. My aim is to identify the traces of political and social scientific need in order to organize the social world. And the approach includes the involved international organizations and think tanks that perpetuated assimilation and integration discourses into the mid-19th century. The second chapter, *Social Scientific Knowledge in the International: The UNESCO's Promotion of Social Sciences*, deals with the frame of this doctoral dissertation: the UNESCO. Here, especially the organizational intersections with social science institutions and social scientists, and the influence of the organization on social scientific study with

regard to assimilation and integration shall be highlighted. This will show that the organization had great influence upon the selection of research foci and the global dissemination of assimilation and integration discourses. Chapter 3 will delve into the negotiations and cooperation in order to identify the levels of intersection. This will clarify the power of an international network as promoter and the forces that confronted it. According to the discussions between advocates and proponents, Chapter 6 delineates some of the discussions that were documented within the sources. In order to show the social practices of the individuals involved, the *Experts and their Selection* will be described in Chapter 4. A wide range of individuals will be mentioned and their contextual settings described, as far as they are known. The explanation of experts' contributions will reach far beyond the commonly named and known individuals, but shall try to capture a plurality of individuals and their contributions to the discussions gathered by the UNESCO. The input of experts and collaborators and the UNESCO's output will consequently play another distinct role in the analysis of assimilation and integration discourses. Chapter 5 shall therefore be dedicated to the written concepts that some collaborating individuals and institutions directed to the UNESCO. At the same time, the UNESCO's aims and targets in approaching the 'external' and 'internal' actors are explored.

In Part 2, the assimilation and integration discourses will be analysed. This shall be approached by starting with the interpretation of the terms assimilation and integration in the timeframe of interest and the notions with which the discourses are loaded. It will show that no clear or commonly excepted definition existed. Rather, the individual collaborators repeatedly tried to define assimilation and/or integration. In doing so, the experts' correspondence, memoranda and reports portrayed a great struggle. To gain insight into the reasons for this struggle, the very basis of the defined problem – social 'tensions' – shall be explained in Chapter 8, along with some discursive sequences that were involved in the assimilation and integration conceptualizations of post-World War II international considerations. With the goal of combatting those 'tensions', the UNESCO created a set of questionnaires that the organization sent to over 160 governmental and academic institutions. The questions posed in the questionnaires shall be explained and analysed in Chapter 9. The categorization of migrants to help them to integrate or assimilate was not necessarily a new method, but was clearly a new dimension to approaching them. This global and transnational comparison and replication of social scientific methods – and, not to a lesser extent, the theoretical adjustment – offers insight into the discourses channelled into the conceptualizations of assimilation and integration in the first two decades after 1945.

Accordingly, Chapters 10.-12. will show how the ‘experts’ and other contributors managed the visibility of differences and the notion of migrants as they were perceived by the individuals involved. The last chapter will finally illuminate the ‘tacit’ and accepted knowledge on the ‘cultural assimilation’ and/or integration of migrants that accompanied the concepts of ‘social progress’ and ‘cultural enrichment’.

Professional and Personal Motivations

In a short digression, I would like to address the motivations that drive the research interests represented within this doctoral dissertation. It is guided, as most scientific investigations are, by professional and personal interests. However, in contrast to most studies that I know of, I intend to at least try to confront those interests that often reside beyond deliberate or conscious knowledge. I do this because I want to demonstrate my respect for the social scientific and humanist approaches to understanding and describing the social world. As I am a part of the social world – and even part of more than one social world – I feel the urge to describe the contextual settings from which this doctoral thesis and the interpretations it generates have evolved. This is important because I recognize that I am not thinking and working in a vacuum, free from influence. This thesis is guided by knowledge I have collected throughout the years of my studies in history ('Eastern European' History, Contemporary History, Islamic Studies, 'Oriental' Cultural Studies and International History), Inter- and Trans-disciplinary Studies, Cultural Studies and Science Studies. However, I am also aware of the knowledge that is not embedded within an officially known term, such as those applied to the various regions of studies, tacit and inherent knowledge that developed throughout my individual socialization and within the diverse social settings in which I was an active part or passive viewer and listener. I accept the eventuality of influences that carry my very personal and professional motivation to deal with the topic at hand.

First of all, in the course of my graduate studies I have become increasingly interested in migration theories and assimilation and/or integration studies that were mostly executed by social scientists. I have attended several conferences and discussions – academic and trans-disciplinary – on the assimilation and integration of immigrants that increased my curiosity about the topic. However, my interest was not focused on the implementation processes of those concepts, but rather on the very social and ideological foundations of assimilation and integration discourses, which I found difficult to comprehend in light of concepts of human rights. In my studies as a doctoral candidate and with the research topic at hand, I had the opportunity to stay in Paris for several months to work in the UNESCO archive. This was a great occasion to familiarize myself with a specialized agency of the United Nations that also represents the human rights declaration and subsequent ones on the topic. In the course of my stay, I viewed not only the relevant documents that represent the basis of this doctoral dissertation, but also became acquainted with many former and present officials of the organization. I discussed the topics of assimilation and integration in their discursive terms

but was confronted with little understanding about my concerns. Assimilation and integration were mostly understood as two determined concepts of social practice. Unfortunately, I also became aware that only the former officials with whom I became acquainted, or the senior staff members, knew about the organization's history and its very ideological basis. The ambiguity between the idea of human rights and their politically conformed representation was rather disturbing.

The second point I want to highlight is that this doctoral thesis is written in the tradition of Michel Foucault's approach to discourse theory and social constructivism. Having stated this, there will be no massive quotation of Foucault. His work is most important insofar as he connected different questions under one heading: discourse. I shall also reference the very important power relations. Foucault's approach is one from a relatedness caused by an ability to connect theoretical work to actual contemporary developments, to the so-called praxis. His thoughts and input regarding discourse – and far beyond – play a specific role in the analytical approach and the interpretations in this doctoral thesis.

Thirdly, my individual motivation drives the questions that I ask, which are based in the social constructivist tradition. My very personal view – most likely highly influenced by the philosophers and historians I have preferred in the last years – and my access to the social world is guided by the idea that every individual and social action is socially constructed and influenced by ideas, coercion, beliefs, education, power and ambition. Furthermore and because of my observations, I am convinced that the assimilation paradigm contributes to the division of the social world in linguistic terms and leads to broader societal partition. Embedded within and based upon this social constructivist approach, I believe that the analytical deconstruction of the assimilation paradigm is highly relevant to the contemporary world in order to trace its origins and expose its social construction and the social consequences it produces. This will be of even more interest when observing the current events of the mass migration around the globe. Will the social scientific and political divisions of individuals and groups keep the social world together in the context we face in 2015/2016? Above all, it also raises the question: Who benefited most from claims of 'cultural assimilation' and/or 'cultural integration'? The answers to these questions, I suppose, would offer some insight into power relations between states, between political leaders and state 'citizens' and between 'citizens'.

As a trained historian and with some experience and socialization as to how to look upon the world and how to perceive it, I suppose this contemplation about my motivations must also

include the very need to search for answers in the past by analysing it. I realize that it is impossible to understand a topic by looking only upon the present. This would be, from my point of view, a power dynamic and conformity that seems to be the very essence of the assimilation and integration discourse.

Part 1: A Social Order in Favour of ‘Cultural Assimilation’ and ‘Cultural Integration’: Social and Discursive Practices (1945-1962)

Knowledge on the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of migrants was and is represented in different ‘languages’ and discourses. Politicians speak differently about the topic, as do economists, the general public and media. Social scientific knowledge on assimilation was fed by the rapid growth of urban areas in the United States in the late 18th century. The discourse spread to serve geo- and bio-political views until the 1940s, which shall be discussed in Chapter 1. Hence, the social scientific assimilation and integration discourses elaborated in collaboration with political and economic interests. Part one will deliberate the points of intersection, the transfer of ‘expertise’ and its representation by individuals recognized as experts in the social sciences and other fields. It will examine the determination of the assimilation and integration discourses on behalf of an international organisation and network, which reached out on a global scale and influenced the research foci in university departments in the social sciences and international, non-governmental and governmental and transdisciplinary institutes. The chapters elaborating on social practices aim to reveal an increasing international collaboration and the rapid formation and determination of assimilation discourses, which mostly included the notion of ‘integration’ and other terms and that served as a foundation for social scientific inquiries on the topic after 1960.

In Chapters 1.-3., I shall explain the contextual settings in which assimilation and integration concepts were discussed after 1945. With special reference to the international co-operation between entities and individuals recognized as experts in the social sciences, the UNESCO will serve as a framework which merged all relevant research that was done between 1945 and 1962. In Chapter 3, the levels of negotiation within the organization will be elaborated and the intersections of the UNESCO with ‘outside’ entities and individuals. The levels are primarily trans-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary, covering the ‘expertise’ of individuals in their roles as governmental representatives and as experts in social sciences. Chapter 5 will examine the types of texts that were produced and disseminated by the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences (DSS), with specific reference to the Tensions Project and its deliberations on the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of migrants. The chapter will cover the texts and link them to their promoters and authors. Chapter 6 will summarize the research techniques and foci utilized by the ‘experts’ when studying the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of immigrants. It shall grasp the diverse social scientific fields of inquiry and their inter-disciplinary intersections. The ‘experts’ engaged in the topics in question in the first two decades after

1945 and under the auspices of the UNESCO shall be portrayed in Chapter 3 to 5. These chapters deliver an overview of collaborators and the most important individuals associated with the conceptualization of the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of immigrant research. In the course of this doctoral dissertation, I shall additionally describe in the footnotes certain individuals as they presented themselves in a specific context. Finally, Chapter 6 will discuss examples of inter-disciplinary disputes and controversies.

How to Talk about Assimilation?

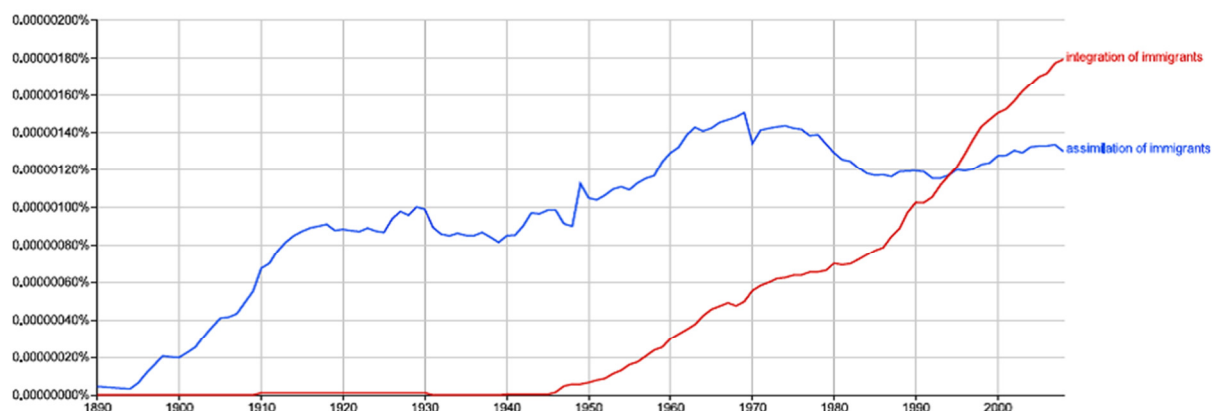
The following chapters will make clear that the discussion of the assimilation or integration of (im-)migrants in social sciences is never only a social scientific one. It is a political, economic and moral one. Social scientific knowledge is – as understood from the historical studies of sciences’ points of view – not separable from political influences and economic interests of those influences. Hence, in the course of making social scientific knowledge, a wide range of influences and impacts must be recognized in order to comprehend the deployment of the assimilation discourses. Chapter 1 is dedicated to grasping the lines of discourse that emerged from those interests and it reveals assimilation as a social phenomenon that is not ‘natural’ – as often claimed – but guided. The concept followed certain predetermined paths. Although this doctoral dissertation deals with assimilation and integration as primarily conceptualized in the social sciences, it also recognizes their role in intellectually backing political and economic interests of nation states. As with other ‘delicate’ political discussions, the social sciences consolidated what was considered politically possible and desirable.

Statistics on the Use of the ‘Assimilation’ and ‘Integration’ of Immigrants

Before continuing with the Chapter 1.-6. on social practices, this section will exhibit the use of the notions of the ‘assimilation of immigrants’ and the ‘integration of immigrants’ in English and French, as published in digitized books and articles since 1890. The examples aim to illustrate the development of the terms’ uses in the last 100 or more years through representative presentations of the notions’ utilizations through the Google Books digitalization project ‘Ngrams’, which was finalized first in 2009 and advanced in 2012 (<http://books.google.com/ngrams>). The Ngram data are available for download under <http://storage.googleapis.com/books/ngrams/books/datasetsv2.html>. This demonstration shows the changes in the publications’ extent regarding any topic. The diagrams presented in this doctoral dissertation do not guarantee a completeness of data. The representation,

however, is able to show an approximate corresponding development of the utilization in social scientific publications. The data specifications in percentage present the usage in comparison to all digitized books, and thus this information can be disregarded. In the footnote, the link to the exact diagram is integrated and the date of the diagram's compilation. In both languages, experts associated with the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences used the notions of the 'assimilation of immigrants' and the 'integration of immigrants'. They were recognized as experts in the social sciences in their respective countries and between 1945 and 1962 many served as representatives of the member-states they worked with. The examination can be recognized as typical. The first two diagrams differentiate between the utilization in English-language media published predominantly in the United States and Great Britain. A third diagram will illustrate the notions of the 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' and the 'cultural integration of immigrants' together between 1890 and 2008. These terms were preferred by the UNESCO associated experts in social sciences. Following this, the French notions that correspond to the English terms will be represented in two separate diagrams. There will be no representation of the Spanish or German usages of the terms, as the UNESCO documents – publications and non-released documents – are mainly in English and French in the respective timeframe.

Diagram 3: Usage of the terms the 'integration of immigrants' and the 'assimilation of immigrants' in digitized books and articles published in the USA, in the English language.



Source : <http://books.google.com/ngrams>³⁰

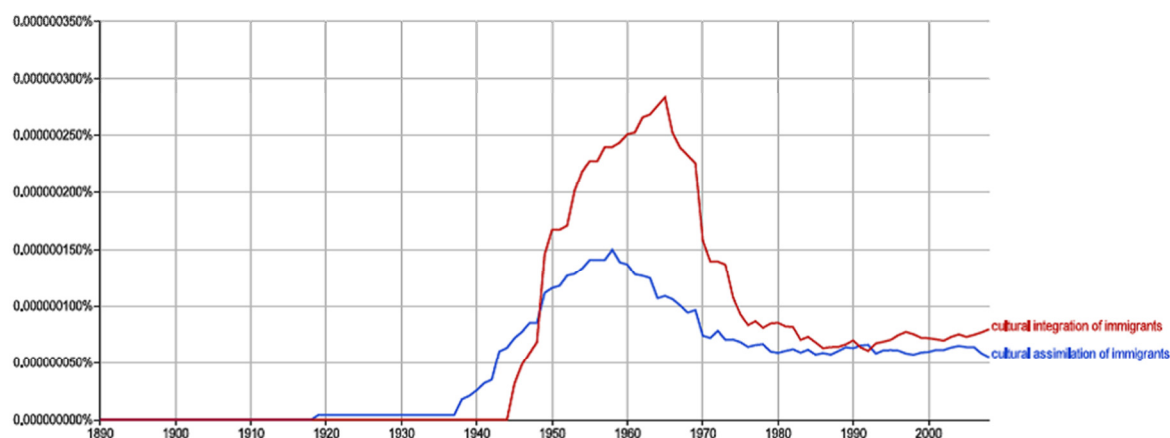
³⁰ Last tracked on 14.05.2015, See:

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=assimilation+of+immigrants%2Cintegration+of+immigrants&year_start=1890&year_end=2008&corpus=17&smoothing=10&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cassimilation%20of%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Cintegration%20of%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0

For studies linked to the British-English use of the terms, the same names and promoters appear as above. The use of the terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ however are different to those linked to the United States and to US-English. The diagram reveals that the preferred specification of the concepts in European social scientific inquiries was rather paraphrased on behalf of the term ‘integration’ and less by ‘assimilation’. The notion of the ‘assimilation of immigrants’ was present before and after 1945 to a lesser extent than it was in the United States. In the years after 1945, and especially since the 1950s, an increased utilization of ‘integration’ inquiries can be observed. The cumulative utilization of both ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ in social scientific examinations was also due to the promoted inquiries into the concepts by the UNESCO. The British National Cooperating Body to the UNESCO was one of the most industrious in the UNESCO social scientific network. The UNESCO Department of Social Sciences turned to David Glass, a respected member of the British School of Economics and the British Sociological Association, to request recommendations on projects and experts.

The next diagram reveals the development of the notions in combination with the term ‘cultural’ – ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’ and ‘cultural integration of immigrants’ – published in English in general (both in British- and US-English). The combination of ‘cultural’ and ‘assimilation’ or ‘integration’ was fashionable after 1945 in English and in French by individuals associated with the UNESCO and considered to be experts in the social sciences in order to describe a distinction between the economic, political and social integration and/or assimilation. As this doctoral dissertation shall show in the following chapters, both terms were never clearly separated in meaning and were utilized randomly and interchangeably. Between 1945 and 1961, the collaborators were unable to agree on a common definition and struggled to distinguish economic, political, social and ‘cultural’ types of the migrants’ ‘integration’ or ‘assimilation’.

Diagram 5 shows a statistical overview of the usage of the terms the ‘cultural integration’ and the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants in books and articles published in the English-language in general.



Source : <http://books.google.com/ngrams>³²

According to this doctoral dissertation’s course of analysis, in the years after 1945 a rapid increase of the use of the term ‘cultural integration of immigrants’ (here in red) can be observed. The ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’ (here in blue) underwent an upstream in intellectual and social scientific inquiries, but up to that point had been already used since the late 1910s in the English language. The social scientific inquiries on the assimilation and integration of migrants, which the UNESCO promoted inquiries, were primarily released in English and French. For this examination, therefore, the examples in English can be considered representative. This diagram refers at the time of recording (10 April 2015) to the utilization of the terms ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’ and ‘cultural integration of immigrants’ (1945-1962) to the following data set:

(i). UNESCO publications, such as the:

- a. ‘Social Science Bulletin’
- b. Publications done in co-operation with the International Union for Social Studies on Population, IUSSP,

³² Last tracked on 10.04.2015. See:

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=cultural+assimilation+of+immigrants%2C+cultural+integration+of+immigrants&year_start=1890&year_end=2008&corpus=15&smoothing=10&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Ccultural%20assimilation%20of%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Ccultural%20integration%20of%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0;

c. Research Information Bulletin (UNESCO Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in South Asia)

(ii). UN reports with references to the UNESCO-promoted studies,

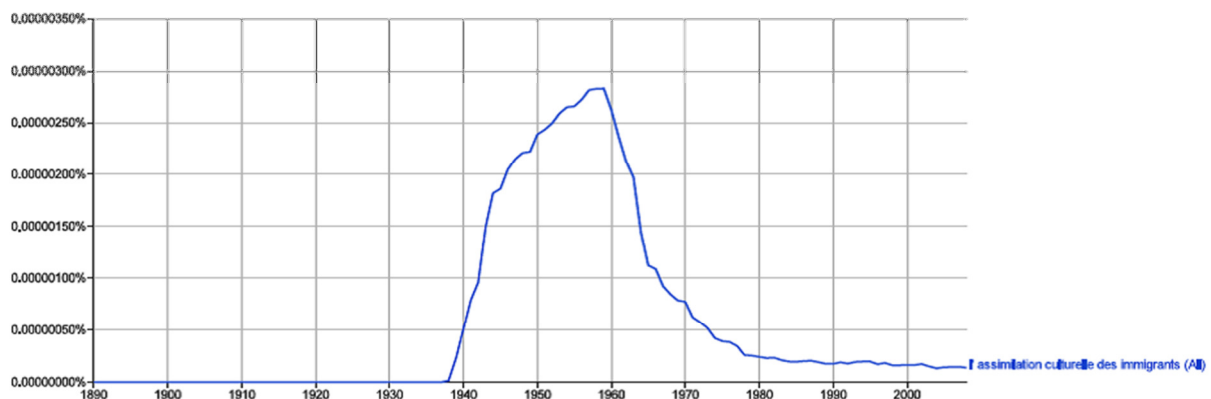
(iii). Official and governmentally linked releases, such as publications by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service, or the British governmental departments.

The UNESCO's and the UN's facilitation and distribution of social scientific inquiries on the topic in the first two decades after 1945 can be regarded as predominant.

Diagram 6 and Diagram 7: These two diagrams single out the notions' utilization in French for comparative reasons.



Source : <http://books.google.com/ngrams>³³



Source : <http://books.google.com/ngrams>³⁴

³³ Last tracked on 15.05.2015, 'case-sensitive' in the years between 1890 to 2008. See: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=l%27assimilation+des+immigrants%2CL%27int%C3%A9gration+des+immigrants&year_start=1890&year_end=2008&corpus=7&smoothing=10&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2CL%20%27%20assimilation%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2CL%20%27%20int%C3%A9gration%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0

The reason for accentuating the French use of the term '*l'assimilation des immigrants*' in comparison with '*l'intégration des immigrants*' shows the rapid increase of implementing the notion of '*l'assimilation*' in the years between the late 1930s and the late 1950s. The data set refers to publications of the:

- (i) Université de Liège, Séminaire de sociologie
- (ii) Journal de la Société de statistique de Paris, Société de statistique de Paris
- (iii) Annales de géographie
- (iv) Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (France), UNESCO
- (v) Individual publications translated from English to French

Most of the studies published under the auspices of the above named entities were authored by UNESCO collaborators in their roles as experts in the social sciences, including René Clément, Henri Bunle, Giorgio Mortara and Julius Isaac.

³⁴ Last tracked on 12.04.2015. See: [https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=1%27assimilation+culturelle+des+immigrants&case_insensitive=on&year_start=1890&year_end=2008&corpus=19&smoothing=10&share=&direct_url=t4%3B%2C1%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs0%3B%3BL%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%3B1%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs1%3B%3BL%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%3B1%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%3B1%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0](https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=1%27assimilation+culturelle+des+immigrants&case_insensitive=on&year_start=1890&year_end=2008&corpus=19&smoothing=10&share=&direct_url=t4%3B%2C1%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs0%3B%3BL%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%3B1%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs1%3B%3BL%27%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0%3B%3B1%20assimilation%20culturelle%20des%20immigrants%3B%2Cc0)

The tragedy of recent history, *'is the transformation of the spirit of nationalism from one which seeks to unify and resist oppression into a jealous exaggeration of differences and a desire to oppress others.'*³⁵

Chapter 1: Bio-Politics, Geo-Politics and Socio-Politics: Thoughts on the Assimilation of Immigrants from the League of Nations to the UNESCO

When the League of Nations was inaugurated in 1918 in the very aftermath of World War I, the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC, 1922-1946), the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC, 1925-1946), and the efforts of the International Labour Organization (ILO, established 1919), facilitated international integration, in collaboration at several international conferences and meetings. In 1945 and after over 20 years of serious international peacekeeping efforts, the international community was confronted with the social, political and economic results of two world wars. A global shock set in and the fear of facing another war bolstered early international co-operations and collaborations in order to sustain peace. World War II did not end the original idea of a sustainable and 'peaceful change' for future times and along with other international organizations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) carried forward this idea after 1945. The UNESCO succeeded the IIIC and carried on the work of the International Bureau of Education (1925-1968) in 1945 when its Preparatory Commission was established. This chapter shall deal with the thoughts on population in terms of migration and immigration within the international and trans-disciplinary sphere.

At the first World Population Conference in 1927, the attendees identified themselves mainly as agriculturalists, plant geneticists, soil scientists, scholars of international law and relations, economists and geographers.³⁶ Only a small number present represented themselves as 'demographers', birth control lobbyists, human physiologists and medical doctors. Another

³⁵ Harold Wright, *International Population Problems*, 1922.

³⁶ Alison Bashford, *Global Population. History, Geopolitics, and Life on Earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 2.

group called themselves ‘explorers’ or ‘authors’.³⁷ However, as much the topic was a question of sex and reproduction, the issue raised spatial and economic issues about population. Population was a territorial matter, including questions on migration, colonization and territorial sovereignty. Intellectual considerations on the population ‘problem’ or ‘world population problem’ – as it was represented from the 1920s – concerned several distinct natural and social scientific fields and it was within population matters that the assimilation concept was formulated and presented to an international audience. After 1945, it was under the UNESCO’s umbrella that the assimilation concepts were newly formulated, internationally and trans-disciplinarily negotiated and scientifically further elaborated. With reference to this chapter’s title, the UNESCO extended the bio-, and geo- part of population politics to socio-politics, according to its social scientific and educational mandate. By the means of the population question, assimilation discourses were disseminated far beyond natural scientific and social scientific borders. In their roles as experts, individuals involved internationalized ‘the very idea of population from their bases in Britain, the United States, India, and Australia’.³⁸

From the beginning population questions constituted an important part of the UNESCO’s social sciences program. The UNESCO perpetuated the international and 1920s global spirit of internationalism with its inherited demographic consideration of a ‘world population problem’. The discourse of an international population problem was based on the population question, which ‘affects the peace of the whole world’.³⁹ Whereas nationalists had national welfare in mind, internationalists were concerned with global and international peace focusing on international relations and world population questions. The Malthusian ideas on population growth and population pressure founded the philosophical and intellectual source for the post-World War II international context on demographic questions.⁴⁰ One of the early neo-Malthusian was Julian Huxley, the UNESCO’s first Director-General. The so-called Malthusian League as it met in 1927, a decade of rapid growth for the idea of internationalism, consisted of a famous group of individuals, including Julian Huxley, John Maynard Keynes, H.G. Wells and Annie Besant. In the international post-war context, the UNESCO – and Julian Huxley as its first Director-General – announced the ‘population problem’ to be a central matter of the Department of Social Sciences’ program. Related issues

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Alison Bashford, *Global population. History, geopolitics, and life on earth* (Columbia studies in international and global history), New York 2014.

³⁹ Harold Cox, *The Problem of Population* (London: J. Cape, 1922), p. 5.

⁴⁰ For more detailed information on the Malthusian ideas on population and his followers including the so-called Neo-Malthusian League, see: Bashford.

occurred through the organisation's 'Tensions Affection International Understanding' Project (or TP, short for Tensions Project), which was established in the early months. But what was considered to be the *problem of population(s)* in the early international post-war period? With historic 'aggressive nationalism' in mind, such as the policies of Germany, Japan and Italy before 1945, and based on an idea of world 'people(s)' or 'population(s)' condensed in nation states, the internationalists focused on national and international population tensions. In the aftermath of 1945, the term population term was already fully integrated within the UNESCO's lexicon and discourse. Political and power interests, such as the extension of national soil through colonialism and including the 'free' movement of people across borders, played a crucial role in the discussions on population, as did biological considerations like fertility and mortality. This was true for nationalists as well as for internationalists, and as formulated from the 1920s onward, the 'world population problem' was 'as much about geopolitics as it was about bio-politics'.⁴¹ Starting in the 1920s, the discussion concentrated on a problem discourse linked to war and caused by social tensions and population density, followed by nourishment issues and restrictions of free movement. The areas where such problems were most intensively predictable were England, India and China. Nonetheless, Anglo-Saxon and European intellectuals guided the discussion. After World War I, the discussants contributions actually created a sense of global crisis.⁴² Several discourses accompanied that of the one on population: internationalism and international relations, peace and war, migration and labour, race and sex, economy and ecology, standard of living and food and agriculture.⁴³

The movement of individuals or groups of individuals implied also a movement of characteristics and 'cultures'. In the immediate years after World War II, the discourse was represented by two distinct paths; first, the determination of nation states as entities considering their 'peoples' as characteristically or 'naturally' tied, and second, the concept that internationalism unites all humanity. Internationalism in the first half of the 20th century can be recognised as a reaction to aggressive nationalism. The former – nationalism – is a political concept following the rules of power questions, including a nationally-based welfare system. The latter – internationalism – is connected to an ideological, freedom-based concept, in accordance with a 'one world' principle and global welfare. The 'world community' or 'one world' concept is the theoretical and ideological basis of the UN and its specialised

⁴¹ Bashford, *Global Population*, p. 3.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 5.

agencies as it is the UNESCO. The term 'community', which was used by the UNESCO, implies peaceful ties, collaboration and cooperation between nation states. Thus, internationalism was and is the methodological transition to fulfilment of the ideas of a peacefully interconnected world. Demographic questions in the aftermath of World War II and within the UNESCO were mainly linked to social and 'cultural' matters. However, besides orienting its work on previous methodological and theoretical developments, the UNESCO's experts and consultants pushed further into differentiating the world's population(s) in order to measure the assimilation and integration of immigrants.

Migration and the Freedom of 'Exit and Entry'

The 'freedom to move' argument was based upon the neo-Malthusian idea of migration as a solution against population density on one side and labour shortage on the other. Population growth entered 'as a problem of density' in the late 1930s into the League of Nations' program.⁴⁴ Those who supported the freedom of 'exit and entry' criticized the developments in restrictive immigration acts. In order to relieve the 'pressure of population', Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, one of the UNESCO's experts from the very beginning and a League of Nations' collaborator, had argued in favour of free movement already in 1939.⁴⁵ After 1945, and although the organization was keen to assist 'suitable migration which will aid the population problems both of Europe and of overseas countries',⁴⁶ there was another dimension to the movements. The UNESCO also considered the 'cultural' transfer that migration movements triggered as problematic.

In order to keep track of some of the intellectual developments that formed the UNESCO ideas on population, it is important to shed light on two figures: Julian Huxley and Sripati Chandrasekhar. In his role as the Executive Secretary of the UNESCO's Preparatory Commission (1945-1946) and as the UNESCO's first Director-General, Julian Huxley profoundly guided the UNESCO's social scientific program and was eager to see population density relieved by means of emigration. This approach corresponded with his neo-Malthusian view on population questions and with his collaborator, Chandrasekhar. Chandrasekhar was in charge of population research in the UNESCO's Department of Social

⁴⁴ Bashford, *Global Population*, p. 77.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129-130.

⁴⁶ UNESCO, UNESCO PROJECTED STUDY AND POPULAR PAMPHLETS ON THE ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS, 7.5.1952, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325(8) A 023 UNSA Inter-Agency Regional Coord. Cttee on Migration in Latin America, Signature: SS/Memo/52/1874, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

Sciences in 1949. He connected two ideas: *the freedom from hunger* and the idea of *the freedom to move*.⁴⁷ Both concepts were intellectually influenced by and based upon the Neo-Malthusian League's population considerations. Chandrasekhar indicated the right to 'emigrate, cultivate, and develop the potentially useful but unused arable lands of the world'⁴⁸ from an Indian point of view facing increasing population growth. He stated that the freedom of emigration and immigration 'is yet to be recognized as one of the fundamental freedoms'.⁴⁹ In order to identify the items for evaluation, the commission determined the world's areas of excessive population increase or decrease for further analysis.⁵⁰ Besides neo-Malthusian's and the League of Nation's growth forecasts and consequences of pressure on population, the UNESCO focused on the social effects of immigration upon the nation state based on the discourse of culture. Migration from or to certain areas would provoke a 'consequent impact of new cultural and environmental factors'.⁵¹ According to the UNESCO's Tensions' program, this impact would lead to tensions among 'minority racial or cultural groups within national groups'.⁵² The organisation specified that the problems would arise 'from conflicting customs, standards, values, and ideologies of populations in contact and competition under new territorial, economic and political circumstances'.⁵³ These were the basic problems with which the UNESCO was concerned and would lead to the unique UNESCO approach on the assimilation and integration of immigrants.

Whereas population questions were part of all major UN specialised agencies – WHO, ILO, FAO and ECOSOC – the UNESCO had the specific task of looking into the cultural, scientific and educational scopes of the problem. In order to analyse the tensions and conflicts which were recognized as caused by immigration, the delineated UNESCO preparatory commission's program in social sciences contained six main chapters, including the *cultural aspects of population problems*.⁵⁴ The notes on this program point enumerated that 'the cultural pattern of different people are major factors in population increase and decrease'.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ See: Chandrasekhar, Sripati, *Hungry People and Empty Lands: An Essay on Population Problems and International Tensions* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1954), p. 272.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 65.

⁴⁹ Chandrasekhar, p. 256.

⁵⁰ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 1.12.1946, General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com/S.C.Soc.Sci/4, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ UNESCO, Notes on Social Science Projects, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 10.

Several lines of discourse are visible in the early expressions. Two of them, discussions on (1) culture and (2) differentiation of people(s) through the lines of cultural patterns, were determined alongside the population increase and decrease debate and were subsequently connected to the debates on economic and social development. The program's layout exemplifies that the 'cultural patterns vary enormously, from a preference in the more developed countries for labour-saving flats and automobiles [...] to such deeply-rooted patterns as ancestor-worship and child marriage in the countries of the East'.⁵⁶ Population(s) or people(s) are distinguished on the macro-level by East and West, as illustrated by 'customs' or modes of living that are presented as *enormously* different. It was actually an active participant of the UNESCO's social sciences department, Alfred Sauvy, who in 1952 reinvented the two alternate formations determining the discourse of the East-West and First World-Third World.⁵⁷ According to this, foundational contextual discourses and the recognition of migration not only as a movement of individuals and groups but as a shift of distinct cultural patterns, the UNESCO considered the cultural assimilation of migrants to be the 'most considerable of the obstacles to free migration between the countries'.⁵⁸ Hence, a new problem was born and was on its way to gaining significant UNESCO and international attention. At the organization's General Conference, the Preparatory Commission forecasted in September 1946 that population problems would take a prominent place in future research and political relations. Rationalizing this increasingly problematic field's place in the social world, the UNESCO's mandate in social sciences was to study the 'cultural aspects of population questi[ons]'.⁵⁹ This was one part of the international communities' attempts to comprehensively engage in population questions and the UNESCO's task was destined to supplement the work of ECOSOC (the UN's Economic and Social Commission) and especially the activities of its demographic commission, which was set up by ECOSOC.⁶⁰

Short Retrospection on the League of Nations' Considerations on Assimilation

The League of Nations, *Peaceful Change. Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference*. Paris, June 28th – July 3rd, 1937

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Bashford, *Global Population*, p. 268.

⁵⁸ UNESCO, Notes on Social Science Projects, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 10.

⁵⁹ UNESCO, General Conference - Report of the Preparatory Commission on the Programme of UNESCO, 23.9.1946, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: UNESCO/C/2, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

(Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, 1938) – was based upon the Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference conducted from June 28th to July 3rd and was released in 1938 in two volumes. It represents and summarizes the LoNs considerations on the ‘assimilation’ topic. Especially, the first book was concerned with population questions and incorporated the contemporary inquiries on ‘assimilation’ in the 1930s. The analyses were mostly concerned with the ‘assimilability’⁶¹ of immigrants, and were based upon the ‘expertise’ of Jesus Bojorquez for Mexico, Professor Hurd for Canada, George Mauco for France and A.M. Carr-Saunders for the United Kingdom. In ‘Peaceful Change’, assimilation was suggested to take a role as solution to migration difficulties. In this early social scientific and international idea of assimilation, the author pointed to the differences in political interests in those questions. Obviously, as Béla Kados, the author of the Hungarian Memorandum to the conference stated, assimilation ‘be facilitated by equality of treatment and by the conclusion of accords whereby States will bind themselves, on the one hand, to refrain from nationalist propaganda among their emigrants abroad and on the other, to abstain from forcing assimilation or naturalization upon immigrants [...]’.⁶²

ILO, FAO and WHO Foci on Population and Migration in the Early Post-war World

As previously stated, the UNESCO’s focus was on tensions caused by cultural contacts. This field contained a wide range of causes and is linked to research foci of other UN specialized organizations. In the course of its work, the UNESCO did not focus on one specific social science discipline to study social tensions that eventually caused war, but the organization concentrated on new concepts to find ‘adequate’ solutions. Their intention was basically to form a joint and interdisciplinary collaboration of social scientific disciplines, focussing on the organization’s main goal: solving social problems that cause tensions. The UNESCO spotted several interconnections with the ILO’s (International Labour Organization), the FAO’s (Food and Agricultural Organization), and the WHO’s (World Health Organization) joint program on ‘population and culture’ and its ‘community planning’ project. Both were sub-projects of the *Tensions Project*, whereas the former describes the UNESCO’s attempt in guiding international population control and management alongside the lines of ‘culture’. For

⁶¹ The notion and its usage will be more closely examined in Chapter 11.

⁶² League of Nations, *Peaceful Change. Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference. Paris, June 28th - July 3rd, 1937* (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, 1938), p. 157.

the UNESCO, industrialization was the means ‘by which resources can be increased [...]’.⁶³ The discourse of increasing resources in order to supply ‘growing’ population(s) is tied to former geopolitical thoughts and was embedded within the ILO, WHO, FAO and the UNESCO’s questions of migration. Additionally, the practical migration questions of those UN specialized agencies included matters of community and town – and ‘country planning’ – housing, standard of living or living conditions in communities, income, psychological and physiological health. The UNESCO’s Department of Social Sciences outlined the TP’s research interests in a short paper that summarized 19 programme points. Eight were concerned with ‘inter-group tensions’ and several others coincided with issues that the ILO, WHO and FAO were concerned with as well: ‘Raw materials and inter-group tensions’, ‘population pressure and inter-group tensions’, ‘differences in living standards and inter-group tensions’, ‘technological change and inter-group tensions’, and ‘internal instability and inter-group tensions’.⁶⁴ The UNESCO program directly and indirectly touched those of the ILO, WHO and FAO alongside the social tensions issue and hence was in collaboration with these UN organizations to sort out partitions. From this perspective, the migration and population problem was embedded within geopolitical (ILO, FAO), bio-political (WHO) and social-political (UNESCO) considerations – and the boundaries blurred. The ILO also focused on labour migration – especially global migration and international migration – and took labourers’ well-being inside and outside of the workplace into account, as well as labour migrants’ rights, their standard of living, migratory movements of labourers’ family members and how this all affected town and country planning.⁶⁵ From the ILO’s point of view, migration was considered to be positive and emphasised that the movement of labourers offset manpower shortages in industrialized countries. The FAO’s projects were linked to the UNESCO’s through the questions of the effects of population increase and higher nutritional standards, the agricultural aspects of immigrant’s settlements and rural housing.⁶⁶ The FAO projects mostly were applied in South America, and managed and guided the settlement of ‘new’ immigrants from Europe to South American countries for agriculture. In 1949, the first gathering of the ‘Technical Working Group on Migration’ took place, where the ILO’s manpower program was discussed along with its junctures with the other organizations’ projects. The working group’s program included studies on several topics covering the UN

⁶³ UNESCO, Note on Social Sciences Projects involving Collaboration with the ILO, the FAO and the WHO, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁶⁴ UNESCO, Goals of the Tensions Project, 12.5.1947, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 327.4 A01 - 327.5 Part III, 151, Signature: UNESCO/Soc.Sci./2/1947. Annex., Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

organizations' responsibilities:⁶⁷ 'Regions that were suitable for land settlement;' 'The absorptive capacity of immigration, or possible immigration countries;' 'The adaptability of migrants to the conditions in immigration countries;' 'The general mobility of labour;' 'Housing of migrants questions;' 'Vocational training of migrants;' 'Classification of occupations;' 'Opportunities for Resettlement of Specialists' and 'Migration and immigration regulations in various countries.'

These topics show that the organization of research was rather about defining social problems in order to arrange social scientific research around specified topics. Defining responsibilities was one step in the process of inter-organizational cooperation. The UNESCO was the one organization within this collaboration that focussed on the cultural aspect of population problems as set out by the Preparatory Commission in 1945.⁶⁸

Another matter of concern regarding migration and immigrants was connected to health questions. The UNESCO saw the most agreements with the WHO program in matters of population control regarding health. Their work should, as the UNESCO experts stated, be involved with questions of 'good living conditions' and health measures of 'some kind'.⁶⁹ The WHO also considered matters of community, town and country planning, including migrants' family settlement and their economic, social and cultural integration and assimilation also mattered to the WHO. The distribution of work and research foci between these organizations was not clearly organized and some difficulties arose during the UNESCO's attempts to position its program within the international community. This will be examined in Chapter 2 with a discussion of some international and inter-organizational controversies regarding assimilation and integration matters.

The Cultural Aspect of Population Problems

In the course of positioning its fields of inquiry, the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences interconnected population increase and pressures with questions of assimilation. The UNESCO's Preparatory Commissions Report to the first General Conference in September 1946 pointed to the 'cultural aspect' as an important matter of 'population problems', arguing that 'Excessive population increase, population decline, discrimina[tive] migration laws, differential rates of population increase as between differ[rent] section of a community are all

⁶⁷ UNESCO, First Report of the Technical Working Group on Migration, 5.5.1949, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 AO1 I.C.M.C. 325 UN/AO2 Part I/II (820), Folder: 325 UN/A 02 Technical Working Group & Migration Part I up to 30/XI/56, Signature: COORD-PREP/110, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

largely due to the culture, customs, standar[ds] and values of the different peoples'.⁷⁰ From this perspective, the 'cultural aspect' was considered an 'impact of new cultural factors' upon the 'receiving country' or community. The identified problem was 'conflicting customs, standard, values and ideologies of populations'.⁷¹ As shall be indicated several times in this doctoral dissertation, a wide range of fashionable terms were used to describe 'culture' within the frame of 'expert's' involvement.

In association with the economic conceptualization of the 'world population problem', in the first two years of operation, the DSS planned to undertake projects on 'cultural patterns of different peoples' that were considered 'major factors in population increase and decrease'.⁷² They approached 'cultural patterns' along with the concept of 'development' and therefore were considered to vary 'enormously'. Variations were defined as between the 'more developed countries for labour-saving flats and automobiles' and 'deeply-rooted patterns [such] as ancestor-worship and child marriage in the countries of the East'.⁷³ Within these concepts of differences in 'cultural patterns', inquiries were assessed through comparative surveys of 'populations' of different 'cultural levels'.

After one year of further negotiations and recommendations by individuals recognized as 'experts', the program translated the prior conflicting cultural aspects of population problems to the problems arising 'especially [...] out of a socially or economically ill-adapted geographical distribution of population'.⁷⁴ This pointed in the direction of migration management as a solution for the international 'population problem', also with 'cultural' lines. This approach gained special importance in 20th century immigration politics and social scientific explanations of international migration or 'shifts of populations', as well in the sociology of migration. Since 1948, the item 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' became a distinguished topic in the UNESCO's program and the DSS was 'chiefly concerned with problems of cultural assimilation of immigrants and [...] towards the study of assimilation of

⁷⁰ UNESCO, General Conference – Report of the Preparatory Commission on the Programme of UNESCO, 23.9.1946. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47, Signature: UNESCO/C/2, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 5-6.

⁷¹ UNESCO, Programme Commission – Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 1.12.1946. In: General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 – Programme Commission – Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com/S.C.Soc.Sci/4, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-4.

⁷² UNESCO, Notes on Social Science Projects, 1946-1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 10.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ UNESCO, Home and Community Planning, 1.8.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2-3.

ethnic groups of the same stock in different cultural areas.’ Due to the political ‘delicacy’ of the topic, the first conference on ‘The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants’ was postponed several times and finally conducted in 1955/1956.

One function of UNESCO should be to aid in universalizing the social sciences, to aid in legitimate standardization of terminology and methodology.

*[...] The strengthening of contacts among social scientists from all areas is a prerequisite for the achievement of many of the purpose of UNESCO. [...] Horizons must be widened and truth strengthened in the realm of the social sciences [...].*⁷⁵

Chapter 2: Social Scientific Knowledge in the International – The UNESCO's Promotion of Social Scientific Research

The UNESCO is an international, inter-governmental organization with a wide range of ties and bridges to fields in the natural and social sciences. Its social sciences department worked hand-in-hand with internal staff members in their roles as administrators and 'experts', with external 'specialists' within the field, as well as outside of the social scientific disciplinary frame. The UNESCO's social scientific examinations were conducted along trans-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary lines. The organization's history is fundamentally based on the peace-making approach of several associations founded and maintained by distinguished individuals that had been recognized as 'experts' since the late 1910s. The UNESCO's forerunner organizations were the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), the International Studies Conference, and the International Bureau of Education (IBE). The UNESCO was one successor of these conglomerations of individuals. Its constitution was signed by 37 countries⁷⁶ and was ratified in November 1946. It is important to emphasize that all involved countries have been represented within the UNESCO's organizational structure at the General Conference level, at the Executive Board level and within the Secretariat. Hence, the political and economic interests influencing the UNESCO's program cannot be underestimated or ignored. The 'inter-national' was elaborated alongside the 'inter-' and 'trans-disciplinary', linking individuals with respect to their roles as governmental representatives and social scientific 'experts'. Through its network the UNESCO built, social sciences and social scientific ideas and concepts spread globally. The UNESCO was a

⁷⁵ UNESCO, The Social Sciences in Modern Society - Preparatory Commission, 4.6.1946, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: UNESCO/Prep.Com/Soc.Sci.Com/2., Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁷⁶ The 20 founding Member States were: UK, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Union of South Africa, Australia, India, Mexico, France, Dominican Republic, Turkey, Egypt, Norway, Canada, China, Denmark, USA, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Lebanon, and Greece.

promoter of the dissemination of social scientific knowledge and research investigations, as well as the tool to do so.

In this process, the lines between social scientific disciplines, the knowledge recognized as ‘expertise’ and governmental interests blurred. The global and trans-disciplinary network established after 1945 progressed quickly, also because of the promotion of inter-disciplinary cooperation. The UNESCO’s usual approach was to (1) spot the ‘problem’ and to (2) promote inquiries on the aspects of the problem in the social sciences. The goal was to target the defined problem on behalf of social sciences in general. The decision about which social scientific discipline or plurality was necessary rested within the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences and with the collaborative ‘experts’. Prior to 1945, such intellectual cooperation was carried out by the International Studies Conference (ISC) and the IIIC. Those organizations collaborated individuals recognized as ‘experts’ in specific social scientific disciplines who worked ‘inter-disciplinarily’ - as far as the disciplines can be considered to be clearly separated, which was not necessarily the case until 1945. The borders between the disciplines, often visible by those experts’ with backgrounds in several fields of interest, blurred considerably. However, for David Long the ISC was ‘killed’ by the UNESCO when the latter organization promoted disciplinary demarcation. Long argued in 2006 that the ISC has been inter-disciplinarily oriented whereas the UNESCO ended such an approach. Long missed a crucial point, however, as he failed to reckon that prior to the UNESCO’s endeavours most ‘experts’ were involved in various social and natural scientific fields without clear disciplinary affiliation.

With regard to the history of social scientific research, no other inter-governmental organization besides the UNESCO played such a crucial role in the promotion of social scientific investigations.⁷⁷ Additionally, the organization’s promoted research always had a trans-disciplinary alignment. This was not only because of the relation to governmental departments and the political interests involved – some of the experts conducting social scientific research for UNESCO were governmental representatives – but also because of UNESCO’s role as an inter-governmental organization searching for *pragmatic* and *positive* solutions to social problems. The organization was – and still is – interested in connecting social scientists international and trans-national research collaboration, and was and is very much concerned with funnelling research findings into the policy making process. Therefore, the UNESCO’s trans-disciplinary adjustment complemented the social sciences’ inter-

⁷⁷ See Part 2.

disciplinary approaches after 1945. The UNESCO determined contemporary social ‘problems’ and promoted international collaboration by establishing international associations in various social scientific fields; for example, the International Sociological Association (ISA) and the International Economic Association (IEA). In its early statements, the UNESCO defined its focus in social sciences as: (1) to aid the establishment of international associations; (2) to help facilitate the exchange of personnel and students in the social sciences internationally; (3) to direct social sciences to study and research facilities; (4) and to undertake studies itself regarding ‘the basis of International Understanding and the factors, political, economic, social, cultural or otherwise, which help or hinder the creation of harmony and understanding among the nations of the world.’⁷⁸ In 1946, the UNESCO’s program contained three major study interests: nationalism and internationalism, population and racial problems, the methods employed by totalitarian *states* ‘to influence their peoples and corrupt their minds’.⁷⁹ Its overall aim was to ‘cultivate a world outlook on questions and problems lying within the domain of the social sciences’.⁸⁰ The organization wanted to ‘safeguard the world against perversions of the social sciences themselves.’⁸¹ To other organizations and university institutes, Otto Klineberg described the work of the UNESCO regarding the field of social sciences as to develop the social sciences ‘in countries where they have so far been relatively neglected,’ as promoting ‘the exchange of information, the popularization and dissemination of social science findings’.⁸²

The UNESCO’s 1948 program considered the interchange of knowledge in the social sciences as a crucial goal in order to fulfil the world outlook. The organization recognized the social sciences and its lag in development as a source of the contemporary world situation. Therefore, and in addition to the interconnection of social scientists, the nature and extent of national divergences were to have been studied and reduced.⁸³

⁷⁸ UNESCO, Provisional Statement regarding the Social Sciences, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3-4.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 4.

⁸¹ UNESCO, The Task of Unesco, 10.5.1946, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁸² In this case Otto Klineberg held a lecture at the Alfred Weber Institute at Heidelberg University. He described his experiences and speeches in his mission report from 26.5.1954. In: UNESCO, Mission Reports O. Klineberg, 3.11.1948-9.3.1955, X07.83 Klineberg O. - Missions of Mr. O. Klineberg, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁸³ UNESCO, Programme for 1948 - Corrigenda and Addenda, 24.7.1947, EXB 1947, Volume II, 3 Session, Signature: Cons. Exec./3e Sess./16, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

The UNESCO's DSS' staff members created 'single discipline bodies' within *the* social sciences to emerge in the form of 'separate international associations for each professional specialisation (economists, political scientists, sociologists, etc.)' and helped formulate clearly separated disciplinary methods and methodological approaches.⁸⁴ The goal was to facilitate the co-operation between specialists of the same discipline first, because the 'co-operation among colleagues in such a setting was expected to be both easier of achievement as a permanent feature, and also in some respect more productive than that involving scholars from different disciplines'.⁸⁵ As David Long stated and criticised at the same time, the UNESCO's DSS' approach 'was underpinned by a quintessentially atomistic and essentialist understanding of disciplines, that is, that disciplines were separate and distinct units unified by a single identifiable subject matter and an agreed set of methods, concepts and theories'.⁸⁶ However, the UNESCO promoted the separation of social scientific disciplines in order to separate their methodological and theoretical approaches. Afterwards, the organisation emphasised and facilitated interdisciplinary cooperation as essential in approximating tensions in population questions. The UNESCO approached method was to stimulate the formation of 'cross field'-organisations, 'based on a problem area rather than any single discipline'.⁸⁷ The organisation did both – it facilitated disciplinary separation after 1945 and promoted disciplines' co-operation within specific 'problem areas'. According to the field of assimilation and integration of immigrants, it was under the tensions project that involved experts represented different disciplinary approaches – psychology, sociology, demography, history, biology and anthropology. The associated 'experts' collaborated in order to find the right solutions or to define new contemporary social problems. Long's critique that UNESCO 'killed' the ISC through the definition of disciplinary borders and the promotion of their separation can be rejected. However, in the UNESCO's point of view it was the promotion of specialisations within methodological approaches that helped social scientists to collaborate more effectively, with the argument that a collaborator 'should not be a narrow specialist, whose activities have been confined to one limited field. He may be either, a sociologist, a social psychologist, a human geographer or a political scientist, but whose field of interest

⁸⁴ UNESCO's Tenth Anniversary: A Retrospective Sketch, In: *International Social Science Bulletin*, 8:3 (1956), p. 403.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ David Long, 'Who killed the International Studies Conference?', *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006): 611.

⁸⁷ Memo from Arvid Brodersen to the Director General, 17.3.1947. In: 3 A 01 ISSC, 3 A 01 UNG (Box 105), Folder: 3 A 01 UNG U.N. Institute of the Human Sciences - (Project proposed by Sty. for the Psychological Study of Social Issues). UNESCO Archive, Paris.

goes far beyond his area of specialisation'.⁸⁸ The organization recognized its working approach as unique according to international scientific collaboration and its promotion within the major international organizations. Compared to other international organisations, the UNESCO recognized itself as 'the only one concerned specifically with furthering the social sciences intellectually, organizationally and professionally, and serving as a focal point for their collective interests, aspirations and contributions at the international level', as written by the author of a 1973 UNESCO report.⁸⁹ This statement did not overestimate the UNESCO's role, its influence on the social sciences, the global distribution of its findings, theories and methodology; none of this has been yet fully recognized in the history and philosophy of the social sciences.

UNESCO's Program Development and the Assimilation Topic in the Organizations Department of Social Sciences

Between 1945 and 1958, the DSS circled its program around the Tensions Project (TP), whereas the project foci in the first three years changed several times. In the following portion of this chapter, I will further elaborate the program changes in these years.

The Preparatory Commission, under the guidance of Executive Secretary Julian Huxley, scheduled six program points that were passed to the DSS in 1946.

The six projects were:

- (1) Study Guide to International Understanding
- (2) Official Machinery of International Cooperation
- (3) Nationalism and Internationalism
- (4) Public Opinion Surveys
- (5) The Cultural Aspects of Population Problems
- (6) The Effects of Mechanisation upon Civilisation

Items three, five and six formed the Tensions Project, a priority undertaking described with the following components:

- (1) Nationalism
- (2) Population Problems

⁸⁸ Programme of Work in the Social Sciences – Tensions Crucial to Peace, 1946-1947, p.1. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47, UNESCO Archive, Paris.

⁸⁹ UNESCO, Contribution of National Commissions to the Implementation of UNESCO's Programme, 25.5.1973, Signature: RMO-73/CONF.601/6(C) SHC, UNESDOC.

(3) Technological Developments

In order to realize studies on that matter, the DSS envisaged comprehensive country surveys for representative matters and for further comparative studies. As part of item two, an examination of the tensions ‘created among minority racial or cultural groups within national groups and in independent areas’ was considered.⁹⁰ The term ‘minority’ was deleted later in the program by the program commission. Item two was based upon prior developments in nationalism and which were therefore considered a ‘problem’. In the UNESCO’s outlook of ‘good internationalism’, nationalism was regarded an obstacle to the development of a ‘healthy internationalism’. However, nationalism was also associated with ‘individuality of the different national cultures’.⁹¹ The ‘standardisation of all cultures’ was not deemed to be a means against nationalism as experienced before 1945.⁹² As the Egyptian rapporteur to the UNESCO, Mohammed Awad, stated at the Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, which was conducted at the first session of the General Conference in 1946, ‘safeguarding and preservation of the cultural ideals and traditions of nations are a firm foundation upon which to build a good internationalism’.⁹³ But rather, a solution against ‘cultural and racial’ tensions ought to be found in the promotion of an ‘international understanding’ of ‘cultural differences’. From this point of view, migration was considered to pose a problem. For the representatives at the Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, migration problems ‘may serve as source of international discord’ and those related to the questions of ‘excessive increase or undue decline of populations, discriminatory migration laws, displaced populations, the various causes of tensions arising from the culture, customs, standards of life and values of neighbouring peoples’.⁹⁴

As Mohammed Awad called upon ‘national cultures’ and ‘cultural ideals’ in December 1946, Lucien Febvre appealed to ‘civilizations’ and recommended solutions for conflict between them. The distinctive usage of those terms and its applications by the UNESCO associates shall be discussed further in Part 2 of this doctoral dissertation. The term ‘way’s of life’ was implemented by R.M. MacIver in early 1947 and ought to be used for the following discussions regarding national distinctiveness.

⁹⁰ UNESCO, Report of the Programme Commission, 6.12.1946, GC, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission II - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci/6, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3.

⁹¹ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 13.12.1946, General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Paris, Unesco Archive, Signature: Unesco/C/Prog.Com/S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.1., Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 14-15.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 15.

From the start, the UNESCO's DSS program was considered to be in balance with the UN specialized agencies' programs. In the same vein, the ILO also included 'tensions' as a matter of inquiry under its own authority. Since the ILO is rather concerned with labour migration and legal questions on the matter, the DSS, and especially Nathan Leites, special consultant to the DSS, developed certain psycho-political aspects of the project. The UNESCO was also in close contact with the ECOSOC in order to balance their programs. The projects and the intersection of execution of other international organizations and the social scientific discipline were put into a diagram by Mohammed Awad.

The following original diagram⁹⁵ depicts the DSS approach of the connection of certain predefined social problems with social scientific methods and theories, and the assignment of them to the responsibilities of the international organizations in action.

⁹⁵ Diagram 1: 'Analytical Break-Up' by Mohammed Awad. In: UNESCO, Awad, M., Tensions Crucial to Peace, 7.2.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder : Part I up to 30/V/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

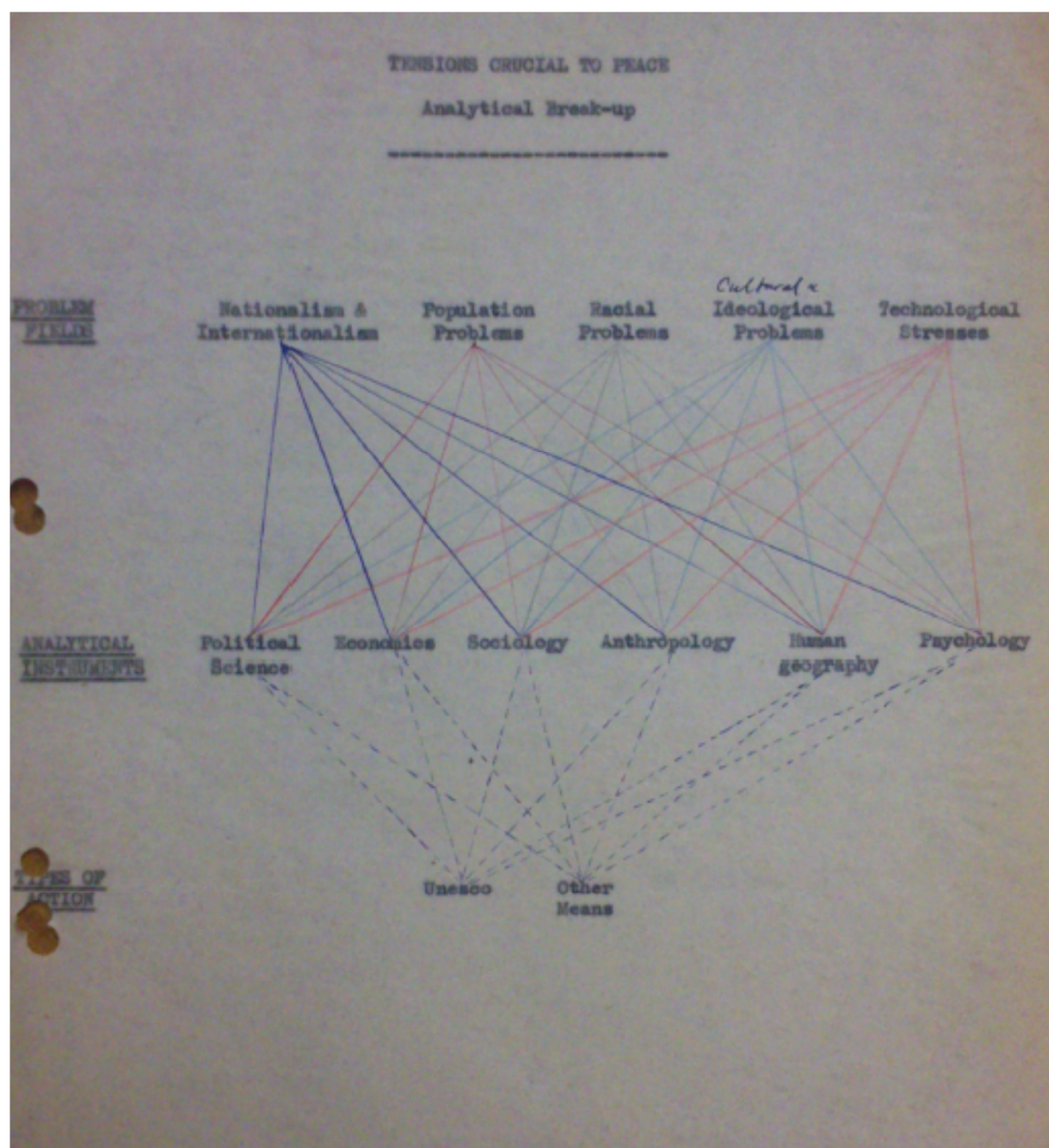


Table 1: Awad, Mohammed, 'Tensions Crucial to Peace – Analytical Break-Up'

During its first two years in operation, the UNESCO's DSS struggled to define its program points and its responsibilities within the international organizations system. The deliberations circled around the psychological and psychosocial predisposition of individuals and the social body of a nation, around social and psychological transformations caused by international migration and attitude changes. The DSS, however, preferred the psychological and socio-psychological approach for its project. And although thoughts sought to identify 'implicit hypotheses' of the 'human nature' on behalf of 'experts' of diverse fields of social sciences⁹⁶, in October 1947, a special requirement for the DSS's directors' position was to be 'a man who

⁹⁶ UNESCO, Shils, Edward A., Preliminary outline of Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding, 12.5.1947, Signature: Unesco/Soc.Sci./2/1947, UNESDOC.

sees the tensions crucial to peace primarily from the psychological angle'.⁹⁷ His assistants ought to have experience in political sciences, sociology and social psychology, knowledge in technological questions on modern industry and be able to conduct public opinion surveys.⁹⁸

The entire enterprise was, in the first two years, rather a wild confusion of thoughts, experiences and ideas for future social and political developments. In May 1947, Edward A. Shils, a young associate professor of sociology and political science at the University of Chicago and a counsellor to the TP in 1947, proposed the following list of projects⁹⁹ to the DSS in his role as a staff member:

- (1) National Character
- (2) Group Images
- (3) Techniques of Attitude Change
- (4) Primary Aggressiveness and Intergroup Tension
- (5) Group Identification
- (6) Nationalism and Patriotism
- (7) Transnational Loyalties
 - a. Personnel Exchange and International Loyalty
- (8) Tolerance
- (9) Compromise
- (10) Ignorance, Anxiety and Aggressiveness in Intergroup Relations
- (11) Policy Makers
- (12) Attitude towards National Power and International Tensions
- (13) Internal Social and Political Instability and Intergroup Tensions
- (14) Power Vacuum and Intergroup Tensions
- (15) Access to Raw Materials and International Tension
- (16) Population Pressure and International Tensions
- (17) Standards of Living Differences and Intergroup Tensions
- (18) Technological Change in Relation to Intergroup Tensions
- (19) Socialism, Capitalism and International Tensions

⁹⁷ See job requirements for the Department of Social Sciences Directors position. In: UNESCO, Tensions Crucial to Peace - Job ANALYSIS for the Director of the Project-Position, 1.10.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Summary of the list. For details see: Shils, Edward A., Preliminary outline of Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding, 12.5.1947, Signature: Unesco/Soc.Sci./2/1947, UNESDOC.

Shils composed the first memorandum of the TP in May 1947. The ‘cultural assimilation’ topic was not defined yet in its program. But in the following weeks and months, the negotiations circled around the ‘cultural impact’ caused by migration or ‘population changes’, which was embedded under the heading ‘population problems’. Those inquiries in turn were also considered to be a project focal point on ‘community studies’ in relation to the reconstruction projects of the UN. Within the framework of the UNESCO’s ‘home and community planning’ program, population problems were perceived as ‘arising out of a socially or economically ill-adapted geographical distribution of population’.¹⁰⁰ In June 1947, Klaus Knorr authored and distributed a second internal department memorandum. Under the heading ‘minority problems’, his memo outlined the ‘inadequate assimilation of repatriated Greeks’ and the ‘speedy assimilation (politically, economically) of expelled minority groups’ to DSS staff members.¹⁰¹ This was the first time that the DSS examined and presented the topic of assimilation and by August 1947, an internal discussion erupted over the question of how to deal with topics recognized as politically ‘delicate’. This constituted part of the struggle between the DSS finding its position in the international community and the balancing of member states’ interests with the program goals.¹⁰² In September, the TP included the ‘cultural impact of migration’.¹⁰³ The delegates in attendance at the EXB session re-echoed the proposal that the TP collect information on ‘the cultural impact of migration and displacement on the persons and groups involved, and on the environment into which they are transplanted’.¹⁰⁴

The matter of assimilation, however, found its way into the program in 1948, after David Glass, probably the most important counsellor to the UNESCO’s Department of Social Sciences, referred to the ‘tensions created from problems of assimilation’ due to various discrepancies.¹⁰⁵ He did so at a meeting in London with DSS staff member Hadley Cantril,

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, Home and Community Planning, 1.8.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2-3.

¹⁰¹ UNESCO, Knorr, Klaus, OUTLINE OF RESEARCH PROJECT ON TENSIONS CRUCIAL TO PEACE, 14.6.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 36-37.

¹⁰² Controversies and disputes shall be examined in Chapter 4.

¹⁰³ UNESCO, Social Science Programme and Budget 1948, 14.8.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ UNESCO, The Programme of Unesco in 1948 - Proposed by the Executive Board for Consideration at the Second Session of the General Conference in Mexico City November-December 1947, 20.9.1947, General Conference, 2nd Session, Mexico 1947, Proposed Programme for 1948, Budget Estimates for 1948, Signature: 2 C/3, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 20-21.

¹⁰⁵ UNESCO, Correspondence (From: H. Cantril, P.W. Martin; To: Director-General; cc: Deputy Director-General, Assistant Director-General, Mr. Charles Ascher, SS, Dr. Brodersen) Subject: Report on London Trip

the first TP director serving up until August 1948 and predecessor of Otto Klineberg in this position, and P.W. Martin, an important and highly influential program specialist in the department. The two later stated in their report to the Director-General that they were going to elaborate on Glass's proposal with Alfred Sauvy. Several months later, in January 1949, the Tensions Project included program paragraph number 4.315 called 'population problems affecting international understanding, including the cultural assimilation of immigrants'.¹⁰⁶

The Internationalization of Social Sciences through the International Community

From the UNESCO's point of view, one reason for the internationalization of the social sciences was the 'national divergences in research techniques and concepts, in approach and emphasis'.¹⁰⁷ The UNESCO Department of Social Sciences (DSS)¹⁰⁸ declared that the Social Sciences 'everywhere must be developed and brought together into an international force fit to deal with the great issues of our time'.¹⁰⁹ The organization intended to internationalize the social sciences and specific disciplines with a global network of social scientists and to integrate the social scientific disciplines internationally 'with standardised working tools, terms, concepts and methods'.¹¹⁰ Guided by the UNESCO's concept of internationalization, the social sciences should both 'think and act' on an international level and be internationally and globally standardized. Through several endeavours, the UNESCO achieved international collaboration between social science disciplines on the disciplinary and interdisciplinary level. The organization sought to establish international associations¹¹¹ to canopy and integrate

April 5-10, 1948, 13.4.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁰⁶ UNESCO, Tensions Affecting International Understanding 1948-1949, 24.1.1949, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/13, UNESDOC, Annex I, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ UNESCO, International Standards in Social Sciences, 14.10.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: 20/73, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁰⁸ The Department of Social Sciences (DSS) is part of the UNESCO Secretariat, which is one of three organizational bodies within the organization. Besides the DSS, in 1947 there are the following Departments in existence: Natural Sciences, Mass Communication, Education, Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, Museums, Libraries, Arts and Letters. The Secretariat is directed by the UNESCO Director-General and its deputy. The Secretariat's responsibilities include the preparation of draft programs and its execution. The other organizational bodies of the UNESCO are the Executive Board, in which the draft program in Social Sciences and its projects were discussed in Sub-Committees. These committees were composed of experts and governmental representatives in collaboration. The General Conference, the third organizational body of the UNESCO, acknowledged the programs passed to it through the EXB. The Secretariat's General Program Projects in 1947 were 'Reconstruction and Rehabilitation', 'International Understanding', and 'Fundamental Education'.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ UNESCO, SOCIAL SCIENCES - MONITOR, 13.1.1948, Box 3288, X07.55 SS Part IV, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part II - from 1/I/48 up to 31/XII/50, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹¹¹ Established in the first decade after 1945: International Economic Association, International Sociological Association, International Political Science Association, International Committee of Comparative Law.

existing national institutes, and promoted the foundation of such bodies when there was none. A second approach was to reach out to university institutes in the social sciences, private individuals in their roles as 'experts' in social scientific fields, governmental departments operating in the respective fields of interest and social scientific associations and councils. By 1948, the Department of Social Sciences had built up an official network of 124 individuals and bodies, to be presented in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. The network included researchers from Europe, Canada, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, China, India, South Africa and South America. Outside these regions, the UNESCO started a secondary search for recognized 'experts' in social scientific disciplines. Their expertise and that of other selected individuals in these regions guided its intended standardization in 'all countries of the world'. In order to get an overview of the less recognized work in social sciences, the UNESCO requested reports from regional organizations, governmental departments and universities. The UNESCO, although guided by its expert staff members working in collaboration, wrote to governmental departments, university institutes and individuals requesting recommendations on the subject matter and suggestions on expertise. The UNESCO had two intended goals with such requests: they aimed to amass an international and global survey of established, contemporary knowledge on selected topics, as well as to assemble associated experts in a network. In the course of one decade, departments and individuals sent lists and reports on current and prior social scientific research investigations in the field of population studies. By the means of their recommendations and suggestions, the DSS moulded its further programs and projects.

The network of collaborators participating within the TP and the UNESCO's outlook on research investigation on the cultural assimilation and cultural integration of immigrants and was not accepted and condoned right away by the associated organizations such as the ILO or WHO. It also caused some irritation, especially among 'non-Western experts'. The theoretical considerations or problematizations of population and international migration were very much of 'Western' origin. This did not go unnoticed and at times was harshly criticized by some of the collaborators. One such critique came from Ashfaq Husain, the Indian delegate to the UNESCO and a member of the University of Education in New Delhi. During the first meetings held in the course of its considerations on population, Husain expressed his problem with the UNESCO as, 'unfortunately for itself and for the world', the UNESCO was 'too

much of a Western organization'.¹¹² Husain furthered his statement by adding that 'quite unconsciously when they [UNESCO staff members] consider a problem it is against the Western background and when they speak they address themselves to the U.S.A., U.K., France and some other European countries'.¹¹³ And he closed pessimistically by stating that, 'for them', it is 'difficult to remember that there are three other continents, containing most of the population of the world'.¹¹⁴ And Husain's assessment cannot be denied according to the list above and the staff-members background. By 1948, out of 124 staff members of the DSS, only 25 came from outside of Europe (including the Commonwealth) and North America. The balance between those who took part in the years before the UNESCO's founding and then in its early organizational history and those who became the targets of its investigations was not balanced. Thus, the individual experts recommended by one or more of the above named associates and sent to countries to establish national social science research councils were clearly not trained within those countries. The goal was to establish social sciences' study in countries where none were yet established and to internationally link national councils. After the call for participation, reports from different bodies in Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Venezuela, India, Netherlands, Sweden, Poland, Japan, South Africa, the Philippines, Denmark, Central America, South America, Great Britain, China, East Africa, Israel, Belgium, France, Germany, Turkey, Switzerland, Canada and French Canada, the United States of America, Argentina and Iran contributed. Those reports mostly described the current status of social sciences and, if available, recommended further institutes and departments with references to social scientific research investigations on population issues. The next step was the inclusion of 'experts' from social scientific institutes from countries with no national department. In some of the countries, the 'experts' were supposed to teach social sciences. In 1950 the UNESCO's lectureship program selected eight countries to 'assist the development of social sciences in those countries where they are relatively less developed'.¹¹⁵ They were Ecuador, Columbia, Peru, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Pakistan. These 'lectureships' were geared towards the teaching of university groups 'concerning the latest developments in teaching and research in the countries where the social sciences are more developed'.¹¹⁶

¹¹² UNESCO, Report by Mr. Ashfaq Husain (India) at the Royaumont Meeting, 11.10.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "48.10" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - October 1948 - Paris, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ UNESCO, Lectureships in the 1950 Programme, 14.2.1950, Box 3288, X07.55 SS Part IV, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part II - from 1/I/48 up to 31/XII/50, Signature: SS/Memo.50/1590, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Without question, after 1945 the UNESCO began an initiative towards developing the internationalization – and maybe even the globalization – of the social sciences. This occurred alongside specific lines, namely according to (1) the UNESCO's defined social scientific problem areas and research methods, resulting in the ideas and concepts of the DSS's early collaborators and their respective intellectual backgrounds; and (2) the interests of the UNESCO's member states in terms of foreign political interests.

*[...], UNESCO is a phenomenon of the social sciences in one sense, [...].*¹¹⁷

Chapter 3: The Global Range of Cooperation and the Levels of Negotiation

In this chapter I shall delineate (1) the entities or bodies within the UNESCO that are involved in negotiation and discussion processes regarding the UNESCO's program in social sciences and with a special focus on assimilation and integration discourses; and (2) the trans-disciplinary cooperation and ties to other organizations and institutions. The rationale for this approach is to recognize the intersections with and influences upon the Department of Social Sciences program and the incorporated interests.

Entities or Bodies within the UNESCO

The UNESCO's establishment was adopted at a conference on 16 November 1945. The Preparatory Commission came into being at the same conference, where it was charged with preliminary work on organizational matters and planning the program for the UNESCO.¹¹⁸ The Commission convened six times during its one year of work and was originally headquartered in London but later transferred to Paris in 1946. Julian Huxley, the UNESCO first Director General, held the position of Executive Secretary of the UNESCO, under president Ellen Wilkinson.¹¹⁹ After the 20th ratification of the UNESCO's constitution by Greece,¹²⁰ the first General Conference began on 20 November 1946 in Paris. Although the preparatory commission's mandate expired with the election of the UNESCO's first Director General, its staff continued to work as the secretariat of the UNESCO. Below I shall discuss the organization's bodies and levels of communication in detail, including that of the secretariat. Before that, I shall delineate the negotiations within the preparatory commission.

The Preparatory Commission's chief task was the preparation of the UNESCO's draft program.¹²¹ It also had to plan the first session of the general conference; to arrange the draft

¹¹⁷ Stated by Howard Wilson, Deputy Executive Secretary, at the session on 13 June 1946. In: UNESCO, UNESCO, Prep.Commission, Social Sciences Committee. Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee on Social Sciences held at 47, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1., 13.6.1946, Preparatory Commission, London-Paris, 1945-1946, Vol.V Programme Committees, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹¹⁸ Exact date of existence: 16 November 1945 to 6 December 1946.

¹¹⁹ Minister of Education of Great Britain.

¹²⁰ The founding member states of the UNESCO were the UK, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Union of South Africa, Australia, India, Mexico, France, Dominican Republic, Turkey, Egypt, Norway, Canada, China, Denmark, USA, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Lebanon and Greece.

¹²¹ UNESCO, Report of Dr. Julian Huxley, Executive Secretary of the Prep.Comm. Of UNESCO, 18.11.1946, GC, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Documents, Paris, Unesco Archiv, Signature: UNESCO/C/15, Paris, Unesco Archiv..

agenda for the first session and to prepare documents and recommendations relating to the agenda; to conduct studies and prepare recommendations concerning the program and budget and with regard to devastated countries; and to provide for immediate action on the urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction. The secretariat was responsible for the execution of the named duties and, in November 1946, this body consisted of 372 individuals drawn from 28 states including counsellors, consultants and assistants.¹²² The Executive Secretary directed the international staff members. The appointed staff, representatives and their advisers from the founding member states – also referred to as ‘delegates’ – were involved in the creation of the UNESCO’s social sciences program. Furthermore, individuals indirectly involved with the organizations sent in recommendations and suggestions to the social sciences section with regard to content. The proposals were submitted from governments and ‘government’s advisory groups, social sciences organizations, individual experts and other interested persons and groups. They have come in the form of letters, official documents, articles, and transcripts of conferences of various kinds’.¹²³ Thus the involved individuals and entities, such as national governments and social scientific organizations, were vast in number. In addition to the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission, Julian Huxley, others who proved of great influence to the social sciences program included Howard Wilson (Deputy Executive Secretary), Lucien Febvre (Delegate for the French government), Robert Redfield (Delegate for the government of the United States of America), Mohamed Awad (Senior Counsellor for the Preparatory Commission’s Social Sciences Section), Avid Brodersen (Counsellor for the Preparatory Commission’s Social Sciences Section), P.W. Martin (also in his role as counsellor for the Preparatory Commission’s Social Sciences Section), Alfred Zimmern (who was first recommended to fill the position of Executive Secretary but was officially called unable to accept due to illness; instead, he appeared as an adviser to the Preparatory Commission’s Secretariat), Edward A. Shils (Counsellor), and Paulo de Berredo Carneiro (served as President of the June 1946 meetings). Those are the most important in relation to the Social Sciences program in the first months. The International Studies Conference established in 1928 and superseded by the UNESCO in the 1950s, also proved to be a crucial source of

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ UNESCO, Preparatory Commission - Social Science Committee - Proposals submitted to the Committee by Governments, organisations and individuals before May 23rd, 1946, 23.5.1946, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt. I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Paris, Unesco Archiv, Signature: --, Paris, Unesco Archiv..

experts for the Preparatory Commission.¹²⁴ National and governmental interests ruled at the individual levels.

In this early period of the UNESCO, the general program on social sciences was outlined with regard to the content of social scientific tasks, and the assimilation and integration discourses were formulated. Differentiation between human beings was perceived in terms of ‘culture’, ‘civilization(s)’ or ‘race’ within the nation state as the contemporary and timely adequate division, because and although ‘the world has shrunk so that it is for the first time in history possible to think globally, in terms of the possibility of an efficient world-wide international organization [...], the world is de facto organized into nations’.¹²⁵ And while nationalism was considered an obstacle to ‘international ideals [...]; [...] the diversity of national culture’ was recognised as to constitute ‘a civilising influence and hence a beneficial factor’.¹²⁶ At the first General Conference in November 1946, the US delegate suggested that they study the differences of types of ‘national culture’, and argued that people would understand the distinctions.¹²⁷ Experts with a generally ‘Western’ or European background primarily guided the discussion, and non-European or non-‘Western’ discussants pointed out this bulge as already pointed to above.

The UNESCO was – and still is – organized as three bodies: the General Conference (GC), the Executive Board (EXB) and the Secretariat (S).¹²⁸ All three are interconnected but have different responsibilities and authorities. The cycle or course of decision-making is clearly organized among the three through formal correspondence and reports. At the same time, discussions and negotiations are also informal. The GC is the organization’s representative and decision-making body, which at first convened all of the Member States’ representatives at meetings annually and then later every second year. Representatives usually operate on the ministerial and diplomatic level, and are authorized to contribute to the content of the social sciences program. The GC has the authority to approve the program. The EXB meets twice a year and is responsible for the program’s execution, as adopted by the GC. The Secretariat (S) is divided into sections or departments, including the Social Sciences Department, the Natural

¹²⁴ David Long, ‘Who killed the International Studies Conference?’, *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006) 04, p. 603–605.

¹²⁵ UNESCO, Report of Dr. Julian Huxley, Executive Secretary of the Prep.Comm. UNESCO, 18.11.1946, GC, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/15, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹²⁶ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 29.11.1946, General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.3, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ The Secretariat underwent several organizational changes. For details see UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/Prep.Com./Exec.Com./13. Annex 1 ff.

Sciences Department and the Humanities Department, etc. The Director-General (DG), appointed by the GC, heads the Secretariat. The DG nominates staff members and suggests the social sciences program to the EXB. A Director and a Director's Office lead each section or department. Depending on the size of the department, as defined according to 'importance', the Social Sciences Department employ a deputy director, program assistants, technical assistants and consultants. The section's task was, and still is, to prepare draft programs for the EXB and later to carry out the approved projects. The program's outline was discussed and negotiated by staff and external consultants alongside the overall goal of the UNESCO. The compiled draft program served as the foundation of the EXB commissions' program discussions. Staff members and external consultants bound by contract were and are involved within the deliberations and negotiations. These individuals were considered experts in the fields of social sciences. At the EXB level, pre-prepared programs and projects were discussed and renegotiated in committees and subcommittees in order to be approved by the GC. These subcommittees were ordered with the corresponding topics and governmental representatives and delegations took part. Those 'experts' were not necessarily experts in the fields discussed within the social scientific tasks. In the process of negotiation and decision-making regarding the program, the borders between disciplinary fields and governmental representation are fluid. Individuals invited to participate are either considered experts in the field of social sciences or are governmental representatives acting for national governments and their interests. The scientific experts again are usually embedded in national contexts of social scientific interests and foci. The early years of the UNESCO the collaborations between individuals are characterized by blurred edges of inter- and trans-disciplinary expertise.

Trans-disciplinary Co-operation and Ties to other Organizations and Institutions

Discussions and negotiations were, as already indicated, not limited to the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. External consultants bound by contract over a certain period of time and national organizations were involved in the negotiations on the program and projects. The following list reveals associated individuals' and entities' global ties to the Tensions Project in 1948.¹²⁹ The six data sheets do not reveal a network per se, but rather the lists delineate the DSS's elaborate connections through 1948 and offer an insight to the range of global ties the organization was able to make. Not all but most of the individuals and entities listed were directly involved in the inquiries on the 'assimilation' and 'integration' of immigrants. In

¹²⁹ UNESCO, List of Individuals and Institutions cooperating with the "Tensions Project", 9.8.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part IV from 1/VII/48 up to 31/XII/48, Paris, Unesco Archive, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

addition, these lists represent the starting point from which further connections were established. They indicate the following organizational levels:

- (1) Governmental
- (2) University
- (3) Public Opinion Institutes
- (4) NGO's
- (5) Other International and Governmental Organizations
- (6) Co-operating Bodies
- (7) Governmental Departments
- (8) Individuals with no affiliation

Table 2: Cooperating Individuals and Bodies on the Governmental Level

Arnold, Prof. par les bons offices de M. Zainewicki,
Delegation Polonaise UNESCO

Cowell, F.R. UNESCO U.K. Committee, Cooperating
Board, Ministry of Education, London, UK.

DANISH National Commission, The Secretariat, Danish
National Commission for UNESCO, Ministry of Education,
Copenhagen, DENMARK

Devik, Dr. Olaf, Chairman, Norwegian Nat.Comm. for
UNESCO, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Church &
Education, Cultural Section, Oslo, NORWAY

Konecny, Mr. Petr. Ministry of Information, Prague,
Czechoslovakia

Loehr, Dr. August, President de la Commission autrichienne
pour la Cooperation intellectuelle internationale
Chancellerie Fédérale, Dept des Affaires étrangères, Vienna,
AUSTRIA

MEXICAN National Commission, M. le Secrétariat du
Conseil, Nationalconsultatif auprès de l'UNESCO Ministère
de l'Education publique, Mexico, MEXICO

Table 3: Individual Collaborators Associated to Universities - I

Allport, Prof. Gordon W., Dept of Social Relations, Cambridge, Mass. USA
AZEVEDO, Dr. Fernando de, Universidade de Sao Paulo BRAZIL
Berelson, Prof. B. University of Chicago, Illinois USA
Bernal, Dr. A. Catedra Q Psicologia General, Universidad de la Habana. CUBA
Bernhardt, Prof. Karl S., Dept of Psychology, University of Toronto CANADA
Barlett, Dr. F.C. The Psychological Laboratory, Cambridge UK
Bruner, Jerome S. Dept of Social Relations, Harvard University, USA
Cohen, Dr. John. Lecturer in Psychology, Social Studies Dept., The University, Leeds, UK
Crutchfield, Dr. Richard. Dept. of Psychology, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penna. USA
De Bie, Prof. Pierre, Institut de Recherches Economique et Sociales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain, BELGIUM
DODD, Stuart, Director, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, State College Washington, Pullman, Washington, USA
Drever, Prof. James, Dept of Psychology, Edinburgh University, Edingurgh SCOTLAND
Fortes, Prof. Meyer, Dept of Soc. Anthropology, Oxford UK
Gardner, Miss D.E.M. Institute of Education, London University, UK
Harding, Dr. Denis, Bedford College, London, UK
Hartley, Dr. Eugene, Dept of Psychology, College of the City of New York. NYC USA
Horman, Mr. B.I. University of Hawaii, HAWAII
Hovde, Dr. Bryn J. President, New School for Social Research, NY. USA
Humphrey, Prof. George, Institute of Experimental Psychology, Oxford. UK
Husain, Dr. Asfaq, University of Education, New Delhi; Indian National Commission for UNESCO: INDIA
James, Dr. Harold G.O. Institute of Education, University of London. UK

Table 4: Individual Collaborators Associated to Universities - II

Jeffery, Dr. G.B. University of London, Institute of Education, London, UK

Ketchum, J.D. University of Toronto, Toronto, CANADA

Keirstead, Prof. B.S. Chairman of Dept., McGill University, Montreal, CANADA

Kluckhohn, C. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. USA

Linares, Prof. Francisco Walker. Secretario de la Facultad de Ciencias Juridicas y Sociales de la Universidad de Chile y Secretario General de la Comision Chilena de Cooperacion Intelectual, Escuela de Derecho, Universidad de Chile, Santiago. CHILE

Lippitt, R. Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA

Mahalanobis, Prof. P.C. Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, Presidency College, Calcutta. INDIA

MacGranahan, Dr. Donald V. Dept of Social Relations, Cambridge, Mass. USA; Dept of Social Affairs, UN, Lake Success, USA

Marshall, Dr. T.H. London School of Economics, Head of the Social Science Dept. UK

Maurette, Mme F. Ecole Internationale de Genève, Genève, SWITZERLAND

Notcutt, Prof. B. Prof of Psychology, Natal University College, Durban, SOUTH AFRICA

OESER, Prof. O.A. Dept of Psychology, University of Melbourne, AUSTRALIA

Pear, Prof. T.H. Dept of Psychology, The University, Manchester, UK

Radvanyi, Dr. Lazlo, World Congresson Public Opinion Research, Committee on Conferences, National University of Mexico, MEXICO.

Table 5: Individual Collaborators Associated to Universities - III

Rose, Mr. Arnold, M. Washington University; UN, Lake Success; USA
Szalai, Dr. Alexander, Institute of Sociology, University of Budapest, HUNGARY
Szekely, Prof. Lajos, University of Stockholm, SWEDEN
Tramer, Mr. F., University of Berne, Berne, SWITZERLAND
ULKEN, M. Hilmi Zuja, Professor, Istambul University, TURKEY
Webster, Prof. Edward C., Dept. of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal, CANADA
Willems, Prof. Emilio, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciencias e Letras, Sao Paulo, BRAZIL
Wilson, Mr. Charles H., Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK
Wirth, Prof. Louis, Dept of Sociology, University of Chicago, Illinois, USA

Table 6: Cooperating Bodies - I: International Organizations, Institutes of Public Opinion and University Departments	AMERICAN Institute of Public Opinion, Princeton, New Jersey USA
	AMERICAN Institute of Chinese Public Opinion, Shanghai, CHINA
	AUSTRALIAN Public Opinion Polis, AUSTRALIA
	BELGIAN Academic Institute of Social & Economic Information, Brussels, BELGIUM
	CARNEGIE Corporation, NYC, USA
	CZECHOSLOVAK Institute of Public Opinion, Prague, Czechoslovakia
	FRENCH Institute of Public Opinion, Paris, FRANCE
	INSTITUTE of Social Research, NYC USA
	HUNGARIAN Institute for the Research of Public Opinion, Budapest, HUNGARY
	INDIAN Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, INDIA
	Institute of Experimental Psychology, Oxford, UK
	Institute of Social Research, USA
	International Congress of Mental Health, London, UK
	International Council of Christians & Jews, Centre International, Geneva/SWITZERLAND, London/UK
	ITALIAN National Commission, M. le Secretaire de la Commission, Nationale italienne pour l'Unesco, Rome, ITALY

Table 7: Cooperating Bodies - II: International Organizations, Institutes of Public Opinion and University Departments	LONDON School of Economics & Political Science, London, UK
	HUNGARIAN Inst. for the Research of Public Opinion. HUNGARY
	MUSEUM of Modern Art, NY, USA
	National Opinion Research Center, NY Office; Chicago, Illinois; (Clyde Hart) USA
	NETHERLANDS Institute of Public Opinion, Amsterdam, HOLLAND
	NETHERLANDS National Commission, The Secretary, Netherlands Commission for International Cooperation, Ministry of Education, Arts&Sciences, The Hague, HOLLAND
	NETHERLANDS Society for International Affairs, The Hague, HOLLAND
	NEW ZEALAND National Commission, Sec. Dept of External Affairs, New Zealand, NEW ZEALAND
	NEW ZEALAND Council for Educational Research, Wellington, NEW ZEALAND
	NORSK GALLUP Institute, Opinion & Market Research, NORWAY
	PAN AFRICAN UNION, Dept of Cultural Affairs, Washington, USA
	POLISH National Commission, M. le Secretaire de l'Organisation polonaise pour l'Education la Science et la Culture, Musée national, Varsovie, POLAND
	RESEARCH Centre for Human Relations, NY, USA
	SSS, Paris, FRANCE
	SOCIAL SCIENCE Research Council. NYC, USA

SMITHSONIAN Institute, Institute of Social Anthropology, Escola
Livre de Sociologia e Politica, Sao Paulo, BRAZIL

SOUTH AFRICAN National Bureau of Education & Social
Research, Pretoria. SOUTH AFRICA

TAVISTOCK Institute of Human Relations, (Mr. B.S. Morris), UK

WILLIAM Alanson White Foundation, Washington, USA

World Congress of Public Opinion Research (see Dr. Radvanyi),
MEXICO

Table 8: Individual Collaborators in Public Opinion	Adamec, Dr. C. Czechoslovak Inst. of Pub. Opinion, Prag, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	APPADORAI, Prof. A. Secretary, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, INDIA
	BALASSA, Dr. Erich, Magyar Köszéleménykutató Intezet (Hungarian Institute for the Research of Public Opinion), HUNGARY
	BALSTAD, Mr. B. Norsk Gallup Institute A.S., Opinion & Market Research NORWAY
	Crespi, Dr. Leo, OMGUS ICD, Opinion Surveys, Nurnberg, GERMANY
	Davison, Mr. Philip, Public Opinion Quarterly, Princeton, New Jersey, USA
	DODD, Stuart, Director, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, State College Washington, Pullman, Washington, USA
	Durant, Dr. Henry, British Institute of Public Opinion, London, UK
	Fegiz, Prof P. Luzzatto, DOXA, Istituto per le Ricerche Statistiche E L'Analisi Dell' Opinione Pubblica, Milano, ITALY
	Max, Monsieur Alfred, French Institute of Public Opinion, Neuilly, FRANCE
	Morgan, Roy, AUSTRALIAN Public Opinion Bolls, Melbourne, AUSTRALIA
	Riffault, Dr. Helen, Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique, Paris, FRANCE
	Stapel, Dr. Jan, Netherlands Inst. of Public Opinion, HOLLAND
	Stoetzel, Dr. Jean, French Institute of Public Opinion, FRANCE
	White, Mr. James R., Public Opinion Research Office, Political Division, Bielefeld, GERMANY
	Williams, Dr. Frederick W. OMGUS ICD Opinion Surveys, Nurnberg, GERMANY
	Wilson, Mr. Elmo C., President, International Public Opinion Research Inc. USA

**Table 9:
Private
Individuals in
their Roles as
Collaborators
to the Tensions
Project**

Alejandro Arenales, S.R.Lic, Guatemala
Arnfred, Mr. J.Th. DENMARK
Benedict, Dr. Ruth, NYC, USA
Eyuboglu, Mr. Prais (Turkish) FRANCE
Freud, Miss Anna, London, UK
Freyre, Dr. Gilberto, Pernambuco, BRAZIL
Gallup, G.H. Princeton, N.J. USA
Gilbert, Dr. G.N. Princeton, N.J. USA
Jung, Dr. C.J. Zürich, SWITZERLAND
Naess, Prof. Arne, (also temporarily UNESCO, Paris) NORWAY
Ramos, Arthur, Rio de Janeiro, BRAZIL
Reiwald, Dr. Paul, SWITZERLAND
Rickman, Dr. John, London, UK
Riesgo, Professor Bernal del, CUBA
Roper, Elmo, NY, USA
Sauvy, M. Alfred, Paris, FRANCE
Smith, Dr. George H., Princeton, New Jersey. USA
Thomson, Prof. Godfrey, Edingurgh, SCOTLAND
Visser'T Hooft. Dr. W.A., Geneva, SWITZERLAND
Wallon, M. Henri, FRANCE
Young, Donald (see SSRC), USA
Zerner, Madame E.H., Seine-et-Oise, FRANCE
Zeuthen, Prof. F., Rungsted, DENMARK

Table 10: 'Other' Individual Collaborators not Captured by the Categories Above - I	Barioux, M. Max, SSS, Paris FRANCE
	Brackett, Mr. Russell, International Council of Christians & Jews, Centre International, Geneva, SWITZERLAND
	Brown, Miss S. Clement. Programme Secretary, International Congress on Mental Health, London, UK
	Campbell A.E. Director, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, NEW ZEALAND
	Carneiro, Dr. Levi, President, Institut Bresilien d'Education Science et Culture, Brésil, BRAZIL
	Chih-Yuan, Dr. Wu. Chinese Association of Social & Cultural Sciences, Nanking. CHINA
	Cock, Stuart, Research Center for Human Relations; Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, USA
	Cock, Dr. P.A.W. National Bureau of Educational & Social Research, Pretoria, SOUTH AFRICA
	Crevenna Mr. Theo R. Specialist, Social Sciences Division of Philosophy, Letters & Sciences, General Secretariat, PAN AMERICAN UNION; Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Washington, USA
	Dollard, Charles, CARNEGIE Corporation, USA
	FLUEGEL, Prof. J.C., See International Congress of Mental Health. UK
	Friedmann, Prof. G. Centre d'Etudes Sociologues, Paris FRANCE
	Giles, H.H. Bureau of International Education, NY, USA
	Gurvitch, Georges, Centre d'Etudes Sociologues, Paris FRANCE
	Hart, Clyde, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, Illinois, USA
	Herring, Mr. E. Pendleton. CARNEGIE Corporation, NYC; Social Science Research Council, NY, USA
	Horkheimer, Dr. Max, Institute of Social Research, NYC. USA
	Hiss, Alger, CARNEGIE Endowment for Peace, NY, USA
	Jacquemyns, Prof Guillaume, Academic Institute of Social and Economic Information, Brussels, BELGIUM
	Johnson, Mr. Wallace, AMERICAN Institute of Public Information, Shanghai, CHINA
	Jonge, W.J. de, Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, Amsterdam. HOLLAND
	Kracauer, Dr. Siegfried, Museum of Modern Art, NY, USA

**Table 11:
'Other'
Individual
Collaborators
not Captured
by the
Categories
Above - II**

Le Bras, Mr. Gabriel, Conference Permanente des Hautes Etudes Internationales. FRANCE.
Lipschutz, Alejandro, Departamento de Medicina Experimental. Santiago. CHILE
Lowe, Dr. Adolph, Institute of World Affairs, NY, USA
Lowenthal, Dr. Leo, Institute of Social Research, USA
MacGranahan, Dr. Donald V. Dept of Social Relations, Cambridge, Mass. USA; Dept of Social Affairs, UN, Lake Success, USA
Morris, B.S. Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, UK
Morton, Dr. N.W. Defence Research Board, Ottawa, CANADA
Mon-Hoh, Prof Tao, Academia Sinica, Nanking, CHINA
Pareja, Dr. Jose Rafael, Congreso Indigenista Interamericano, del Cusco, Lima, PERU
Piaget, Prof. Pierre, Bureau International d'Education, Geneva. SWITZERLAND
Pierson, Prof. Donald, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica, Sao Paulo, BRAZIL
Rees, Dr. J.R. International Congress on Mental Health, UK
Skard, Dr. Aase Gruda, Director of UNESCO Seminar Podebrady, CZECHOSLOVAKIA; NORWAY;
Soper, Miss Clare, New Education Fellowship, London, UK
Sullivan, Dr. Harry Stack, William Alanson White Foundation, Washington, USA
Tegen, Dr. Einar, Samarbetskomitten for Demokratiskt, Stockholm, SWEDEN
Visseur, Dr. Pierre, Int. Council of Christians & Jews, SWITZERLAND
Wallace, David, TIME; NY, USA
White, D.G., Chief, Hist. Section, OMGUS, Army, GERMANY

In one way or another, these individuals and entities were involved in the development of the research activities on ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of immigrants. Some of those named above and other individuals who participated in the conceptualization of the notions after 1948 shall be elaborated in the further course of this doctoral dissertation, along with information about their influence on the discourse. The list also indicates, that contributions to the UNESCO’s program on ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’, up to and after 1948, was primarily built on the ‘expertise’ of individuals outside of the UNESCO. The impulse, however, to connect and to investigate the topic on a wide scale came from the UNESCO.

Chapter 4: The Experts and their Selection¹³⁰

Lucien Febvre stated in June 1946, at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commissions Social Science Committee, that it is a little dangerous if the UNESCO is going to ‘ask experts specifically to write the right book[?]’.¹³¹ The question Febvre was pointing to is one that philosophers of science and scholars working on the social studies of sciences started to ask in the 1980s. The question concerned how to meet scientific question without losing track of scientific eligibility. Febvre was a member of the Preparatory Commissions’ Social Sciences Committee who discussed the future program and the department’s structure in 1946. At the first session of the programme commission in November 1946, the Indian delegate asked how the UNESCO ‘intends to carry out the study of this project [the population project] [,] by itself [...] [or] it is intended to appoint specialists to deal with it’.¹³² The UNESCO was, as already described, not only an international but also an inter-governmental organization. Its main interests rested with making use of social sciences in a pragmatic and political sense in order to ease social tensions.

The ‘promotion of internationalism’ was and is ‘[...] central to the whole work of UNESCO’.¹³³ Simultaneously and rather unintentionally, the organisation supported the development of the methodological nationalism¹³⁴ of subsequent decades by depending on Member States’ financial support. In the course of seeking international understanding and cooperation, the UNESCO’s approach both depended on and caused the diplomatic appreciation of national sovereignty and ‘cultural’ independence. Based on the less-challenged concept of ‘nation states’, the UNESCO’s *inter-nationalism* imagined things like the ‘world parliament’ or a ‘world security force’, both of which were taken into consideration.¹³⁵ The UNESCO’s idealistic foundation of creating a ‘one world’ or ‘world

¹³⁰ Parts of this chapter were presented at the FIFTH INTERNATIONAL HISTORY GRADUATE INTENSIVE at University of Sydney/Australia on 18th July 2014 under the heading “*UNESCO’s Promotion of International Networking*”. In addition these part was published as an article in the UNESCO’s Library (7 Place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris, France) in July 2014, see UNESDOC.

¹³¹ UNESCO, UNESCO, Prep.Commission, Social Sciences Committee. Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee on Social Sciences held at 47, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1., SESSION IV, 14.6.1946, Preparatory Commission, London-Paris, 1945-1946, Vol.V Programme Committees, Signature: --;

¹³² UNESCO, Programme on: "The Crucial Aspects of Population Problems", 29.11.1946, GC, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission II - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.3, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹³³ PROJECTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹³⁴ Andreas Wimmer/Nina Glick Schiller, Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences, in: *Global Networks* 2 (2002) 4. 301–334.

¹³⁵ The ‘World Parliament’ was first suggested by Ernest Bevin, a British labour politician (died 1951). His idea was included in the UNESCO’s early considerations. See: Notes on Social Science Projects. 1946-1947, Box

community' through international understanding was its main reason for including deliberations based on social scientific concepts.

'Population problems' were identified as the most pressing issues after 1945 in different areas of the world, and not only in war-destroyed Europe. World War II forced millions of people around the globe to leave the countries or areas in which they had been living. Individuals or groups of people forced to migrate or who voluntarily migrated raised awareness to the political need for regulations in both countries of immigration and regions of emigration. Europe was a major site of emigration, whereas North America (Canada and the United States), South America (mostly Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru), Australia and South Africa represented places of major immigration. The UNESCO's promoted case studies on 'im-migration' were conducted in these countries until the late 1950s. Social scientific research on population issues, immigration and migration comprehensively increased after 1945 and included questions on integration, assimilation and naturalisation. Based on its ideas of preserving peace, the organisation was one of the major supporters of assimilation and integration research and the first international organisation to introduce this topic to international and national audiences.¹³⁶ The UNESCO fostered international collaboration in im-migration and population studies in order to satisfy emigration and immigration countries' national interests and intellectual thought on international understanding. However, the UNESCO's role in promoting studies on assimilation and integration questions, and therefore in determining integration and assimilation discourses in the social sciences and the nation state concept overall, is not yet well explored.¹³⁷

Connecting with social scientists, specialists and experts globally and linking them with governmental officials and policy makers served the UNESCO as a main resource for enforcing its ideals. Recognising that population issues could only be solved by inter- and trans-disciplinary¹³⁸ efforts, social scientists started to work cooperatively on behalf of the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences in order to find 'the right' solutions. Governmental representatives and policy makers were involved in the UNESCO's work processes through its General Conferences and Executive Board Working Groups. Diplomats

3287, X 07.55 SS Pt. I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹³⁶ The UNESCO usually used the terms 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration'.

¹³⁷ In my doctoral thesis, I am dealing with questions of how assimilation and integration research was promoted and how their discourses contributed to the social sciences and served the nation state concept after 1945.

¹³⁸ 'Inter-disciplinary' corresponds to the professional collaboration of different academic fields. 'Trans-disciplinary' refers to the cooperation of academic fields with non-academic actors.

and governmental collaborators were engaged as consultants to the Department of Social Sciences (DSS).

The organisation's networking activities were characterized in various manners. By examining the first years of the networking process, this chapter will reveal the organisation's diplomatic efforts toward reaching international understanding. It will also disclose how the UNESCO's ideas on migration and integration influenced and guided the first two decades of social scientific reflection in the field of population research.

As stated by a member of the League of Nations Commission on Intellectual Co-operation, 'the social sciences did not figure largely in the work of the League of Nations'.¹³⁹ However, after 1945, the UNESCO continued to reinforce the idea of the 'world community' on behalf of the social sciences and with interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary cooperation. In succeeding the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) and the International Studies Conference (ISC), the UNESCO carried on the work of the League of Nations (LoN). The LoNs' intellectual organisations, associations and 'think tanks' started in the 1920s in Europe and were the first-ever attempts to collaborate intellectually on an international level. Individuals involved in inquiries on assimilation in the 1920s and 1930s, other than those commonly known and recognized as experts by the LoN, included Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, George Mauco, William Oualid, Jesus Bojorquez, Hurd, Eggleston, Packer, and Kardos. Carr-Saunders and George Mauco in particular collaborated with the UNESCO in its Tensions Project and on assimilation inquiries. Alexander Carr-Saunders was a professor of social sciences at the University of Liverpool and the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Sciences. In 1951 the British Sociological Association was founded by the initiative of Carr-Saunders, David V. Glass, Raymond Firth, V.G. Childe and M. Fortes. Carr-Saunders was also member of the Political Investigation Committee, which was based at the LSE in London and where he collaborated with J. Young, T.H. Marshall and M. Ginsberg. He was collaborating with the LoNs and was considered to be an expert consultant by the UNESCO after 1945. George Mauco also was already engaged in the LoNs experts' sessions in the 1930s. He was an assistant at the Institute of Geography in Paris and consulted as an expert on assimilation questions for the LoNs 'Peaceful Change' publication, as was Carr-Saunders. After 1945 he became the Secretary-General and Treasurer of the IUSSP and

¹³⁹ Preparatory Commission, Social Sciences Committee. Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee on Social Sciences, Session 1, 13.6.1946. In: Preparatory Commission, London-Paris, 1945-1946. Vol. V Programme Committees. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

Secretary of Adolphe Landry. At the first Union's assembly he worked on the 'Assimilation of Immigrants in France'.

After 1945, the UNESCO, however, shifted from exchanging information and scientific expertise on an elitist level to a much broader distribution and transfer of knowledge. One reason for this was that, until 1945, representatives of the social sciences were rarely connected. For the UNESCO's associates, this was 'one of the paradoxes of the present-day scientific world that the natural scientists - physicists, biologists, astronomers and others - are thoroughly [!] well organised internationally while the social scientists - whose very study is how people live together - have formed hardly any international associations'.¹⁴⁰ The UNESCO decreased this lack of connectivity by acknowledging the role of social scientific disciplines in finding solutions for pressing challenges of contemporary time: population, migration and immigration. The DSS dealt with associated research fields within the 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding' Project (Tensions Project). The Tensions Project was not only a part of the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences (DSS), but was also the department's 'major' project until the early 1960s. Based on the resolutions of the General Conference, the requested action was 'to put special emphasis upon the population aspect'.¹⁴¹ The social sciences were charged with finding solutions to combat population tensions and to develop a 'barometer of tensions'. To do so, it was necessary to adjust social scientific methods and questions to follow developments in population tensions and conflicts in various parts of the world. However, and as stated by the DSS early collaborators, the 'social sciences demonstrate remarkable national differences, reflecting the variety of social, economic and legal systems from country to country, of language and past history'.¹⁴² By identifying that a '[g]reater interchange of knowledge between social scientists in different countries would stimulate development everywhere and contribute to the cross-fertilisation of national cultures', the UNESCO collected information on social scientific expertise and methods in different areas of the world.¹⁴³ The Tensions Project was roughly grouped in the following research topics: 'Nationalism and Internationalism', 'Population Problems' and

¹⁴⁰ UNESCO, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ORGANISE, 18.8.1949. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I – up to 31/XII/47. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁴¹ Memorandum, from Hadley Cantril (DSS) to D.G., D.D.G., A.D.G., Charles Ascher, Subject: Tensions Project Action Programme, 22.3.1948. In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9.

¹⁴² Programme of UNESCO for 1948, 5.8.1947. In: Box 1947-66, Press Review, 1962-66 - PS/TA, Folder: PROG/1948. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

‘Social and International Problems Involved in Modern Technological Developments’.¹⁴⁴ All fields dealt with tensions caused by internal (national) and international instability as a result of population issues. The DSS’s international and interdisciplinary approach included all social scientific disciplines: psychology, socio-psychology, history, sociology, geography, law, economics, political science, human geography and anthropology.

The quote at the beginning of this article puts the UNESCO’s working method in a nutshell: the placement of post-1945 national and local population issues into an international context - a ‘world context’. But how did the UNESCO start to place its ideas and images of a collaborative world in an international context? With whom did the UNESCO’s representatives connect to distribute their ideas widely in the first place? And what were the consequences? Due to the social context, population issues were defined by the Department of Social Sciences (DSS) and translated into specific projects of the programme. Negotiations and decisions regarding content were usually made by DSS staff members in close collaboration the UNESCO’s General Directors. The appraisals and declarations were distributed in-house and passed on to collaborators as official statements. DSS negotiations and deliberations constituted its programme foci and the topics of specific project by incorporating recommendations from the outside. After delivering the drafts to the UNESCO’s Executive Board (EXB), experts and intellectuals in sub-commissions¹⁴⁵ discussed and adjusted the details. Finally, the officially composed programme drafts of the EXB were passed on to the UNESCO’s General Conference (GC).¹⁴⁶ Comprised of member state representatives, the GC decided on the draft programme as the approving authority. At the end of this process, the UNESCO resolutions authorized the organisation’s departments to execute the programme.¹⁴⁷ The sequence within the organisation represents in itself a networking process through which issues were communicated to and negotiated by a variety of individuals in their roles as experts in the DSS, as well as by governmental representatives and intellectuals from Member States.

¹⁴⁴ The Present State of the Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding, 19.7.1947. In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁴⁵ Working Groups or ‘Sub-Commissions’ and ‘Sub-Committees’ worked out future plans on specific programme topics of the Tensions Project.

¹⁴⁶ The UNESCO’s Executive Board was composed of individuals in their capacity as experts and specialists in their fields of interest until 1993. Since then, Executive Board members have been delegates from Member States’ governments, such as diplomats and politicians.

¹⁴⁷ The UNESCO General Conference is composed of Member States’ delegates in their roles as national representatives.

Some of the most important and influential staff members and temporary consultants for the UNESCO through the early 1960s were Gordon Allport (USA), Walter Laves (USA), Alva Myrdal (Sweden), Nathan Leites (USA), Hadley Cantril (USA), Robert C. Angell (USA), Avid Brodersen (Norway), P.W. Martin (UK), Otto Klineberg (Canada), Pierre de Bie (Belgium), Edward E. Shils (USA), Alfred Sauvy (France), David Glass (UK), Claude Levi-Strauss (France), Lucien Febvre (France), Wilfried David Borrie (Australia), Richard Crutchfield (USA) and Herbert M. Phillips (France).¹⁴⁸ All of them worked for the organisation in their capacity as experts in the social sciences or population questions. Despite the organisation's first and most famous Director General Julian Huxley, who was highly interested in population issues, a range of intellectuals played an important role in the networking process and in distributing the UNESCO's ideals.¹⁴⁹ Nathan Leites,¹⁵⁰ special consultant and assistant in the DSS, and Avid Brodersen,¹⁵¹ counsellor in 1947 and the head of the DSS in 1948, discussed potential contacts with whom to connect in June 1946. In a confidential letter they stated that 'at the beginning it would be best to rely on contacts, [not so much with organisations, as with key persons within them, whom we know to be sympathetic to our aims]'.¹⁵² By stepping outside of the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, informal networking with existing connections accompanied formal requests.

Four main lines characterized the DDS's networking: (1) informal inquiries and formal requests for further information on social scientific experts and other expertise in the field in their respective countries; (2) formal and informal meetings with individuals by sending staff members on missions to nation states; (3) promoting or organising meetings and conferences, as well as attending conferences and meetings organised by collaborating international organisations and (4) supporting the establishment of international non-governmental organisations (NGO's).

¹⁴⁸ There are a number of highly influential collaborators with regard to theoretical content, such as Mohamed Awad or Edward A. Shils, who authored the first memoranda on the Tensions Project. However, the above-named are relevant also in the networking process as staff members of the UNESCO. Further details about these individuals are included in the text and footnotes.

¹⁴⁹ In a series of letters to United Nations, Huxley expressed his interests in a conference on population. See: Secretariat, Tensions Project, 312 UN/A02, U.N. Population Commission. Letters dated 6 April 1948. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁵⁰ Nathan Leites' background was in the United States at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York, where he taught. He worked at the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences for three months in 1947 as an assistant.

¹⁵¹ Avid Brodersen originally came from Norway. He was a political scientist on the faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York. In 1948, he was the head of the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences and the director of the Tensions Project.

¹⁵² The UNESCO, Confidential Correspondence, from Nathan Leites to Avid Brodersen, 16.6.1947. In: 3 A 01 ISSC, 3 A 01 UNG (Box 105), Folder: 3 A 01 UNG U.N. Institute of the Human Sciences - (Project proposed by Sty. for the Psychological Study of Social Issues). Paris, UNESCO Archive.

Informal and Formal Requests to Experts and Governmental Departments

The UNESCO first connected with national governmental bodies, such as Departments of Education, Immigration Councils and Ministries of External Affairs. Furthermore the organisation profited from the already established UNESCO National co-operating bodies that linked the UNESCO to governmental departments. Letters were also distributed to well-known individuals in their positions as specialists, including, for example, Lucien Febvre and Claude Lévi-Strauss.¹⁵³ The DSS requested information on contemporary research topics in the social sciences and the methods with which they worked, as well as names of affiliated experts. In case the DSS had no contacts in specific countries or areas and therefore no knowledge about experts in the field, governmental departments were asked to deliver further information. In the case of Australia, for example, the UNESCO sent formal requests to the Department of External Affairs, which delivered the inquiry to the Australian Social Science Research Council and therefore to Professor W.D. Borrie,¹⁵⁴ or to the Department of Immigration. In France, the DDS sent a questionnaire to the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques at the Ministère de la Population in Paris. Alfred Sauvy,¹⁵⁵ a demographer, ethnologist and historian who was mainly concerned with population questions and who wrote a memorandum for the UNESCO on this topic in 1948, received the inquiry. In his function as the UNESCO representative, Sauvy was also part of the UN's Population Commission. In the first decade, Australian expert W.D. Borrie became the most in-demand expert and communicator in and for Australia on population questions in the 1950s. He recommended additional Australian experts, including C.A. Price.¹⁵⁶

In England, on the other hand, a similar position was assigned to David Glass as a kind of national link.¹⁵⁷ After Hardley Cantril¹⁵⁸ and P.W. Martin¹⁵⁹ first met Glass in March 1948

¹⁵³ See further below in *Conferences and Expert Meetings*.

¹⁵⁴ W.D. Borrie was a senior fellow in demography at the National Australian University in Canberra. Active at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, his interests focused on immigration topics and its problems.

¹⁵⁵ Sauvy was referred to the DSS by Hadley Cantril in March 1948 as a 'population expert'. In the years that followed, Sauvy delivered memoranda and studies on population relating to international tensions. He was also a UNESCO observer and representative at different international conferences.

¹⁵⁶ A.C. Price was an expert in assimilation studies until the late 1960s and conducted investigations together with W. D. Borrie and others.

¹⁵⁷ Situated at the London School of Economics, David Glass was a member of the British Sociological Association, the International Sociological Association and the Population Investigation Committee. From the early 1950s, he served on the governing board of the UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences in Cologne, Germany. He also attended the ILO Conference in 1951 as the UNESCO's representative.

¹⁵⁸ Hardley Cantril served as a professor of psychology at Princeton University and directed the Office of Public Opinion Research. He wrote the UNESCO statement on 'The Human Sciences and World Peace' in 1948 and was a counsellor at the DSS in 1948.

¹⁵⁹ Martin was a British economist with long experiences in the International Labour Office. However, 'He accordingly addressed himself to psychology, more particularly the deep analytical psychology of Jung and Freud, with the object of linking up international economic and social questions with what is known of the

during the mission to London, the DSS forwarded nearly all requests for expert recommendations to him. He was involved in major decisions and recommended both experts and expertise. One crucial decision, for example, was made on behalf of Glass regarding the differences with the UN on organizing a conference on population issues. During negotiations with the UN and related UN organisations on the postponement of the conference in 1948, the DSS followed Glass's suggestion to analyse 'the tensions created from problems of assimilation [...]'.¹⁶⁰ In September 1951, Glass also suggested to Myrdal that Australia would be 'the best country to choose for the envisaged study of conditions which favour the cultural assimilation of immigrants [...]'.¹⁶¹ In the years that followed, Australia became a region of major interest in the Tensions Project for studying immigration to the country and the integration and/or assimilation of immigrants. Looking outside of Europe and its close collaborative areas like the United States of America and Australia, the UNESCO reached out to Eastern European countries – at that time, part of the 'Ost Block' ('East Block' or 'bloc des pays de l'Est'). The organisation performed as well in the so-called 'Middle Eastern' and 'Far Eastern' regions and in the countries in South America.¹⁶² However, only in Eastern Europe and South America did the DSS have the chance to connect with local experts and was not forced to request recommendations of individuals from American or western European contacts serving as advisers to the UNESCO. A staff member of the UNESCO's Department of Natural Sciences recommended Alexander Szalai¹⁶³ to the DSS in March 1948 and he became the expert on population questions in countries in the Soviet Union, such as Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Ukraine and Poland.¹⁶⁴

psychology of the unconscious'. In the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences he acted as counsellor for education. He was in charge of the well-known the departments 'Ways of Life' project, which was carried out in a number of countries to show the specific 'characteristics' of the national life.

¹⁶⁰ UNESCO, Correspondence from H. Cantril, P.W. Martin; to the Director-General; cc: Deputy Director-General, Assistant Director-General, Mr. Charles Ascher, SS, Dr. Brodersen. Subject: Report on London Trip April 5-10, 1948. In: Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁶¹ Correspondence from Alva Myrdal (Director of the DSS) to René Maheu (UNESCO Office of the Director General). Subject: Attendance at ILO Migration Meeting, 24.9.1951. In: Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (D) from 1/I/1951 up to 31/III/54; Signature: SS/Memo.51/977. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁶² The terms 'Eastern', 'Middle Eastern' and 'Far Eastern' show a European-centric geographical perspective.

¹⁶³ At that time, Alexander Szalai served at the University of Budapest as professor of sociology, and was also the President of the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs. He was recommended for his work on migration topics and its 'effects upon the social structure, ethnological characters, or biological features of the peoples concerned'.

¹⁶⁴ (1) UNESCO, Correspondence, 6.3.1948, from A. Wolsky (Nat.Sci.) to the UNESCO Director-General. In: Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (A) up to 31/12/1948. Paris, UNESCO Archive. (2) UNESCO, Correspondence, 24.8.1948, Alexander Szalai (Hungary) to P.W. Martin (DSS). In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part IV from 1/VII/48 up to 31/XII/48. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

In early 1948 standardized letters were sent to governmental addresses as well as to universities directly requesting ‘to discover and have reported to us, the names of any persons, groups, or organizations in a given area of the world who are doing work relevant to any phase of our project, or might be particularly interested to take an active interest in this work’.¹⁶⁵ These letters made clear how little information the DSS had in the field of the social sciences. Another letter to a professor at Melbourne University says ‘to indicate to whatever persons you thought would be interested, and could be of possible use to us later, [...]’.¹⁶⁶ The UNESCO ‘invokes the collaboration and support of [...] Statesman, administrators, men of affairs, social philosophers and social scientists everywhere [who] are invited to aid in the definition of the ends and procedures most appropriate to the project [Tension Project]’.¹⁶⁷ In the following months and years, the DSS received letters of reply from university faculty members, independent experts and individuals connected to governments. Those from universities mostly recommended further experts in the social sciences and included CVs. The examination of experts through recommendations and curriculum vitae was an important process for the UNESCO, as it helped to prevent filling consultant positions with politically ‘dubious’ persons. Experts were rejected in several cases. For Germany in particular, the General Conference specifically required an avoidance of German social scientists with questionable connection to the Nazi regime. The objectivity of immigrants was also called into question. Some recommended individuals were rejected with worry as ‘to whether it is politic for the country study for the United States to be done by a person of recent Polish or Ukra[i]nian nationality [...] as he might be thought to have a psychological bias towards emphasising the advantages immigrants bring to the U.S.’.¹⁶⁸

Over a period of 10 years, reports on nationally distinct social scientific research and recommendations from experts arrived at the UNESCO headquarters from Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay, Mexico and an aggregation of Central American countries, Cuba, an aggregation of Eastern European countries, Canada, Denmark, Italy, India, Yugoslavia, Israel, Philippines, Spain and Japan.

¹⁶⁵ UNESCO, Correspondence, 1.3.1949, from Hadley Cantril (DSS) to Edward C. Webster (Department of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal, Canada). In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁶⁶ UNESCO, Correspondence, 14.4.1948, from Hadley Cantril to O.A. Oeser (Department of Psychology, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia). In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: SS/344.90. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁶⁷ The UNESCO invokes the Collaboration and Support in the Tensions Project, 12.5.1947. In: Box: 327.4 A01 - 327.5 Part III, 151, Folder: 327.5 Part I up to 30/V/47. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁶⁸ Correspondence, 11.9.1952, from H.M. Phillips (Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO) to H. Berger Liesser. In: Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part I up to 31/5/1953, Signature: SS/329.539. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

The reports showed the contemporary situation of national social scientific research foci and named experts related to it. The international outreach and networking regarding ‘population problems’ caused both network-building and increased awareness of population questions. Topics not addressed previously began to gain importance in social scientific thought and research. Population questions became ‘population problems’. Migration issues evolved into immigration problems. This had far reaching consequences on the shaping of social scientific research and political ideas connected to population and ‘immigration’ matters.

Staff Members on Missions

While collecting written recommendations, DSS staff members travelled to the UNESCO’s Member States and non-Member States to present the organisation’s goals and ideals and to connect locally with experts. ‘Temporary travelling consultants’ were sent out as a ‘selection of an able person in each of five areas (North America; Latin America; East and Middle East; Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; Europe), [...] be delegated to visit all persons in one area who either were doing relevant work, or might take an active interest’. The defined purpose was ‘[...] three-fold: (a) to gather for us information as to what is going on, (b) to coordinate and, possibly, standardize for more effective use, what work is going on, and to encourage new work, either on the research or action side, [and] (c) to help in planning future programmes and the most efficient use of funds’.¹⁶⁹

The UNESCO travellers presented the TP at lectures and small gatherings at universities so as to meet individual experts in person. They targeted individuals in their capacity as experts in population questions without regard to their institutional affiliation. From 1947 to the end of the 1950s, Walter Laves, Avid Brodersen, Nathan Leites, P.W. Martin, Hadley Cantril, Otto Klineberg, Robert C. Angell, Pierre de Bie, Alva Myrdal and H.M. Phillips travelled to the areas of interest. As disclosed in their ‘Mission Reports’, the UNESCO’s Director General instructed mission travellers to formally attend lectures at universities and to conduct speeches in different settings. The meetings usually resulted in informal and random gatherings with newly acquainted individuals. During these occasions, the DSS staff had the opportunity to express the UNESCO’s ideas on population questions and they took further suggestions and recommendations on content and experts.

¹⁶⁹ Preliminary Memorandum on TENSIONS PROJECT (For Inter-Office Use Only), from Hadley Cantril (Social Sciences) to D.G., D.D.G., Charles Ascher, A. Brodersen (Social Sciences), Mr. P.W. Martin (Social Sciences), 9.3.1948. In: Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

After returning from a mission to Amsterdam and London, Otto Klineberg reported in January 1949 that he had had '[...] a number of conversations and discussions in relation to the "Tensions" project. I spoke with Dr. Ben Morris and Dr. Henry Dicks of the Tavistock Clinic and Institute of Human Relations, about the co-operation of the Tavistock Group in the training of field workers for our community studies. I also had a very valuable session with the members of the "Tensions" Sub-Group of the British Co-operating Body; those present included Professors T.H. Marshall, Morris Ginsberg, H.V. Dicks and C.A. Mace.^[170] I discussed with the Sub-Committee the whole programme of the "Tensions" project for 1949, and received from them a number of helpful suggestions. I believe this meeting was very valuable, particularly in the case of Professors Ginsberg and Mace with whom I had had no direct contact until then'.¹⁷¹ Reactions to his mission followed promptly, 'As a matter of fact in the few days that have elapsed from then I have received two letters, from Professors of Anthropology at two different British Institutions, expressing interest in the project and offering their co-operation'.¹⁷² The UNESCO and its DSS operated as a pyramid system, rapidly building a global and mainly informal network.

The process of building a global and international network, however, was not an easy undertaking and reactions were not always positive and friendly. By 1954 and after nine years in operation, the DSS had the impression that social scientists at universities were hard to reach. In addition to problems making connections, displeasure was expressed repeatedly and distinctly from non-European or 'Non-Western' Member States, such as India.¹⁷³ India had been identified as a major field of interest in population questions in 1948 and the DSS sent experts and specialists in social sciences from the United States to India to build an institute for social sciences to investigate population matters. The DSS's approach to implementing 'western' experts and expertise was not received without criticism. Ashfaq Husain, the Indian delegate to the UNESCO's National Commission, stated that 'we must remember that all countries are not alike. And here, if I may be permitted to make a comment – even at the

¹⁷⁰ T.H. Marshall was a British economist, historian and sociologist, and was politically active for the Labour Party. In 1949, he was a member of the Population Investigation Committee at the LSE along with M. Ginsberg and J. Young. Alexander Carr-Saunders chaired the Committee and David Glass served as its secretary. Morris Ginsberg was at the Department of Sociology at the LSE and became Vice-President of the International Sociological Association (ISA). In 1948 he was recommended to the UNESCO to conduct a study on anti-Semitism. H.V. Dicks was the director of the Tavistock Clinic in London and professor of psychiatry at Leeds University. Dicks was identified by the DSS as an authority on tensions. C.A. Mace was involved in the Department of Psychology at University of London and served UNESCO as an expert in the field of 'Influences of Modern Technology'.

¹⁷¹ Mission Reports O. Klineberg, 3.11.1948-9.3.1955. In: X07.83 Klineberg O. - Missions of Mr. O. Klineberg. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ India became a Member State of UNESCO in November 1946.

risk of introducing a new tension – I would voice my personal dissatisfaction with UNESCO. It is, unfortunately for itself and for the world, too much of a Western organisation'.¹⁷⁴ He argued, as stated already above, that, 'It is difficult for them [USA, UK, France] to remember that there are three other continents, containing most of the population of the world. [...]' But Husain's point was, that in this connection and from his point of view 'the resources of different countries vary greatly and therefore the approach and the methods of UNESCO must be different in relation to them'.¹⁷⁵ He made his point clear and emphasised the biased selection of experts, and thus the subjective selection of expertise and knowledge. The UNESCO's networking was rather constricted to 'western' social scientific experts and research interests and hence was based on the background of social science theory in the United States, France and Germany. Husain did, however, emphasise the important role of international collaboration and cooperation because, 'It seems to me rather naive to leave it to national bodies to bring about an international outlook among their people'.¹⁷⁶ In doing so, he acknowledged the UNESCO's international, inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary approach.

Organising, Promoting and Attending Expert Meetings and Conferences

Expert meetings were supposed to be, and usually were, small and casual in order to guarantee optimum communication and informality.¹⁷⁷ Distinctive from the above-delineated missions, the goal of the expert meetings was to connect individuals and collaborators with each other. Expert meetings on population topics were organized by the UNESCO since 1948 to bring 'together into a single meeting, outstanding individuals from different disciplines and different nations'.¹⁷⁸ The DSS reached for 'the highest possible integration of evidence on this problem [TP, population problems], and indicating the common demoniators [sic] of agreement which experts from different disciplines could reach'.¹⁷⁹ At the first meeting in 1948 the participants were Arne Naess (Oslo, professor of philosophy), John Rickman (London, psychoanalysis), G.W. Allport (Harvard, psychology), Henry Stack Sullivan

¹⁷⁴ Report by Ashfaque Husain (India), 11.10.1948. In: Box 152 327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "48.10" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - October 1948 - Paris. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Correspondence from Hadley Cantril to Gordon W. Allport (Department of Social Relations, Emerson Hall, Cambridge, Mass.), 25.3.1948. In: Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "48.07" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - July 1948 - Paris, Sig.: SS/305.94. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

(Washington, psychiatry), Alexander Szalai (Budapest, sociology, foreign affairs), Gilberto Freyre (Brazil, sociology) and Max Horkheimer (New York, social research).

The choice of country selection and expertise represented early connections well. Szalai served as the expert incorporating social scientific knowledge and expertise in Eastern European countries and Gilberto Freyre,¹⁸⁰ a sociologist from Brazil, represented the South American pool of sociological research. Max Horkheimer, the Director of the Institute of Social Research at the Columbia University in 1947, was originally a leading intellectual of the German 'Frankfurter Schule'. Despite approving the DSS's global and international claims, the collaborators' selection was guided by the idea that the group should 'share certain common purposes and will not be too doctrinaire'.¹⁸¹ Expert meetings were held twice in 1948 and the outcomes varied. First, a joint statement was released called 'We, the Undersigned...'. In the general accord, the eight contributors formulated 12 paragraphs defining the basis of their and the UNESCO's social scientific approach.¹⁸² They also released two informal agreements – one on a 'World University' and a second on the intention to establish an international social science institute.

United Nations specialised agencies delivered a large pool of connections for the distribution of research interests in the field of population questions. The DSS's activities were released through the UN channels, which was especially important in the first years through 1950. The UNESCO incorporated their interests in immigration, assimilation and integration questions into already established migration research by UN agencies. At that time, in September 1947, it was not the UNESCO that requested more information, but rather it was the UN itself asking the UNESCO to submit the organisation's interests in migration research. The UN¹⁸³ aimed at finding out 'what aspects of migration, if any, are of special interest to UNESCO and whether any activities are being carried on, or are planned in this connection'.¹⁸⁴ Up to September 1947, the UNESCO had had no particular connection to the UN regarding its interests of operation in migration and population. However, the former UN Acting Assistant

¹⁸⁰ Freyre was professor of sociology at the University of Bahia in Brazil, as well as at the University of Buenos Aires in Argentina. Like Alexander Szalai, he contributed a paper on 'Aggressive Nationalism' in 1948. He was an early collaborator in contributing to a Tensions Project statement in 1947.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² See: UNESDOC document, UNESCO/SS/TAIU/3, online: <http://unesdoc.theunesco.org/images/0015/001582/158269eb.pdf>

¹⁸³ The UN-UNESCO correspondence was initiated by Henri Laugier, the Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Social Affairs in September 1947.

¹⁸⁴ UN, Correspondence to Dr Julian Huxley, 26.9.1947. In: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 325 Migration – General. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

Director General of Social Affairs, Alva Myrdal,¹⁸⁵ who became the director of the UNESCO's DSS in 1950, was involved in the UN's pre-deliberations on immigration questions. She therefore was an important source of information for the UNESCO's DSS. The UN and one of its specialized agencies, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), planned a draft report on migration, which caused the UN to be interested in embracing 'as many aspects of the migration problem as possible'.¹⁸⁶

In harmony with the interests and foci of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the ECOSOC, the UN sought to gather international entities with their special working foci. In recognising the organisations' interests in the field of population, the UN invited the UNESCO to send representatives to a 'Technical Working Group on Migration'. This working group included representatives from the UN Secretariat, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the UNESCO, the ILO, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO).¹⁸⁷ The UNESCO sent its delegates to these meetings, thus placing its major interest in the study of (im-)migration and 'cultural assimilation' and integration within the UN network. Through the UN 'Population Commission' (under the auspices of ECOSOC), the UNESCO informally proposed their idea of a 'World Conference on Population Problems', emphasising its special foci on immigration and cultural assimilation. The commission's reaction showed UN collaborators' differing and reluctant reception of this topic. The UNESCO representatives Henry P. Fairchild¹⁸⁸ and Solomon V. Arnaldo informally introduced the subject without distributing an official written statement, as instructed by the Director General. This caused some agitation, and it was reported back to the UNESCO headquarters that the item '[...], created some unrest - even suspicions, though these were never expressed openly - among the Delegations

¹⁸⁵ Alva Myrdal was already a close collaborator with UNESCO in her position at the UN on population questions, which led her to the position as director of the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences. Her qualification to the UNESCO was evaluated by Nathan Leites, a special consultant in the DSS in 1947.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ UN, Coordination of Activities in the Field of Migration Proposed Establishment of a Technical Working Group on Migration, Note by the Secretariat, 9.7.1948, Restricted. In: Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (A) up to 31/12/1948. Sig.: COORD-PREP/51. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁸⁸ Fairchild was a sociologist in the United States interested in migration. In the late 1950s he was criticized for grading 'civilizations' into higher and lower cultures. According to him, immigration was possible and eligible between states with a 'similar' stage of 'civilisation'. He represented the UNESCO in the UN Population Commission's sessions in 1948.

themselves'.¹⁸⁹ The proposal was fairly new and it was not until they had an official statement in hand that the commission's participants showed their admiration for the newly introduced topic.¹⁹⁰ After this meeting the UNESCO and its Department of Social Sciences became closely involved with the ILO, the ECOSOC and the FAO.

Supporting the establishment of international non-governmental organisations (NGO's)

In addition to already established international entities, such as the UN organisations involved or interested in population questions, the UNESCO itself established international NGOs and associations. In 1949, the organisation created international associations of the 'principle social science disciplines', such as the International Economic Association, the International Sociological Association, the International Political Science Association and the International Law Association. Their promotion was guided by and based on already existing national social scientific bodies. These national associations became founding members of the international associations and therefore helped to internationalise the respective social scientific field. In the years to come, disciplinary-related and additional national associations were asked to join. Developed international social scientific bodies acted as liaison agencies for the DSS and helped connect the social sciences and the associated experts, as well as the social sciences with national governmental stakeholders. Especially through NGOs – including religious-based groups – the local level was contacted and connected with national and international collaborators. In the years after the establishment of international associations, maintaining international networking on the topic of 'population problems' and immigration matters was settled.

As mentioned above, at first the UN Member States' representatives curiously considered the suggestion of a population conference in 1948. The UN argued, after hearing the DSS's recommendation that, 'Our own view is that the idea of such a conference is an excellent one, but that the conference should be held not before three years from now. At the moment when political tensions are strong we believe such a conference would evoke ideological rather than technical responses'.¹⁹¹ This hesitation caused the postponement of the conference until 1956. At that time, and after some problems about location caused by political friction, the conference on 'The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants' was held in Cuba. Before 1956,

¹⁸⁹ Memorandum, from S. V. Arnaldo to Julian Huxley, Laves, Brodersen, M. de Blonay, Subject: Population Commission: Proposal to Convene a World Conference on Population Problems, 15.5.1948, In: Box: 312 UN/A02, U.N. Population Commission, Signature: Ref. NY - 1047. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ UN, Correspondence to the UNESCO Dr Julian Huxley, 21.4.1948. In: Box: 312 UN/A02, U.N. Population Commission. Paris, UNESCO Archive.

however, the UNESCO had maintained its network by attending several meetings and conferences organised by its collaborators. For example, the UNESCO invited the UNESCO National Commissions in October 1948. The UNESCO National Commissions were established in Member States right after they gained the UNESCO membership. These bodies acted as national connections facilitating the distribution of the UNESCO goals and findings within national borders and interests of Member States. Amongst the delegates attending a conference in 1948 were Lucien Febvre¹⁹² from the Collège de France and Claude Lévi-Strauss.¹⁹³ Louis Wirth, a sociologist and member of the Chicago School of Sociology, was also in attendance at the recommendation of Edward Shils. Wirth was the President of the American Council on Race Relations in 1949 and served as one of the experts in the population field, while also completing various assignments (i.e. the preparation of a paper on race questions). The last influential member invited to the conference was T.H. Marshall, a member of the Population Investigation Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences and later a member of the U.K. Co-operating Body for Social Sciences and Chairman of the committee interested in the ‘Tensions Project’. This course of action enabled the DSS to both distribute its findings and research questions vastly and to gain expertise on population matters from the various Member States and experts.

By 1960, the UNESCO was part of a global network influenced by a broad variety of international organisations and institutions. Diplomats, experts and intellectuals represented Member States’ interests. However, as the former leader of the UNESCO’s ‘Management of Social Transformation’ programme (MOST) argued in 2014, it would require another 30 years to implement social scientific research findings and to formally connect the Ministers of Social Affairs and Social Development around the world.¹⁹⁴

By facilitating the internationalisation of social scientists’ expertise and the experts themselves, the UNESCO not only started a process of networking within the social sciences but also began its implementation into politics. The organisation also promoted social scientific research on population ‘problems’. The UNESCO built a worldwide network of

¹⁹² Based at the Sorbonne in Paris, Febvre was an historian and the co-founder of the ‘Annales’ (with Marc Bloch). He had already represented France at the UNESCO Preparatory Commission Meetings in 1946 and in 1949, along with Claude Lévi-Strauss, was responsible for the research on the TP’s Community Studies.

¹⁹³ Lévi-Strauss was a brilliant and dazzling figure in the Post-Structuralism movement. The UNESCO invited him in his capacity as an expert for a consultant position to work on race discrimination (1949) and community studies. From 1951, Lévi-Strauss managed the UNESCO’s International Social Science Council as its Secretary General.

¹⁹⁴ The Management of Social Transformation (MOST) Programme was first launched in 1994 and is currently the main programme promoting social scientific research. Its former and influential leader was Christine von Fürstenberg. Under her leadership, the UNESCO connected the Programmes’ Member States Ministers of Social Development in the years since 1994. For more details about the programme, see: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/most-programme/about-most/>.

social scientists and governmental representatives by starting on an informal basis. By organising, promoting and attending meetings and conferences in the field of population questions, the UNESCO reached out rapidly and, in becoming closely involved with other UN specialised agencies, broadened the horizon and made it more sophisticated. However, in this process the organisation fostered the determination of population ‘problems’ and its research foci. The organisation influenced the national social scientific strategic foci in immigration questions. In doing so, the UNESCO simultaneously helped to integrate nationalistic thoughts. Against the organisation’s original goals of building a ‘one world’ fighting against nationalisms, it integrated nationalism in order to satisfy the interests of the Member States. In the sociological research field of ‘immigration’, assimilation and integration of ‘immigrants’, the DSS research bridged the years from 1945 to the end of the 1950s by promoting research especially on these topics. Research in the 1960s based widely on the UNESCO-fostered and related research, with A.C. Price’s, Gordon Allport’s and W.D. Borrie’s investigations as important examples of its significant influence on social scientific discussions in the 1960s.

Selecting the ‘Experts’

Selecting individuals recognized by the DSS as ‘experts’ in the fields of social sciences took place with several requirements. In the first two years of operation, the DSS ‘experts’ (i.e. counsellors and specialists) were not necessarily recognised in official staff lists as staff members. ‘Experts’ often worked under monthly contract in order to fulfil a requested task, such as writing a memorandum for the DSS, for example. But ‘experts’ were also entrusted with a range of responsibilities and duties including to (1) recommend other specialized personnel in a specific field; (2) comment on specific individual’s expertise; (3) work out reports and studies as promoted by the UNESCO; (4) comment on memoranda, reports and studies and (5) act as rapporteurs in order to summarize series of studies.

Several demands had to be fulfilled by potential collaborators. First, the individuals were expected to be proficient in a ‘wide range of horizons’ in the social sciences. That means, that the ‘experts’ should not be ‘a narrow specialist, whose activities have been confined to one limited field’.¹⁹⁵ It was expected of him or her to be ‘a sociologist, a social psychologist, a human geographer or a political scientist, but [one] whose field of interest goes far beyond his

¹⁹⁵ UNESCO, Programme of Work in the Social Sciences- Tensions Crucial to Peace, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

[or her] area of specialisation'.¹⁹⁶ Secondly, members of the UNESCO were appointed to perform their duties as 'representatives of the intellectual and cultural life of their countries', rather than as 'representatives of their respective governments'.¹⁹⁷ They should, as R. M. MacIver emphasised, under no circumstances regard themselves or be regarded 'as spokesman of governments'.¹⁹⁸ In correlation with the former two points and focussed on sociology, MacIver problematized from the international point of view the ties of individual 'experts' to their respective intellectual backgrounds. Because, so he reasoned, 'French sociology has been too French and German sociology too exclusively German'.¹⁹⁹ As already elaborated in previous chapters, the names of possible candidates were passed forward to the UNESCO in the course of correspondence between the DSS and governmental departments and academic or intellectual institutions. Another requirement of the respective individuals was and still is – at least officially – a geographic distribution of the UNESCO collaborators. That requirement went along with the UNESCO's idea of representation of backgrounds from around the globe. This did not guarantee, however, the wide dissemination of social scientific knowledge and intellectual backgrounds. Especially in the first months, it was difficult to reach out to others than those 'experts' nearby, for example, those from France, the United States, Scandinavian countries, and the United Kingdom. In August 1948, the geographic distribution was promptly put into secondary position of priority with arguments that 'advanced to a much higher pitch' from countries such as the USA, UK and the Scandinavian countries.²⁰⁰ In such countries, contact was established with governmental departments, national commissions to the UNESCO, universities, 'professional societies, civil service groups, other organizations and individuals with a view to securing names or candidates'.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ UNESCO, INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, Report by R.M MacIver, 1.1.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ UNESCO, Nomination Committee. First Session, 9-10 September 1947, 26.8.1947, EXB, 1947, Vol. IV, Subsidiary Organs, Signature: Cons.Exec./Com.Nom./1st Sess./, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p. 1-2.

Chapter 5: The Output

As already introduced, the texts produced and published by or related to the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences' major project, the Tensions Project (TP) on the assimilation of 'im-' migrants can roughly be divided into two types: (1) social scientific studies and articles (outcome) and (2) non-scientific statements and reports, memoranda summarizing future plans and texts containing recommendations, suggestions and comments delivered either by national governmental departments or by explicitly named national representatives in their roles as social scientific experts, or by other UN agencies. The latter rather was allocated to the study on who preserved knowledge about assimilation and how it was deliberated. The experts' roles were not sharply divided, some of them were explicitly social scientists without official or seemingly obvious governmental affiliations, while others were advisers to national governments or governmental departments and were recognized by their nation states as experts in social scientific fields. At the beginning of the UNESCO's DSS work, the TP was perceived as the major project under the umbrella of which all projects of the DSS were condensed. Hadley Cantril initiated the TP,²⁰² and at the very beginning Avid Brodersen²⁰³ was in charge of the DSS in close cooperation with P.W. Martin.²⁰⁴ These three individuals guided the first months of the project's development.

This chapter shall examine the texts that selected 'experts' contributed towards the DSS's inquiry. It deals with the question of how the texts came into being, as well as by whom and why each was selected. In this chapter I will also exhibit further the background of selected 'experts' and, if possible, how they were selected and by whom. The international and trans-

²⁰² Hadley Cantril was a professor of psychology at Princeton University and served there as the director of the Office of Public Opinion Research. He also was a member of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, which provided a great number of experts after the UNESCO's first call for recommendations in 1946. He edited a volume of essays on aggressive nationalism and delivered studies in the field of national stereotypes for the UNESCO. He served as the first director of the TP, wrote the statement on 'The Human Sciences and World Peace' and was succeeded by Otto Klineberg. Cantril established the early contact with selected experts in the field of social sciences for the DSS.

²⁰³ Avid Brodersen worked in close cooperation with Cantril and P.W. Martin in his role as a counsellor in the DSS. In 1948 he served as the head of the same department. Brodersen was a Norwegian political scientist and a member of the New School for Social Research in New York. In correspondence with Ernest Jones, the President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, dated in August 1947, Brodersen advocated psycho-analytical methods, stating that political sciences and sociology would have not been advanced enough.

²⁰⁴ The third of this important original group of 'experts', influencing the DSS's major project in content and execution, was P.W. Martin. Although not normally well recognized within the history of the social sciences, he actually played a crucial role. As a British economist, he worked for the International Labour Office (ILO) prior to his association with the UNESCO. His interests included psychology and in particular the deep analytical psychology of Karl Jung and Sigmund Freud. For the DSS he served as counsellor for education questions and as a program specialist for the TP. In addition, he was in charge of the TP's sub-project called 'Ways of Life', examining the 'ways of life' in selected national contexts in order to foster international understanding among national populations. Martin was concerned with the components falling within the field of the ILO, such as living standards, technology and the economic structure of communities.

disciplinary networking processes of these individuals – staff members of the UNESCO's DSS and external personnel in their roles as 'experts' – will be examined separately.

The assimilation and integration of 'im'-migrant concepts appeared in both groups of texts named above. However, the texts produced, collected and/or distributed internationally and globally by the UNESCO proved to be even more different in detail, which is worth noting to recognize how social scientific and social knowledge on assimilation and integration materialized. According to the first two points above, we can locate several origins obtained by and through the social scientists of the time and national interests. The UNESCO publications – officially and unofficially – and the text's circulation happened in a certain chronological sequence, starting with the first memoranda. These memoranda were compilations of views and opinions expressed by accepted social scientists working as staff members for the UNESCO or in cooperation with or on behalf of university or institute colleagues. These texts set the starting point for the written conceptualization of assimilation and integration of 'im'-migrants on an international, inter- and trans-disciplinary level. And on their behalf, further negotiations and discussions in regards to the theoretical approach and to methods induced. A second type of texts included published articles about studies done on behalf of the UNESCO and in cooperation with coexisting associations and unions. This included two article series: first, the outcome of the UNESCO conference on the 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' and second, the organization's promotion and financial backing of studies in the IUSSP's *Population Studies* series. A third type of texts comprised the studies published by the UNESCO itself in its *UNESCO Bulletin* or in the form of books. As a representative example, the 'Positive Contribution of Immigrants' study and its production will be examined here in detail. The last type of text delivering insight into the production and distribution of information was the individual country reports. After sending out requests for recommendations on the program and its projects and asking to cross-link with 'experts' related to the field in the nation state contexts, a certain number of countries – not only member states – sent in reports describing the contemporary situation in the social sciences and listing names of 'experts'. These reports often included résumés of the experts in question.

Memoranda and Statements prepared by the DSS's staff members and collaborating external experts under UNESCO contract

According to the Tensions Project and its assimilation and integration questions, one of the first internal memoranda that guided the program's foci was provided by Mohamed Awad internally published in February 1946 and Edward Shils's paper released in May 1946. When they circulated their papers, both were setting the initial point on the theoretical background that was delivered to the UNESCO-associated organizations and individuals. Since Awad's paper primarily focussed on race questions, which would become one major project for the UNESCO, it was Shils's memorandum that was utilized as the basis of representing the DSS's standpoint on the topic of assimilation and integration internal and to the external international level. The paper was used as a 'peg for the next developmental stage'.²⁰⁵ Its distribution was conducted in English, French and Spanish to social scientists and 'practitioners' in a range of countries or to 'social engineers' in order to receive reactions in the form of recommendations and comments. The sequences of communication and theoretical adaptation and adjustment started with these sorts of texts – internally produced and approved and distributed to a wide range of individuals and institutes with the request for comments and suggestions on the topic. Technically, these – as other internally and externally produced studies – were written in accordance with the DSS's staff and the Director-General, who would continuously discuss the content with the author. Edward Shils was selected as the author because of his reputation as 'one of the best younger American social scientists'.²⁰⁶ On the basis of external suggestion, Edward Shils was recommended for the position of a counsellor of the Tensions Project.²⁰⁷ In 1946, he was associate professor of sociology and political science at the University of Chicago and a visiting reader at the London School of Economics. His scientific background included work within the General Commission on Atomic Research at the University of Chicago. In 1947, Edward Shils worked directly with Mohamed Awad (Senior Counsellor in 1947), Avid Brodersen (Counsellor in the Department in 1947, and the Head of the DSS in 1948), and P.W. Martin (Counsellor in the DSS and former ILO economist) within the DSS. Shils's memoranda set the goal and defined the means by which tensions could be avoided. The paper was a theoretical reflection of the 1947

²⁰⁵ UNESCO, The Present State of the Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding, 19.7.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Umschlag: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Paris, Unesco Archiv, Signature: 327.33, Paris, Unesco Archiv.

²⁰⁶ Recommended by Waldemar Gurian in his comments on the Shils memorandum. UNESCO, Correspondence (From: Waldemar Gurian, To: the Social Sciences Section of UNESCO), 26.6.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Umschlag: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Paris, Unesco Archiv, Signature: --, Paris, Unesco Archiv.

²⁰⁷ For details on the selection processes of "experts" for the Tensions Project, see: Chapter 2.(d).

intellectual context within the social scientific debate on assimilation and integration. It was, however, also a reflection of the DSS's and the UNESCO's vision of population and social tensions. Shils defined the predispositions of populations and the possible origins of tensions within populations to found a basis for advocating for the assimilation and integration of individuals and groups. Broadly defined, the tensions included psychological conditions 'in the individual personality', and 'objective situations giving rise to tensions or the objects of tensions'.²⁰⁸ In this chapter, I will leave this short content description and refer to part 2, where the lines of discourse shall be examined in detail. However, to capture the intersection of social scientific and semi-scientific or trans-disciplinary interests within the context, the input requirements indicated by the Shils memorandum were guided by a moral and rational discourse. The studies offered the social scientific community a consensus between scientific demands and the international political interests. On the UNESCO's behalf, Shils postulated that 'a conception of behaviour in accordance with which the structure of the larger world, which is confronted in adulthood, is interpreted in the light of a set of "implicit hypotheses" about the nature of man and the moving forces in his action, and that these "implicit hypotheses" are influenced, among other variables, by the balance of deprivation and indulgence, in response to which the personality pattern was first formed'.²⁰⁹ From his point of view, as well as from the perspective of his associates in the DSS, population questions and the ideas of social freedom were psychological questions. The controlling influences of the 'implicit hypotheses' to which Shils referred 'may of course', he stated, 'be modified by education and subsequent experience'.²¹⁰ Scientific research was the means by which the most 'effective methods of modification in the direction of rationality and moral consensus among man' should be achieved.²¹¹ The memorandum was reproduced in 800 English and 300 French copies, with the goal of the UNESCO member states distributing the memorandum at their own discretion, as well as to 'far eastern names and addresses' and to individuals in India.²¹² Enthusiastically, the author of this letter to Edward Shils ended with, 'I will be curious to see what sort of fish we shall catch in our nets'.²¹³

Similar types of texts, including extensions, amendments and alterations followed the Shils memorandum. Klaus Knorr delivered an outline of a research project on tensions crucial to

²⁰⁹ UNESCO, Shils, Edward A., Preliminary outline of Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding; 12.5.1947, UnesDoc, UNESDOC, Signature: Unesco/Soc.Sci./2/1947, UNESDOC.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² UNESCO, Letter to Edward Shils related to his Memorandum, 22.5.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part I up to 30/V/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²¹³ Ibid.

peace in June 1947 shortly after Shils's memoranda. Knorr went further with questions of assimilation and integration, which will be examined in part 2. His paper, however, is based upon the accumulated reflections and advice of 'about three dozen American scholars whom the author has consulted'.²¹⁴ However, the DSS emphasised Knorr's authorship. A member of the Institute of International Studies at Yale University, Knorr was not associated with the UNESCO prior to his submission of his memorandum, which was rather the DSS's intended reaction to Shils's memorandum. Likewise, the Knorr paper also disclosed another level of international discussion – the social scientific discourse based at universities. He acknowledged the advice of some individuals of Yale University (including Dr John Dollard, Dr William Reitzel and Dr Bernard Brodie), and emphasised the counsel for his excerpt from Dr Donald Yound, Dr P. Herring and Dr P. Webbing of the UNESCO Social Sciences Research Council.²¹⁵ Knorr's paper was written in light of the advanced processes in human rights questions guided by the UN. By means of the example of the Turkish-Greek population exchanges, Knorr touched migration, assimilation and integration policies and asked if it was 'possible to devise policies which would permit the speedy assimilation (politically, economically) of expelled minority groups? Is it possible to devise effective rules for the humane conduct of enforced migrations or for the humane treatment of voluntary migrants'?²¹⁶ And although open to policy advice on immigration and integration, Knorr criticised, according to the contemporary 'state of the art' of immigration restriction, 'unnecessarily offensive' restrictions to 'particular nationalities or races'.²¹⁷ His recommendations and arguments did not have the same impact as the Shils memorandum. The reason for this can be found in the interests of the UNESCO member states seeking to preserve their sovereignty in domestic immigration policy and integration and assimilation questions. Within the DSS, a certain consensus with Knorr's views prevailed. However, the department selected some details for further analysis, including the question on 'speedy assimilation'.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ UNESCO, Knorr, Klaus, OUTLINE OF RESEARCH PROJECT ON TENSIONS CRUCIAL TO PEACE, 14.6.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Umschlag: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Paris, Unesco Archiv, Signature: --, Paris, Unesco Archiv.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ UNESCO, Report of Mission to London, 31 December 1947 - 5 January 1948 (From: P.W. Martin, Social Sciences Section, To: Director-General, Deputy Director-General, Assistant Director-General, External Relations Section, Dr. Brodersen), 8.1.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

The Shils and the Knorr texts set off discussions in the social scientific network the UNESCO's DSS was about to assemble.

The production of these texts and the associated compilation and collection of social scientific knowledge, opinions and arguments on assimilation and integration covered several social scientific approaches. A strong basis formed through questions on individual psychological attitudes and 'attitude changes', which were mainly represented by members and associates of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association. At a very early stage in the UNESCO's search for 'experts', the Society sent a list of 500 social scientists 'around the world'. The Society, under its international committee's chairman Jerome S. Bruner, suggested a further group of social scientists in England headed by Henry V. Dicks of the Tavistock Clinic.²¹⁹ However, for the DSS, the TP recorded that in dealing with this field 'the whole armament of the social sciences should be brought into operation, in particular political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, human geography and psychology';, targeting 'always' the 'direct object of practical action'.²²⁰

The basic theoretical lines within the texts followed the early input and were concerned with the integration and assimilation along psychological lines (human behaviour, attitude, aggressive nationalism), topics of economics (labour migration), legal questions (immigration laws and restrictions), sociological matters (inner-group tensions, individual and group integration into a social entity, aggression and hostility, discrimination), and questions of social constructs such as 'race', ethnicity and culture.

In the aftermath of the theoretical foundation of the Awad, Shils and Knorr papers, the foci turned to nearly all of the above named fields, with more or less concrete attention. In the course of the first years, and after the UNESCO's emission of experts and field-foci requests to universities, governmental departments and individuals and 'experts were identified to keep track of the gathering of expertise. In 1948, Resolution 5.1.1.5 instructed the DSS to prepare a Source Book that should describe the work as 'already under way in Member States in the Study of tensions that arise from technological improvements and the resulting shift of

²¹⁹ Correspondence, 7.7.1946, from Jerome S. Bruner to Dr. Howard E. Wilson, Deputy Executive Secretary of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission. In: UNESCO, Vor-Geschichte International Social Sciences Research Centres (ISSR) and Psychological Study of Social Issues, 30.9.1945, 3 A 01 ISSC, 3 A 01 UNG (Box 105), Folder: 3 A 01 UNG U.N. Institute of the Human Sciences - (Project proposed by Sty. for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), Paris, UNESCO Archiv.

²²⁰ UNESCO, SS Programme - IMMEDIATE Tasks/ UN Suggestions / International Studies Center / Shils as Councillor / Budget Estimates, 1946-1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

populations’.²²¹ For Hadley Cantril, professor of psychology at Princeton University and the first director of the TP, it was necessary to put ‘special emphasis on the problems of population migration and cultural assimilation resulting from the unequal advance in and distribution of technological resources’.²²² Cantril assigned this task to two ‘outstanding population experts’, David Glass²²³ and the French demographer, ethnographer and historian Alfred Sauvy,²²⁴ who in the following years would come into collaboration with the UNESCO and, as internationally recognised social scientists, considerably guide the social sciences program of the organization and the selection of ‘experts’ on population, migration, assimilation and integration. In this regard, it was David Glass’s suggestion to add the analysis of ‘the tensions created from problems of assimilation’ to the TP.²²⁵

Sauvy and Glass, were asked in April 1948 to prepare a ‘special memorandum dealing with the specific content of such a source book’, which was to be submitted to ‘a few experts in other countries for comment’.²²⁶ Glass recognized this topic as one of future importance, also because the UN Population Commission of the ECOSOC was not considering this matter at the time.²²⁷ However, instead of publishing a special memorandum, a number of miscellaneous papers referred to as ‘memorandum’, were circulated within the DSS and distributed to external ‘experts’ and associated institutions. Until at least 1948, it was a rather chaotic time, when official papers either repeated the same content (with the only divergence being the recommendation of authors of professional specialization) or recapped the former statements. Except for the previously named papers and the discussion-memoranda between the DSS and the General-Director’s office, several were presented through April 1948. The

²²¹ UNESCO, Cantril, Hadley, THE HUMAN SCIENCES AND WORLD PEACE: The Unesco Project 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding', 20.4.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ David Glass, a British member of the London School of Economics and co-founder of the British Sociological Association in 1951, served as member on the governing board of the UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences in Cologne. Within the UNESCO headquarters, he was appointed as consultant and in the role of observer he attended the ILO conference in Naples in 1951. David Glass evolved as the most important adviser in selecting both experts and study foci. For example, Alva Myrdal heeded Glass’ advice on a case study in Australia in 1951.

²²⁴ Alfred Sauvy acted as UNESCO observer and representative in the Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In this role, he delivered reports to the UNESCO. Furthermore, he prepared a memorandum for the TP, discussing inter-group and international tensions in regards to migration. Furthermore he was part of the Royaumont meeting in October 1948, at which attendees deliberated the ‘methods of attitude change’.

²²⁵ UNESCO, Correspondence (From: H. Cantril, P.W. Martin; To: Director-General; cc: Deputy Director-General, Assistant Director-General, Mr. Charles Ascher, SS, Dr. Brodersen) Subject: Report on London Trip April 5-10, 1948, 13.4.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

first submissions followed Knorr's memorandum. They included O.S. Readings's 'Some Sequences of Human Behaviour and World Peace', Hadley Cantril's 'The Human Sciences and World Peace: The UNESCO Project 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding' and a memorandum by David Krech²²⁸ and Richard S. Crutchfield²²⁹ called 'Tensions Project, Memorandum #6'. The three memoranda delivered detail the aspects, factors and causes of tensions, guided by the author's professional specializations and interests. And although not officially published, the process shows the uncertainties with which the group of involved 'experts' struggled. They tried to establish a line of coherent arguments covering most of the social scientific theoretical approaches. Hence, the texts were incoherently written and the individual authors raised new topics on or new approaches to matters already put forward. They were a mix of theory and varying recommendations on courses of action. The procedure employed – requesting answers and comments from a wide range of individuals recognized as experts in fields of social sciences – caused a wide range of answers and suggestions. It was an inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary approach focussing on the theory of avoiding social tensions. From this impulse or from the initiated contact emerged the concept of assimilation and integration as types of tensions or as solutions of avoiding social tensions. Although the concept was not new for some social scientific fields and social scientists at the time, especially for sociologists, the discourse spread to national contexts, which was a fairly new approach, or at least one not officially recognized.

In July 1948, and as mentioned shortly above, the DSS published a statement by distinguished social scientists, whose duty was to reduce the turbulence impeding a common consensus. In 'We, the undersigned...', eight 'scientists' worked out a statement that contains 12 paragraphs with basic agreement. This was the first attempt of the DSS to finding an understanding between the experts and their social scientific opinions and views. The 'undersigned' and their professions at the time included Gordon W. Allport, professor of psychology at Harvard University; Gilberto Freyre, professor of sociology at University of Bahia, Brazil, and Professor at the Institute of Sociology at University of Buenos Aires in Argentina; Georges Gurvitch, professor of sociology at University of Strasbourg, and Administrator at the Centre of Sociological Studies in Paris; Max Horkheimer, director of the Institute of Social Research

²²⁸ David Krech of the United States was on the faculty of Swarthmore College and a member of the Panel on Functions of Social Research and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI). He was contacted by P.W. Martin in 1946 regarding the establishment of the International Social Sciences Research Centre.

²²⁹ Richard S. Crutchfield was also a faculty member at Swarthmore College in the Department of Sociology. He, like Krech, served as a member of the Panel on the Functions of Social Research and on the SPSSI Committees on International Peace. Both, Krech and Crutchfield cooperated as external 'experts' with the DSS.

in New York City; Arne Naess, professor of philosophy at University of Oslo; John Rickman, editor of the 'British Journal of Medical Psychology'; Harry Stack Sullivan, chairman of the Council of Fellows at the Washington School of Psychiatry and editor of 'Psychiatry, Journal for the Operational Statement of Interpersonal Relations'; and Alexander Szalai, professor of sociology at University of Budapest and the president of the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs.²³⁰ Walter H.D. Laves, Deputy Director-General of the UNESCO Secretariat, was impressed that, although the statement was 'extremely general', it had been possible for 'people of such divergent views [to] come out with a statement which all of them agreed to'.²³¹ Many of the authors sought Laves' advice as to whether or not it was 'appropriate for the statement to be issued at all'; many of them, Laves expressed in his letter to Professor Williams F. Ogburn, 'thought the statement went much too far and was perhaps "revolutionary"'.²³² According to discourses on assimilation and integration, the statement held few direct references to them, but it provided a basis for the concepts of incorporation or rehabilitation after 1945. In the second paragraph, the group devised the problem of peace as 'the problem of keeping group and national tensions and aggressions within manageable proportions and of directing them to ends that are at the same time personally and socially constructive, [...]'.²³³ A maximum of 'social justice' would be necessary to avoid 'economic inequalities, insecurities and frustrations' that 'create group and national conflicts'.²³⁴ The term 'culture' was not yet in common use by the UNESCO and its DSS, but differences in 'myths, traditions and symbols of national pride' were singled out as another cause for 'modern wars'.²³⁵ The statement was a result of an expert meeting held in Paris in June-July 1948, which had been dubbed a gathering of 'wise men from various corners of the globe'.²³⁶

The UNESCO's staff members and external advisers called these 'wise men' together to put the former and rather mixed inputs in a nutshell. What followed was chiefly oriented towards the psychological and socio-psychological aspects of social behaviour and attitude change and sociological questions of social groups. In August 1948, Alfred Sauvy turned to confront

²³⁰ UNESCO, "We, the undersigned...", 13.7.1948, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/3, UNESDOC.

²³¹ UNESCO, Correspondence from Walter H.D. Laves (Deputy-Director General) to Prof. Williams F. Ogburn, 20.10.1948.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ UNESCO, "We, the undersigned...", 13.7.1948, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/3, UNESDOC.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ UNESCO, Ref: PIP 431/08; From: Marcelle Napier, Radio Officer - Public Information, To: Donald Hodson, Esq., European Talks Editor, BBC, Bush House, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2., 18.6.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "48.07" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - July 1948, Signature: Ref: PIP 431/08, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

tensions caused by economic inequalities and focussed on immigration, arguing that the immigration of individuals motivated inequalities in economic terms. In anticipating the nation state as the entity and basis of interest, Sauvy suggested three economic categories of social classes: (1) 'primary' economic activities, (2) 'secondary' economic activities and (3) 'tertiary' economic activities.²³⁷ What he considered to be the best solution was that 'we should [...] be creating ethnic and national minorities performing functions which are rightly or wrongly regarded as lowest in the social scale' in order to manage a balanced economic and labour needs internationally.²³⁸ Colin Clark and others also discussed this and classified labour workers in these three sections.²³⁹ Occupational displacement and the insecurity of 'minority' groups, who were mentioned in another UNESCO statement perceived as immigrant labour workers, should be avoided to stabilize societies.²⁴⁰ Economic integration was linked closely to cultural integration, or as it was randomly called an optional 'assimilation' and 'adaptation'.

Between late 1948 and 1950, and in addition to questions related to economics, individuals such as Anna Freud, Hans Thirring and Otto Klineberg positioned their views in examinations more closely linked to psychology and socio-psychology. And whereas Klineberg was an 'expert' whose contributions were received with appreciation, Thirrings' input questioning the nation states' power interests in foreign and domestic questions regarding immigration was less appreciated and did not find a way into the official outcomes. He sent a paper to the UNESCO in September 1949, recalling the 'Causes of Tensions and Misunderstandings between the Peoples'. In this text he straightforwardly attacked the nation states' leadership, accusing them of being the real causes of tensions. 'Tensions may indeed grow to the boiling point, but they are artificially produced', Thirring argued, 'and even...in many instances, ordered: The original, natural tensions are not between the nations themselves, but between their leaders and "mis-leaders"'.²⁴¹ This critique is one of unquestioned nation states' foreign and domestic politics regarding the causes of tensions. Thirring suggests, therefore, a shift of

²³⁷ UNESCO, Sauvy, Alfred, Occupational Structure and international tensions, 9.8.1948, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/6, UNESDOC.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ UNESCO, TENSIONS ARISING FROM THE DESTRUCTION AND CREATION OF JOBS DUE TO TECHNOLOGY, 1.4.1949, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "49.04" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - April 1949, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ UNESCO, Thirring, Hans, The Causes of Tensions and Misunderstandings between the Peoples, 4.9.1949, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5 : 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

the question that was at hand. He advised that they examine not why tensions arise between people but ‘what induces the very thinly-spread class of men who influence public opinion to produce tensions, [...]’.²⁴² He obviously and directly attacked the ruling political classes, which was no longer a factor for the UNESCO as the organization depended on financial support from its member states. Thirring’s fear was that the ‘politically active class of a nation... [would become] the fanatical advocates of over-valued ideas, thereby including tensions that ultimately get the whole nation in their grip’.²⁴³ Thirring independently reached out to the UNESCO’s DSS and sent in two papers that both got little attention. Robert C. Angell, the acting head of the DSS in 1949,²⁴⁴ received both texts and dismissed Thirring’s input. That input would have opened up discussion on the causes of war and would have focussed on the details of political influence and power interest, rather than balancing out the social and political effects in order to serve the nation states. Hans Thirring himself was an Austrian physicist and the Director of the Institute of Physics at the University of Vienna. He only had interests in psychology without formal training in such. He was recognized as an Austrian pacifist whom the Nazis fired in 1938 because of his views and his friendship with Albert Einstein.²⁴⁵ However, even without formal training in humanities, Thirring became the dean of the faculty of philosophy at the University of Vienna after 1945. Although Angell dismissed his intellectual input during his term as the director of the Tensions Project, Thirring became a delegate of the Austria National Commission and attended the expert meeting on attitude change in Royaumont in October 1948. Angell’s dismissed Thirring’s article, he reasoned, because at the time his article would not fit into any project of the DSS program.²⁴⁶

By the year 1950, Otto Klineberg published ‘Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research’. In the third session of the General Conference in Beirut, the Director-General was asked to promote enquiries into ‘the distinctive character of the various national

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Robert Cooley Angell was a contemporary US American sociologist and the 41. President of the American Sociological Association. He was a member of the “Panel on Functions of Social Research” and recommended in this function a series of methods and arrangements in regard to the UNESCO’s program in Social Sciences. In 1949 and 1950 he was the acting head of the DSS and the director of the Tensions Project.

²⁴⁵ UNESCO, Meeting on Methods of Attitude Change Held at Royaumont 8 October 1948 at 2.00 p.m., 8.10.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 A064 (44) "48.10" Tensions affecting Int. Understanding Expert Meeting - October 1948, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁴⁶ UNESCO, Correspondence (Between Prof. Hans Thirring, University of Vienna/Austria, and: Robert C. Angell, Department of Social Sciences/Unesco), 13.9.1949, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5 : 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

cultures, ideals, and legal systems'; the official outcome of the interplay between social scientific research on migration and social tensions; and the nation states' interests in order to strengthen the idea of nation.²⁴⁷ Thirring's arguments found no place in this review.

Anna Freud, Vice-President and Executive Secretary of the International Psycho-Analytical Association in 1947, cooperated also in her role as an expert with the DSS's Tensions Project. After her recommendation by Nathan Leites, Anna Freud was recognized as a distinguished social scientist in the field of child psychology. In her position as an advisor for the DSS, Freud composed a memorandum on the changing mental attitudes affecting international understanding in late 1948. She dealt with questions of hatred and aggression against 'strangers', focussing mostly on children's psychology. After requesting their recommendations on the Tensions Project's development, she suggested further studies in child's group life and 'their early politics'. Her psychoanalytical approach was deeply connected to international relations, beginning with a child's psychology to provoke attitude changes against aggression. Nathan Leites was a UNESCO's DSS principle worker (assistant and special consultant to the DSS and its TP) for three months in 1948. Before that, he was faculty member at Sarah Lawrence College at Bronxville, New York and a great advocate of psychoanalysis. He saw psychoanalytic approaches as a 'kind of inquiry into human affairs [...] which is most useful as a major explanatory basis for the tensions project'.²⁴⁸ Leites delivered memoranda, including suggestions for cooperation partners and further steps of the program. One of his specialties was research on national stereotypes and aspects of national character with a focus on responses towards 'outgroups'.²⁴⁹ Leites recommended the 'New York Group' in 1947, giving special recognition to Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict; the 'Chicago Group' and specifically recommending Bernard Berelson; the 'California Group'; and the 'Tavistock Group' in Great Britain.²⁵⁰ The American and Britain research backgrounds were, no doubt, very present in the psychological and psychoanalytic input of 'expertise'. All of the recommended individuals took part in the research within the Tensions Project.

²⁴⁷ UNESCO, Klineberg, Otto, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding : A Survey of Research* (Bulletin 62), New York 1950, p. 1.

²⁴⁸ UNESCO, Confidential Correspondence, From: Mr. Leites, To: Dr. Brodersen, 16.6.1947, 3 A 01 ISSC, 3 A 01 UNG (Box 105), Folder: 3 A 01 UNG U.N. Institute of the Human Sciences - (Project proposed by Sty. for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁴⁹ UNESCO, Proposals for next steps in Tensions Project, 22.6.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Social Scientific Studies and Articles

The official output contained social scientific studies produced inside and outside the UNESCO's DSS. However, the UNESCO promoted all of them with or without the cooperation of other organisations. Until 1961, a series of articles and monographs on the cultural assimilation of immigrants were released by UNESCO publishers (UNESCO Courier, UNESCO Bulletin) and in cooperation with other institutions under their heading. The international promotion of the social sciences and scientific research on the 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' included already existing assistance to associations. In 1949, this included three organizations: the International Studies Conference, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) and the International Association for Applied Psychology (IAAP).²⁵¹ These organizations were asked to examine the 'problems involved in the cultural assimilation of immigrants' for the UNESCO.²⁵² In the case of the IUSSP, this request involved the recommendation of authors and financial assistance by the UNESCO, which also provided content requirements and goals.²⁵³ At the Assembly of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population in Geneva in August 1949,²⁵⁴ six topics were selected for further research.²⁵⁵ In December 1948, the UNESCO proposed to the IUSSP to hold the first assembly in 1949 to gather experts for discussion on possible future 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' research. The UNESCO financially supported the conference. Invited organizations, in addition to the UNESCO, included the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), represented by Conrad Taeuber who also chaired the session entitled 'The Effects of Technological Progress on the Dynamics of Population'; the ILO, represented by the ILO Director of the Migration Section, A. Oblath; the UN represented by Max Lacroix²⁵⁶, member of the UN Division of Population in Geneva, and the French UN Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Social Affairs, Henri Laugier; the World Health Organization (WHO), represented by M. Pascua. Sripati Chandrasekhar, an Indian

²⁵¹ UNESCO, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ORGANISE, 18.8.1949, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ UNESCO, L'étude de l'assimilation culturelle des immigrants - (Contribution de l'Union Internationale pour l'Etude Scientifique de la Population), 1.9.1949, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (B) from 1/1/1949 to 31/VIII/1950, Signature: SS/MEMO/895, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁵⁴ The IUSSP was founded in 1927 and bore the name "International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population" until its re-constitution in 1947.

²⁵⁵ '1°) L'assimilation culturelle des immigrants. 2°) Les aspects futurs des populations. 3°) Le sondage scientifique dans les études de la population. 4°) Les facteurs qui influencent la natalité. 5°) L'application de "echort analysis" et les problèmes résultant de la modification de la composition par âge. 6°) Les effets des progrès technologique sur le dynamisme des populations [...]'.

²⁵⁶ Lacroix was also member of the Department of Social Affairs, Population Division, UN in New York, NY, USA.

demographer responsible for the DSS's Population Research in 1949, attended on behalf of the UNESCO with his Belgian colleague Pierre de Bie, who was also a member of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association. During the assembly, several individuals announced their interest in preparing articles for the 1950 publication; these included Roberto Bachi,²⁵⁷ Henri Bunle,²⁵⁸ David V. Glass, Julius Isaac²⁵⁹, Max Lacroix (Statistics), Edith Adams, Georges Mauco and Franco Savorgnan.

In addition to the IUSSP publication series on assimilation, the following articles were published on behalf of the UNESCO communication services between 1950 and 1956:

- 1951: 'Problems of National Characteristics and Attitudes', in: *International Social Sciences Bulletin* (UNESCO), 3/2.
- 1951: 'Research on the Cultural and Social Adaptation of Immigrants', in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 3/2. 258-261.
- 1954: 'Neither Isolation nor Assimilation: protection; India's policy for its 30,000,000 tribesmen,' in: *The UNESCO Courier: a window open to the world* VII, 8/9. 36-38.
- 1954: 'Social Stratification and Social Mobility,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO). 6/1.
- 1955: 'Cultural assimilation and tensions in a country of large-scale immigration: Israel,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1. 19-30.
- 1955: 'Social Sciences and Action in Australia,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* VII, 2.
- 1955: 'The education of immigrants in Australia,' in: *Educational Studies and Documents*. Education Clearing House UNESCO, 16. 4-12.
- 1955: 'Education of Immigrant Workers in Canada,' in: *Educational Studies and Documents*. Education Clearing House UNESCO, 16. 19-30.
- 1956: 'Inter-Generation Tensions in Israel,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1. 54-75.
- 1956: 'Cultural Assimilation and Tensions in a Country of Large-Scale Immigration,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1. 7-12.
- 1956: 'Patterns of Intergroup Tensions and Affinity,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1.

²⁵⁷ Roberto Bachi was a member of the Central Bureau of Statistics in Jerusalem, Israel. He was responsible for working out statistical research on immigrants in Israel.

²⁵⁸ Henri Bunle was, former director of the Statistique Général de la France.

²⁵⁹ Detailed information on Julius Isaac is provided in footnote 399.

- 1956: 'Patterns of Leadership and Social Homogeneity in Israel,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1.
- 1956: 'The Adjustment of Oriental Immigrants to Industrial Employment in Israel,' in: *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO), 8/1. 12-36.

Country Reports

The theoretical content and intellectual background of these studies were based upon country reports, mostly authored by recommended 'experts' and international organizations other than the UNESCO. These reports delineate the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences' first attempts to frame contemporary social scientific research on assimilation of immigrants and to build up its expert network. A common method was to request of overviews of countries' activities in the field. By 1961 the department had received reports describing specific national situations and assimilation policies.

In order to get these reports, the DSS contacted universities, governmental departments and social scientific institutes. The organization requested 'the names of any person, groups, or organizations', or 'of any professional group or organization' doing work relevant to the UNESCO's focus of research,²⁶⁰ including a summary of the nature of the research, 'the stage of progress' and 'the personnel involved'.²⁶¹ The UNESCO selected specific areas of the world – North America, Latin America, East and Middle East, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and Europe. It was necessary for the UNESCO to get an idea of 'what was going on' in these regions regarding relevant work. Through one or more individuals and in the course of a decade, the UNESCO received reports with information on the desired countries and regions. Most overviews were rather simplistic and did not specifically name investigations on international migration and assimilation. This was especially obvious in countries where the subjects played less of a role, if any. Whereas Australia had a fairly strong affiliation towards the investigation on the integration and assimilation of immigrants, countries such as Turkey, the Netherlands and Sweden had no previous studies in these fields and none until the late 1940s when the UNESCO pointed to the concept. Hence, the reports mostly covered the social scientific institutes in existence and individual collaborators or recommended 'experts'. Some delineated the social scientific research foci and methodological approaches. These reports also founded the UNESCO's social science

²⁶⁰ UNESCO, Correspondence (From: Hadley Cantril, UNESCO; To: Professor Edward C. Webster, Department of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.), 1.3.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

knowledge base, its disciplinary affiliations and the experts on specific national contexts. In addition, the authors tried to delineate the countries' earlier experiences with international immigration, as well as their contemporary approaches to integration or assimilation of immigrants. These historical outlines, however, established a 'positive' picture about the countries' immigration and assimilation histories, which served the nationally-based approach of the UNESCO. The following list represents the reports sent to the UNESCO in the course of more than a decade in response to their request regarding the Tensions Project and especially on the assimilation issue:

- Australia: Reports for Australia were delivered by O.A. Oeser, professor of psychology at the University of Melbourne; by the main correspondent to the UNESCO, W.D. Borrie, who was based at the Australian National University; and by C.A. Price, a fellow in demography at the Australian National University in Canberra.
- New Zealand: M.H. Holcroft, a writer and journalist who edited the *Southland Times*, authored New Zealand's report to the UNESCO. As he was not a social scientist, his contribution on the topic involved writing books devoted to cultural influences in New Zealand. He was considered an 'expert' in the field and served as such for the UNESCO. With no social scientist involved, New Zealand's situation with regard to recognized 'experts' on the topic was unique. The country's report points to its writers who 'have given attention to problems which in other countries are often studied by specialists. Although much of this work is individual in outlook, and un-scientific in method, it is a natural growth in a country which is without a native tradition in philosophy, and its influence has become noticeable in academic circles'.²⁶² This was because until the late 1940s no university department in New Zealand had done research on topics covered by the Tensions Project. However, the UNESCO's request triggered the experts' interest. Holcroft wrote in his report to the UNESCO that the Dean of the Auckland College and 'several members of the staff are deeply interested in UNESCO, and would welcome an opportunity to co-operate with the Social Sciences Section'.²⁶³ Ernest Beaglehole, head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology at Victoria University College in Wellington, was already prepared for the DSS's 'ways of life' studies, as Holcroft informed the UNESCO, and was ready 'to

²⁶² UNESCO, A Report of Activities in New Zealand Which could be related to the Tensions Project sponsored by the Social Sciences Section of UNESCO, 1.7.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part I up to 30/V/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁶³ Ibid.

accept a research project from UNESCO, and would make use of students for this purpose'.²⁶⁴

- Venezuela: The National Agricultural Institute authored Venezuela's contribution, which was mainly presented at the 1955/56 conference on the 'cultural assimilation of immigrants' in Caracas and Havana.
- India: India's governmental representative, Asfaq Husain, authored the country's initial reports on the social sciences in India and the developments on tension research. Other than Husain, mostly non-Indian social scientists worked on the assimilation of immigrants in India, including Gardner Murphy and Verrier Elwin. The sharpest critique on assimilation concepts probably came from experts working on India.
- The Netherlands: A short report from the country's social science institute was provided.
- Sweden: A short report from the country's social science institute was provided.
- Turkey: Professor Ilmi Zipa Ülken summarized the situation of social sciences in Turkey. He listed names and institutes related to the social sciences but, rather than describing the migration or assimilation topic, he discussed the relationship of internationalism and nationalism within the fields of the social sciences in Turkey.
- South Africa: As the country practiced apartheid in the post-World War II period, South Africa's report focused entirely upon racial differences and tensions and not assimilation. Authored by I.D. MacCrone, professor of psychology at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, provided a short report on the South African case regarding tensions research, including a list of university investigators, national institutes and government departments.
- Central America (including Mexico, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Honduras): Laszlo Radvanyi sent his report on the situation of the social sciences to Otto Klineberg in 1948. Radvanyi was a professor at the National University in Mexico and his report covered the contemporary developments in the social sciences in the above-listed countries. For Mexico, Panama, Guatemala and El Salvador, he pointed to institutes and experts in the fields of public opinion, sociology, psychology and education to refer to the UNESCO's interest in tension. He made no reference to other Central American countries.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

- South America: Reports from South America covered only those countries about which the UNESCO was interested because of their role as immigration countries, looking especially toward the countries that were to receive European emigrants. Countries of interest included Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Other international migration between South American countries was not covered by the investigation's focus.
- Great Britain: John Cohen served as an 'expert' in describing the contemporary research fields in the social sciences in Great Britain. He was a lecturer of psychology in the Social Studies Department at Leeds University. His recommendations of British individuals and institutes served as an important foundation for further recommendations and collaborations. Cohen called upon the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, which was based in London and associated with the Tavistock Clinic. Members of the 'Tavistock Group' included Benjamin S. Morris and Macbeth A.T. Wilson. In the course of his suggestions, Cohen recommended further individuals who would later play a crucial and influential role in assimilation and integration discourses concerning international migration. He included: Anna Freud (psychoanalysis); Sara S. McIntyre (psychology), H. M. Gluckman (social anthropology), Kenneth L. Little (economics), Ann Kaldegg (history and psychology), T.H. Pear (psychology), T.E. Simey, D. Chapman (on group relations), Morris Ginsberg (sociology, economics), C.A. Mace (psychology); and H.J. Eysenck (psychology and psychiatry). His recommendations for the field of education included H.R. Hamley, C.M. Fleming and Harold E.O. James, all three of whom contributed to the question of attitude change. After Cohen, the British Economist David Glass made recommendations on further 'experts' and subjects for the Tensions Project.
- Israel: For the state of Israel, several individuals served as contact persons regarding the assimilation of immigrants' studies from 1950, including Alfred Bonné, S.N. Eisenstadt, Judith Shuval, Roberto Bachi and J. Ben-David. The Israeli reports rather directly delivered case studies on specific immigrant groups and the Israeli approach to assimilation, referred to in this context 'adaptation'.
- Belgium: No report from Belgium was submitted regarding contemporary research approaches in the social sciences. The country did contribute a study elaborating on the influence of the Flemish language upon the Belgian nation state.
- France: Other than the British 'experts' and institutes, French collaborators and recommended 'experts' primarily guided the assimilation concept's development in

Europe and through the international social scientific network of the UNESCO. The associate reporting back to the UNESCO emphasised the former superficial and inadequate attempts on the matter in his report, pointing specifically to research investigations coming out of the United States. L. Chevalier criticised the approach to the assimilation topic in France and even questioned its existence.²⁶⁵

- Switzerland: As in other countries, the Swiss report failed to report on the contemporary situation in the social sciences with regard to assimilation research. It instead presented the 'ethical' structure of the country, emphasising good relationships and presenting Switzerland as a successful example of integration. The reason for such promotion is based upon the fact that Switzerland was represented by several official languages, which made 'assimilation' a concept more difficult to define. Hence, there was no focus on that topic.
- Canada and French Canada: Along with Australia, Brazil, and the United States, Canada represented a 'major immigration country'. The Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration prepared the Canadian description, which focused on the Canadian 'way' of integration policy. The fact that the country presented not one but two official languages supported a positive approach towards 'cultural pluralism', which stood in sharp contrast to other expert's opinions in the course of discussions and negotiations.²⁶⁶

Most reports outlined immigration history in order to delineate a 'natural' process of nation building. For many of the countries, the task was to distinguish its national heritage from native populations or immigrant groups. An additional source on country specific information were UN specialized agencies, which themselves gathered data surveys. The documents were, in some cases, transferred to the UNESCO to adjust the level of information between the organizations. Future experts working on the assimilation and integration topic and related fields were selected by the means of this pool of information. However, the DSS concentrated

²⁶⁵ UNESCO, Study on the Assimilation of Aliens in France by Professor L. CHEVALIER, 28.7.1950, UnesDoc, Signature: UNESCO/SS/TAIU/Conf.2/9 Annex II, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁶⁶ For example, note a discussion between the Canadian and US delegates and the French delegate Alfred Sauvy, when Sauvy perceived religion as a factor hindering assimilation. Sauvy stated in his speech, that religion could slow the assimilation of immigrants and he used as his example '*Canadian francais, algeriens musulmans, juifs en tout pays.*' The Canadian delegate opposed this assumption by stating, that Sauvy's position on this matter 'must proceed from an assumption that a culture is or should be homogeneous rather than pluralistic, [...]'. Boussiers felt that Sauvy's concept of integration 'was too narrow and implied a one-way rather than two-way process'. See: UNESCO, Report of the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants Havana, Cuba April 18-27, 1956 by William S. Bernard and Walter H. Bieringer Members of the US Delegation., 27.4.1956, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part IV - from 15 March up to 30 April 1956, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

on ‘experts’ from England, Sweden, France, Switzerland and the United States.²⁶⁷ Individuals from other countries gained attention in the course of further individual recommendations.

Reports by associated UN agencies

Organizations, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the International Committee for European Migration (ICEM) supplied inquiries on the international cooperation in the course of deliberation and negotiation with the UNESCO. Reports were sent to the UNESCO in order to comment on the organizations approach to the assimilation and integration of immigrants, as delineated in the DSS memoranda. However, they focussed on the particular working focus of the organizations, such as economic, agricultural, health and social questions related to assimilation and integration. From 1950 the UNESCO was invited to join the UN Technical Working Group on Migration. Besides the named agencies, representatives of the following attendees participated: International Bank, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR or short HCR), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Council of Europe and the Organization of American States (OAS). Within this frame, the UNESCO presented and incorporated its program assimilation and integration within a greater international frame.

From the social analytical point of view, the following question evolves: By whom and how were international networks claimed and used? As the country reports show, the individuals and the institutes described the situation from social scientific, political and social perspectives. For many countries, the UNESCO network served as a platform for national profiling. They delivered not only the requested information, but contoured a nation state ‘identity’ with international recognition by means of national particularities. The UNESCO, however, did not mind the accentuation of the national. Reports, studies and memoranda were commissioned and exercised by recognized and accepted ‘experts’ in the field. Overall, it was expected that the researcher should recognise ‘an international brotherhood’. But the experts in the social sciences who authored such texts should also be ‘completely independent of any political groups or political influence capable of undertaking research and of advising Governments independent of local conditions and local political ways of thought’.²⁶⁸ This shows how fragile the UNESCO’s idea and approach to the social sciences was in the early

²⁶⁷ UNESCO, Social Sciences - Note & Immediate Tasks, 1.3.1947, Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p.16.

months. The organization was not able to uphold the requirements on 'complete' independence as its member states were nation states represented in the EXB and the GC.

Two realms of interest can be distinguished concerning (1) the overall ideology of the post-World War II international community and (2) the methodology that was sought to be applied in order to achieve the goals. The first contained that the TP 'will seek to promote deeper scientific understanding of the phenomena which produce and intensify hostilities among human beings'.²⁶⁹ This should be achieved by 'facilitating the interchange of ideas among' the social scientists and 'further the sense of international unity among the social scientists and social philosophers of the world'.²⁷⁰ This line of argumentation held that hostilities and social tensions were seen as endangering peace and therefore their origins had to be purged. International migration was, at that point in time and under these particular international conditions, perceived by the UNESCO staff members and related experts as endangering social harmony and peace.

The process of distribution did not happen randomly. The DSS's staff members themselves delivered a network of experts and began work on behalf the UNESCO. Governments also requested the names and information of experts in order to cooperate with local institutes. Such a deployment of experts and of social scientific knowledge under UNESCO auspices was enclosed in the UNESCO's 'Aid to Member States' program. With regard to further study of the 'integration of immigrants', governments such as Israel, Brazil and Austria requested support. The Israeli expert was expected to cooperate with the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research to prepare a study on the 'cultural integration of newly arrived immigrants'.²⁷¹ In Brazil, an expert was to support the National Institute of Immigration and Colonization in 'formulating a policy tending to facilitate the integration of immigrants'.²⁷² Austria, on the other hand, searched for a fellowship to study 'economic integration' rather than cultural integration.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ UNESCO, Aid to Member States - Planes, 29.10.1956-2.11.1956, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: Memo No. SS/9879, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

²⁷² Ibid.

Chapter 6: Research Techniques and Foci, Disputes and Controversies

The experts used different techniques for their investigations and studies. According to their disciplinary field, they published findings by means of statistical material, with historical and descriptive methods, through the comparison of cases and with specific case studies including analysis of interviews and questionnaires (statistical and non-statistical). The questionnaires were concerned with and directed toward two entities: individuals and groups defined as ‘immigrants’ and governments. In relation to immigrants, the UNESCO and collaborating UN agencies sought to quantitatively record the process of assimilation in order to measure its development. The questionnaires were intended to deliver a tool for government officials to best facilitate assimilation in their national contexts. Besides UN agencies, the UNESCO was responsible for the aspect of ‘cultural assimilation’ in immigrant assimilation. The entire matter of migration and assimilation was of high political concern, which caused several postponements in the design of the official questionnaires for the two entities concerned. Collaboration with ILO was essential on the matter, combining ‘cultural’ issues with ‘social’ ones.²⁷³ The idea to implement official questionnaires in the UNESCO member states and beyond influenced governmental approaches to migration and immigration. To find out how governments dealt with assimilation and integration, the UNESCO requested reports from its member states, asking about the contemporary status in assimilation policies. In the course of such inquiries, governments would be asked to refer to the specialized governmental departments’ efforts in domestic policies to promote immigrant assimilation. Such advisement was not new in early 1950s to many ‘major immigration’ countries, such as the United States or Australia. However, these questionnaires were sent to all member states and therefore introduced a concept that had not been utilized before. The dissemination of questionnaires indicated the internationalization of the assimilation concept.

Governmental departments and associations, by social scientific associations or trans-national, non-governmental councils and associations delivered resources. In the Canadian case, for example, the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences directed its attention to several entities: the Social Science Research Council of Canada, the Canadian Psychological Association, the Canadian Educational Association, the Canadian Welfare Council, the Canadian Association of Adult Education, the Committee on Cultural Relations, Canada-

²⁷³ UNESCO, Memo, From: Alva Myrdal, Director, Department of Social Sciences, To: The Director-General; Subject: Report on Mission to Geneva, 16-28 March 1951; 3.4.1951, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (D) from 1/I/1951 up to 31/III/54, Signature: SS/Memo.51/318, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

United States Committee on Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Canadian Citizenship Council, the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Canadian Federation of Home and School Associations, and to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.²⁷⁴ In Australia the primary contacts were the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction's 'Commonwealth Office of Education' and the Department of External Affairs. The Commonwealth Office of Education established a subcommittee on Research in the Social Sciences of the Australian National Research Council. In the early years after 1945, member-states established national bodies for cooperation with the UNESCO. For example, Australia did so in 1947. The range of possible sources and collaborations was altogether scattered widely in countries perceived as 'major immigration countries'. Information collected about the contemporary situation in social sciences on the national level was delivered in the early country reports.²⁷⁵ By June 1950, individuals and entities reported back to the UNESCO on the inquiries done so far - or on the scientific gaps - and research interests (Brazil, France, Belgium and Australia). In the course of dissemination, the UNESCO achieved both a global distribution of its research interest on the 'cultural assimilation' of immigrants and further recommendations and suggestions on the organization's first draft plans.

Focus of Investigations and Methods Applied

Census data from various countries delivered the preferred governmental foci in categorization and served as an early basis for further inquiries. Whether information about the social environment or human behavioural patterns, both were captured by statistical data and delivered the means to conduct a wide range of social scientific research on the assimilation of immigrants. The data determined the categories in which the international migrant was captured. The following conditions were defined:

- Legal/civic status in the 'receiving country' or the immigrants' nationality, denationalization and denaturalization;
- Economic conditions, in terms of working abilities and employment, urban or rural settlement;
- Social conditions: individual or group migration, family life and intergroup relations;

²⁷⁴ UNESCO, Research and Research Resources in Canada Related to the UNESCO Tensions Project, 30.8.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part I up to 30/V/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

²⁷⁵ For further details, see: Chapter 5.

- Cultural, in terms of ‘cultural traits’ and language. This also referred to studies and categorizations of ‘cultural activities’, such as sports, churches and religious activities;
- Health: Psychological/mental and physical health classifications obtained by psychoanalytical and psychiatric studies and interviews with individual persons.

The means to get the information about those matters were:

- Questionnaires;
- Interviews and psychoanalysis with immigrants;
- Interviews with persons in contact with immigrants;
- Case histories of immigrant families.

In the course of investigations on an immigrant, his/her living conditions, criminal record and sanitary conditions were recorded, and the school attendance of the immigrant’s children and the parent’s work regularity were taken into account. Such a data set, for example, preserved information about the ‘assimilation of foreigners in France’, collected by Georges Mauco for the publication series in 1950 and which was released by the IUSSP under the auspices of the UNESCO.²⁷⁶ For the study of the ‘degree’ of assimilation, Henri Bunle suggested a list of questions used in interviews by field workers. In his article, *Scheme for an International Study of the Degree of Immigrant Assimilation*, Bunle focused in chapter three of his questionnaire on the ‘opinion of the investigator as to the degree of assimilation’ as measured by the following indicators:²⁷⁷

- (a) Head of the family
- (b) His wife
- (c) His children
- (d) Single immigrants (bachelor, widower or divorced person without children)

The goal was to get qualitative and quantitative data about the ‘advantages’ and ‘disadvantages’ of immigration and the factors that could measure the degree of assimilation. Due to this, the questionnaires should help the governments of member states to facilitate the assimilation of immigrants. As for the social sciences, these questionnaires were to be standardized as a sound method and resource to investigate the assimilation process in

²⁷⁶ UNESCO, Mauco, Georges, 'The Assimilation of Foreigners in France', in: *Population Studies* 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 13–22, p. 17.

²⁷⁷ These are the subjects Bunle focused on. See: UNESCO, Bunle, Henri, 'Scheme for an International Study of the Degree of Immigrant Assimilation', in: *Population Studies* 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 109–116, p.113–114.

different countries. The methods of social scientific research should be adaptable to different 'groups' for the comparison of different migrant and immigrant groups, for example, or to compare the assimilation policies of countries in order to enhance them.

Finally in 1951, when the UNESCO sought to prepare official questionnaires in collaboration with the ILO, it was clear that the UNESCO was responsible for the 'cultural' matter of assimilation. This was about measuring assimilation and ensuring the process by improving national and international conditions for migrants.²⁷⁸ These considerations were linked to matters on settlement (agricultural or industrial) and community (standard of living, community studies), which was the reason that the ILO and the FAO worked in close cooperation with the UNESCO on the topic. The ILO was mainly concerned with labour migration and immigrants' working conditions, safety and legal rights. The FAO, on the other hand and in regard to international migration, was concerned with the question of the settlement of immigrants.

By 1952, the following case-countries had been selected and studies were carried out on a contract basis with the UNESCO:

- Australia (Study of the cultural assimilation of Italian and German Immigrants in Australia; author and primary reference, W.D. Borrie);
- Belgium (Study of cultural assimilation of immigrants in Belgium; primary reference, Professor René Clemens);
- Brazil (Study of cultural assimilation of Italian, German and Japanese immigrants in Brazil, with a historical introduction; authors and references, Manuel Diégues Jr., Artur Neiva Hehl, E. Williams, Bastos Avila);
- France (Study of the cultural assimilation of Polish and Italian immigrants; main references to Alfred Sauvy);
- Israel (Study on Cultural Absorption of Immigrants; authors and primary reference to Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Judith Shuval and R. Bachi).

²⁷⁸ UNESCO, Correspondence; From: Julius Isaac, To: Professor Pierre de Bie, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, Unesco House, Paris, 16e; Correspondence 19.5.1950, From: Pierre de Bie, To: Julius Isaac; Correspondence 31.5.1950, From: Isaac to De Bie; 22.4.1950, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Part I - up to 31 October 1955, Signature: SS/160.819, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

The titles of the series already indicated that the main entity on which ‘assimilation’ was based on was the category of ‘nationality’. Nationality, in the course of these studies, intersected with special ‘characteristics’, such as one’s criminal record, motivation to work and overall willingness to assimilate, as determined by linguistic skills or inter-community relations.

Disputes and Controversies

Thus far, this doctoral dissertation has shown that the social sciences were promoted by the UNESCO, attached to specific social matters universally and adapted to the defined social problems individually. Disputes between the experts or directed at the DSS and its produced expertise based on the struggles to agree upon the definitions of the basic notions – which will be examined in detail in Part 2. – and regarded disciplinary differences in theory and the methodological approach to the matter come into focus. Critical voices questioned the theories that founded the program’s bases, the pursued concepts and the experts who predominantly produced knowledge for the UNESCO in the early years. In their executive role, staff members of the Department of Social Sciences elaborated on ‘expertise’ on ‘cultural assimilation’ in collaboration with external experts in the social sciences, but the responsibilities or executive roles blurred in the course of the decades as individuals outside of and within the UNESCO’s department were considered ‘experts’ in the field. In 1949, Robert C. Angell tried to clarify the roles, duties and rights after the British National Co-operating Body tried to reformulate a General Conferences’ Resolution. In his point of view, the external experts were ‘called to advise us not to tell us what to do, [but rather] they should be asking to make recommendations only and not to put forth resolutions’.²⁷⁹ Prior to Angell’s comment, the UNESCO received a letter from the U.K. National Co-operation Body of Social Sciences suggesting a reformulation of Resolutions 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.5. The former was intended to promote inquiries into the ‘distinct character of the various cultures, ideal, and legal systems’, whereas the latter dealt with the promoted source book on population changes caused by technological change.²⁸⁰ The U.K. Co-operation Body wanted to reformulate the resolution in favour of changing the terms used and therefore its political and discursive

²⁷⁹ UNESCO, Staff Meeting of the Social Sciences Department, 2.12.1949, Box 3288, X07.55 SS Part IV, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part II - from 1/I/48 upto 31/XII/50, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

²⁸⁰ See: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION SS(48) 2, U.K. Secretariat, Ministry of Education, Curzon Street, W.1., NATIONAL CO-OPERATION BODY FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES; TENSIONS AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, 10.5.1948. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

implications. They suggested to substitute the Resolution's wording of working 'with the aim of combatting ignorance, misunderstanding and prejudice and of promoting a true appreciation of the problems with which the nations are faced' by changing the phrasing to 'with the aim of stimulating the sympathy and respect nations for each other's edials [sic] and aspirations and the appreciation of national problems'.²⁸¹ The input from GB's National Co-operation Body was formulated by Professor T.H. Marshall from the LSE and R.G. Hawtrey and was not well received, as Angell's statement shows. This type of recommendation intervened with the working method as well as the interpretation of concepts from a political and philosophical standpoint. A different type of comment and suggestion was to directly formulate alongside a political discourse. Hungarian expert Alexander Szalai, professor of sociology at the University of Budapest and president of the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs, was invited to submit his comments on the early program, and he formulated suggestions without restraint. While differentiating between production and 'super-structure', in Szalai's point of view the UNESCO's work was situated on the level of the 'super-structure'. He concluded in a letter to P.W. Martin that, 'a real solution of unnecessary and destructive tensions [...] can be secured only by the abolition of capitalism and the setting up of a socialist society in which exploitation of man by man is unknown'.²⁸² The political discourse usually was not that obvious and directly formulated. Recognized 'experts' introduced their input to the UNESCO's social scientific program and governmental representatives without limitation to any political idea or dimension. But because the involved experts did not consider the USSR to be a country of immigration but rather a region of *emigration*, the related political discourse penetrated 'cultural assimilation' conceptualization in its theory less than did the European-American capitalist point of view.

A third type of debate arose that was less obviously guided by different political views but more from social scientific disciplinary differences in theory and methodology. It was still a time in which the disciplines searched for individual appreciation in theory and method. The issue of 'tensions' related to the concept of 'cultural assimilation' was embedded in diverse social scientific approaches – sociology, anthropology, psychology and socio-psychology – and they intersected. Theories and working methods that had been thus far elaborated clashed due to recognition and appreciation of the disciplinary fields in which the (external and internal) experts were involved. Interdisciplinary cooperation was a fairly new concept at that

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² UNESCO, Correspondence from Alexander Szalai/Budapest to the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences, P.W. Martin, 24.8.1948, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part IV from 1/VII/48 up to 31/XII/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p.2.

time and the disciplines rather contended with each other. The UNESCO served at this point as an intermediate medium, a tool of guidance, cooperation and interrelation. While centralizing knowledge and information about the issues of focus, the organization kept track of contemporary developments and gathered social scientists from diverse areas of the world and social scientific disciplines in Paris and at conferences and meetings elsewhere on a regular basis. In the first two decades after 1945, the concepts of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ were adapted by or attached to social scientific approaches previously developed. Such approaches the UNESCO implemented for promotion started with Robert E. Park’s sociological findings on urban community studies in Chicago, IL (USA); Freudian Psychology; Population Studies within Political Economy and Economics, done by Thomas Robert Malthus and his successor Neo-Malthusians, including Julian Huxley; and (Cultural) Anthropology as represented after 1945 mainly by Morris Ginsberg and O.S. Reading. These were the foundations upon which the UNESCO’s social scientific approaches based considerations on the issues. However, the UNESCO’s contribution in that respect was, as UNESCO’s DSS director Alva Myrdal wrote in 1950 to Walter Sharp from Yale University, the ‘very confrontation of the more formalistic European outlook in political science and the new socio-psychological techniques’.²⁸³ The international, inter- and transdisciplinary context served as a basis of enrichment and diversification of these early social scientific disciplinary foundations. In order to develop a theory about individual attitudes and ‘cultural patterns’ and to determine ‘objective criteria by which the degree of assimilation may be judged’²⁸⁴ the experts – themselves often embedded in more than just one of the social sciences – put forward their individual knowledge and opinion. And it was assumed that the concepts of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’, the results and ‘objective’ criteria would be applicable internationally.²⁸⁵

The concept of ‘cultural assimilation’ and its implications called upon diverse theoretical and methodological approaches. Not every study series portrayed the results as intersecting in relative symbioses, such as the 1950 Population Series publication on the ‘Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants’ by the IUSSP and under auspices of the UNESCO. Behind the scenes and on behalf of the UNESCO’s documented correspondence and unreleased reports,

²⁸³ UNESCO, Correspondence, Alva Myrdal, Director of the DSS, to Walter Sharp, 13.12.1950. In: Box 3288, X07.55 SS Part IV, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part II - from 1/I/48 up to 31/XII/50, Paris, Signature: SS/201.388, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

²⁸⁴ UNESCO, Comments and suggestions concerning the proposals for research on the cultural assimilation of immigrants, 23.6.1950. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/Conf.2/2-A [= SS/TAIU/Conf.2/4], UNESDOC, p. 4.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

the picture can be drawn a little differently. The social scientific discourse was fragmented in its disciplinary approaches and in the experts' aim for recognition. In the course of the second part of this doctoral thesis, some of those disputes, uncertainties and ambiguities will evolve. A special focus on the struggles between the disciplines shall be portrayed in detail in Part 2.

Part 2: Discursive Fragmentations of ‘Assimilation’ and ‘Integration’

While the first part of this dissertation was mainly concerned with the social contexts and discursive practices in which assimilation and integration discourses evolved after World War II, the second shall deal with a range of discursive sequences of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ and their conceptualizations and determinations within the international and trans-disciplinary level. As introduced by the social context and the individuals in their roles as ‘experts’ in the social sciences, the two foci – the discursive practices and the interpretations and fragmentations of terms and notions – should not be strictly separated. The ‘levels’ intersect in many ways, as articulated by Norman Fairclough, and as the analysis of the ‘assimilation’ discourses will delineate well. The distinct knowledge and the discursive sequences introduced during the interactions of terms and notions require special attention in order to expose the formation of the discourse and its dissemination. This part aims to illuminate some of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ concepts, as related to migration and elaborated after 1945 in the international and transdisciplinary frame and which determined the social world as it exists in most regions of the globe today.

What will be elaborated in this section are the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ concepts of immigrants as interpreted in ‘cultural’ terms. Hence, discursive sequences will be elucidated by indicating the imagined entities and the power relations within and between them, as well as on the basis of nation state building; the migrating subjects’ assigned roles and responsibilities; the theoretical foundations that underpin the discourses; and the discourses’ gradual implementation and dissemination. This second part correlates with Norman Fairclough’s third stage of the three-stage model in that it adapts his schedule to this particular inquiry’s needs. As Fairclough emphasised in his writings, the text and the discursive practice – as well as the social practices – intersect and cannot be strictly separated. The interconnectedness and illimitability of the three stages will evolve in this analysis. This part shall therefore contain notions and ideas, as well as sequences of discursive practices of dissemination, reproduction, references and interpretations. However, in this second portion of this doctoral dissertation, the focus shall be primarily on the utilized concepts and notions that determined the discourse in its particular international and trans-disciplinary frame. While the first part described the decisive events and social contexts, the evolution of the discourse, its fragmentations and interpretations shall be examined in the second.

As we already have seen, the UNESCO’s projects aimed – and still aim – to maintain or sustain international peace. On that basis the trans-disciplinary intellectual discourse pointed

toward migration as one source of friction and a possible cause of war. With regard to the common argument responsibility was assigned to the social sciences in order to work on the problems that caused social tensions in national societies and international relations. For example, hostility between groups and individuals was targeted as a symptom of tensions, with international war as the worst imagined case scenario. And so was any form of social and individual 'dis-function'. The UNESCO defined social tensions as a symptom of 'cultural' misunderstanding in its TP's inquiries on 'population problems' and 'international understanding'. In relation to the movement of individuals and groups, immigration was formulated as a cause of cultural misunderstanding. Hence, in the view of Department of Social Sciences' collaborating experts, migrants triggered international misunderstandings and tensions. They attempted to measure misunderstanding as a disconnecting factor between individuals and groups by 'ethnic', 'national', 'cultural' and 'racial' differences. To solve this problem, several paths were addressed: appreciation of the different 'other' on the basis of nationality; the management of migration movements into certain favoured directions; and education for the understanding and appreciation of differences. Concepts of 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' were developed, modelled and promoted after 1945. Those concepts founded again the basis of patterns that had been established in the early 1960s. The conceptualizations intersected with domestic and foreign policy questions of nation states. Between 1945 and the early 1960s, however, the formulation and discursive determination in social sciences was fed by international considerations on the concept balancing out a wide range of political and intellectual interests in the field. The discourses on the 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' of immigrants' accumulated factors that were defined in social scientific thought within the context of the 'new' international order and by trans-disciplinary cooperation.

Hence, in the second part the textual sources shall be analysed to identify the terms used and the questions asked, upon which the international community agreed upon. In the following chapters the field shall be elaborated as to:

- .7. Interpretations of Assimilation - Terms and Notions
- .8. Defining Tensions and the Problematization of Migration
- .9. Disseminating the 'Assimilation' Concept in Questionnaires
- .10. Imagined Forms of 'Society' and the Visibility of Differences
- .11. Group Categorisations
- .12. Perceptions, Contributions and the Assimilability of Migrants

.13. The Concepts of Social Progress and Cultural Enrichment Adapted to the ‘Cultural Assimilation’ of Immigrants

The distinctions between those seven points result from the theoretical and methodological approach the UNESCO took in its program. The ideas and directions first formulated by the General Conference were presented to the experts for cooperation with universities. The report presented the résumé in five points:²⁸⁶

(1) ‘The first concerns the diversity of peoples and the sympathetic understanding of this diversity as an enrichment of the total life of the world’. From this first point arose the publication series on the ‘ways of life’ and the promotion of reports conducted by national governments and university institutes. This idea correlated with the (2) ‘second line of attack’, which consisted ‘in discovering and studying the development of the “stereotypes” people have of their own and of other peoples’. The (3) third direction of enquiry took a different turn: ‘Its object is to consider, experiment upon and apply methods of attitude change affecting international understanding. Four main fields of investigation have been marked out - education, psychology, political science and philosophy.’ (4) The fourth approach concentrated on the ‘influence predisposing towards international understanding on the one hand, aggressive nationalism on the other.’ And finally, (5) two major ‘material factors giving rise to tensions: population and modern technology.... In population, the UNESCO has taken the lead on urging that the United Nations should call a world conference on the population problem generally and has marked down the cultural assimilation of immigrants as one of its principal fields of work’. The method of execution was the education of migrants, ‘nationals’ and individuals defined as ‘non-nationals’. This last point shall be further elaborated in order to link the theoretical conceptualizations with the discursive practices utilized by the UNESCO and the associated social scientists.

The difficulty in analysing discourses on ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ lies within the differentiations between the defined causes and symptoms that determined the assimilation paradigm. What were the reasons and what are the ever-overlying problematizations expressed by the experts? Why did the migrant become the subject of the international community? And why did they consider the defined and determined path to be the best solution?

²⁸⁶ For the following quotations see: UNESCO, The Universities and the Tensions Project, 1947. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part I up to 30/V/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

Differentiating between the causes and symptoms in order to understand the paradigm's foundation became an important detail of the assimilation paradigm and its history. The discourse examination in this chapter will delineate not only the paths and sequences of discourse practices but will point to some ambiguities and controversies that came to the fore in the course of deliberations and negotiations. In 1950, for example, the UNESCO's DSS Director Robert C. Angell referred to a dispute with regard to the discrepancies. He confirmed that social scientists 'pointed out that although we [the UNESCO] were studying the divergences of national groups taken singly, we were doing little to study their actual frictions collectively. Stereotypes seemed to them largely symptomatic, a product for the most part of tensions, not a primary cause of them'.²⁸⁷ The difficulty to distinguish between causations and symptoms of tensions was an inherent sign of the assimilation and integration concepts as articulated within this trans-disciplinary framework. The assimilation paradigm is built on focusing on symptoms of social tensions while often ignoring causations of interpretation. Why was that? The symptoms were represented by specific 'problems' like stereotypes and discrimination. The causations, however, lay behind these 'problems'. One has to ask, why migration was problematized in the first place. Where were the actual limits of the questions asked by the social scientists and those whose opinion was accepted as expertise? As one possible answer to the critical voices raised by some, Angell 'pointed out the difficulties for a body like UNESCO, the members of which are national states, of studying touchy political questions'.²⁸⁸ The UNESCO's situation – and hence that of their social scientific associates and collaborators – revealed two basic issues. First, the UNESCO's social scientific network complied its considerations on 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' strictly within the political discourse. Second, the organization guided its questions and focus alongside the symptoms of tensions rather than the causations. The 'critical' political questions that the organization and its 'experts' left officially untouched were linked to national sovereignty, hegemony and to questions of international geo-political power. In the following chapters, the topics of interests include those of the international and trans-disciplinary social scientific deliberations on the immigrant, determining categorizations and classifications that organised the migrating subjects into groups and delivered certain tools for controlling those groups.

²⁸⁷ UNESCO and social science research, 17.2.1950. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/19, UNESDOC, p. 7.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

Chapter 7: Interpretations of Assimilation - Terms and Notions

In the first step of the analytical part of this investigation, I shall examine the discursive practice on behalf of the interpretations of 'assimilation' in the early years after 1945. Several experts contributed definitions of 'assimilation' and 'integration' – respectively 'cultural assimilation' and/or 'cultural integration' – in several stages. However, there was never complete certainty of the concept's definition and application to the given 'national' situations. Diverse conceptualizations and meanings of assimilation were embodied and new definitions randomly presented to the international audience and in an alternative way. Discussions usually centred on 'assimilation' as a process and were concerned with how to culturally assimilate or integrate the immigrant. And although most involved 'experts' accepted the assimilation concept to be a process, there was no common understanding about what the results of that process should be. In most of the second part and its chapters, the term 'assimilation' will be used as encompassing the 'cultural' facets of 'integration'.

In the course of reaching an agreement among the UNESCO's network of 'experts', staff and the member-states' delegates, constant uncertainties of definition accompanied the discussions and negotiations. Set out in 1950 by the DSS, 'unity and national concord' guided the desire for 'full assimilation'.²⁹⁰ Hence, it was sought that 'the permanent immigrant should subscribe whole-heartedly to the aims pursued by the general body of citizens and should take an active part in national life.'²⁹¹ But regardless of the inability to find an agreement on a definition, the DSS posited the understanding to 'rest content for the time being with the interpretation of assimilation as a psychological, social and cultural process' without determining 'various stages and limits'.²⁹² This objective did both. It (1) defined the social scientific disciplines considered the best fit for the study on assimilation, namely psychology, social-psychology and sociology; and (2) it left indefinite room for speculation. Definitions and embodiments of assimilation, which correlated with the UNESCO's aim to promote social scientific research, were limited to its member-states' political interests. However, the UNESCO promoted research on the topic and, at least at the beginning, guided

²⁸⁹ UNESCO, Scope of studies on the cultural assimilation of immigrants, 30.6.1950. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/Conf.2/5, UNESDOC.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

the direction of research against the background of its ideological and political restraints. For the organization and the involved individuals in their roles as experts in the social sciences, assimilation was approached in two different ways, which caused some confusion. The concept was addressed either in psychological (individual) or cultural (individual and plural) terms.²⁹³ In this chapter, the attempts of the definition and interpretation of assimilation in its discursive facets shall be elaborated.

Some Original Sequences of Knowledge

First, some original and contextual sequences shall be examined. Some estimated and accepted definitions of assimilation existed before 1945 and were first delivered in 1921 by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess. The UNESCO's associate experts referred mostly to these early deliberations as a rationale for starting off with a 24-year-old concept of assimilation. Hence, it is necessary to embed the discursive practice in its historical and intellectual context. In 1921, Park had already declared, with reference to Franklin H. Gidding's, M. Novicow²⁹⁴ and Ernest W. Burgess, that their attempts to reach a common understanding of 'social assimilation' had failed. As we find it 24 years later, the concept was difficult to grasp. The idea of assimilation in 1921 was embodied in 'reciprocal accommodation', 'the process of growing alike' or a 'method by which foreigners in the United States society become Americans'.²⁹⁵ Another approach was split by the same author into a process, an 'art' or a result. By the same author, 'denationalization' was equivalent with assimilation and by using the term 'denationalization', he criticized that 'the ensemble of measures which a government takes for including a population to abandon one type of culture for another is denationalization'.²⁹⁶ This probably fits best with Erdoğan's perception of assimilation as he understood it in 2012. At the same time, Park criticises Burgess' 'narrow view of the subject' because this would consider 'assimilation as a result of modern political union'.²⁹⁷ It was, however, part of Park's input and deliberations on the topic that outlasted the years prior to and during World War II. Therefore, and as well, this early input and

²⁹³ UNESCO, Comments and suggestions concerning the proposals for research on the cultural assimilation of immigrants, 23.6.1950. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, Signature: SS/TAIU/Conf.2/2-A (= SS/TAIU/Conf.2/4), UNESDOC, p. 4.

²⁹⁴ Unfortunately, there is no more information to the individual and professional M. Novikow in Park's references.

²⁹⁵ Robert Park referred to Giddings' approaches in his critical review of prior assimilation definitions. See: Robert E. Park/Ernest W. Burgess., Introduction To The Science Of Sociology 1921, p. 740–741.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. With reference to M. Novicow's accession to assimilation.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. Park's references to Burgess' view.

considerations within social sciences were guided by the experience of nation state building in the United States and the definition of 'immigration' or 'immigrants'.

In his introduction to the *Science of Sociology*, Robert E. Park declared that 'The process of assimilation is of a psychological rather than of a biological nature, and refers to the growing alike in character, thoughts, and institutions, rather than to the blood-mingling brought about by intermarriage.'²⁹⁸ This statement shows Park's scepticism about biological 'inter-mingling' as a factor of assimilation. He even complimented those who recognized that in intellectual thought. For Park, nationality was the result of assimilation, not a result of homogeneity of skin-colour or body shape, but rather because of the unity of 'institutions, social habits and ideals'.²⁹⁹ The history of the 20th century, with regard to these concepts, reveals that this idea of assimilation has not yet been attained. In Park's view several links emerged. But whereas most of them already were in existence, Park introduced the connections to the social scientists of the time. For him, concepts such as 'like-mindedness' (with reference to Giddings), 'imitation' (with reference to Gabriel Tard), 'homogeneity' and 'herd instinct' (reference to W. Trotter) were closely related and respectively ordered in a chronological process of genesis. In contrast to Giddings 'like-mindedness', Park talked about 'corporate action', acknowledging the individual as part of the 'society'. Park recognized 'society' as the 'social organism' (with reference to Herbert Spencer) and the social group.³⁰⁰

His examination also included the term assimilation as something embodied in the idea of nationalisation, which was realized in concepts like 'Americanization', 'Anglicize', 'Germanize', 'Brazilianization' and so forth. This concept is more closely related to the existing nation state authority with its focus on 'culture'. In addition to the above expressions, the endings '-ize', or '-ization' have their origins in the United States' 'melting pot' concept, which basically portrayed a melding a variety of different 'cultures' into a new 'civilization' through immigration. The 'Americanization' concept is based upon – or, as I would suggest, was promoted by – the idea of contribution, whereas the immigrant played the crucial part in the founding of a national character or unity pictured as a 'melting-pot'. The notion of 'civilization' was, however, used in and connected to assimilation in a specific way and will be examined in the following chapters as well. It is important to keep the North American (USA) sociological idea of assimilation as a form of 'like-mindedness' and 'contribution' of

²⁹⁸ See Robert E. Park, Introduction, 741–742.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Robert E. Park, Sociology and the Social Sciences: The Social Organism and the Collective Mind. In: American Journal of Sociology 27 (1921) 1. 1–21. p. 20.

immigrants to a bigger 'unity' in mind in order to understand the struggles in defining the concept after 1945 and beyond that frame. What is important to emphasise at this point is that after 1945 European social scientific approaches to assimilation became more present or accepted in international and national discussions than they had been previously. But the 'assimilation' discourse did not 'jump' from Park's deliberations in the early 1920s to the post-World War II years. The League of Nation's (LoN's) use of the terms and meanings correlating with 'assimilation' show that the concept was introduced to an international audience as early as the inter-war period. According to the theoretical content and intellectual elaboration, the European approach, or social scientific approaches of European origin, was far less developed than the sociological approaches in the United States, which were guided by nationalism. In 1921, Robert Park indicated these differences when implying that the European process of assimilation was one of 'denationalization', which he designated as 'negative'.³⁰¹

Before examining terms and constitutional meanings of assimilation and integration after 1945, there shall also be some reference to definitions of assimilation in the inter-war period. The foundation of internationally formulated and commonly accepted assimilation and integration sequences of discourse must be sought in population questions about the so-called 'world population problem', which was formulated in the first three decades of the 20th century and which was very much a European problem. Early representatives of the population discussion and the theoretical background of the post-1945 discussions on an international level could be found in the League of Nations and the Malthusian League.³⁰² The buzzword in the inter-war period of international discussion was 'overpopulation', whereas migration and immigration became an important factor in this population question. Only in 1937, the authors of the LoN's stated their agreement in the idea 'that a lack of demographic balance can be a seriously disturbing factor in international relations and one which, if not adjusted, may sooner or later threaten the peace of the world'.³⁰³ Special attention was given to the opinion of Adolphe Landry,³⁰⁴ Wilhelm Winkler,³⁰⁵ Charles A. Burky³⁰⁶ and Stanislaw

³⁰¹ See Robert E. Park/Burgess, *Introduction To The Science Of Sociology* 1921, p. 734.

³⁰² More on the historical background of the League's approaches to population have been dealt with in Chapter 1.

³⁰³ League of Nations, *Peaceful Change. Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference. Paris, June 28th - July 3rd, 1937 (Peaceful Change 1)*, Paris 1938, p. 120.

³⁰⁴ A reference in the 'Peaceful Change' publication was given to Landry's French memorandum 'La Nation de surpeuplement'. Landry was a French historian, economist and demographer, and a former professor at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales*, Sorbonne. After that he was named the President Honoraire of the IUSSP with whom the UNESCO published a series on 'Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants' in 1950.

Edward Nahlik.³⁰⁷ The League of Nations consulted all four ‘experts’ on this matter and expressed their concerns about overpopulation. The notion of ‘overpopulation’ was, however, relatively new, as some of the authors pointed out. Landry wrote dramatically that ‘since the beginning of humanity, there have been conflicts in which overpopulation played a role, although the word itself was not used; but I believe that overpopulation, as I have attempted to define it, plays a greater role than in the past as a cause of international strife’.³⁰⁸ Consequences were dangerous, in Winkler’s view, when movements crossed frontiers. Burky, on the other side, addressed the matter from more of a pacifist and internationalist approach. He stated that ‘a young and prolific people, forbidden, the free circulation of its men and products, may feel itself obliged to resort to war.’³⁰⁹ The combination of opinions delivered by such a diversity of ‘expertise’ – the representatives are both situated within the Malthusian ‘struggle for room and space’ concept but divided into representatives of two lines of thought established in the 19th century: (1) geopolitics and territorial expansion including the proponents of the ‘Lebensraum’ (living space) concept, with its worst outcomes shown in (Nazi) German nationalist population politics, and (2) the anti-nationalists, pacifists and internationalists. However, in 1937 these diverse opinions were summarized under the heading of a ‘peaceful change’, wherein the population question was assigned an important role and its internationalization regarding the balance of national domestic and foreign politics and international relations. Nahlik, the fourth in the group of respected experts, combined the views well when he saw the population question becoming a factor in international affairs because of the states, ‘although not mentioning population expressly, nevertheless attempt to influence the course of international relations in a manner to conform the needs and interests of their population’.³¹⁰ At this stage of discussion and within the international framework the concept of assimilation comes into play after determining the nation state as the entity which manages power relations between states. Needless to say, experts on this international level obtained their expertise in their respective national contexts. The discussion, therefore,

³⁰⁵ Wilhelm Winkler’s views served as another expert statement on overpopulation and the League referenced his Austrian Memorandum on ‘The fertility of the people of the Danube Basin’. Winkler was an Austrian demographer and statistician who also focused on population census. He was a supporter of the Nazi regime and its ideology of German-national politics.

³⁰⁶ Charles A. Burky’s statements on overpopulation were published in his Swiss memorandum on ‘La Nation de surpeuplement’.

³⁰⁷ Nahlik’s contribution to the discussion emphasized overpopulation and was part of his Polish memorandum, ‘L’accroissement naturel de la population et ses facteurs’.

³⁰⁸ League of Nations, Peaceful Change. Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference. Paris, June 28th - July 3rd, 1937 (Peaceful Change 1), Paris 1938, p. 120.

³⁰⁹ League of Nations, 120–121 (wie Anm. 18)

³¹⁰ Ibid.

complied with the obvious examples of immigration in countries like Canada, Australia and the United States. Furthermore, the discussions triggered implications of politically wanted and unwanted immigration movements. The Canadian discourse, for example, supplied one sample for the LoN in the assimilation that occurred between two entities defined by language: the French speaking and the English speaking individuals and groups. However, under the very cryptic title of ‘peaceful change’, the LoN was unable to deliver a clear definition of assimilation. Rather, it helped to establish the nation states’ sovereignty in terms of population questions determining the regime of emigration and immigration.

Until 1948, the UNESCO and its Department of Social Sciences circled around the ‘cultural’ aspect of migration. The program for 1948 at first contained seven points under the heading of ‘Analysis of the Forces and Tensions Affecting International Understanding’. No item specifically pointed to ‘cultural’ aspects of migration. However, in its sessions the Executive Board added in the addendum and corrigendum to the 1948 program a point 8 in which the EXB group of discussants³¹¹ agreed on the inquiry of ‘usable form information on the cultural impact of migration’.³¹² The DSS’s program for 1948 purported subsequently not only the promotion of studies into ‘distinct character of the various national cultures and ideals’, but also the inquiry into the ‘cultural impact of population changes, such as migration and displacements’.³¹³ Cooperation with the UN’s special agencies and especially with the Economic and Social Commission (ECOSOC) was intended.

The Concept of ‘Cultural Assimilation’ as Adapted by the UNESCO

In July 1950, the UNESCO gathered a group of ‘experts’ for a future proposal of research on the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants. A general agreement on the importance of studies on cultural assimilation was reached in 1949 at the Assembly of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population in Geneva. According to this agreement, the publication series in 1950 was to involve a definition of ‘cultural assimilation’. Most

³¹¹ Participants of the three session were: Léon Blum (France), Victor Doré (Canada), P. Auger (France), Chen Yuan (China), Marian Falski (Poland), J. Zaniewick (Poland), John Maud (GB), J. Opecensky (Czechoslovakia), A. Sommerfelt (Norway), L. Verniers (Belgium), W.R. Walker (Australia), A. Photiadès (Greece) and others. Further attendants represented international organizations, including the UN, FAO, ILO and WHO.

³¹² UNESCO, EXB - Item 7 of the Agenda. Corrigenda and Addenda, 24.7.1947. In: EXB, 1947, Volume II, 3 Session, Signature: Cons.Exec./3e Sess./16 Corrigenda and Addenda, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

³¹³ UNESCO, Social Science Programme in 1948, 31.7.1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2-3.

collaborators considered for work on the topic were sociologists from the United States and not demographers, as they were supposed to have dealt with the matter in the past.

Discussions associated with the considerations – looking back to the worst degeneration of geo- and bio-politics – kept to certain questions: (1) ‘whether assimilation is or is not a bilateral process’;³¹⁴ and (2) how to accomplish ‘full assimilation’ of immigrants. This reflects both the discordance between the ‘one-way’ and ‘two-way’ process conception of assimilation and an essential distinction between European approaches to the ‘integration’ of immigrants and the concept of the ‘melting-pot’ of a national society in the United States. The second pointed to the belief of the necessity to measure assimilation, which caused a range of new questions and issues, as one might demand a definition of full assimilation and the stages that precede it. In the course of the deliberations of the experts gathered by the UNESCO and represented by the IUSSP, some argued in favour of mutual exchange and others ‘that cultural assimilation is by definition a one-way process’.³¹⁵ The authors of the *Population Studies* series ‘Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants’, published by the IUSSP on behalf of and in promotion of the UNESCO in 1950, summarized the discussion on assimilation and most obviously articulated the opposing views on the concept of assimilation. Despite these two distinct opinions dividing the group of 23 experts,³¹⁶ one very important question was left unanswered: ‘Is the crucial matter assimilation, or the development of peaceful relations between groups of different race or nationality within a single community?’³¹⁷ If it had been centred within the population question, it might have changed the path of research.

Interestingly, the study shows that, when the question was raised in 1950, the UNESCO already had found the path – or some would say, had struck upon the line of least resistance – best represented by the series’ title. The notion of ‘assimilation’ was rarely included in texts produced before 1950. Title had usually pointed to ‘tensions’ in general, and included questions about stereotypes and ‘attitude change’. Assimilation as a term and concept appeared in these early publications (‘cultural assimilation’ and/or ‘cultural integration’ in its

³¹⁴ UNESCO, Appendix 1. Summary of General Discussions on Investigations into the Assimilation of Immigrants. In: *Population Studies 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement*, p. 115.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Associates with the IUSSP-UNESCO cooperation on the ‘cultural assimilation’ publication series were R. Bachi, F. Bernstein, C.P. Blacker, J. Bourdon, H. Bunle, C.E. Dieulefait, H.P. Fairchild, P.V. Fallon, P. Georges, D.V. Glass, H. Harmsen, L. Hersch, J. Isaac, M. Lacroix, L. Livi, F. Lorimer, G. Mauco, G. Mortara, R. Rivet, F. Savorgnan, H. Staehle, J.V. Sutter. Not all of them contributed an article. Four were at institutions in the United States at the time of publication, one in Israel, three in England, six in France, two in South America (Brazil and Argentina), one in Belgium, three in Switzerland, one in Germany and two in Italy.

³¹⁷ UNESCO, Appendix 1. Summary of General Discussions on Investigations into the Assimilation of Immigrants. In: *Population Studies 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement*, p. 115.

variations), although there was no common usage in terms of meaning or conceptualization. The only distinctions made were between the 'economic integration' of immigrants into the labour market of the 'receiving' country, their 'social integration' into the contemporary communities in which the migrant arrived, and 'legal integration'. 'Cultural integration' depicted a counterpart to the commonly used assimilation term in its meaning, but existed concurrently with 'cultural assimilation'. Both notions pointed in the same direction. In Henry Bunle's words, the immigrant appears to have assimilated or to have been integrated 'when a practised foreign eye no longer detects any difference between his outlook, habits and behaviour and those of his new fellow-citizens'.³¹⁸ The idea of invisibility derives from the concept of visibility, which Robert E. Park dealt with in 1921. For one, a fear of visible differences within 'populations' was clearly politically motivated. The notion of assimilation opposed differentiation and separatism, Bunle further declared. Calling upon 'our forefathers', Bunle stated that they feared that differentiation, 'in whatever form, would make for separatism in the territories'.³¹⁹ Henri was a French statistician and former Director of the *Statistique Général de la France*. In his article, he articulated his definition – or as he formulated it, 'our own definition' – referring not only to the series in which his article appeared but also to the contemporary international view of 'immigrant assimilation'. From his, or their, point of view an 'immigrant is assimilated only when he speaks the language of his new country by preference, has adopted its customs, and when his general conduct and way of life become those of his new compatriots and his original outlook gives way to that of his new surroundings'.³²⁰ With this meaning, the assimilation concept merged fully with a positive perception of nationalism by associating the nation state with patriotism. It also pursued the existing theoretical path of a 'one-way' process favouring the nation states national peculiarity, and was embedded within the UNESCO's attempt to capture 'culture' as a 'way of life', also featuring a nation's particularities. From a statistical point of view, wrote Max Lacroix and Edith Adams in 1950, it was implied 'that assimilation can be defined and is in fact defined operationally, as the degree of resemblance between certain characteristics of individuals classified in two or more groups....'³²¹ The two authors approached the groups of convergence more critically than others and referred to 'groups, which may be called the

³¹⁸ Bunle, Henri, *The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*. In: *Population Studies* 3 (1950) *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*: Supplement. 5–11, p. 6–7.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³²¹ Lacroix, Max; Adams, Edith, *Statistics for Studying the Cultural Assimilation of Migrants*. In: *Population Studies* 2 (1950) *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*: Supplement. 69–107, p. 69–70.

“immigrants” and the “autochthonous” groups.³²² Lacroix and Adams did not deliver a definition of their own, but rather they reached back to Robert E. Park and redefined the concept as Park and Burgess did in 1921, as ‘a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or other groups, and, by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life’. Recalling that Park had emphasised that his definition was not about biological assimilation, ‘culture’ was the focal point of interests and it did not, in Lacroix and Adams’ meaning, ‘involve anthropometric and biological factors’.³²³ This view did not, however, go along with the concept of invisibility of differences. Another author of the *Population Studies* series, Georges Mauco, conceived of the notion of assimilation in social, legal and economic terms; or as he later described it, to ‘adaptation’. In his article ‘The Assimilation of Foreigners in France’, he referred to no prior definition. Assimilation presupposed adaptation and ‘consists in taking part in communal life on a footing of equality’, he stated.³²⁴ And in his view, it is the duty of social sciences to study the phenomenon of assimilation in order to measure the ‘degrees of assimilation, including those compatible with the survival of languages...’.³²⁵ In his opinion, assimilation was a ‘natural process’ and hence outside of critical questioning. Mauco saw this ‘natural’ process as dependent upon various factors, including a ‘feeling of social equality’. At this stage, assimilation was already considered an integral part of the social life of migrants. Mauco’s contribution emphasised a distinction of assimilation types and was discussed in the course of the experts’ meetings, wherein distinctions evolved between ‘political assimilation’ and ‘social assimilation’, mainly as emphasised by Rev. P.V. Fallon, a member of the experts’ group on the topic and affiliated with the Faculty of St Albert de Louvain in Belgium. From Fallon’s point of view, ‘political assimilation’ was an international affair, ‘ill-fitted for scientific investigation’.³²⁶ ‘Social assimilation’ – also described as ‘cultural assimilation’ – was more suitable for investigation because it ‘took certain outward forms’ and expressed itself in ‘language, and the adoption of the way of life, the customs, habits and outlook of nationals in the country of immigration’.³²⁷ Social and political assimilation, as formulated in the discussions and articles, converged with the idea of ‘social integration’ used in contemporary studies and memoranda. Another distinction was made by M. Liebermann Hersch, professor of Statistics and Demography at

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid, p. 71.

³²⁴ Mauco, Georges, ‘The Assimilation of Foreigners in France’ in: *Population Studies* 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 13–22, p. 14.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid, p. 22.

³²⁷ Ibid.

the University of Geneva and President of the IUSSP in 1950. He added a differentiation between assimilation and a change in environment. Hersch transferred the question of social and cultural assimilation into questions of environmental change. He stressed that ‘care had to be taken not to ascribe to a process of assimilation something that was really due to a change in geographical environment’.³²⁸ The discussion focused on Mauco’s contribution, which itself focussed on ‘foreign’ nationality in France – in this case, Poles living in the country. This approach, while dividing individual migrants and groups on the category of nationality, resulted in and supported the measurement of ‘cultural assimilation’ alongside apparent signifiers such as language and sometimes religion. In Mauco’s inquiry the assimilation of foreign nationalities was considered measurable along with legal statistics and identifying immigrants through their criminal history. Hence, another reference or disposition was the degree of criminality according to nationality. Guided by the question of how to reach full assimilation, the studies’ conclusions revealed that an immigrant’s best way was to identify himself (the single female migrant played no role) with the ‘receiving country’. The meaning of this ‘identification’ was left to interpretation but included all concepts within ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’. This view implied a certain ambiguity between domestic and foreign political interests.

The UNESCO presented its program on the ‘*cultural assimilation of immigrants*’ officially in 1954 during the 7th session of the Technical Working Group on Migration (UN), of which the UNESCO had been a part since 1951. In August 1954, the ILO suggested the implementation of the UNESCO-proposed item separately in the 1955 agenda. In December 1954, the UNESCO representatives, however, recommended the deletion of the word ‘assimilation’ ‘wherever it appears’, and that it be substituted with the term ‘cultural integration’.³²⁹ This is interesting insofar as that the UNESCO had, up to that point, not only promoted the use of the phrase ‘cultural assimilation’ but it had also facilitated a mixed and confused usage of both ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’. Nonetheless, the first conference on the matter organized and promoted by the UNESCO was titled ‘Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants’. The conference was promoted and conducted by the UNESCO in 1955-1956 in Caracas, Venezuela and Havana, Cuba, and UNESCO collaborating experts yet again

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ UNESCO Suggested Amendments to the Draft Report of the 7th Session, 7.12.1954. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 AO1 I.C.M.C. 325 UN/AO2 Part I/II (820), Folder: 325 UN/A 02 Technical Working Group & Migration Part I up to 30/XI/56, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

discussed the impossibility of a clear definition.³³⁰ Simultaneously, and as in the years before, they tried to approach a definition through a description of the meaning. In a summary of the conference, authors Artur Hehl Neiva and Manuel Diégues stated, as ‘a simple working definition’, that ‘cultural assimilation is a process of progressive adjustment whereby an immigrant little by little becomes adapted to the physical and socio-cultural environment of the country of this adaption’.³³¹ The experts present at the conference and the IUSSP Assembly found it impossible to agree on a specific definition. The quote above, however, determined for the conference that the objective of assimilation was a ‘progressive adjustment’ with ‘physical and socio-cultural adaptation’. The variation in terms used to circumscribe assimilation increased steadily, and can be traced back to the different regional contexts from which the experts came and the associated political influences upon them. The conference was held in Venezuela and Cuba South American countries where assimilation or integration was associated with European emigrants. Physical ‘adaptation’ within the environment was a crucial point as well, when seen in light of pre-World War II considerations about population questions.³³² Research on Israel, which was also identified as a country of ‘major immigration’, and therefore a focal point of research interest, included a different handling of terms. Its most active proponents, S. N. Eisenstadt, R. Bachi and their fellows working in the field, predominantly used the term social and cultural ‘absorption’, and sometimes ‘integration’. They avoided the term assimilation as far as can be identified in the collected papers and studies in the UNESCO framework. The problem Eisenstadt saw in using the term assimilation was that, in his view, the ‘universal validity of different indices of assimilation and their applicability in comparative research’.³³³ He suggested that ‘assimilation should be mainly seen as the re-socialization of immigrants, the institutionalization of their rôle-expectations within the limits and possibilities set up by the absorbing society’.³³⁴ In the same year (1956), Alfred Sauvy, a French demographer, ethnographer and historian, delivered the basis for a paper on the ‘Psycho-Social Aspects of Immigration’, which was then written by Thomas Brinley and published by the UNESCO in the course of its 1955-1956 conference. His examination, or rather Sauvy’s ideas to which Brinley referred, expressed the view that, ‘assimilation is achieved when a former immigrant

³³⁰ Neiva, Artur Hehl, Diégues, Manuel Jr, Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil, 31.10.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3, UNESDOC.

³³¹ Ibid, p. 2.

³³² For details on the context of immigration and emigration regimes after 1945 and for pre-contextual population considerations, see Part 1.

³³³ UNESCO, The Present Situation of Research in Social and Cultural Absorption of Immigrants in Israel, 18.1.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./8, UNESDOC.

³³⁴ Ibid, p. 4.

or his descendants can no longer be distinguished from nationals and are no longer conscious of their original characteristics.’³³⁵ This approach is rather radical, and suggests – again - the invisibility of individuals within a national frame by considering the nation state as a homogeneous entity. Furthermore it anticipated the generational models of sociological assimilation and integration research of later studies. The model to which Brinley referred was Sauvy’s ‘settlement-adaptation-assimilation circle’, one of the early attempts to establish a new assimilation model after Robert E. Park’s ‘race-relation-circle’. In 1956, Brinley used the example of East Africa to formulate that the ‘nation’ was the core entity by which the assimilation concept was defined. He highlighted, that ‘we cannot speak of assimilation except within the boundaries of one of the “nations” or castes.... Nor can one apply here the notions about assimilation which are appropriate in the case of the United States’.³³⁶ With regard to another regional context – Australia – W.D. Borrie³³⁷, a preferred expert with whom the UNESCO collaborated, spoke of ‘integration’ as one stage of the process of assimilation, whereas in his conceptualization, something he called ‘cultural pluralism’ stood vis-à-vis ‘complete assimilation’.³³⁸ Although Borrie did not officially formulate a definition at that point in time, from his deliberations a clearer line of discourse was apparent. Like some of his colleagues, he pointed to ‘integration’ as a process, wherein a ‘final merging of the immigrant into the host society’ was the end point, or ‘complete assimilation’.³³⁹ The cultural pluralism concept was new at this stage of discussion and began to build a counterpart to ‘full assimilation’. In this regard, William S. Bernard³⁴⁰ of the United States referred to the notion of ‘cultural plurality’. His discovery triggered both the separation of the terms and meanings from integration and assimilation in more direct way, and pointed to a difference between pluralism and homogeneity. Bernard suggested ‘integration’ as the more exact term, as describing a ‘successful inclusion’ of a ‘new group into an existing society’.³⁴¹ Assimilation, which he called the ‘older term’, was from his point of view misleading in terms of capturing

³³⁵ Thomas, Brinley, *Psycho-Social Aspects of Immigration*, 27.1.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Mig.Conf./7.

³³⁶ Ibid. p. 4-5.

³³⁷ Borrie, Wilfred David, who had been suggested by David Glass, was considered the expert in and for Australia. In 1952, he was Senior Research Fellow in Demography for the Australian National University at Canberra with a special focus on ‘problems of immigration’. Additionally, Borrie served on the Board of Social Studies at University of Sydney and at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at University of London, and he collaborated with the Australian Department of Post War Reconstruction at the Ministry in Canberra.

³³⁸ Borrie, W.D., *The state and the cultural integration of immigrants*, 4.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./16.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ By the time of his participation at the ‘Cultural Assimilation Conference’ in 1956, Bernard was the Executive Director of the American Federation of International Institutes.

³⁴¹ Bernard, William S., *The Integration of Immigrants in the United States*, 18.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./26, p. 1-2.

biological connotations and the implication of a 'one-way street in group relations'. His considerations were based upon the example of the United States as an immigration country. There, Bernard saw the meaning of the concept of 'cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity' fully arise.³⁴² He delivered the report of the 1956 conference discussion and questioned 'whether there was really new policy of pluralism on behalf of governments or whether the concepts of assimilation and homogeneity had become more flexible.' He concluded, that 'there seemed to be agreement that the practice has been greater flexibility and acceptance of diverse customs'.³⁴³ The delegates believed that they had identified specific problems involving the 'adjustment of the immigrant to the culture of the society receiving him, and in the adjustment of the cultural pattern to his impact upon it.'³⁴⁴ Homogeneity of national customs or 'national character' played an ever-increasing role in assimilation and integration discourses, which were reformulated after 1945 and were commonly accepted by a wide range of social scientists around the world.

In 1957, the 1955-1956 conference reports summarized the experts' diverse use of the words 'assimilation' and 'integration' in a survey. It simply stated that the authors had 'made equal use of the terms...by which they mean "a gradual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of the new homeland."'”³⁴⁵ This was a fairly pragmatic and a basic depiction, when keeping in mind the preceding discussions, uncertainties and the different points of view on social scientific disciplinary terms. The seemingly easy way was to divide the social scientific approach from the political practice. Although participants of this first conference on the 'Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants' attempted to settle on a detailed definition, the conference's deliberations were supposed to have been 'concerned with the major problems in the process'.³⁴⁶ Discussion quickly shifted from attempts to agree upon a definition of 'assimilation' and/or 'integration' to investigating the concepts' further implications. What was shown in the above examination is that the two terms 'assimilation' and 'integration' – and, to a lesser extent, the term 'adaptation' – had rather close meanings in the eyes of the UNESCO staff members in their role as experts and as administrators. Also the involved

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Bernard, William S., Report on Item 2. The Problem of Cultural Integration, concurred in by S.N. Eisenstadt, 23.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./34.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ UNESCO, Results of the Havana Conference - Brazil Studien on assimilation of Immigrants, 1957, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 706, Folder: 3 A 31 Manuals on Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO/SS Publication, Part I -up to 31 October 1957, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1/Preface.

³⁴⁶ UNESCO, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1959, p. 88–89.

social sciences did not stick to one expression, but rather used the terms randomly. Another insight into the process of finding or producing a definition is that it was easier to handle the two terms in the way presented above in order to satisfy the nation states' political interests. It was left to the individual social scientific disciplines (or as an 'academic issue' as the Director-General of the UNESCO's Secretariat pointed out) to handle the matter from their point of view and for their particular interests.³⁴⁷ The academic considerations, however, were mostly embedded within a political discourse. An idea was inherent in the summary of 1959, which again can be traced back to Robert E. Park and his concept of visibility. In his summary of the 1955-1956 conference, and by means of case studies by Julius Isaac, Manuel Diégues, C.A. Price, A.H. Neiva and J. Zubrzycki, W.D. Borrie interpreted Robert Parks' input on visibility to mean that 'in ordinary affairs of life he [the immigrant] is able to find a place in the community on the basis of his individual merits without invidious or qualifying reference to his social origin or to his cultural inheritance.'³⁴⁸ This understanding lead him to the conclusion that 'assimilation may in some senses and to a certain degree be described as a function of visibility' by which means the immigrant 'no longer exhibits the marks which identify him as a member of an alien group'.³⁴⁹

In the following three lists, three terms and their implications shall be outlined as they were presented by the UNESCO's associates. The lists represent types of interpretation and not necessarily different discourses. 'Assimilation' is the overall concept in which all the diverse types are embedded. These terms or types were primarily utilized and applied to 'assimilation' in the first two decades after 1945.

³⁴⁷ UNESCO, Report by the Director-General on the Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, 13.8.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/16, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2-3.

³⁴⁸ UNESCO, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1959, p. 91.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

Table 12: Types of 'Assimilation'	social assimilation
Regarding its occurrence, assimilation can be understood as an idiom. Assimilation in its common perception describes all other types, as well as the types of integration or adaptation.	cultural assimilation
	socio-cultural assimilation
	linguistic assimilation
	psychological assimilation
	religious assimilation
	political assimilation
	matrimonial assimilation
	economic assimilation

Table 13: Types of 'Integration'	social integration
Preferably in usage by the Canadian researchers, and randomly used by researchers working on Brazil. In some cases also applied to methods of assimilation in Israel. Overall, the term and its applications are used in an alternative and random way with assimilation.	civic integration
	religious integration
	economic integration
	linguistic integration
	educational integration
	integration, as in describing naturalization and gaining citizenship
	integration, as in connection with attitude and behaviour

Table 14: Types of 'Absorption'	social absorption
Used by the Israeli social scientists Shmuel N. Eisenstadt , Department of Sociology at Hebrew University; Judith T. Shuval , Israel Institute of Applied Social Studies; R. Bachi , Professor of Statistics and Demography at Hebrew University.	cultural absorption
	economic absorption
	matrimonial absorption
	linguistic absorption
	national absorption

What was generally called ‘assimilation’ usually included the other two notions of ‘integration’ and ‘absorption’, and the set of types. There was rarely a distinct differentiation in the usage within social scientific inquiries promoted by the UNESCO. ‘Assimilation’ sometimes was substituted by one of those, such as it was by Canadian studies, where experts preferred ‘integration’ before ‘assimilation’. Israel, on the other hand, primarily utilized the term ‘absorption’ rather than ‘assimilation’ or ‘integration’. But in one way or another, the terms also were mixed up in those regions and countries where the political and social scientific approach tried to confine their preferred term from one of the others.

The UNESCO changed the use of terms later, as presented through the DSS’ program that was considered in the various international meetings with the UN, ILO, ECOSOC, WHO and FAO, such as the Working Group on Migration. In a change of projects presented to the Working Group by the UNESCO, the notion of ‘assimilation’ was abandoned entirely and substituted with ‘cultural integration’. As stated in *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity* in 2014, since the 1955-1956 conference on the ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’, a shift from the use of the term ‘assimilation’ to ‘integration’ occurred.³⁵⁰ Publications that followed through 1959, however, did not stop using ‘assimilation’ to describe ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’. The issue found a place in the DSS³⁵¹ through the early 1960s, but preferred to refer to the ‘Cultural Integration of Immigrants and Related Projects’. However, it was no longer considered a ‘major project’. In the 1960s, the matter of ‘cultural assimilation’ was approached from a new angle, focussing rather on the economic issues of international migration.

For governmental input and circulation, the UNESCO’s distribution of the topic ended with a manual on the ‘cultural integration of migrants’ with no further definitions. The UNESCO planned to disseminate the manual to governmental officials and voluntary workers worldwide.³⁵² The organization struggled to reach a common agreement on the terms, a struggle caused by interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary differences.

³⁵⁰ Benet-Martínez, Verónica, Hong, Ying-yi (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity* (2014), p. 102.

³⁵¹ See 1960 ‘Division of Applied Social Sciences’, Project 3727.

³⁵² UNESCO, Working Party on Migration Research (established by the Technical Working Group on Migration of the ACC at its 9th Session), 15.8.1958. In. Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 AO1 I.C.M.C. 325 UN/AO2 Part I/II (821), Folder: 325 UN/A 02 U.N. - Technical Working Group for Migration, Part III 1/I/58 - 31/XII/60, Signature: SS 793.523, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

*‘...the cultural integration of immigrants today as compared with earlier periods reflects the increased concern of Governments in raising the social and cultural as well as the economic level of all sections of their populations’.*³⁵³

Concepts of the Procedure towards Assimilation and its Outcomes

As previously elaborated, different ideas of outcomes accompanied the concept of assimilation. ‘Assimilation’ referred to both, the process and an actual outcome. Besides the distinction between ‘cultural pluralism’ and ‘non-pluralism’, social scientists also considered other concepts to be sound. According to homogeneous ideas of society, some outcomes pointed to ‘total assimilation’ or ‘ultimate assimilation’, ‘total integration’ and ‘full cultural integration’. Alfred Sauvy suggested the term ‘total assimilation’, which would take place, ‘when the former immigrant or his descendants can no longer be distinguished from nationals and are no longer conscious of their different origin’.³⁵⁴ For Sauvy, assimilation was the very last stage of a process, whereas prior stages were hypothesised to be ‘settling’ and ‘adaptation’. From his point of view, settling was only complete when the immigrant has acquired ‘fixed habits, a fixed abode and permanent employment’.³⁵⁵ And ‘adaptation’, as he deemed the second stage, had two aspects – a physical and a cultural. Adaptation to the physical environment and climate played a certain role in his theories; he understood adaptation to climate to be essential. For Sauvy, religion also was an important factor of assimilation, and he included adaptation of religion in his theory of the process of ‘assimilation’. In addition, Sauvy recognized the importance of culinary adaptation, adaptation to the social environment (referring primarily to language) and adaptation to the ‘multiple aspects of social life’, which included, for example, sport centres and unions. In the course of these stages of assimilation, for Sauvy several generations were involved in the process. In his words, assimilation ‘from the cultural point of view’ can only be achieved ‘if the immigrant enters the country at a very early age’.³⁵⁶ In 1956, Sauvy released the following model in a working paper for the UNESCO:

³⁵³ Borrie, W.D., The Integration of Immigrants, 1.2.1960. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box 703, Folder: 3 A 31 "Cultural Integration of Immigrants" UNESCO/SS Publication, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

³⁵⁴ Sauvy, Alfred, Working Paper, Socio-psychological Aspects of Migration, 6.3.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Conf.Mig./11, p. 3-5.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

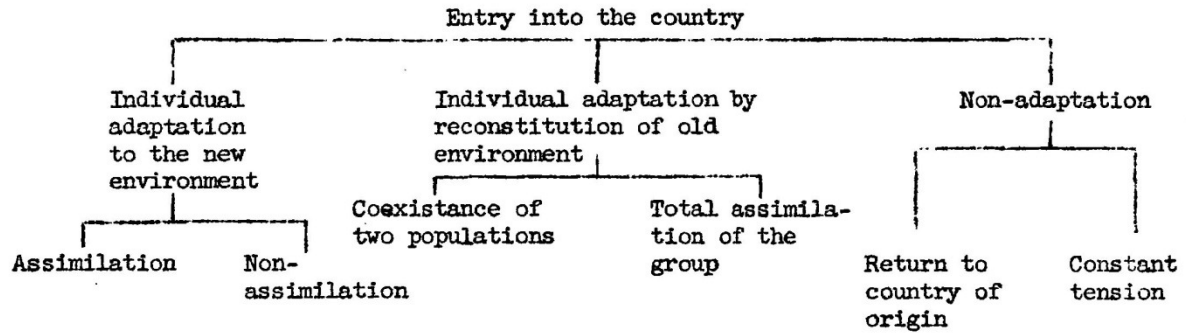


Diagram 8: Model of Socio-Psychological Aspects of Migration, by Alfred Sauvy.
Source: See footnote 322

Sauvy developed a model in which the immigrants' adaptation and assimilation within a new environment was considered to be assimilation, non-assimilation, total assimilation or pluralism within a receptive nation state. He recognized that so-called 'total assimilation' was the possible outcome of an individual's adaption through a reconstitution of the old environment within a country of reception.

The official policy of New Zealand represented another approach. Adaptation to the language of the new country was considered 'ultimate assimilation'. As elaborated in Part 1, New Zealand had no social scientific research history on assimilation and immigration when the UNESCO requested the status quo in the late 1940s. After the impetus of the UNESCO and the promotion of such considerations, New Zealand first explained that writers and journalists made most of its immigration inquiries. Its immigration policy became a second primary source of further social scientific examination. After the first 10 years of developing the concept, New Zealander authorities stated that language is the 'basis of integration and ultimate assimilation' and that it would be a *sin qua non* of cultural integration and of avoidance of alien grouping'.³⁵⁷ At the same time, they implied the possibility of 'duality of cultures', or the utilization of different languages. The two Brazilian social scientists who significantly controlled and governed assimilation research activities in and about Brazil, Artur Hehl Neiva and Manuel Diégues, saw 'total integration' and 'total assimilation' as an 'achievement of a satisfactory personal adjustment by the individual immigrant'.³⁵⁸ In their view, the 'complete integration' of the immigrant into a new 'way of living' occurs when the

³⁵⁷ UNESCO, Report on the cultural integration of immigrants in New Zealand, 10.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 Add.4, p. 3-4.

³⁵⁸ Neiva, Artur Hehl, Diégues, Manuel Jr., 31.10.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3, p. 3-4.

immigrant ‘ceases to be the citizen of his country of origin, and becomes a national of another country. He acquires new rights, with complete integration into a cultural framework...’. This was determined in 1957 in the Resolutions of the 1955-1956 assimilation conference in Caracas and Havana.³⁵⁹ Along with a consensus reached on the idea that assimilation was a result of a process, the steps prior to the conclusion was pronounced an ‘apprenticeship’. In 1957, experts commonly assigned immigrants on their way to gaining citizenship and its associated rights and duties to a ‘process of conscious apprenticeship’. This involved not only economic and civil rights and obligations, but also ‘integration into a cultural framework’.³⁶⁰ The same indices to ‘full’ or ‘total assimilation’ were applied to ‘full cultural integration’. As indicated in Chapter 7, the use of terms was random and without commonly accepted differentiation.

Another ‘total’ conceptualization of ‘assimilation’ as described in studies between 1945 and 1962 was a pluralistic outcome. The UNESCO’s promoted inquiries framed this in terms of ‘pluralistic structure’ of a given society or ‘population’, or as ‘cultural pluralism’. This stood counter to ‘cohesive social and cultural structure’, which was understood to be the result of the dissolution of the ‘old traditional life’ as articulated by Shmuel N. Eisenstadt in a case study in 1956.³⁶¹ Two modes of discursive sequences can be distinguished in regards to the concept of ‘cultural pluralism’: (1) A representation of inner-national sovereignty and domestic control by over-emphasising the ‘success’ of former assimilation and integration policies; and (2) simultaneously pointing to a possible ‘cultural diversity’ within those nation states. The contrasts can be linked to the quest for international appreciation and acknowledgement.

The ‘melting pot’ concept represented another type of outcome discussed. The ‘melting pot’, as understood in the context of the United States, was an ever-absorbing ‘society’ with common cultural and social ideas. As Canadian expert Joseph Kage stated, the ‘melting pot’ concept was discerned as an idea that would prohibit cultural differences. He concluded that the outcome of ‘assimilation’ in the Canadian case was rather a ‘unity in diversity’. Kage tried to reassure immigrants the permission to ‘retain their cultural heritage and individuality’.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ UNESCO, Results of the Havana Conference - Brazil Studies on Assimilation of Immigrants, 1957. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project, Box: 706, Folder 3 A 31, Manuals on Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO/SS Publication, Part I - upto 31 October 1957, Signature:–, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 25.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., Patterns of Leadership and Social Homogeneity in Israel. In: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1, p. 40–41.

³⁶² Kage, Joseph, Education of Immigrant Workers in Canada. In: Educational Studies and Documents. Education Clearing House UNESCO 16 (1955). 19–30, p. 20.

S.N. Eisenstadt and his team (Judith Shuval and Alfred Bonn  ) also referred to the ‘Israeli melting-pot’ in a 1956 study published on behalf of the UNESCO Bulletin.³⁶³ However, the region to which the ‘melting pot’ concept was preferably applied was the United States. As French expert Savorgnan put it in 1950, the point of ‘saturation’ had not yet been reached. In his view, the US ‘has acted as a melting pot and must continue to do so until its territory has absorbed population to saturation point’.³⁶⁴ Hence, the term ‘Americanization’ usually accompanied the concept. Other experts at the conference on ‘cultural assimilation’ viewed both notions as ‘essentially monocultural systems’, whereas ‘Americanization’ was considered to secure this system by the ‘indoctrination and the admission of only ‘assimilable’ types’.³⁶⁵ This system of ‘Americanization’ had been internationally recognized and some ‘receiving countries’ had accepted its basic principles by the 1930s. By 1950, Brazilian social scientists in particular had adopted the concept, using the term ‘Brazilianization’.

Assimilation understood in terms of resulting from a process requires ‘stages’ or ‘levels’ prior to the perceived end result. Some of the UNESCO studies on ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ dealt with the process in order to assemble an ‘assimilation’ model. They targeted the measurement of assimilation and defined a range of indices on that matter. By using the terms ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ equally through the late 1950s, the authors of the studies agreed that the process was a ‘gradual and dynamic’ one. In a time of ‘apprenticeship’, the immigrant was expected to become an active participant in the ‘economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of a new homeland’.³⁶⁶ The dynamics of this process were conceived as an enrichment of ‘values’ through ‘mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding’.³⁶⁷ This notion coincided with both the cultural pluralist and the cultural monist idea of ‘receiving’ countries, and the agreement was in accord with the UNESCO’s ninth resolution of May 1952. The process was a progressive adjustment separated into a psychical and a socio-cultural adaptation of the ‘environment’, as in the studies on the immigration to Brazil. The process of ‘cultural assimilation’ included biological and ‘socio-cultural’ factors, whereas a ‘combination of physical variables – age, sex, ‘race’

³⁶³ Brodersen, Avid, Part I. Cultural Assimilation and Tensions in a Country of Large-Scale Immigration: Israel. In: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1. 7–12, p. 10.

³⁶⁴ Savorgnan, Franco, Matrimonial Selection and the Amalgamation of Heterogeneous Groups, Population Investigation Committee. In: Population Studies Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement (1950) 3. 59–67, p. 59.

³⁶⁵ UNESCO, Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1959, p. 90.

³⁶⁶ UNESCO, Results of the Havana Conference - Brazil Studies on Assimilation of Immigrants, 1957. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project, Box: 706, Folder 3 A 31, Manuals on Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO/SS Publication, Part I - upto 31 October 1957, Signature:–, Paris, UNESCO Archive, Preface.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

was considered to likely contribute to the ‘mechanism of acclimatization’.³⁶⁸ The ‘psychological and socio-cultural factors’ were conceived as ‘much more prominent’ in the process of ‘assimilation’. The process of ‘transculturation’ was another stage developed in the 1950s. Neiva and Diégues described this as the learning, accepting and performing of ‘universal roles’ by the immigrant. They argued that ‘all sustained intercourse between cultures sets in motion a process of transculturation...’,³⁶⁹ and defined this stage within the process of ‘assimilation’ as a mechanism of modification in social and cultural terms. ‘Intercourse between cultures’ refers to a biological and anthropological tradition of thought that was enhanced in socio-cultural terms also within studies on the immigration to Israel. Eisenstadt refers to the ‘blending of the heterogeneous population’,³⁷⁰ which was understood in ‘ethnic’ rather than ‘cultural’ terms within a nation state’s ‘core culture’.

As in other understandings of the ‘assimilation’ process, ‘integration’ was considered a phase within this course.

Integration as one stage of ‘assimilation’

Since the very beginning of social scientific research on assimilation, the term ‘integration’ was applied either in an alternative way without a specific distinction from ‘assimilation’, or it was used in describing one stage of the ‘assimilation’ process. During the 1955-1956 conference on the ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’, the delegates in their roles as experts and representatives discussed the differences between the two notions of ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’. In order to reach a commonly accepted decision, the discussion circled not around the social scientific considerations, but rather focused on the question as to whether governments could accept a concept of assimilation. From various directions, the delegates declared that this would be impossible. Stephen Davidovich, the Canadian delegate to the UNESCO at the conference, made clear that ‘the concept of assimilation was repugnant to many European immigrants to Canada...’.³⁷¹ On the other hand, Alfred Sauvy said that he did

³⁶⁸ Neiva, Artur Hehl, Diégues, Manuel Jr., 31.10.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3, p. 2.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 7.

³⁷⁰ Eisenstadt, Shmuel.N., Cultural Integration of Immigrants in Israel, 1.3.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part II - from 1 January to 28 February 1956, Signature: 325.1 - 008 A06 "56" (729.1), Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9.

³⁷¹ UNESCO, Report of the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants Havana, Cuba April 18-27, 1956 by William S. Bernard and Walter H. Bieringer Members of the American Delegation, 27.4.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part IV - from 15 March up to 30 April 1956, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 14.

‘not believe governments accepted the concept of cultural pluralism because they evidently don’t accept such factors as religious or language differences or a different political philosophy...’.³⁷² ‘Assimilation’ was, as stated by the delegation from the United States, abandoned by most UNESCO member-states.³⁷³ The divergence between the political concepts of the society within the nation state, understood either in pluralist terms or in monist terms, became a contradiction within the social scientific studies. Immeasurable indicators, such as a ‘feeling’ or ‘sense of affinity’ towards the ‘receiving’ country or the willingness of the immigrant to become a ‘patriotic’ member of the nation state, dominated the discussions and guided the discursive lines.³⁷⁴ The ‘willingness’ of the immigrant could be exhibited, for example, by joining the army of the respective ‘receiving country’. In the course of the negotiations, ‘integration’ was agreed upon as serving as a process of a ‘moving equilibrium of conformity’, which implied ‘cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity’.³⁷⁵ The agreement obviously did not deliver a completely new approach to integration or a sound differentiation of assimilation. It rather began to function as a solution for most governments upon which social scientists and political representatives could agree. By then, they set ‘integration’ as their goal. However, the discussions on the best term to utilize and apply continued. The rapporteur of the conference’s working papers wrote, that ‘the majority agreed with the word integration...but some still used assimilation’.³⁷⁶ Hence, integration was considered (1) a stage within the process of assimilation; or (2) as a final result comparative to assimilation not in civic and legal terms but as referred to by the notions of ‘cultural integration’ and ‘cultural assimilation’. Against this background and as formulated by W.D. Borrie in 1960, interest in the ‘cultural integration’ reflected governments’ increased concerns of ‘raising the social and cultural as well as the economic level of all sections of their populations...’.³⁷⁷ ‘Development’ in governmental terms went in one direction defined as ‘increasing the social cultural and economic level’. From Borrie’s point of view as a social scientist and UNESCO collaborator, the substitution of assimilation

³⁷² Ibid, p. 4.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Thomas, Brinley, *Psycho-Social Aspects of Immigration*, 27.1.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Mig.Conf./7, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ UNESCO, *Resolution and Recommendations adopted by the Conference*, 30.5.1956, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 PartII, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part IV - from 15 March up to 30 April 1956, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Mig.Conf./43 Rev.1, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

³⁷⁶ UNESCO, *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture)*. Paris 1956, p. 93-95.

³⁷⁷ Borrie, W.D, *The Integration of Immigrants*, 1.2.1960. In: Secretariat – Tensions Project, Box 703, Folder: 3 A 31 ‘Cultural Integration of Immigrants’, UNESCO/SS Publication, Signature:--, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 20.

by integration ‘indicates an increasing awareness of the advantages of international understanding and the cross-fertilization of cultures’.³⁷⁸ In this connotation, the outcome was based on the integration of the immigrants’ ‘cultural’ contribution to the receiving ‘society’ exclusive of ‘absorbing without trace’.³⁷⁹ Borrie was referring to ‘populations’ indicated differentiation along ‘ethnic’ and/or ‘racial’ lines, while simultaneously emphasizing the ‘unity’ of the country. Social scientific considerations on the matter resembled an effort to balance member-states’ political interests and social scientific investigations on a concept of the social world that only had been elaborated by social scientists and social philosophers since the late 1890s. As experts differentiated between the meanings of the two terms, they used them in a random and varying way. Hence, in some cases they talked about ‘total assimilation’ and in others about ‘total integration’ while referring to a similar idea. The UNESCO and its collaborating entities agreed in 1961 upon the concept of integration as a ‘contribution by immigrants’, an idea that Borrie already had pointed to in 1960.³⁸⁰ At this point, this consisted of the primary distinction of understanding between the terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’.

Concepts were also recognized as both an outcome and a stage of assimilation including ‘naturalization’ and ‘citizenship’. The UN Refugee Convention of 1951 differentiated between the two ideas, conceptualizing the former as ‘citizenship’, but this was not the primary understanding of ‘naturalization’ as employed by social scientists. In 1950, the UNESCO’s expert Julius Isaac considered ‘naturalization’ as a ‘pre-condition of the full assimilation of immigrants’.³⁸¹ A pre-condition for ‘naturalization’ from the Canadian point of view, however, was for an immigrant to be ‘fit and proper’ in terms of ‘understanding of Canadian history, geography, system of government and customs’.³⁸² Those indicators were summarized by the UNESCO as ‘ways of life’ and represented a ‘cultural’ as well as legal assimilation. Hence there was not a strict and clear line between integration in legal terms and assimilation in cultural ones. As Borrie put it in 1956, the ‘immigrant...has to be conscious

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ UNESCO, Statement by H.M. Phillips, Observer for UNESCO at the Meeting by ICEM, on the Integration of Immigrants in the Industrial Communities: economic, psychological and social problems related with the geographical mobility of the labor forces. Meeting which the CRIS (Center of Industrial and Social Research) organized in Turin/Italy on 21-22.10.1961, 21.10.1961. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part II from 1.I.61, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

³⁸¹ Isaac, Julius, Problems of Cultural Assimilation Arising from Population Transfer in Western Germany, Population Investigation Committee. In: Population Studies Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement (1950) 3. 23–37, p. 29.

³⁸² UNESCO, The Integration of immigrants in Canada, Working Paper, 9.3.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2.

and...he must feel rather than obey [the way of life of the “receiving country”] before he can become culturally integrated.’³⁸³

Australian experts on ‘assimilation’ regarded ‘naturalization’ as ‘the ultimate aim of all assimilation activities’.³⁸⁴ Since 1955, primary discourse has treated the concept of ‘naturalization’ both as a pre-condition and stage of assimilation, and the other way around, assimilation as a pre-condition for ‘naturalization’ in terms of the granting of full legal and social rights to the immigrant. The United States’ delegates to the 1955-1956 conference, for example, considered ‘naturalization’ to be a ‘rough index of an immigrant’s interest in identifying himself with his new land’.³⁸⁵ Reverend Fernando Bastos de Avila and Manuel Diégues described ‘naturalization’ as a ‘normal outcome of the process of assimilation’.³⁸⁶

Table 15:
'Assimilation'
as Outcome

Naturalization as a 'normal outcome' of assimilation vs.
Naturalization as a stage of assimilation

Assimilation as 'invisibility' of the immigrants' differences -
'cultural', social, legal, economic

Assimilation leaving no traces to former cultural ties

'Feeling' the 'way of life' and identification - patriotism,
nationalism

³⁸³ UNESCO, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1959, p. 47.

³⁸⁴ UNESCO, Notes prepared by the Department of Immigration of the Commonwealth of Australia, 16.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 add.5, p. 6.

³⁸⁵ Bernard, William S., Bieringer, Walter H. (both Members of the American Delegation), vgl; Ibid. In: Secretariat – Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A 06 (279.1) AMS, Parts I [Box 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) “56” 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants – Cuba Part IV – from 15 March up to 30 April 1956, Signature:--, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9.

³⁸⁶ UNESCO, Results of the Havana Conference – Brazil Studies on Assimilation of Immigrants, 1957. In: Secretariat – Tensions Project, Box: 706, Folder: 3 A 31 Manuals on Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO/SS Publication, Part I – up to 31 October 1957, Signature:--, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 15.

Chapter 8: Defining Tensions and the Problematization of Migration

Social scientists in collaboration with the international community have promoted ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ based on the causal supposition that migration enables tensions. In the course of international and trans-disciplinary cooperation after 1945, methods were developed on various levels specific to different national contexts and backed by the social sciences, or rather the associated social scientists.

The ‘migration problem’ was not new in the aftermath of World War II; Australia and the USA, for example, had already confronted it. Migration ‘into’ a country was considered a problem and attained new and thorough attention of social scientists. It resulted, said the ‘experts’, in tensions on various levels. The ‘Tensions Project’, as delineated in Part 1, was the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences’ major project in the first decade of the organization’s work. Social tensions received special attention by social scientists while pointing to some and producing new ones. The organization specified its tensions program as dealing foremost ‘with the methods [for] overcoming tensions’ rather than with ‘the study of existing tensions’, while concentrating on ‘minorities’ and the ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’.³⁸⁷ The notion of ‘tension’ applied to the social world was defined by Gordon Allport as implying two things: ‘first, a relation between persons or groups that is taut, that threatens to rupture; and, second, attitudes on the part of the persons or groups related that are hostile’.³⁸⁸ Allport further posited that the fact that ‘this constellation of meaning has become fixed in a single term is probably no accident. It derives from the nature of social relationships’.³⁸⁹ The ‘natural’ side of such relationships, however, was primarily applied to ‘minorities’ such as ‘immigrants’ or in general individuals distinct from the national ‘majority’. In this chapter, I shall examine some of those ‘tensions’ defined and agreed upon by the international collaborators.

Through the lens of the UNESCO’s Department of Social Sciences collaborators a new threat had blazed its trail through recent history: nationalism in its worst form. The organization’s program included nationalism as standing contrary to internationalism, which was considered an eligible and peaceful approach to the world. It also determined the idea of the national.

³⁸⁷ UNESCO, Staff Meeting of SS Dep., 22.9.1950. In: Box 3288, X07.55 SS Part IV, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part II - from 1/I/48 upto 31/XII/50, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

³⁸⁸ Angell, Robert, UNESCO and social science research, 17.2.1950. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/19, p. 2.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

Hence, the 'population' problem was also shaped by the 'national' and particularly by the concept of 'national culture', as formulated after Malthus and internationally adopted in international cooperation in the 1920s. That is, in terms of the geo-political and bio-political considerations of population, namely scenarios of population decrease vs. population increase. Population movements were increasingly defined as 'cultural' movements and therefore became problematic when crossing the national borders. As already indicated, the UNESCO's responsibility to population questions on the expert level was placed within the 'cultural aspects of population problems'. Hence, the organization differentiated its program from the ILO and the FAO programs, which rather dealt with the economic and legal questions of population movements. The UNESCO supported to establish, in the social sciences and beyond, a system of culturally defined categories or 'cultural patterns of different peoples' in order to measure the 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' of migrants.³⁹⁰ Accordingly, the UNESCO's collaborators in the social sciences focused upon defined problems related to 'population problems, including migration and racial questions'.³⁹¹ The 'cultural aspects' therein were identified by the US delegate to the first General Conference as an important subject of social scientific study, because differences in 'culture, customs, standar[ds] and values of the different people' were considered to guide distinctions of 'excessive population increase, population decline, discrimina[tory] migration laws, differential rates of population increase as between differ[rent] sections of a community'.³⁹² The sub-commission on social sciences to the first General Conference linked this 'excessive population increase or decrease' to migration and a 'consequent impact' of cultural factors. Migrants, as holders of specific 'cultural factors', were defined as a minority, which set the power structure between the nation state as the 'receiving' entity and the migrant as the one who would be expected to adapt him- or herself to this entity. The migrant was reinvented as a 'minority' carrying specific 'cultural patterns' with him or her, which in the long run could create tensions between 'conflicting customs, standards, values and ideologies'.³⁹³ In resorting to geo-political and bio-political definitions, the UNESCO defined the 'most urgent concerns

³⁹⁰ UNESCO, Notes on Social Science Projects, 1946-1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 10.

³⁹¹ UNESCO, Programme of Work in the Social Sciences- Tensions Crucial to Peace, 1946-1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

³⁹² UNESCO, General Conference - Report of the Preparatory Commission on the Programme of UNESCO, 23.9.1946. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: UNESCO/C/2, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

³⁹³ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 1.12.1946. In: General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com/S.C.Soc.Sci/4, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-4.

of mankind' as food, home and work. And whereas food and work fell under the responsibility of the ILO and the FAO, the UNESCO perceived home as the one sphere that carried 'extremely important cultural...functions in human society'.³⁹⁴ The infiltration of the private sector of the 'population' was rather perceived in social-political ways than geographically or bio-politically, at least for the UNESCO and its associated social scientists, because they were 'in fact, the living and growing cells of the community'.³⁹⁵ While understood as 'firmly rooted in the values of their own national culture', those homes were expected to foster 'good world citizens'.³⁹⁶ As described more closely in Chapter 4, the 'community' was defined as small entities such as the home of a family and the families in a district or the next larger grouping. It was also understood in national terms. 'Community' was also seen as a more or less homogeneous conglomeration of a 'national culture'. The notion of 'cultural pluralism' was not considered problematic in the first place. Only those nation states that defined the 'national culture' as relatively homogenous in aspects such as skin colour or religion cited 'pluralism' as problematic and as a source of tension.

'Alien' or 'foreign' culture as carried by international migrants was not the only problem to evolve in the discourse. Individuals and groups of indigenous heritage defined as non-nationals expected to 'culturally assimilate' into the nation state also came into the debates, particularly in the cases of Australia, New Zealand and the USA, and later on behalf of the UNESCO's aid program in Viet-Nam, Brazil, Peru, Mexico and India. The discourse of 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' is therefore more than just a demand for linguistic or behavioural adaption along national guidelines that, for example, were increasingly promoted after 1945 in defining 'ways of life' and the 'characters of the [v]arious national cultures, ideals and legal systems'.³⁹⁷ Such guidelines were expected to serve as 'pre-requisite' information for future immigrants and other individuals and groups defined as minorities and non-nationals. However, it also turned into an argument against individuals not desired by the receiving country, while hiding racist discourse behind the notion of 'culture'. This gained more importance after 1945, as the international community increasingly condemned racist political approaches.

³⁹⁴ UNESCO, The Social Sciences, 12.1946. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9-10.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ UNESCO, Outline of Plans for the Execution of the Project 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding' and Report of Progress to 15 May 1948, 31.5.1948. In: UNESDOC, Signature: 8 EX/2, p. 2.

Against that background, the ‘experts’ preferred to point to tensions caused by ‘minorities’ such as immigrants of different ‘cultural’ background and individuals with ‘indigenous’ heritage. From their point of view, those ‘groups’ above all endangered international peace because they jeopardised inner-national calm and tranquility. Therefore, the nation state had to be stable in order to ensure international peace. Social scientists approached this from the macro as well as from the micro level, concentrating upon differences. At the expense of individualism, tensions were defined as endangering inner-national and international peace. The macro level was considered to involve interpersonal tensions, the micro level intrapersonal tensions, as defined mostly by psychologists dealing with ‘mental hygiene’ and socio-psychologists and sociologists. The measurement of tensions was regarded as an important methodological instrument.

Following, some UNESCO social scientific associates’ attempts to define tensions shall be elaborated. For example Quincy Wright, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, recommended the following differentiations in 1947 alongside the macro- and micro perspective:

- Tensions defined as ‘a state of the individual mind tending toward action, perhaps of a violent character’;
- Tension as a ‘relationship among individuals tending toward conflict or mutual violence’;
- Tensions defined as the ‘state of a society or community tending toward internal or external social action’;
- And tensions defined as ‘a relationship among states, societies, or other groups tending toward intergroup conflict or international war’.³⁹⁸

Wright subsequently submitted a model of the ‘elements’ of a social system, in which he distinguished three elements: ‘social tension’, ‘social energy’, and ‘social structure’. Within this theory, he approached measurement by ‘the amount of social tension’ that, in his view ‘measures the quantity of social energy available to the leaders of the group’.³⁹⁹ The social structure, Wright defined further, would break out in war or revolution if the amount of social tension became too high quantitatively. He concluded that ‘the looser the social structure, the

³⁹⁸ Whright, Quincy, *Measurement of Variations in International Tensions*, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago (Eighth Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion), 19.9.1947. In: Secretariat, *Tensions Project 1947-1949*, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 3-4.

less violent will be such a break'.⁴⁰⁰ In the course of his considerations, he recommended to the UNESCO that 'high tension is...a condition which characterizes the rise of civilisation...'.⁴⁰¹ Yet, another concept intersected with tensions: 'civilization'. This accorded with the basic assumptions behind the social scientists' thoughts; namely, that 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' affected a 'civilizing' process perceived as 'progress'. Hence, it is not remarkable that Wright asked about the 'conditions of social tension, social energy, and social organization' which 'make for progress'.⁴⁰² The concept of progress, as inherent in Wright's argument, constitutes the internal basis of understanding carried by the social scientists who worked out the concept of 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration'. The 'experts' maintained a fundamentally racist, Eurocentric and overall 'West-centric' point of view. It is not astonishing either, that Wright spoke for all men when assuming that they 'thought it good and reasonable both to maximize and to minimize human potentialities,' whereas the former 'who praise activity' is 'characteristic of the West'.⁴⁰³

In the course of searching for proper measurement of tensions, Louis Wirth, a delegate to the first Conference on Methods of Attitude Change Conducive to International Understanding in October 1948 (Royaumont Conference), suggested the concept of a 'barometer of tensions'.⁴⁰⁴ He said that such a barometer would deliver a 'comparable set of indices of tension areas'.⁴⁰⁵ In addition to these considerations, the involved struggled to define 'tensions'. Only the levels, as already indicated above, were determined and developed. At the Royaumont Conference, those spheres were defined as 'intra-personal', 'intra-national' and 'international' tensions. H.M. Holcroft, a New Zealander writer who attended the Conference, pointed to tensions as forms of 'mental and nervous states' brought about by economic and political 'frustrations'.⁴⁰⁶ And Adam Curle defined 'situations of tensions' as mainly to exist 'in

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, p. 10.

⁴⁰⁴ Louis Wirth was a student of Robert E. Park and authored "The Ghetto" in 1928. As a sociologist, he was a member of the Chicago School of Sociology and dealt with urban society, as did Park. After 1945, Wirth was responsible for all social science research work at the University of Chicago, covering sociology, psychology, economics, political history and human geography. He was the President of the American Council of Race Relations in Chicago. In this role, Wirth was not only the delegate to the US national commission to the UNESCO, but he also authored a memorandum for the UNESCO on social tensions. Edward Shils and the UK National Co-operating Body (especially Pendleton Herring) recommended him to the UNESCO's DSS starting in 1947. Until then, the international community had treated Wirth as an outstanding expert in questions on social tensions by the international community.

⁴⁰⁵ UNESCO, Conference on Methods of Attitude Change Conducive to International Understanding, Royaumont, 8 - 12 October 1948, 27.10.1948. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/10 + 11, p. 21-22.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

groups in which the individual's group membership is inadequate.'⁴⁰⁷ Lucien Febvre also recommended to the Conference delegates that the UNESCO 'should not confine itself to the study and treatment of a single one of these various categories of tensions'.⁴⁰⁸ Involving social scientists from a wide range of disciplines – psychology, socio-psychology, history, sociology, economics and ethnology – the National Commissions were encouraged to undertake scientific inquiries on that matter. It was further recommended that the results be adapted for school textbooks in history, geography, sociology, economics and civics.⁴⁰⁹ By 1949 and within the network of the UNESCO's social scientists, it was agreed upon that 'the ideas and ideals of nations have been affected by contact with those of other nations, with whom they have previously had little or no relations...'. In the eyes of the 'undersigned group of experts', 'fundamental values of civilization' were at stake. Those fundamentals were threatened, so they reckoned, by tensions caused by 'efforts to treat economic, social and political problems which are recognized as common...'.⁴¹⁰

These considerations point in two directions of social conflict as perceived by the experts: (1) the struggle with international migrants within a nation state and officially defined in 'cultural' terms and (2) tensions within the national entity. The latter refers again to two distinctions, the national 'assimilation' of (a) individuals and groups of indigenous heritage and (b) social 'classes'. The ideal or paradigm was defined on the basis of the concept of 'progress' and 'civilization', both conceived of as possessed by industrialized or so-called 'developed' countries. The UNESCO's associated experts' inquiries covered point one and two within its studies on 'communities' and regarding 'attitude change', which served as the pool within which tensions were defined and on which behalf 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' were justified. Subsequently, nation state-based studies were promoted, and an early inquiry on social tensions was conducted in India. Especially interesting about this, as it was recognized by social scientists from France and Australia, is that India had

⁴⁰⁷ Curle, Adam, Some Notes on Social Method and Theory in relation to Community Studies, 1.5.1949-8.6.1949. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5: 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

⁴⁰⁸ Febvre, Lucien, Comments, 4.11.1948. In: Conference of Delegates of National Commissions on Methods of Attitude Change Conducive to International Understanding, Royaumont, 8-12 October 1948, 27.10.1948. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/10+11, p. 10.

⁴⁰⁹ UNESCO, Conference of Delegates of National Commissions on Methods of Attitude Change Conducive to International Understanding, Royaumont, 8-12 October 1948, 27.10.1948. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/10+11,

⁴¹⁰ UNESCO, Committee of Experts for the Comparative Study of Cultures, 23.11.1949. In: UNESDOC, Signature: PHS/Conf.4/3, p. 1.

‘never heard of tensions before’.⁴¹¹ Curle wrote that he ‘did not feel that the Indians had much interest in or understanding of how to set about an urban community. What they do with primitives’ he further remarked ‘should be very good, I imagine, but I wonder if they are not somewhat tied to traditional anthropological concepts and will...find it hard to stress the tensions side of things.’⁴¹² The UNESCO finally adopted suggestions that had been made earlier about the three levels of tensions – intra-individual, intra-national and international – and promoted its dissemination.

In the course of defining tensions, the division of facets was not received without critique. Hans Thirring⁴¹³, an Austrian physicist, for example, and as elaborated already above, tried to add to the distinctions authority to the tensions synthetic side of production. He stated, that tensions were ‘artificially produced, and even, in many instances, ordered: The original, natural tensions are not between the nations themselves, but between their leaders and “*mis-leaders*.”’⁴¹⁴ He brought forward an argument not only from a pacifistic point of view but also exhibiting the power relations involved. His argument denouncing the political ‘class’ for pursuing power interests did not, of course, meet the UNESCO member states’ expectations and his proposed solutions were lost within the depths of the UNESCO archive. The Nazi regime had removed Thirring from his position at the university in 1938 due to his political non-conformity, but once reinstated after the war he developed ideas that could have been embedded within the ideology of the UNESCO. However, already in 1949, the organization was strictly controlled by national interests along the lines of the promotion of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ under a nationalist umbrella. By defining tensions and facilitating public opinion on the matter through mass communication and education, the UNESCO and its associated experts in the social sciences not only spotted tensions but also produced them, which was revealed in the Indian case. In early 1949, P.N. Kirpal, India’s Secretary to the first UNESCO General Conference, requested the organization’s assistance in conducting an analysis of tensions. Teaching centres were set up for social scientists and the

⁴¹¹ UNESCO, Correspondence from Adam Curle to Otto Klineberg, 17.5.1949. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5 : 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

⁴¹² Field workers sent out to teach social scientific research methods and theory to Indian institutes made those comments in 1949. See: Ibid.

⁴¹³ Hans Thirring was the Director of the Institute of Physics at the University of Vienna. Because of his friendship with Albert Einstein and his avowed pacifist views, the Nazis expelled him from his post at the university in 1938. After 1945, he was reinstated and became the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty. He wrote to the UNESCO in 1949 to refer to ‘the causes of tensions and misunderstandings between the peoples’.

⁴¹⁴ Thirring, Hans, The Causes of Tensions and Misunderstandings between the Peoples, 4.9.1949. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5: 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

analysis of inner-national tensions between social 'classes' and 'ethnic' groups were promoted through 1949.

The DSS – especially members P.W. Martin and Robert C. Angell who were in agreement with Walter H. Laves and Walter Sharp – guided the TP into a new direction from 1950.⁴¹⁵ More weight was given to studying the 'positive side of tensions'. This approach parallels the idea of a 'positive contribution' of immigrants and merges with the equalization of both minorities and immigrants. Studies on tensions were promoted (1) in the USA, South-East Asia, South Africa, and West Germany, which were not studied by the UNESCO directly; and (2) in Brazil, Australia and France, as analysed by the UNESCO external experts under contract.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, Pierre de Bie suggested the study of the role of 'minorities' in international affairs or, as he pointed to in a letter to Louis Wirth, 'the influence of ethnical groups within a nation on international affairs'.⁴¹⁷ His recommendation of 'typical groups' represents yet again an example of randomly applied categories. De Bie chose 'the Negroes, and on the other hand the Italian or maybe the Hungarians' as 'typical groups' that represented 'minorities' and 'ethnic groups' for a study in the USA.⁴¹⁸ In Brazil, on the other hand, the pronounced 'racial cysts', as Brazilian social scientists called the groupings of immigrants along linguistic lines, were defined as a 'mortal danger' to the nation state. This, so the argument went, produced inner- and international tensions because the 'mortal danger' 'lay in the political interest their mother countries took in their destiny and in the danger that German or Japanese colonies [both nationalities were reckoned as the biggest linguistic groupings in Brazil], protectorates, or satellite states might be established on the Brazilian soil.'⁴¹⁹ The 'attitude' of those 'racial cysts' was considered to generate intra-individual, inner-national and international conflicts. Hence, for Artur Hehl Neiva and Manuel Diégues

⁴¹⁵ UNESCO, Meeting of 'Tensions' Staff, 12:00 Noon Monday, 12.9.1949. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 152 (327.5 A064(44) "49.04", Folder: 327.5 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding PART V from 1/I/49 up to 31/XII/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 4.

⁴¹⁶ UNESCO, Memorandum from Alva Myrdal, Director SS, to the Director-General, Subject: Preparation of Work Plans for the Study of Population Problems in 1950 and 1951, 24.11.1950. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (C) from 1/IX/1950 to 31/XII/1950, Signature: SS/Memo./50/2664, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 5.

⁴¹⁷ UNESCO, Correspondence from: Pierre de Bie, Department of Social Sciences, to: Professor Louis Wirth, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, USA, 15.11.1949. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5: 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part II - frp, 1/XI/49, Signature: SS/132.372, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ UNESCO, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 144.

Jr., two of the Brazilian social scientists associated with the UNESCO, it was clear that the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants was the only possible way to avoid tensions.⁴²⁰

The concept of tension was a prerequisite to the demand of ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’. Immigrants, as we have seen, were considered a minority and a source of tensions. It can be argued along the ideas of Hans Thirring that the problematization of migration led to the production of tensions. In the expert’s point of view, becoming invisible reduced social tension, and the determination of a majority within a nation state was only possible if defining minorities by visible characteristics. The immigrant only represented a problem if he or she was distinct from the defined majority. As in Australia, the ‘white’, English-speaking immigrant was not considered a source of tensions, whereas the immigrant of ‘colour’, whether proficient in the English language or not, was seen as such a source. More critically in regard to their definitions and interpretations, Israeli researcher Judith Shuval brought together a concept of tension that remained ‘in its meaning amorphous, equivocal, and lacking in precision’⁴²¹ with the visible identification of ‘ethnic groups’ within a nation state. The ‘visibility’ – introduced first by Robert Park in his studies in 1920s and adapted by Gordon W. Allport and his UNESCO’s associated ‘experts’ such as Judith Shuval – was (and is) the most significant detection of ‘minorities’, which were by definition considered the source of ‘tension’. She identified ‘ethnic groups’ in a way that others, although they did so with similar terms but often while applying different notions: as distinct in ‘language, dress, food, habits, child rearing practices, and sometimes skin colour’ and characterized them by ‘certain specific culturally determined needs’.⁴²² The ‘cultural absorption’ of immigrants, as it was called in Israel, or their ‘cultural integration’ in general was therefore one of the defined ‘problems’ that caused tensions within this discourse. Along those lines of argumentation, in a paper Shuval asked about the ‘cultural absorption’ of immigrants and ‘whether the problems of absorption of immigrants can be considered as outcomes of different cultural patterns, as distinct (“primitive”) mentalities,’ or, implying the underlying power ambitions ‘whether they should mostly be attributed to the dynamics of the social situation, the differences of power and value orientation’.⁴²³

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Shuval, Judith, Patterns of Intergroup Tension and Affinity. In: International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1, p. 79–81.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., The Present Situation of Research in Social and Cultural Absorption of Immigrants in Israel, 18.1.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./8, p. 5.

Out of such considerations, arose new sociological models of ‘assimilation’ by applying tensions to ‘migration’ in general and specifically to ‘minorities’. Questions about the sources of tensions continued to be raised. Prejudice and discrimination against ‘foreigners’ were recognized but rarely connected with the predefined categories and the applied characterizations produced and disseminated by the involved social scientists. By the means of those characterizations and classifications, ‘minorities’ were identified in favour of strengthening the nation state concept. Hence, it was not only a political goal to manage (and control) international migration; tensions also served the nation state’s aspiration for power in the international and domestic sphere.

‘Cultural Assimilation’ and ‘Cultural Integration’: Problem or Solution?

The analysis of discursive sequences of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ with all their facets can be concluded with three questions: What was recognized as a failure of ‘cultural assimilation’? What constituted a success? And what forces were in play guiding and influencing anti- or non-assimilation movements?

As this analysis has so far revealed, early post-World War II social scientific theories and practical recommendations on the ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ of immigrant’s – or others defined as ‘minorities’ – addressed three institutional players: (1) the emigration country’s governmental departments responsible for teaching prerequisite information to future emigrants; (2) the governmental departments and voluntary organizations within the immigration countries that were assigned to educate the individual immigrants directly; and (3) the individual immigrant. In the course of discursive development, the responsibilities shifted increasingly from the officials to the individual immigrant. Besides demanding duties and obligations associated with the granting of ‘naturalization’, the immigrant was expected to become invisible, according to the direction of social scientific research and practical guidelines. Carrying on visible ‘cultural patterns’ other than those of the immigrant’s new society, imagined to be culturally homogeneous, was defined as a problem. ‘Cultural pluralism’ or ‘cultural heterogeneity’ was (and remained) a concept that governmental officials perceived with criticism. It delineated the underlying ambiguities created within the field of stress that evolved between political interests and philosophical theory. Hence, ‘cultural assimilation’ was, as has been earlier elaborated, perceived as a solution to social tensions that were, according to the experts, triggered by migration and shifts of ‘cultural patterns’. Both the social scientists and politicians appreciate and accepted the officially promoted studies and inquiries that arose in the wake of further

social scientific theorising. It was important to guarantee the governmental power of decision. On the other hand, the individual migrant and migrant groups were situated in a place of dependence. The power relations were defined clearly in favour of the nation states, including newly independent ones. The fact that every ‘culturally assimilated’ individual in a nation state was recognized as a loss of a national by the emigration country reinforced the conflict within the political sphere and trans-disciplinary ambiguities. As I have presented in the introduction of this doctoral dissertation, former Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan very clearly expressed that such a process was not favoured by the Turkish government. Herein geo-political and bio-political considerations were (and are) at the forefront. The social scientific deliberations on the topic had to deal with the numerous political interests, which influenced the promotion, the execution and the dissemination of studies. This problem was often communicated, and especially in the cases of social scientific investigations promoted by the UN, the UNESCO and other inter-governmental organizations.

According to the ‘success vs. failure’ concept of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ in post-World War II social scientific studies, success had more implications than just one: the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants indicated successful cohesion in terms of a ‘feeling’ of nationalism and patriotism. Social scientists articulated ‘success’ in terms of non-social-tensions between individuals and groups of diverse ‘cultural patterns’ that directly intersected and were affected by visibility. Their approach collided with the political interests of some emigration countries. Inquiries dealing with the favouring and hindering factors of ‘cultural integration’ suggested further social scientific studies on the struggle between those ‘forces’, as Alberto Arca Parro articulated in 1955.⁴²⁴ The UNESCO dealt with those conflicts on the administrative and organizational levels by assigning different participatory roles to the delegates and delegations of emigration and immigration countries. Countries of immigration, both member and non-member states, were usually invited to send not only delegates in their role as governmental representatives but ‘specialists who will attend in an expert status and not as a representative of his government’.⁴²⁵ Governments of emigration countries were prompted to send only observers with no assignment for active participation. For H.M. Phillips, an executive staff member of the UNESCO’s DSS, it was considered a ‘mistake’ to

⁴²⁴ Parro, Alberto Arca, Conditions favouring the cultural integration of immigrants in Brazil, 9.9.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Conf.Mig./4, p. 2.

⁴²⁵ The integration of migrants into the life of their countries of resettlement. A Report prepared by the International Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations interested in Migration, UNESCO Working Paper, 15.3.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./5, Annex.

let the countries of emigration 'say too much'.⁴²⁶ He thought it would be 'politically and psychologically' problematic, which was the reason that emigration countries' representatives were assigned only an 'observer capacity'.⁴²⁷ Papers and reports sent to UNESCO-promoted meetings and conferences on the 'cultural integration' and 'cultural assimilation' of immigrants by emigration countries were supposed to 'elicit factual material rather than comments or views which might lead to controversial discussion'.⁴²⁸ W.D. Borrie, the Australian expert in 'cultural assimilation' questions, advised Phillips on the matter, arguing that it would be 'useful to have an account of the procedures and methods adopted to facilitate cultural integration before the migrant leaves home'.⁴²⁹ Some of the associated social scientists accused emigration countries of deliberately encouraging the emigrant's anti-assimilation or anti-integration attitudes. So did Julius Isaac⁴³⁰ in his study on 'Cultural Assimilation Arising from Population Transfer in Western Germany'. He pointed directly to anti-assimilation 'attitudes', which, were 'deliberately encouraged by some of their political leaders, who [were] openly opposed to assimilation and try to keep alive or to revive those characteristics and traditions which separate old and new citizens'.⁴³¹ Directing a suggestion to emigration countries, he further stated that 'these leaders may be aware that complete assimilation must mean the end of their movements and that a widening of the rift is likely to bring them new supporters'.⁴³² Georges Mauco, also a contributor of expert studies to the UNESCO's promoted 'cultural assimilation' inquiries, articulated the same problem.⁴³³

Immigration countries, on the other hand, aimed for immigrants' full solidarity to its national 'culture'. This approach was the one, as we have seen so far, that received the most support and which was backed by the international community in terms of social scientific expertise. The 'host' countries got full attention regarding the conceptualizations of the diverse

⁴²⁶ UNESCO, Correspondence from H.M. Phillips, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, to Professor W.D. Borrie, The Australian National University, Canberra, 12.10.1955. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part I - up to 31 December 1955, Signature: SS/570.501, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Julius Isaac was a member of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research at the London School of Economics. From the very beginning, Isaac was involved in the UNESCO endeavours on 'cultural assimilation'. He was also involved as an expert on the 'positive contribution of immigrants' studies for the UNESCO. In 1957, he was killed in a motorcycle accident.

⁴³¹ Isaac, Julius, Problems of Cultural Assimilation Arising from Population Transfer in Western Germany, Population Investigation Committee. In: Population Studies, Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement (1950) 3. 23-37, p. 30.

⁴³² UNESCO, 30 (wie Anm. 96)

⁴³³ See: Mauco, Georges, The Assimilation of Foreigners in France. In: Population Studies 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 13-22 **Fehler! Eine Ziffer wurde erwartet..**

adjustments of immigrants in their ascribed role as a 'minority'. And while the UNESCO's role was clearly defined towards the 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration', its endeavours intersected and even collided with the economic and legal considerations of other international and inter-governmental agencies. 'Cultural assimilation' as a field of inquiry was recognized, as was negotiation and dispute that endured through the end of the 1950s in diffuse and vague discussion. Caused by confusion and unclear definitions, the term 'cultural' was increasingly substituted by 'social'. The 'national needs' stood at the forefront of both the social scientific and the political discourse.⁴³⁴

The individual immigrant, as the third actor, did not have much of a choice. He/she stood between the conflicting parties, and his or her position was either discussed by the means of psychological 'expertise' on individual behaviour and attitude or in political terms following power interests on the domestic and the foreign political level. However, all approaches targeted his/her 'assimilation' or/and 'integration', and social scientists tried to find solutions for a smooth 'cultural assimilation', while others focussed upon their legal protection. Although the concepts did differentiate between a 'one-way' and a 'two-way' process of 'assimilation', the individual immigrant was to change his/her 'cultural patterns' and behaviour in both lines of thinking. The concept of the 'contribution' of immigrants based on that approach and cannot be separated from it. The immigrant and other subjects of 'cultural assimilation' studies stuck within the discourse guidelines formed and determined in these first two decades after WWII.

⁴³⁴ UNESCO, Positive Contribution of Immigrants, 27.4.1954. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3.

Chapter 9: Disseminating the ‘Assimilation’ Concept in Questionnaires

As described in Part I, UNESCO requested information on the topics in focus as a part of its method of centralizing information about and promoting social scientific research topics and the organization. When considering the discourse facilitated, it is interesting to know what exactly the DSS distributed. In cooperation with and as approved by the UN, the ILO and collaborating social scientists, the organization distributed questionnaires to governmental departments, university institutes and individuals recognized as experts. In this chapter, I shall elaborate upon the research questions asked under the UNESCO’s auspices between 1948 and 1950. The terms and notions advanced a discourse that was not only disseminated globally but also was adopted in various countries in which such questions had not been asked before. The topic of ‘cultural assimilation’ and information about it was widely distributed at that time, especially to governments considered to have been dealing in a ‘danger zone’, as Alva Myrdal emphasised again in a 1951 letter to the Director General.⁴³⁵ Therefore, questionnaires for governments were furnished by the UNESCO but prepared in close accordance with the UN and the ILO.⁴³⁶

On the following pages, I shall examine the yield of those elaborations and agreements by the means of three questionnaires:

- (1) Questionnaire on the social sciences and experts in those disciplines in the respective countries with a special focus on research done so far regarding ‘cultural’ and ‘racial’ tensions
- (2) Questionnaires to encompass the social scientific inquiries on the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ done so far by institutions and individual experts.
- (3) Questionnaire to record the measures that had been taken by governments for the integration of immigrants to the ‘national life’ and their ‘cultural assimilation’

All three will be included in their complete versions in this chapter.

⁴³⁵ UNESCO, Memorandum from Alva Myrdal, Director, Department of Social Sciences, to the Director-General, Subject: Report on Mission to Geneva, 16-28 March 1951, 3.4.1951. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (D) from 1/I/1951 up to 31/III/54, Signature: SS/Memo.51/318, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

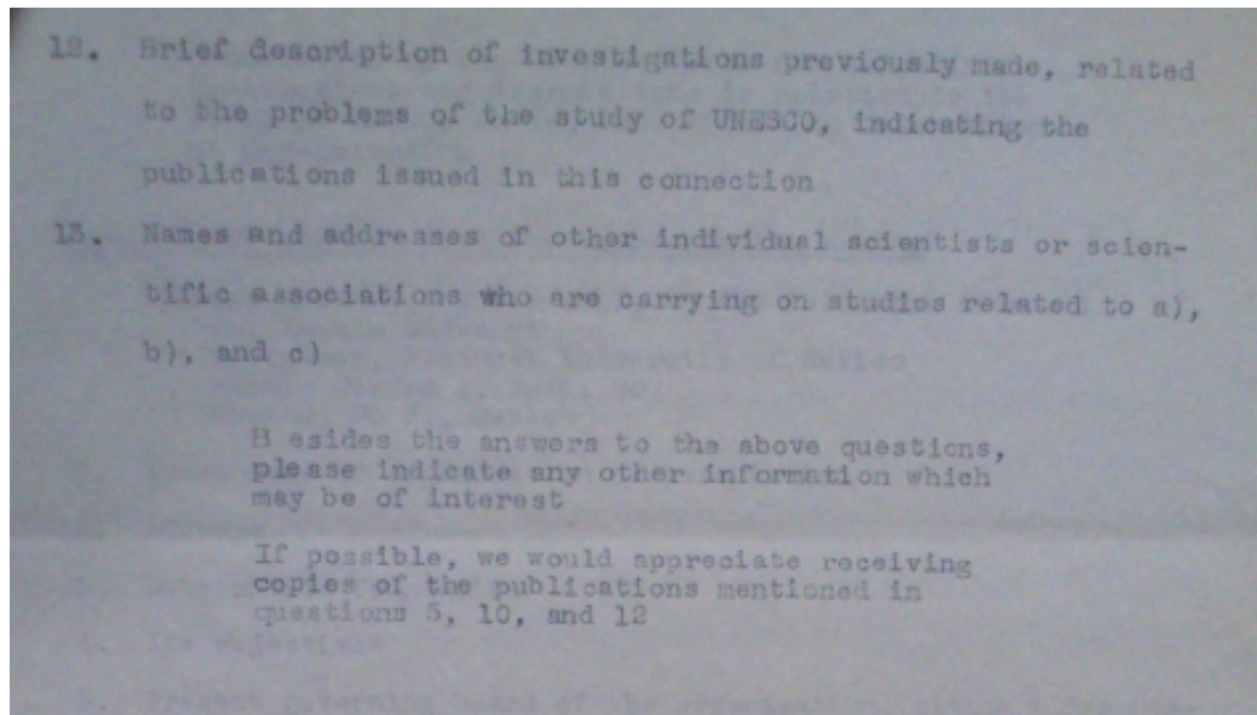
⁴³⁶ Ibid.

Questionnaire on the social sciences and experts in those disciplines in the respective countries with a special focus on research done so far regarding ‘cultural’ and ‘racial’ tensions (1948).

This type of questionnaire was designed to centralize information about the social sciences in the countries the world over, with particular regard to social scientific investigations and research interests on ‘cultural’ and ‘racial’ tensions.

As previously indicated in Part 1, regarding the UNESCO’s method of dissemination, one of the first tasks for capturing the ‘global’ situation of the social sciences was to broadcast queries. The types of questions asked were as follows:

1. Exact name of organization or association
2. Address
3. Date of its foundation
4. Its objectives
5. Present governing board of the organization, giving a description of the scientific activities of the principal members of the board
6. Character of the organization (academic, governmental, private, etc.)
7. Pedagogic or scientific functions it carries on at present
8. Principal publications
9. Detailed description of the investigations carried on at present or recently, having a direct relationship with the three problems marked on the enclosed letter with a), b) and c), indicating the exact purpose, method utilized, number of collaborators, etc.
10. Origin of the investigations (commissioned by the government, the University, private institutions, or carried out on the initiative of your own organization)
11. Financing of the investigations (by the University, by the Government (indicate the respective Department), by a scientific foundation, by private funds, etc.)
12. Probable date for the publication of the first results and for the completion of the investigations



Source: Reproduced by rapporteur on Central America and summarized in his report to the UNESCO.⁴³⁷

Point 9 of the questionnaire pointed to further information on (a) inquiries 'into the conceptions that the people of one nation entertain of their own and of other nations', and (b) 'inquiries into modern techniques which have been developed in education, political science, philosophy and psychology for changing mental attitudes and for revealing the processes and forces involved when human minds are in conflict'. According to the UNESCO TP's overall goal of facilitating international understanding on various levels of society the request was about the 'inquiries into the influences throughout life which predispose toward international understanding on the one hand and aggressive nationalism on the other'.⁴³⁸ For Central American countries, for example, the rapporteur selected by Hadley Cantril of the DSS was Laszlo Radvanyi⁴³⁹, and he disseminated the UNESCO request to Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Dominican Republic and Haiti. Radvanyi sent the surveys to all universities in Central American countries and delivered their reports to the UNESCO. For all Central American countries, including Mexico, only few investigations had been conducted on the topics listed above before 1948. Carolyn S. Campbell, a professor of sociology at the University of Panama, worked on the topic of public

⁴³⁷ See: Report on Investigations related with the problems of the Tensions Project of UNESCO in Mexico and Central America., 19.10.1948. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part IV from 1/VII/48 up to 31/XII/48, Paris, UNESCO Archive, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 17-18.

⁴³⁸ Ibid. Enclosure "D", p. 15.

⁴³⁹ Laszlo Radvanyi was director of the Scientific Institute of Mexican Public Opinion and a professor at the National University of Mexico. His educational background was primarily European. He studied at the Universities of Budapest, Vienna, Cologne and received a PhD at the University of Heidelberg in 1923.

opinion toward other ‘nationalities’, in collaboration with her husband William G. Campbell, a professor of education at the same university. Their work referenced the studies of E.S. Bogardus, one of the early researchers in the United States to work on the topic of the assimilation of immigrants and race attitudes at the University of Southern California (in 1948). In Guatemala, inquiries had been done on the conflicts between the ‘indigenous and occidental culture of Guatemala, but not in relation with international tensions’.⁴⁴⁰

Questionnaires to encompass the social scientific inquiries on the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ done so far by institutions and individual experts

This related to the first broadcast dissemination of questionnaires but specified that the DSS intended to collect data about and for the study of the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants. Diverse departments and institutes in member states received a questionnaire in 1950. The established network of individual experts and institutions (as listed in Chapter 3 and elaborated upon in Part 1 in general) were utilized to identify institutes and universities. From a migration management point of view, it was necessary to collect documentation on the immigration situation in various countries to ‘facilitate the selection of groups of immigrants and of places of immigration’. Other later ‘basic data’ questionnaires were expected to deliver both information on documentary sources and statistical data on immigration. The following portrays the text of the original:

‘1. Documentary sources:

What are the most important studies of social and cultural assimilation of immigrants in your country?

Is there any study of this type which is at present in progress or being achieved?

2. Collaboration:

Could you indicate people or institutions that would be in a position to pursue studies in this field, bearing in mind either their previous experience or their technical capacities and interests?

3. Basic data:

⁴⁴⁰ See: Report on Investigations related with the problems of the Tensions Project of UNESCO in Mexico and Central America., 19.10.1948. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part IV from 1/VII/48 up to 31/XII/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 8.

Could you give a summary of the main cases of immigration that could be studied from the point of view of cultural assimilation in your country, by supplying the following information for each technical group (defined according to the country of origin):

a) Number of immigrants

b) Length of settlement in the country

c) Different ways of settlement: organized group immigration or individual

d) Location of main settlements: rural, urban areas

e) Type of geographical distribution: distribution over the whole territory; concentration in specific areas; segregation, isolation or with other foreign groups; dispersion among the national population

f) Principal occupations in which they engage.⁴⁴¹

Further information was requested on

‘a) the region of origin within a given country

b) the occupation before immigration

c) the age and civil status at the time of immigration.⁴⁴²

The UNESCO intended to define general methods of studies on ‘cultural assimilation’ and thereby centralize information about the studies or approaches done so far. Basic questions regarding the region of settlement and the immigrant’s group distributions were considered to provide some insight into the specific countries.

⁴⁴¹ Preliminary data for the study of cultural assimilation of immigrants. In: National Archive Documents on Population Research in Australia from 1941-1946. Title: International Relations & Reconstruction. Political Economic and Social population problems and migration University Research (Borrie) Part I correspondence. In: 1943/446 PART 1 Item barcode 244103 Location Canberra Access status Open, 1941-1946, Canberra/Australia, Signature: SS/POP/2. Control Symbol: 1943/446 PART 1, National Archives Australia, Sydney, p. 315.

⁴⁴² Ibid, p. 316.

Questionnaire to record the measures that had been taken by governments for the integration of immigrants to the 'national life' and their 'cultural assimilation' (1950-1952):⁴⁴³

CL/635
Annex
April 1952

A N N E X

QUESTIONNAIRE ON MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVERNMENTS
FOR THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS INTO THE
NATIONAL LIFE AND THEIR CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

I. What practical measures are taken by your Government or by governmental and non-governmental agencies to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the national life of your country and to promote their cultural assimilation?

In the cultural field, what measures are taken with regard to:

- (a) education of children;
- (b) educational facilities for adults, particularly language instruction;
- (c) the provision of libraries, press and radio services, and films in the language of your country and in the languages of the immigrants;
- (d) the sponsoring of cultural and sports organizations enabling immigrants to participate in cultural, literary and other social activities, in their own language or in yours, and to take part in sport;
- (e) the participation of immigrants in the general life of the community (including access to recreational facilities); and their understanding of local social habits;
- (f) assistance to immigrants in the practice of their religion, especially during the initial period of settlement in your country;
- (g) preparation of immigrants for the exercise of their civic duties, with a view to their ultimate naturalization; and facilitating and expediting naturalization.

II. Does your Government encourage and/or subsidize voluntary organizations for the purpose of carrying out practical work in connexion with the above questions? If so, please specify such organizations and their activities.

III. By what means does your Government inform public opinion and influence it towards the adoption of an attitude favourable to newcomers?

IV. Has your Government developed any particular methods, based on experience, which it has found to be of value in facilitating the integration of immigrants into the national life and in promoting their cultural assimilation? What factors would you say encourage or impede assimilation?

This questionnaire written for governmental response was intended to collect qualitative and quantitative material. The UN first introduced the idea of such a questionnaire to the

⁴⁴³ UNESCO, Questionnaire on Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants, 1.4.1952. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 AO1 I.C.M.C. 325 UN/AO2 Part I/II (820), Folder: 325 UN/A 02 Technical Working Group & Migration Part I up to 30/XI/56, Signature: CL/635, Paris, UNESCO Archive, Annex.

UNESCO and after some reconsideration of the content and further recommendations from the ILO and other UN agencies it was released. The notion of ‘assimilation’, as used by the UN at the start, was changed to ‘cultural assimilation’, thus making the matter the responsibility of the UNESCO. Governments were asked to furnish the UNESCO and the UN with examples of measures their countries had adopted ‘in order to solve the many problems arising from the arrival of numbers of immigrants of different languages, cultures and customs’.⁴⁴⁴ Although many countries had not been concerned with those matters before, they began to deal with such questions and introduced the issues of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ into their national understanding.

In the course of 1952, thirteen countries returned questionnaires; amongst them were the following country officials:

Australia (Secretary of the Australian Embassy, Paris);

Chile (Senor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores);

England (United Kingdom National Commission for the UNESCO);

Argentina (Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, Buenos-Aires);

Sweden (Swedish National Commission for the UNESCO, Stockholm);

USA (Federal Security Agency and the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization);

Germany (The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, Bonn, German Federal Republic);

Belgium (Monsieur L. Vernier, Directeur general, Ministère de l’Instruction Publique, Résidence Palace, Bruxelles);

New Zealand (Secretary, External Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand);

Ecuador (Senor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Quito);

Canada (Dr A.W. Currie, Canadian Social Science Research Council);

Venezuela (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Direccion de Organismos, y conferencias internacionales, Caracas);

Guatemala (Senor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores).

As indicated above, some of the countries that received the questionnaires had dealt with the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants prior to that time neither on the governmental nor on the social scientific level. Hence, the replies reached the UNESCO not in a standardized form, and the answers in the reports overlapped with the set of questions of different questionnaires

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 1.

that were disseminated after 1948. Hence, the types of reports were diverse, and can be summarized in three main lines:

1. Quantitative: Numbers and names of the institutions and experts involved in studies
2. Qualitative: The respective expertise in terms of content (with a focus on psychological, sociological and demographic inquiries)
3. Descriptive: Histories about the uniqueness of the respective nation states according to the composition of its population and immigration policies

This caused some confusion in structure and in the composition of information. Most of the reports primarily delivered an overview of a ‘national history’ regarding the immigration history and the individual immigrants and groups concerned. They were presented as ‘nationals’ of other nation states or defined as ‘ethnic’ groups, and in the studies in Guatemala as ‘indigenous’, who mostly were singled out as a ‘group’ on its own and irrespective of definitions as ‘nationality’. The reports were qualitative, written in a historically descriptive manner that was similar to that of the early, superficial inquiries on the assimilation of immigrants conducted by social philosophers and historians in the late 1890s, such as Sarah E. Smith and Richmond Mayo-Smith.⁴⁴⁵ However, with those standardised questions, the countries that had not been concerned with these specific items before were introduced to the matters and happily adapted the discourse to present ‘their’ countries to the international community. The questions included a request for statistical data that was not yet available in some countries on: (1) immigration; (2) the objects of study – the immigrants themselves with a look toward the categorizations of individuals (psychological studies) and groups (sociological, demographic and socio-psychological); (3) the ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’ of immigrants; and (4) on immigration and emigration in geo-political and bio-political terms.

Educating for Cultural Assimilation and Cultural Integration

In migration questions after 1945, it was presumed that ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ should serve ‘social progress’ and ‘cultural enrichment’ – as described in Chapter 13. -, and in 1947 it was determined that migration (or displacement) triggered a cultural impact that was bolstered through the education of the people. Hence, education was believed to be one tool to facilitate the ‘cultural assimilation’, ‘social progress’ and/or ‘cultural

⁴⁴⁵ Mayo-Smith published the findings of his studies in the articles ‘Assimilation of Nationalities in the United States’ and ‘Theories of Mixture of Races and Nationalities’, in 1894. Simons published her findings in her article series on ‘Social Assimilation’ in 1901 and 1902.

enrichment' and 'assimilation' was understood as being 'institutionalized' by formal and informal education.⁴⁴⁶ According to the ideas of 'enrichment' and 'progress', who to educate depended on a rating of the cultural level and the 'standard of life'. Targeted were 'the historically less favoured people'.⁴⁴⁷ From this perspective, it was not remarkable that those regions selected for research and study centres included the so-called Middle East, South America and East Asia. Several programs in the UNESCO program were directed towards education. They included: (1) establishing Study Centres for Social Sciences in different regions of the world intended to teach teachers and future social scientists; (2) informing emigrants about different 'ways of life' prior to their migration; (3) informing the migrants of their role as immigrants and about 'cultural patterns' in the 'receiving country'; and (4) facilitating an understanding about the immigrants' national background. Those approaches built a complete system of directed education that promoted the idea and discourse of 'cultural assimilation'. This is remarkable insofar as that education on an international and intergovernmental level was not always well received by educators. The International Bureau of Education (IBE)⁴⁴⁸ – one of the UNESCO predecessors – promoted international cooperation between nations' Ministries of Education starting in the 1930s with the intention of collecting information about private and public education and facilitating experimental and statistical inquiries.⁴⁴⁹ Because of that cooperation, educational institutes and 'educationalists' adopted the IBE's recommendations. This approach was fairly innovative in the 1930s.⁴⁵⁰ After 1945, international organizations such as the UNESCO established educational institutes and promoted social scientific research centres on behalf of its member-states. The program the UNESCO pursued dealt with 'fundamental education' in regards to 'international understanding', which contained the promotion of a common understanding about the differences of nation states by specifying their 'cultural patterns'. Education in that sense and according to the 'civilizational' factor implied 'social progress' and an equalization between immigrants and 'nationals'. However, since the ideas of 'assimilation' and 'integration' were

⁴⁴⁶ UNESCO, Correspondence from Emilio Willems, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 4, Tennessee, to Alva Myrdal, Director of the Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, 7.12.1950. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Part I - up to 31 October 1955, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁷ UNESCO, EXB, Item 7 of the Agenda. Programme for 1948 and Preliminary Discussion for Total Budget Figure, 3.7.1947. In: EXB, 1947, Volume II, 3 Session, Signature: Cons.Exec./3rd Sess./16/1947 + Annex, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 23.

⁴⁴⁸ The IBE was established in 1928 and situated in Geneva. It was a cooperation body on the governmental level. The Bureau signed a provisional agreement with the UNESCO in 1947 in order to guarantee unity of action. In 1969 the IBE merged with the UNESCO's Secretariat.

⁴⁴⁹ Pedro, Rosselló Historical Note, http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Institutional_Docs/Rossello_historical_note_en.pdf (as accessed on 1.6.2015), p. 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Rosselló Pedro, p. 5–6.

differentiated and used in alternating ways – economic, social, cultural, linguistically – I shall now focus on the field of education. What did social scientists in collaboration with governmental delegates consider to be ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ in their concepts of educating emigrants and immigrants? We have already seen that the plan for instruction on ‘international understanding’ intended for the common national public around the world included language differences as well as different behavioural patterns, ‘customs’ and ‘traditions’. International understanding was considered a fundamental idea that ‘should be set above national ideas,’ as the Ecuadorean delegate emphasised to the first General Conference in 1946.⁴⁵¹ The description of the discourse and terms employed intersected with the random utilization of terms as examined in Chapter 7. It revealed the nation states’ self-perceptions and it prepared ‘naturalization’ procedures used by nation states to teach the immigrants knowledge about the ‘receiving’ nation state. It is also important to underscore that some recognized the concept of education to be a ‘cultural value’.⁴⁵² The ‘experts’ understood the process of nation state building and the strengthening of sovereignty and hegemony towards ‘foreign’ influences to have been provoked by population changes or migration. For the UNESCO it was again a balancing act to combine both the ‘free flow of ideas, while preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and education systems of the Member States’.⁴⁵³ To extenuate the friction between the two interests or ideas, the following five engagements were determined as a basis for the program on ‘fundamental education’ and for ‘education for international understanding’:

‘A. Continue activities initiated in 1947 for the improvement of textbooks and teaching materials. These include:

- 1. Drafting a model method of textbook analysis, including the development of principles by which Member States might analyse their own textbooks and teaching materials.*
- 2. Issuing an annotated list of existing bilateral or regional agreements on textbook revision.*

⁴⁵¹ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 30.11.1946. In: General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.4, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 29.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ UNESCO, Programme of UNESCO for 1948, 5.8.1947. In: Box 1947-66, Press Review, 1962-66 - PS/TA, Folder: PROG/1948, Signature: Prog.1948/1, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 7.

3. Study of treatment of international co-operation in the textbooks most commonly used in various countries for history, geography, civics and other subjects related to international understanding.

4. Promoting the preparation by international groups of textbooks, manuals and other materials suitable for national adaptation and especially:

*5. Continuing preparatory work looking toward a history of science and a cultural history of mankind revealing the mutual interdependence of people and cultures, and the contribution made by every culture to the common heritage of mankind.*⁴⁵⁴

The project of the ‘cultural history of mankind’ did, in some way, compensate for the approaches to sustain national histories in an ever-increasing globalization and international connectedness. The aim of teaching international understanding was to stimulate ‘tolerance and friendliness towards the people of every other nation’.⁴⁵⁵ The nation states’ self-perceptions and promotion were not discerned without concern, though. Therefore the study of nations’ concepts of themselves and of others was promoted and education was considered to oppose ‘national self-righteousness to bring about a critical and self-disciplined assessment of our own and other forms of social life’.⁴⁵⁶

In the course of sorting out the struggles between the governmental interests of the nation states and the ideology of ‘internationalism’ and ‘international understanding’, social scientists, especially psychologists, tried to determine the ‘true nature of human beings’. They asked questions as if war and aggressiveness is deeply rooted within ‘human nature’ or not? How can we overcome aggressiveness towards ‘foreigners’ or ‘aliens?’ How do we combat stereotypes? These were questions about elements that psychologists and socio-psychologists had identified as hindering ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’. At the same time, a country’s educational system was considered to be a force of assimilation. This was emphasised in Brazil, where ‘ethnic cysts’, represented by different linguistic communities in Brazil, were considered unable to assimilate because of their perpetuation of non-Portuguese language. Brazilian ‘experts’ intersected that idea with the concept of ‘Brazilianization’. In other contexts and since the mid-1950s, education also has been recognized as part of and a

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 17-18.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 19.

⁴⁵⁶ UNESCO, Statement of Tensions Affecting International Understanding, 8.7.1948. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 327.4 A01 - 327.5 Part III, 151, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-6.

tool for the immigrant's 'cultural assimilation'. Schoolteachers were assigned to assist immigrants in 'the complete adjustment' to the respected 'national life'.⁴⁵⁷ Special attention was given to language use in all contexts, regardless of external visibility.

Mapping the education of 'culture'

In Brazil, for example, two 'maps' were conceptualized: a 'culture map' and an 'educational map'. The former defined the 'culture' of Brazil as conceived by the government and social scientists in the 1950s. In determining a 'cultural map', aspects of Brazilian life, including 'local and regional variations based on studies conducted by cultural anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, demographers, historians and others', were summarized.⁴⁵⁸ Otto Klineberg believed that that information should serve educators. The second map, the 'educational map', was expected to deliver a 'complete and satisfactory picture' of the contemporary situation of the education system in Brazil, including the curriculum for all education levels, teacher training practices, size of classes, teaching materials, the accessibility of schools and library facilities, the 'nature of school population', regularity of student attendance and language problems, with a special focus on immigrants.⁴⁵⁹ Those factors were thought to be comparable with other educational influences that were available through newspapers, radio and cinema. Both 'maps' were supposed to correspond with the 'cultural and social reality' in Brazil.⁴⁶⁰ A similar approach was conducted in 1956 for the Philippines. As it had been recommended for Brazil and for other South American countries, the aid for the development of social sciences and the education of teachers and pupils was promoted. In the Philippines, a comprehensive educational system regarding social sciences was to be established with UNESCO funding. Organizers targeted democracy and 'its history...and its nature and philosophy as a way of life' as the main subject for teaching, which would also 'enrich the cultural background of the teachers'.⁴⁶¹ When no funding was provided by the government, the UNESCO confirmed that it would fund eight fellowships in

⁴⁵⁷ UNESCO, The Education of Immigrants in Brazil, in: Educational Studies and Documents. Education Clearing House UNESCO 16 (1955). 12–19, p. 15.

⁴⁵⁸ Klineberg, Otto, Notes on the "Centro" (2). In: Mission Reports, X07.83 Klineberg O. - Missions of Mr. O. Klineberg, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 4.

⁴⁶¹ UNESCO, The Philippine Normal College. In: Compiled documents under: Minute Sheet, RE: Letter from Mr. Fleege Philippines dated 14.4.1956; Signature: 323.100.8. AMS 07 8.3 (914) "55/56". In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 PartI/II, 325.1: 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 Cultural Integration of Immigrants Part II - from 1 November 1955, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

the field of education.⁴⁶² Experts dealing with the Philippines concentrated on the education of minority groups and school and college and university teachers. In Israel, the education system had also not been evaluated in terms of education as a function of the 'absorption' of immigrants up to the mid-1950s. New research was facilitated and promoted in the field, especially concentrating on immigrants' education favouring 'cultural assimilation'. The outlook in Israel, as Shmuel N. Eisenstadt reported, especially emphasised the contribution of the school towards 'rapid cultural integration' of children and their parents towards a common language and a 'common approach to life'.⁴⁶³ In addition to the school system, the army was an important factor in acquiring fundamental education for newcomers in Israel, including 'hygienic habits and tastes for new food'.⁴⁶⁴

However, those countries used education for all immigrants regardless of visible differences. In Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, education was not provided for those who were not 'akin in culture and type'.⁴⁶⁵ Immigrants other than British-whites were not considered 'culturally' adaptable, as has been examined in previous chapters. Against this background, education for 'cultural assimilation' was not necessary to the same extent as it was in countries with a different approach. The Commonwealth dealt with this matter similarly to the Venezuelan government. Immigrants who were considered 'experts' of some sort, particularly for improving rural regions and dealing with agricultural matters, were preferred. According to this, the concept of pre-arrival orientation and education became a growing issue and was adopted by emigration countries. In April 1956, the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences highlighted the importance of improving the information about foreign countries.⁴⁶⁶ The resolution and recommendations adopted by the Conference on the 'Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants' in May 1956 acknowledged education to assimilation as it had been discussed prior to that year. The following direction was officially agreed upon:

⁴⁶² Confirmation-Request No.3 (AMS) 1957/58, Code: 154, UNESCO Registry No. 113.663, 3.4.1957. In: Ibid. Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

⁴⁶³ Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., Cultural Integration of Immigrants in Israel, 1.3.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 Part I/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) '56' 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - Cuba Part II - from 1 January to 28 February 1956, Signature: 325.1 - 008 A06 '56' (729.1), Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Vgl; Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Allotments 3413-14, Improvement of Information regarding foreign countries. In: Activities Report for April - Applied SS, 30.4.1956, Box 3289, X07.55 SS Part V-VI, Folder: X07.55 SS Programme Budget of Organisation Department of Social Sciences, Part V - from 1/I/56 upto 31/XII/57, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

‘...educational services should emphasize

(a) the desirability of associating adult education with instruction of a vocational, social and civic character...

3. That in the light of the considerations in the Preamble

*(a) school curricula, adult education and the media of communication should give due attention to the understanding of the cultures of communities of the countries from which immigrant have come’.*⁴⁶⁷

During the dissemination of the direction given by the UNESCO and as quoted above to the UNESCO’s member states and its network of individuals and other institutes and associates, those involved with questions of the ‘cultural integration’ and ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants adopted the recommendations for use in government manuals. Education for ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ became an integral component of both fields, the governmental and social sciences. Conferences like the one the UNESCO promoted and conducted in 1955-1956, which gathered numerous social scientists, governmental representatives and other ‘experts’, conveyed the global distribution of inventive ideas regarding education of migrants. Since the task of the conference also was to prepare a synopsis ‘which would be drawn upon by governments and non-governmental organizations according to their needs in preparing manuals for their officials and voluntary workers operating in this fields’.⁴⁶⁸ Manuals were compiled shortly after the conference. One of these manuals shall now be described in more detail.

The so-called ‘Brazil Manual’ was completed in September 1957. Against the background of the understanding and definitions of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ by authors for the Brazilian context,⁴⁶⁹ they formulated a comprehensive model for the ‘cultural integration’ of

⁴⁶⁷ Vgl; Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 296-297.

⁴⁶⁹ See: Bastos de Avila, Fernando, S.J., Diégues Manuel Jr., The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Manual for the use of Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Agencies, 13.9.1957. In: Secretariat – Tensions Project, Box: 706, Folder: 3 A 31 Manuals on Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO/SS Publication, Part I -up to 31 October 1957, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Migration/1.

The manual’s authors emphasised that they made equal use of the two terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ and elucidated what they meant by the notions: ‘a gradual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of the new homeland.’ For them it was defined as ‘a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding. It is a process in which both the migrants and their new compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions.’

immigrants. Those ‘manuals’ were advanced aggregations of the previous ten years in which the individuals in their roles as social scientific ‘experts’ and in collaboration with the governmental representatives discussed and negotiated the topic of the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of immigrants. The manual presented in this chapter dealt with the immigrant’s education before and after his/her arrival and included a stage of selection of future immigrants. This was a change from a policy of laissez-faire and sparse social scientific examination of the concepts in Brazil to an elaborate system of governmental action, social scientific inquiry and discursive determination.

Preface

- I. Selection and preparation of the immigrant
 - 1. Selection committees
 - 2. Selection
 - 3. Preparation of the immigrant
- II. Reception, initial settling-in
 - 1. Arrival
 - 2. Immigrants' hostels
 - 3. Prospects of work
- III. Life in the new community
 - 1. Factors affecting adaptation
 - 2. Family life
 - 3. Role of neighbours
 - 4. Occupational environment
 - 5. Social relations
- IV. Immigrants' needs
 - 1. Children's schools
 - 2. Adult education
 - 3. Information programmes
 - 4. Preparation for citizenship
 - 5. Granting of citizenship
- V. Suggested measures
 - 1. Information on the country
 - 2. Language teaching
 - 3. Guide for the newcomer
 - 4. Inter-ethnic associations
 - 5. Associations
 - 6. Legislation relative to naturalization
 - 7. Fundamental conditions

The Cultural Integration of Immigrants,
Manual for the use of Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Agencies,
13.9.1957. Table of Contents. English version. Source⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

The table above shows the list of contents as it introduced by the Brazilian ‘experts’. The manual as Brazilian collaborators presented it was tailored to the specific context of Brazil, but the authors submitted the manual without restrictions on its utilization *only* in Brazil. The considerations incorporated all those entities that could be and thus the authors were involved in the process of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’. They addressed governmental departments, non-governmental actors and international organizations, and also demanded further social scientific elaboration on behalf of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ processes and their models. The manuals as introduced to the political and the social scientific actors were the first address of ‘cultural assimilation’ and/or ‘cultural integration’ that were internationally and inter-governmentally agreed upon and utilized. I shall now delineate some of the points made according to the pre- and post-educational concerns as determined in 1956. In cooperation with social scientists, international community focussed upon a combination of pre-disposition and post-migration care, and thus primary focus was placed on the immigrant and on a responsibility for the education of ‘nationals’ to inform them about ‘newcomers’. Both directions objectified the migrant as a ‘type of people’ and someone from whom to expect contribution to the ‘culture’. That is probably the essence of the comprehensive considerations between 1945 and 1955 that satisfied the ‘receiving countries’ and was the foundation of the conflict between assimilation advocates and opponents. The idea of a two-sided contentedness, however, was described by the ‘experts’, taking into account the idea of an ‘international understanding’ and peaceful cooperation. For arrival instructions, for example, the conference’s outcome envisaged that the immigrant would be welcomed by a ‘person in authority’, who received the former in his or her own language. This was important, so the authors agreed, because ‘the fact of hearing it spoken by someone in authority in the new country is, for the immigrant, not only comforting and heartwarming, but a powerful psychological factor predisposing him to a cordial acceptance of the new land’.⁴⁷¹ As we have seen throughout the discursive formation process, the psychological and socio-psychological considerations about the individual in his/her role as immigrant were highly influential in the first two decades after 1945. The thoughts and concepts on the psychology of the immigrant entered into the political discourse on ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’. In this regard voluntary non-governmental agencies and organizations were conceived of as important ‘in the view of the psychological effect on the immigrant’. The ‘experts’ expected social workers and ‘social engineers’ to deal with those questions directly and in person.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid, p. 7

The school system for children was intended to teach the ‘cultural life’ of both the ‘receiving country’ and the emigration countries. Hence, this approach was not designed to emphasise ‘cultural’ differences, but to increase international understanding. It is open for discussion if it facilitated the latter rather than the former. The ‘cultural life’ as it was understood by the conference participants and discussants were ‘customs, historical figures, past events, the arts, ways of dressing, [and] types of dwelling place.’⁴⁷² The recommendations even suggested the utilization of pictures and films to present diverse ‘cultural life’s’. Another side of ‘national’ diversity, as perceived as ‘cultural life’, included the proposal to omit education on inner-national and international struggles and wars, especially those between emigration and immigration countries.⁴⁷³ The authors of the manual, in accordance with the conference participants and the UNESCO, stated that ‘it is best to pass over them in silence, emphasising rather the themes which have a relation to the cultural, artistic and literary development of the emigration countries’.⁴⁷⁴ Educating the joint aspect and its ‘positive’ sides was expected to awaken interest and ‘enthusiasm in young people and could contribute to the stimulation of their spiritual and moral preparation by following the traditional example of their ancestors’.⁴⁷⁵ This approach was embedded within the technological developments of the time, which did not enjoy 24/7 world-wide access to news and flows of information that leave no corner of the earth untouched. Education for children, as the international community and collaborating social scientists perceived it in 1956, relied on the ‘good-will’ of the progressively determining power relations alongside nation states.

Educating adult immigrants in their view and as determined in the manual was mostly about teaching language and ‘good citizenship’. The latter is possibly most similar to naturalization policies as we know them today. However, besides explaining constitutional principles of the ‘receiving country’, the ‘advantages of a democratic regime’ were incorporated.⁴⁷⁶ The UNESCO planned to spark children’s enthusiasm about the ‘culture life’s’ of both emigration and immigration countries, and adult interest and excitement was expected to rise in the new country’s institutions. The prospect of equal rights was intended to facilitate the ‘cultural assimilation’ of adult immigrants. ‘Experts’ in 1956 said that naturalization should not be granted ‘until the immigrant is familiar with the traditions, language, and customs of the

⁴⁷² Ibid, p. 20.

⁴⁷³ Ibid, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 21

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

welcoming country'.⁴⁷⁷ This correlated with earlier discussions about a period of 'apprenticeship'. Immigrant women, as already shortly indicated in a previous chapter of this dissertation, were primarily perceived as the immigrants' wives.⁴⁷⁸ Wives received special consideration in questions of education. In addition to the education men were to receive, the 'experts' planned for women extra classes on 'regional cooking, local dishes, quality of materials for dress-making, techniques for domestic work, etc., anything, in fact, which can give them a better knowledge of their new surrounding and help their integration.'⁴⁷⁹

Another method of dissemination of information about matters relating to assimilation, and as understood in educational terms, was mass communication as offered in 1956 by the press, cinema and radio, and were called 'information programmes'. The conference's recommendations circled around the possibility of publishing information in a controlled manner in the foreign language media. Publicized content, per the official recommendation, should be similar to naturalization education, and dealt with 'biographies of famous men, historical events, sketches on regional economy, market conditions, prices, taxes, etc.'⁴⁸⁰

These educational methods were introduced to the international community by an international, inter- and trans-disciplinary network. It delineated the first steps of an international standardization in the management and control of migration flows and immigrants' 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration'. Educating emigrants and immigrants was and continues to be a political discourse combining domestic and foreign political interests, and elaborated on behalf of social sciences. To be considered 'assimilated' the immigrant had to subordinate him or herself under the rules of the nation state. One showing no interest in or camaraderie towards the 'nationals' or the national institutions of the receiving country was not only defined as having failed during the time of one's 'apprenticeship', but also met the refusal of the granting of legal rights. For further elaboration on factors favouring or hindering 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration', the conference recommended continuing research.

Social scientists' involved within the UNESCO's network and in the theoretical establishment of modes and models of 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' were bi-directionally engaged in theoretical considerations – which the associated individuals referred to as

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 22.

⁴⁷⁸ In the English versions of the cited texts, immigrants were referred to in singular form primarily as male ('he'). The same was true for the French versions. Here, the individual immigrant was referred to as 'immigrant' and not as '*immigrante*'.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

‘academic’ – and practical concerns. Social scientists tended to adopt the political point of view in their respective country regarding matters of education, although adjusted to input from the international community.

It was in this context that Alva Myrdal suggested to Claude Lévi-Strauss a summary of scientific evidence about the ‘educability’ of ‘natives’ while remaining ‘within boundaries’.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ UNESCO, Correspondence from Alva Myrdal to Claude Lévi-Strauss, 20.1.1954. In: Secretariat, Minorities, Discrimination, Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 323.15 Discrimination & Protection of Minorities, Signature: SS/432.392, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

*'In taking up the problem of the development of culture..., a first proceeding is to obtain a means of measurement. Seeking something like a definite line along which to reckon progression and retrogression in civilization, we may apparently find it best in the classification of real tribes and nations'.*⁴⁸²

Chapter 10: Imagined Forms of Society and the Visibility of Differences

Emigration regions and countries of 'major' immigration were in the spotlight of assimilation and integration research in the aftermath of World War II. Because of relatively unidirectional migration flows out of Europe caused by the war, assimilation and integration discourse circled around specific countries and regions that were affected by the immigration of individuals and groups in the years after 1945. Those regions were both American continents, with particular focus on Brazil, Venezuela, the United States and Canada, and the Commonwealth countries of Australia and New Zealand. Besides mainly concentrating on those regions, the international community promoted studies in France, Belgium, Great Britain and West Germany as well. Those European countries were perceived as points of high population pressure and therefore were also considered able to deliver usable studies on the assimilation and integration of immigrants. However, we shall now look more closely upon the immigration regions outside of Europe. This chapter will examine the examples of Australia and New Zealand, Israel, Brazil and France in order to shed light on the differences in perceptions of the nation states. International and trans-disciplinary investigations about those countries dominated the discourse on assimilation and integration. As in the case of Australia, some underwent a magnificent change in utilizing the terms and notions regarding the country's perception of 'way of life'. In addition, their considerations in conceptualizing the assimilation and integration of migrants were dominant in social scientific investigations between 1945 and the late 1950s. The first part of this chapter is guided by the following question: How was the 'society', into which the immigrant was expected to assimilate, imagined?

⁴⁸² Tylor, Edward B., *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*. Vol.1, Third Edition, Revised (London, 1891), p. 26.

Australia and New Zealand

Since the second half of the 19th century, the Australian ‘nation’ was politically conceptualized along a ‘white-colour line’. Immigrants were hierarchically categorized, and the British ‘white’ immigrant was recognized as the most favoured one. The ‘white Australia policy’, as it was officially called, lasted through the 1970s. In the decades after 1945, non-English-speaking European ‘white’ immigrants and non-‘white’ immigrants were allowed to enter Australia, and the discourse on assimilation and integration of immigrants focused on their ‘assimilability’. The predetermined characteristics of and the political dominance involved in the discussions were not only fairly basic but they also guided social scientific inquiries. The British immigrant was not expected to assimilate because the basic Australian social structure was determined along British-‘white’ characteristics. ‘Culture’ and ‘way of life’, however, served as a proper substitute at least for social scientists investigating the assimilation of those who were not of ‘white’-British origin. Australian inquiries as to the ‘assimilation of immigrants’ after 1945 concentrated on two themes: (1) the assimilation of ‘aborigine’ individuals and groups into the Australian ‘national core’, and (2) the assimilation of immigrants from outside Australia, especially non-British immigrants. Two non-British immigrant groups were considered most important: those from India and from the ‘East’ (referring to immigrants from ‘Asiatic’ countries) and those from non-British Europe. The ‘white’ immigrant who arrived in Australia or New Zealand from European countries other than Great Britain was recognized through his/her English speaking ability or inability. The basic concept of Australia as a ‘national’ entity was the British and English-speaking nation state, with citizens of preferably ‘white’ skin colour. Since the early 20th century, those categories were defined also in ‘cultural’ terms but not in ‘ethnic’ terms by Australian social scientists. After 1945, the immigrant was expected to assimilate into a ‘cultural’ and ‘social’ Australian ‘uniformity’⁴⁸³ or ‘cultural pattern’.⁴⁸⁴

Israel

In the introduction to a series of studies on the assimilation of immigrants in Israel published by the UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin in 1956, Avid Brodersen asked if Israel

⁴⁸³ UNESCO, *The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture)* 1955, p. 90.

⁴⁸⁴ Borrie, W.D., *The state and the cultural integration of immigrants*, 4.4.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./16, UNESDOC, p. 4.

would ‘still remain a nation of essentially Western civilization’?⁴⁸⁵ Researchers focussing on Israel applied a ‘way of life’ to Israel that was perceived not only in religiously but also in terms of civilizational. Besides Israel as a nation state comprised of Jews, the ‘society’ was furthermore seen as one of ‘western civilization’. This approach transformed the concept of the assimilation of immigrants other than Europeans or ‘Western’ origin into a ‘*re-socialization*’ of immigrants.⁴⁸⁶ And although Israel was considered a ‘melting-pot’ society by social scientists of the time, the immigration process in Israel, as described by Shmuel N. Eisenstadt in 1956, ‘unavoidably takes place at the cost of some ‘decline in collective values’.⁴⁸⁷ Inquiries about assimilation and integration into the Israeli ‘nation’ were therefore dominated by (1) a basic differentiation of immigrants between ‘Oriental’ and European; and (2) on behalf of the term ‘ethnic’, which was defined in terms of the specific country of emigration.⁴⁸⁸ The immigrant was expected to assimilate into a ‘civilization’ of ‘western’ ideal.

Brazil

Until the late 1940s, no ‘assimilation studies’ had been tackled in Brazil in a coordinated or national scale.⁴⁸⁹ Early approaches to establishing a ‘homogenous’ society in Brazil refer to ‘Brazilianization’ attempts in the 1930s. Until then, the ‘society’ in which the immigrant was expected to be absorbed was the ‘Luso-Brazilian culture’, which was represented by Iberian immigrants.⁴⁹⁰ Since the 1930s, immigration to Brazil was recognized as a problem because of the large immigration of non-Iberian Europeans, who formed linguistic communities that those investigating them called ‘ethnic cysts’. The inquiries, however, were predominantly formulated and guided by politics and less by social scientific investigations. When the first studies were conducted under the auspices of the UNESCO after 1945, the researcher’s early foci on Brazil as a ‘national community’ was upon a common language, Portuguese. Hence, studies on Brazil were ‘studies on linguistic assimilation’.⁴⁹¹ Language was primarily the

⁴⁸⁵ Brodersen, Avid, Cultural Assimilation and Tensions in a Country of Large-Scale Immigration: Israel, Part I, Introduction. In: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1. 7–12, p. 12.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ UNESCO, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 90.

⁴⁸⁸ Shuval, Judith, Patterns of Intergroup Tension and Affinity. In: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1. p. 78.

⁴⁸⁹ Diégues, Manuel Jr., The Education of Immigrants in Brazil. In: Educational Studies and Documents. Education Clearing House UNESCO 16 (1955). 12–19, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ UNESCO, Comments and suggestions concerning the proposals for research on the cultural assimilation of immigrants, 23.6.1950. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/Conf.2/2-A = SS/TAIU/Conf.2/4.

category by which immigrants were distinguished and a type of ‘common core’ was applied to Brazil. Social scientific studies on Brazil – those recommended to the UNESCO to serve as case studies for the Tensions Project – preferred to represent the country as an ‘approachable, tolerant and accepting’ country that would receive the immigrant ‘without prejudice’ and as a country in which the ‘settler’ would be assisted for adjustment and educated.⁴⁹² In 1955, the expected ‘assimilation’ into the ‘life of the nation’ was attempted primarily through educating immigrants in the Portuguese language (to avoid ‘ethnic cysts’), Brazilian history and geography and civics. In the course of the UNESCO-promoted sociological studies on the assimilation of immigrants, Brazilian social scientists added the adoption of the Portuguese language and an adaptation to ‘Brazilian customs and usages’ to this list. Applying the assimilation concept to social scientific inquiries about those countries that had not dealt with these questions before also triggered a political and social ‘nation’-building process. In 1955, experts on immigration to Brazil and the assimilation of immigrants talked about the ‘merging of the alien group with Brazilian society’ and a ‘Brazilian race to be achieved by intensive marriage’.⁴⁹³ The idea of a ‘Brazilian race’ centred round a political idea first formulated in 1947 by Hermane Tavares de Sa, and thus wishful thinking of an image of a ‘Brazilian race’. Expressed in political terms, it was said ‘that the darker strains will eventually be absorbed by the lighter ones.’⁴⁹⁴ The development of the Brazilian concept of assimilation based on the political idea of ‘political loyalty’ was more obvious than in other countries of ‘large immigration’. However, social scientific investigators of the Brazilian case did not tire of emphasizing that in Brazil no prejudice – neither religious nor ethnic – against immigrants existed and that the ‘whole historical process of the growth of Brazil was characterized by a spirit of mutual understanding between different groups’.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹² Diégues, Manuel Jr., The Education of Immigrants in Brazil, in: Educational Studies and Documents. Education Clearing House UNESCO 16 (1955). 12–19, p. 12.

⁴⁹³ UNESCO (Ed), The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 143.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Neiva, Artur Hehl, Diégues, Manuel, Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil, 31.10.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3, p. 41.

Venezuela

Venezuela had quite a different approach to assimilation concepts. They were based on the distinct notion of the Venezuelan nation state. As in other countries after 1945, the Venezuelan government restricted immigration alongside diverse lines that today we would consider racist and discriminatory. However, in the years after 1945, immigrants to Venezuela were expected to be: of 'white' skin colour; under the age of 60; of 'good personal character' as proven by 'no prior imprisonment or forced labour'; neither 'idiots' nor mentally deficient; not epileptic or 'insane'; not blind; not alcoholics and not 'vagabonds'.⁴⁹⁶ Furthermore, immigrants were only allowed into the country after proving they had no 'diffuse ideas contrary to the form of government'.⁴⁹⁷ These prerequisites were not unique; the United States and Australia had similar restrictions on immigrants. Brazilian social scientists investigating the 'aspects of immigration in Venezuela', however, were bold enough to argue positively about the country's attitude towards immigrants. Some stated that 'fortunately, the Venezuelan population has no racial or religious prejudices'.⁴⁹⁸ Similar to Brazil, the nation state was still in a process of identification. The 'Venezuelan' population was recognized as Spanish-speaking with ties to the 'indigenous' population, but those 'Venezuelans' were expected to 'learn the higher standard of life' of the immigrants.⁴⁹⁹ The 'national elements', as Buitron argued, would be able to raise the standard of living on behalf of the (preferably European) immigrants. A highly selective process and social scientific discourse on assimilation and integration in Venezuela was influenced and guided by those regional approaches. An immigrant to Venezuela was, therefore, expected rather to integrate into the Venezuelan 'nation' and 'raise' the 'standard of living', as the UNESCO conceptualized it.

The 'Way of Life' Concept and its Applied Categorizations

I shall briefly delineate a concept that the UNESCO applied and illustrated to characterise the concept of an entity thus far called 'nation'. UNESCO's collaborating social science experts added a new description to the commonly used perceptions collectively understood as a 'natural' national community; along with 'culture', 'civilization', 'ethnicity' and 'race', they

⁴⁹⁶ UNESCO, Some aspects of immigration in Venezuela, 19.4.1956, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 add.6.

⁴⁹⁷ National Agricultural Institute, Some aspects of immigration in Venezuela, 19.4.1956. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 add.6, p. 1-2.

⁴⁹⁸ UNESCO, Some aspects of immigration in Venezuela, 19.4.1956, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 add.6, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁹ Aníbal Buitron, Sharing the life of the community; (a) The problem of isolated groups, (b) Participation in rural and city life, 25.4.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./37, p. 2.

included 'way of life'. This concept accompanied the 'older' terms for several years, defining the nation state as an entity of a characteristic and distinguished 'way of life'. The notion was very similar to the idea of 'culture', with which the concept of 'way of life' merged later in the 20th century. Through the late 1950s, it was a crucial phrase simultaneously used with 'culture' to promote the DSS's Tensions Project in various countries. The concept was also regularly utilized to back the ideas of a 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' of immigrants.

Robert MacIver of Columbia University first suggested the phrase 'way of life' in 1947 to study peoples' 'ways, their achievements, their problems'.⁵⁰⁰ It was meant to assist with 'international understanding' and simultaneously served the member-states' interests in creating a new approach to national histories. Due to the concept, every migrant inherently bore a set of 'characteristics' linking him or her to a specific 'way of life'. By means of measuring those characteristics the transfer of 'cultural traits' through migration became a matter of investigation not only within the fields of ethnology, anthropology and sociology, but also was a component of political discussion. This resulted in a discourse that problematized migration and argued that differences in 'ways of life' caused tensions. Based on the assumption that 'cultural aspects' or 'cultural patterns of different peoples'⁵⁰¹ vary enormously, studies and reports on national 'ways of life' were promoted.

While nationalism was considered an obstacle to 'international ideals', 'the diversity of national culture constitute[ed] a civilising influence and hence a beneficial factor.'⁵⁰² It was the delegate from the US who suggested at the first General Conference in November 1946 to subsequently study the differences of the types of 'national culture', arguing that this could lead to a greater and 'international understanding'.⁵⁰³ Therefore and according to the view of the social practice of the time and frame, 'way of life' was considered to be a 'national way of life'.⁵⁰⁴ The concept was not clearly distinguished from 'culture', however, and served rather

⁵⁰⁰ UNESCO, Intellectual Cooperation in the Social Sciences, Report by R.M MacIver, 1.1.1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁰¹ UNESCO, Notes on Social Science Projects, 1946-1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 10.

⁵⁰² UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 29.11.1946. In: General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.3, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ UNESCO, "Tensions Project" Action Programme - 1948. SS Memo from Social Sciences, Dr Hadley Cantril, to: D.G., D.D.G., A.D.G., Mr. Charles Ascher, 22.3.1948. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part III from 1/IV/48 up to 30/VI/48, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

as a substitute when in need of a notion that was easier to understand and less complex than 'culture'. Nevertheless, the concept basically fulfilled the same task as did the idea of 'culture', which caused some confusion by the social scientists. In 1956, W.D. Borrie complained that any phrasing of 'Canadian, American, or Australian way of life', as he said, 'is usually very difficult to define, but is frequently used by sectional interests to defend their own positions, especially against newcomers who are culturally or socially different from the group they represent.'⁵⁰⁵ In November 1948 the Australian National Cooperating Body in the Social Sciences critiqued the inquiry into 'national characteristics' as 'to attach far too much importance to differences in national cultures, ideal and legal systems as causes of international tensions' further reasoning that 'in a case of clash, these differences become symbolic and the causes of such symbolic clashes must be sought.'⁵⁰⁶ Nonetheless, counter to the critique, the program was carried out and in the first decade after 1945 nation states delivered, case studies on 'ways of life' as selected by the DSS. Under the auspices of the UNESCO, the International Studies Conference decided to undertake inquiries on the 'ways of life' of 17 countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Egypt, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, Mexico, Italy, Lebanon, Switzerland, South Africa, Poland, Pakistan, New Zealand, and Norway.⁵⁰⁷ However, only a handful of countries conducted these studies, including France, Norway, Poland and Switzerland. Others, such as Brazil, Venezuela, Israel and Canada, submitted reports in order to describe the political attitude towards the immigrants in general and the immigrants' assimilation or integration. Those inquiries were expected to deliver information on 'national' characteristics, meaning the political and legal framework, 'social attitudes', 'labour codes' and the industrial and economic structure. These were scheduled for publication in the form of booklets and were meant to help to explain the 'diversity of mankind' to school children, university students, diplomats, international organizations and their collaborators and private individuals.⁵⁰⁸ Future international migrants, common travellers and governmental delegations were targeted so they could understand and adapt to the 'national cultures'.

⁵⁰⁵ Borrie, W.D., The State and the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, 4.4.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./16, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁶ UNESCO, National Cooperating Body in the Social Sciences. Observations Concerning Final Resolutions of the General Conference, Second Session, 1948, NO.5.1. 'Tensions Affecting International Understanding', 2.11.1948, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁷ UNESCO, Work in hand and in Prospect - Social Science Department, 1949. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - up to 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

'Receiving' societies were explained in terms of entities as delineated above, based upon the man as a 'national man'. 'If man was national man, and culture was national culture, then any given culture could not readily be put on or discarded.'⁵⁰⁹ This argument posits that – in the case of the United States - 'some men were, by nature, less well-adapted to some cultures than to others; and moving a Pole to America did not at once make an American out of him.'⁵¹⁰ Along the lines of this argument, pluralism or 'the pluralization of society', as advocated by Artur Hehl Neiva and Manuel Diégues in their article on the 'cultural assimilation' of immigrants in Brazil, should not 'pass beyond the limits of safety to the point of threatening the basic social structure.'⁵¹¹ Although it had only recently emerged at the time, investigations into assimilation in Israeli society were also recognized on the basis of the nation state concept. In studies on Israel, the researcher would rather use the term absorption or integration than assimilation. However, the idea behind the notions of adaptation and integration correlated with the concept of assimilation. In S.N. Eisenstadt's view, it was about the 'social and cultural absorption of the newcomers and in the blending of the heterogeneous population into a national unity.'⁵¹² Recognizing society in these terms, 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' became the concepts that would satisfy nation states' domestic and foreign power interests. That the discourse spread out in those conceptual directions was, however, due to the social sciences and their professional agents. The experts argued alongside a seemingly inherent discourse of 'brotherhood', 'character', 'culture' and 'personality', which would not 'simply disappear through change in residence'.⁵¹³ Therefore, and on behalf of further argument, the outcome of a visibility of differences was likely considered a possible risk for social peace and silence.

The meaning(s) of 'culture' and the approaches to it were diverse. Before 1945, the term re-appeared whenever a replacement for an imagined social homogeneity – nation, nation state, race and ethnicity – was needed, and the term evolved into the description of overall physically recognizable characteristics for the measurement of assimilation (and integration)

⁵⁰⁹ UNESCO, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 11-13.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Neiva, Artur Hehl, Diégues, Manuel, Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil, 31.10.1955. In: Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3, UNESDOC, p. 4.

⁵¹² Eisenstadt, Shmuel, N., Cultural Integration of Immigrants in Israel, 1.3.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, PArts I [Box 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - Cuba Part II - from 1 January to 28 February 1956, Signature: 325.1 - 008 A06 '56' (729.1), Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 9.

⁵¹³ UNESCO, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 11-13.

processes in social sciences. The term's characteristics combined under its umbrella were hidden under a surface of generalizations. The UNESCO did also consolidate 'culture' within its vocabulary since the very beginning and included the expression in the DSS's projects in order to promote the investigation of:

- (i) 'Cultural Aspects of Population Problems'
- (ii) 'Cultural Impact of Migration and Displacement'
- (iii) 'Cultural Purposes of Economic Planning'
- (iv) 'Social and Cultural Aspects of Migration'
- (v) 'Cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' of immigrants

In order to spot the 'cultural aspects' and to measure an impact, cultural patterns required definition. 'Cultural patterns' are a means of counting the social composition defined by social scientists and in the nation state's point of view. When Edward Tyler examined a classification of 'real tribes and nations' in 1891, he discerned culture from the ethnological perspective as a means to observe the 'progression and retrogression in civilization'. A system of classification was created with a range from the 'savage' and the 'modern educated nations'. This approach to 'culture' as a transcript of 'civilization' or 'progress' was reformulated in the 20th century. The social sciences' commonly accepted view of 'western' embossment, sometimes defined as a 'way of life', primarily determined their intersection.

*'Assimilation may in some senses and to a certain degree
be described as a function of visibility.
As soon as the immigrant no longer exhibits the marks
which identify him as a member of an alien group,
he acquires by that fact the actual if not the legal status of a native.'*⁵¹⁴

Chapter 11: Group Categorizations

An important and major question of interest to Alva Myrdal, the UNESCO's Social Sciences Departments' Director in 1951, was about the 'Measures Undertaken in Various Countries to facilitate the Integration of Immigration into the National Life'. Political and economic structures of independent states were converting into nationally distinct contexts – in national life contexts, or national 'ways of life' – and therefore were part of the process of nation building. This process had been increasingly structured and defined through the concept of 'culture' after 1945, and was one reason for problematizing migration. Migration was not only the movement of individuals; it evolved into the immigration of culture into nation states. In addition to regional migration within a national order, after 1945 migration was perceived and discerned as crossing clearly defined national borders. Boundaries between sovereign political, economic, legal and social (and later, cultural) entities increasingly became less fluid. With this process, the migrant became the subject of social scientific investigation and mutated gradually into the immigrant. The immigrant was in 1945 social scientific terms primarily a male individual⁵¹⁵ who was (1) a displaced person from a European country; (2) an international migrant; (3) a refugee or asylum seeker. Hence, in studies, the authors categorized those moving internationally for different reasons differently and referred mostly to the international migrant as a 'foreign element', a 'foreigner', 'newcomers', 'alien' or 'adopted person'. The overall term of 'im-migrant' embraced these titles. It is important to emphasise that this term was not given by 'nature'; rather, it was a refinement of the term 'migrant', indicating the movement of individuals and groups in a world sectioned into nation states. The immigrant on the other hand, was perceived as a person not only migrating, but emigrating and immigrating. From the 'receiving' countries' point of view, the migrant becomes the immigrant and, from the countries of departure, the 'emigrant'. This

⁵¹⁴ UNESCO, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1956, p. 91.

⁵¹⁵ In the UNESCO and the UN specialized organisations' programs on population and migration, the female migrant was the wife and mother. She was never addressed as an independent individual migrant.

differentiation correlates with the discourse problematizing international migration. Another term was preferred in Israel, one that the government accentuated in an article supplied to the UNESCO conference on 'integration of immigrants' in 1956. The author stated in the piece that the terms 'immigration' and 'immigrant' were 'never used when applied to Jews in connexion with Israel (or previously Palestine). The terms "Aliya" and "Oleh" are applied, respectively in the case of the arrival of Jews and the Jew arriving to settle in Israel.'⁵¹⁶ Having said that, the respective experts who would work on the assimilation of immigrants in Israel in the years after 1945 under UNESCO's authority, such as S.N. Eisenstadt and Judith T. Shuval, rarely distinguished between these terms. The 'immigrant' was the subject on whose behalf 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' ought to be targeted and measured.

Migration movements after 1945 were not particularly striking when compared to the 19th century. The migrant as an economic subject and resource, and a *culturally* distinct person became increasingly important for political and economic considerations. Both, the economic and the cultural factors were significant in terms of the nation-building processes. From a hegemonic point of view, this was easy to identify because the individual's emotional engagement – e.g. patriotism and nationalism – and commitment to the nation were important to keep order and maintain accepted power relations within the nation state. Economy and its well-being became the basic target for welfare states, as some nation states increasingly defined themselves after 1945. Therefore, individualism was seen as problematic, at least if applied to the immigrant's identity. Which 'cultures' permit 'the individual as a separate entity who can think and feel independently'? asked Erich Fromm in his comments to the UNESCO in 1949.⁵¹⁷ The movement of individuals defined in cultural terms was pinpointed as a cause of tensions when converging with the culture of the so-called receiving country. The *cultural* integration and assimilation of immigrants therefore became a crucial political, economic and social question for establishing or 'maintaining' a culturally homogenous nation state and for make differences invisible.⁵¹⁸ Visibility was a major factor and caused

⁵¹⁶ UNESCO, Cultural integration of immigrants in Israel, 27.3.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./2 Add. 2.

⁵¹⁷ Fromm, Erich, Community Studies - Theoretical Premises, 25.1.1949. In: Dr. Klineberg Papers for the January Meeting, 1.1.1949-29.1.1949, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5 : 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵¹⁸ Robert E. Park first put this forward by stating that assimilation was in a certain degree a function of visibility. Alfred Sauvy referred to his work in the UNESCO survey, 'The cultural Integration of Immigrants', published in 1959. At this point, there was still no clear theoretical distinction between integration and assimilation.

new immigration research. The concept of visibility is not often referred to in the sources. When it is, however, it reveals the antagonism between contemporary human rights concepts of freedom of cultural life (including religion) and the fear of national heterogeneity. It also exposed the fraction between the concepts of heterogeneity and homogeneity, including cultural pluralism or so-called multi-culturalism, as it is termed in German speaking countries today. Alfred Sauvy referred further to the concept of visibility that ‘whether the emphasis was on economic, political or social matters, the common dominator in all policies was perhaps the concept that the immigrant should be capable of becoming invisible, that is, unidentifiable by the non-immigrants’.⁵¹⁹ One year later, in his study on *The Integration of Immigrants for the UNESCO*, W.D. Borrie stated that the ‘Interests in these aspects of integration [cultural and social] arose not only because of the day to day difficulties which were arising in countries where immigrants and refugees were visibly unintegrated’.⁵²⁰ The visibility concept refers to differences in appearance and language, which was recognised as one symbol of a *culture* along with religion and living standards.

Alfred Sauvy served as the French expert in consultation with UNESCO on population questions and W.D. Borrie was the Australian specialist on immigration and integration/assimilation, working closely with the Australian Government. Robert E. Park, as mentioned in earlier chapters, called upon the visibility concept in his article on ‘Assimilation, Social’, published 1930 in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (II). Park was the first known sociologist to formulate assimilation models. He represented the Chicago School’s sociological studies on the assimilation of individual immigrants and groups within the city of Chicago. His best-known concept is called the ‘race relation circle’. The UNESCO experts referred to Park’s work on different matters at the Havana Conference in 1956 and referenced Park’s social assimilation conceptualization, which indicated ‘social stability rather than complete absorption at all levels’.⁵²¹ Assimilation, Park said, ‘may in some sense and to a certain degree be described as a function of visibility. As soon as the immigrant no longer exhibits the marks which identify him as a member of an alien group, he acquires by that fact the actual if not legal status of a native’.⁵²² The authors also recognized that most of the

⁵¹⁹ UNESCO, *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture)*, Paris 1959, p. 91.

⁵²⁰ Borrie, W.D. *The Integration of Immigrants*, 1.2.1960. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box 703, Folder: 3 A 31 "Cultural Integration of Immigrants" UNESCO/SS Publication, Signature:--, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1-2.

⁵²¹ UNESCO, *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture)*, Paris 1959, p. 91

⁵²² Ibid.

immigration-countries' national policies expected the immigrant to be invisible. They stated that 'whether the emphasis [was] on economic, political or social matters, the common dominator in all policies was perhaps the concept that the immigrant should be capable of becoming invisible, that is, unidentifiably be the non-immigrant.'⁵²³ For the UNESCO and its collaborators, this political approach to immigrants' assimilation was not acceptable and they complained that there was no appreciation for the immigrants' influence on the so called 'non-immigrant culture', referring to the 'positive contribution of immigrants' study, undertaken from the late 1940s and published in 1955. The concept of 'immigrant' invisibility was not refused completely and found its way into assimilation discourses.

Assimilation was not only applied to the 'immigrant'. Those within the defined national borders who had lived there *before* the nation state had been established – 'indigenous' population, 'aborigines' or 'natives' – were considered to be in need of assimilation into the nation. Research on the topic of 'indigenous' assimilation was conducted in Australia and the US. The ILO proposed in a paper supplied for the UNESCO's consideration that 'indigenous populations might be defined as (a) descendants of peoples who inhabited a country at the time of conquest or colonisation, who lead a tribal or semi-tribal existence more in conformity with the social, economic and cultural institutions of the period before conquest or colonisation than with the institutions of the nation to which they belong; and (b) groups with tribal and semi-tribal structure whose social and economic conditions are similar those of peoples defined in (a).'⁵²⁴ Hence, the international community not only applied assimilation, to 'immigrants' but also to individuals and groups considered unassimilated or not 'integrated'. This shows again that the discourses of 'assimilation' and 'integration' were defined after 1945 in terms of economic, 'social' and 'cultural' assimilation. Discursively, the 'development' of indigenous populations would as well be defined in 'cultural', economic and 'social' terms differentiating those characteristics from the nation states' 'culture' and 'development'. The UNESCO cooperated with the ILO on that topic and included the subject of 'assimilation and integration of indigenous peoples' into its program for 1952 with studies mostly conducted in South America (Brazil and Mexico) and South Africa. These investigations continued through 1957 and were called 'Experiments in assimilation in the Americas'.⁵²⁵ In South Africa, the UNESCO saw the 'race question' as a topic only to be

⁵²³ Ibid, p. 90-91.

⁵²⁴ UNESCO, Tentative Outline of Problems to be dealt with in the proposed Instrument on Indigenous Populations in Independent Countries, UNESCO Archive, Paris.

⁵²⁵ UNESCO, Memo from A. Métraux, Department of Social Sciences, to P.C. Terenzio, Office of the Director General, Subject: Draft Programme of concerted action concerning indigenous and other tribal & semi-tribal

dealt with ‘within the organization’s bounds’. In accordance with the ILO, the topic was considered to fall under the UNESCO’s responsibility. This is interesting when recalling the UNESCO’s responsibilities in the field of ‘cultural assimilation’. In correspondence with Claude Lévi-Strauss, Alva Myrdal suggested that South Africa summarize the ‘scientific evidence as to the “educability” of native peoples’, in order to sketch ‘their propensity for rapid acculturation’.⁵²⁶ As in the case of South America, the South African example introduces a new discursive line – the protection of ‘minorities’ and deeming ‘aborigines’ and ‘indigenous’ to be a minority group that became another object of assimilation. According to the ‘white-colour’ discourse in Australia’s assimilation policy, the ‘aborigine’ population evolved into this position, as did immigrants of non-British ‘stock’.

The ‘Rights of Nations’

The problematization of differences and the visibility of non-preferred differences, such as differing skin-colour and language, reveal an ambiguity that the assimilation discourse has struggled with since the concept was discussed. Within the UNESCO’s work on the topic, the struggle became obvious, as the organization dedicated its work to the ‘international’ – peace keeping on behalf of international cooperation and the promotion of international understanding. As a discussion during the Preparatory Commission’s work in November 1946 revealed, from Great Britain’s perspective, the ‘liberties’ of each nation state were at stake, as was their sovereignty in building a distinct national culture. For others, like Equator or France, the international was also about facilitating an ‘intellectual and moral solidarity of the human race’.⁵²⁷ For ‘societies’ as imagined on the basis of the nation state, it was about patriotism⁵²⁸ and duty to the ‘home’ or ‘receiving’ country; or as Julian Huxley called it, ‘to the ethnic groups to which we belong’,⁵²⁹ which was still under discussion in the early months of UNESCO’s work. Duty to the nation was perceived from a civic point of view and at stake

populations, 3.9.1957. In: Secretariat, Minorities, Discrimination, Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A) Folder: 323.15 A 101 ILO - ILO Convention on Protection and Integration of Indigenous Populations in Independent Countries, Signature: SSMemo/ME/hjl/10.917, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵²⁶ UNESCO, Discrimination and Minorities, 1950-1965. In: Secretariat, Minorities, Discrimination, Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 323.15 Discrimination & Protection of Minorities, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵²⁷ UNESCO, Programme Commission - Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, 30.11.1946. In: General Conference, 1st Session, Paris 1946 - Programme Commission - Documents, Signature: UNESCO/C/Prog.Com./S.C.Soc.Sci./V.R.4, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 25.

⁵²⁸ The Lebanese delegate to the Preparatory Commission’s Sub-Commission on Social Sciences recommended the use of the term ‘patriotism’ instead of ‘nationalism’. See *ibid*, p. 6.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 25.

were the 'rights of nations' to dictate the duties and rights.⁵³⁰ The recommendation to promote the solidarity of the human race as considered superior to the nation, as recommended by the Ecuadorean and supported by the French delegate, was, however, rejected by the commission.⁵³¹ In a time in which simultaneously human rights were codified and determined by the UN and its member states and discrimination was condemned, some nation states' governmental groups and delegates proclaimed the right of the nation to decide independent of the international community about what is considered to be discrimination. This was obviously accepted, although frequently condemned by the UN. According to specific political interests and hegemonic concerns of neo-liberal thinkers, the 'right of nations' was perverted to a 'right to discriminate'. Nation states construed its own 'rights' towards its inhabitants. Until the 21st century, nation states' political interpretations and legal determinations of discrimination were widely spread (again).

In the early years after 1945, ambiguities were revealed also through the UNESCO's considerations on the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UNESCO was engaged with the 'philosophical principles of human rights' and as part of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the organization stressed the continuation of studies on the 'cultural assimilation of immigrants'. From the perspective of the argument, one concept justified the other here. At first the world was seen as nation states with specific 'cultural' traits. Categories and classifications of human beings were defined and determined through a process of consensual acceptance by the international community. The 'human rights' conceptualization accentuated differences that had been categorized and commonly accepted by 'experts' to be used in definitions of discrimination. This approach had little to do with original human rights considerations that were consolidated by the claim of the individual's rights against and within the state (civic-political rights). It follows an argument that ended with the 'right of nations' to again restrict individuals' rights. 'Freedom through the state' (social and cultural human rights) can be considered an outcome of the claim of 'cultural individuality'. The nation state after 1945 clearly was elevated to another level, and as the 'cultural assimilation' or integration of immigrants were perceived as 'success', the direction was clearly one directional. Therefore, 'cultural assimilation' was not perceived as a deprivation of individual rights. The next step in

⁵³⁰ The French delegate emphasised this notion, but also stated that 'there is no need for us to infringe the rights of nations.' See: Ibid, p. 30-31.

⁵³¹ The motion was rejected, 10 votes to 8. See: Ibid, p. 33.

this sequential and circular argument – or ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’, as Robert E. Merton⁵³² would have called it in 1948 – was to establish the concept of ‘tolerance’, in this case the tolerance toward immigrants. The nation state’s demand of culturally assimilation or integration was exaggerated and opposed to the rights of individuals. In the course of the UNESCO’s engagement of the UN’s Human Rights Declaration, the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants was discussed along the lines of the argument briefly depicted above. It was a balancing act for the UNESCO and the social scientists actively involved with inputting requirements to pacify the member states while not forfeiting its principles. In its resolutions in 1954, the organization recommended that ‘all Member States encourage respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed by the United States Charter and the UNESCO Constitution for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language and religion, and that they direct their attention to gaining recognition for the ideas of living peacefully together, of understanding and co-operation among all nations, whatever their differences, while recognizing the principle of self-determination’.⁵³³ The Director-General was expected to promote ‘cultural assimilation’ by the request of the member-states. The ‘differentiation’ of individuals by nationality, the ‘visibility’ of differences and the claim for ‘cultural assimilation’ appear in a sequence that reveals that the ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of immigrants is a ‘self-fulfilling’ theorem solidified as a paradigm in social sciences and political theory. It serves hegemonic interests well, as the formation of ‘isolated groups’ was recognized as endangering the ‘requisite spirit of citizenship’. When the organization, in accordance with an army of individuals recognized as experts in social sciences, managed to promote the categorization of migrants along discriminatory lines in 1954 it condemned discrimination on the basis of ‘nationality’ – as well as on social origin, race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, social origin or property, and birth or other status – as the ‘greatest danger to peace and to human

⁵³² Robert K. Merton was a member of the Social Science Research Council Committee and a professor at Columbia University. Otto Klineberg deemed Merton’s research studies important in 1950. The Research Council had recommended Merton for the position of director of the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences in 1947. Although the recommendation stated that Merton was the ‘most plausible’ of the candidates, Edward Shils, the author of the first Tension Project memorandum, was against Merton’s appointment and wrote that he expected Merton ‘not to hold up very well because of a pronounced tendency to withdraw from social relations, what is apparently a fearfulness of social contacts.’ Shils implied to the UNESCO committee that Merton would have used a ‘quasi-psychiatric episode’ as a way to withdraw from a ‘complex job-relationship’. See: Proposals for next steps in Tensions Project, 22.6.1947, Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, Appendix, p. 5. Gunnar Myrdal, husband of Alva Myrdal (Principle Director of the UN Department of Social Affairs until 1949 and Director of UNESCO’s Department of Social Sciences in 1950), wrote about his climactic-cyclical argument explaining racial prejudice in his article ‘American Dilemma’.

⁵³³ UNESCO, Resolutions 1954 - Social Sciences, 6.12.1954. In: General Conference, 8 Session, Montevideo 1954, Resolutions, Chapter IV.1.3.41 ‘Social Sciences and Problems of International Understanding and Tensions, Sub-Chapter IV.1.3.4112. Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 31.

dignity’.⁵³⁴ During the same years, W.D. Borrie deepened the ‘rights’ of the nation state according within this argument to its ‘liberal view of the extent to which cultural differentiation may be permitted’ and asked, ‘What is the maximum toleration which can be allowed’?⁵³⁵ In this, he argued in favour of the nation states’ interests – like so many others – and closed the circle of argumentation by pointing to the ‘duties’ demanded of immigrants and the ‘rights’ provided to them by the nation state. The concept of ‘citizenship’ was the outcome of the ‘apprenticeship’ developed by social scientists within their assimilation models and patterns.

⁵³⁴ UNESCO, Resolutions 1954 - Social Sciences, 6.12.1954. In: General Conference, 8 Session, Montevideo 1954, Resolutions, Signature:--, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 32.

⁵³⁵ Borrie, W.D., The state and the cultural integration of immigrants, 4.4.1956, Group: Secretary Documents, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./16, UNESDOC, p. 9.

Chapter 12: Perceptions, Contributions and the 'Assimilability' of the Migrant

In the course of the conceptualization of assimilation, experts established classifications other than 'culture'. The categorizations delineated below were not newly established after 1945; they or some of them have earlier origins in immigration acts and census systems.⁵³⁷ Restriction acts in the United States, along with others, are examples of a nation-building process. From these developments, the social sciences adapted classifications, used the terms without deeper reflection and promoted the categories for future research.⁵³⁸ After 1945, international studies specified the characteristics of 'immigrants' in various ways and determined the role of the immigrant in terms of assimilation. Experts usually referred to the migrant as the subject of research in different ways in assimilation studies promoted by the UNESCO. References applied to the migrant changed considerably depending on the authors' social scientific backgrounds, their research foci and the disciplinary setting in which they worked, whether or not linked to governmental departments.

When speaking of international migrants, the category most referred to was and is the 'immigrant'. In rare intervals, discussions dealt with special classifications such as displaced persons, refugees and asylum seekers, as these terms were and are mostly linked to legal questions that were dealt with separately. Experts on the topic considered 'displaced persons' from Europe or refugees after World War II as not being objects of 'cultural assimilation' inquiries because this group of migrants would not have established 'chains' to a certain 'culture' and therefore would assimilate more easily to new surroundings.⁵³⁹ The assimilation inquiries dealt mostly with categories other than 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers'. Social scientists assigned the notions of 'newcomer', 'foreigner', 'alien' and 'foreign element' (or in

⁵³⁶ Brodersen, Avid, Cultural Assimilation and Tensions in a Country of Large-Scale Immigration: Israel. Part I, In: International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1. 7-12, p. 12.

⁵³⁷ In early United States provincial laws in the 1790s, the US Congress adopted rules for 'naturalization' that classified the preferred immigrant as a 'free white person' of 'good character', a negative implication that excluded slaves of African origin. In the 19th century, that phrase was changed to guarantee citizenship to former slaves. The 'Chinese Exclusion Act' of 1882 prohibited the immigration of Chinese labourers (see: 'Geary Act'). In the same year, classifications extended to psychological and health characteristics, such as 'persons likely to become public charges' and convicts.

⁵³⁸ For a short introduction to and an overview of the complexity of the system of the categorization and classification of individuals, see: Brubaker, Rogers, Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism. University of California, Los Angeles. From the Selected Works of Rogers Brubaker. In: Annual Review of Sociology (2009), 35. 21-42.

⁵³⁹ UNESCO, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture), Paris 1959, p. 21-22.

the plural, 'foreign groups') to migrants. These terms were preferably used and described a non-belonging to the entity to which he or she moved. The terms also point to an authoritative relationship with authority associated with the 'receiving' entity. In studies after 1945, this was specified as the nation state. The relationship was one of power in which the nation state had untouchable authority over the 'foreigner'.

Other categories refer to a more positive understanding of the migrant, such as 'labour migrant', 'land settlers' and 'colonizers'. They were perceived as 'contributing' something to the 'receiving' nation state. 'Land settlers' and 'colonizers' played a specific role in assimilation studies with a focus on South America. The subject migrant was the European emigrant who colonized and farmed raw and 'empty' land in Brazil and Venezuela. Studies on those two regions also refer to the immigrant in terms of nationality.

However, the power relation was unquestionable, just as with former categorizations. The UNESCO study 'The Positive Contribution of Immigrants', published in 1955, engaged with these 'contributions'. The study attempted to harmonize social relations between 'natives' and 'foreigners' by delineating the immigrants' positive influences on the economic developments of a nation state and by examining the immigration history of countries such as Brazil and the United States.

Religion played a role in the classification of 'communities' as well, but this category was not used to define a 'majority' in the 'receiving' country. If referred to, it pointed rather to 'common core' characteristics of a 'community' and less to a nation state. Some recommendations in the DSS's 1950 program suggested that they study the part that religion played in the 'cultural assimilation' of immigrants, but religion did not become a specific category by which assimilation was measured.⁵⁴⁰ Rather, it was recognized as a 'bonding' factor in 'communities'.⁵⁴¹ At one meeting of the conference on the 'Cultural Integration of Immigrants' in Havana in April 1956, Alfred Sauvy, for example, included religion in a list of factors in the process of 'integration'. In the course of negotiations Sauvy's inclusion of religion caused a dispute, which reveals conceptual uncertainties on various levels. Sauvy declared that religious diversity could 'retard integration' and referred to '*Canadiens français, algériens musulmans, juifs en tout pays*' (French Canadians, Algerian Muslims, and Jews in

⁵⁴⁰ UNESCO, Comments and suggestions concerning the proposals for research on the cultural assimilation of immigrants, 23.6.1950. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/TAIU/Conf.2/2-A = SS/TAIU/Conf.2/4.

⁵⁴¹ UNESCO, Teaching Modern Languages to Adult Migrants, 1956, Archive Group: Secretariat Documents, UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./9, UNESDOC.

all countries.)⁵⁴² The US and the Canadian delegates to the conference opposed the assumption of friction based on religious differences, whereas the Canadian delegate stated that Alfred Sauvy's position on this matter 'must proceed from an assumption that a culture is or should be homogeneous rather than pluralistic'.⁵⁴³

Some experts classified migrants by social and economic status, skin colour, in terms of 'inferior vs. 'superior' allocations and 'higher' vs. 'lower' 'standards of living'. In these regards, the migrant was not necessarily a disruptive factor. Especially western and northern European 'immigrants' were considered of a 'high cultural level'.⁵⁴⁴ That was true for the experts in South American 'major immigration countries', Australia and New Zealand. The nation state discourse in Brazil was intimately associated with the 'Brazilian race' based upon Portuguese in linguistic terms and a composition of immigrants from Germany, Italy and Japan. The concept of the 'Brazilian race' centred 'round the idea that the darker strains will eventually be absorbed by the lighter ones'.⁵⁴⁵ In the case of Australia, the individual expected to assimilate into the nation state was usually differentiated from the British immigrant. In demands made by the main UNESCO correspondent, D.W. Borrie, the British focus on immigration policy shaped the studies on assimilation. The 'coloured', 'Asiatic stocks' and non-British Europeans, as well as the 'indigenous' population of Australia were the objects of examination and were regarded as problematic to assimilation.⁵⁴⁶

Another differentiation of migrants occurred in studies on international migration and assimilation. As previously emphasised in this dissertation, the individual migrant was primarily male. 'Immigrant women' were rarely pointed to; if so, she was the male migrant's wife and mother of his children. In rare cases, she was the future wife of a non-foreigner and thus the future mother of second-generation immigrant children. Hence, immigrant women were relegated to the role of inner-household assimilation. When experts referred to her as the

⁵⁴² Bernard, William S., Bieringer, Walter H. (Members of the American Delegation), Report of the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants Havana, Cuba April 18-27, 1956, 27.4.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 Part I/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 A 06 (729.1) "56" 1956 Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants - CUBA Part IV - from 15 March up to 30 April 1956, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 10-11.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Hehl Neiva, Artur, Diégues, Manuel Jr., Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants in Brazil, 31.10.1955. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./3.

⁵⁴⁵ Reference to: Tavares, Hermene de Sa, The Brazilian, People of Tomorrow (New York 1947), p. 32. In: UNESCO, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants. A Symposium prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association (Population and Culture) 1955, p. 143.

⁵⁴⁶ Borrie, W.D., International Relations & Reconstruction. Political Economic and Social Population Problems and Migration University Research (Borrie). In: Part I, 1941 - 1946 Canberra/Australia, National Archives Australia, Sydney, Signature: Control Symbol: 1943/446 PART 1, National Archives Australia, Sydney.

immigrant, she was considered an important factor of assimilation in that she was responsible for and very influential in terms of the assimilation of children into the greater community.⁵⁴⁷

According to assimilation discourses, an additional categorization denoted not the international migrant but individuals and groups who would view themselves as part of the soil upon which the nation state was built, but who did not consider themselves a part of this nation state. References made were to 'tribesmen', the 'indigenous' and 'natives'. Those in these categories fell under the authority of the nation state and its 'way of life'. In these categorizations and classifications, the idea of assimilation was applied to those who were recognized as 'minorities', including 'tribesmen' and 'indigenous' – individuals speaking languages other than the 'majority'. From this point of view, the 'minority' ran counter to the nation state by compounding those consider themselves the 'majority' and determining power relations between the two categories. The 'way of life' or '*la vie national*' (the national life) was also the '*la vie civilisée*' (civilized life).⁵⁴⁸ The objects of assimilation in terms of civilization and in need of being 'civilized' were termed 'tribesmen' in Indian studies, 'aborigines' in Australian inquiries and 'indios' in the Brazilian and Mexican ones. The assimilation of 'indigenous people' into the nation state was included in the UNESCO program for 1952.⁵⁴⁹ A segregation of any of these migrants and immigrants was considered to run counter to a sound national assimilation policy.

As was most usual in the classification of immigrants in early immigration and naturalization legal acts in the USA and Australia, some of the assimilation studies undertaken after 1945 referred to the immigrant as a criminal element in society, facilitating stereotypes and discrimination alongside nationality. A study on the 'assimilation of foreigners in France', published as part of a series of articles by George Mauco done in 1950 in collaboration with the IUSSP, termed migrants from Poland 'Polish gangsters'. From a psychological perspective, he suggested solutions necessary for reducing the high record of imprisonment of Polish immigrants in France in comparison with 'Frenchmen'. Polish immigrants in France, as Mauco elaborated, would exhibit a proportion of 'delinquency and mental deficiency'

⁵⁴⁷ UNESCO, A draft manual on the cultural integration of immigrants, 30.1.1959. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/MIGRATION/Rev.1, p. 14-15.

⁵⁴⁸ UNESCO, Langues et autres modes de communication, 1.1.1955. In: Secretariat, Minorities, Discrimination, Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A) Folder: 323.15 A 101 ILO - ILO Convention on Protection and Integration of Indigenous Populations in Independent Countries, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 1.

twice as great as that of Frenchmen.⁵⁵⁰ Questions of this kind were pursued by psychologists and intersected with mental health considerations.

Overall, the individuals most referred to in their roles as immigrants were European migrants. Immigrants to ‘major immigration counties’ came from Europe, and differentiations were made between northern and southern Europeans, eastern and western Europeans, British- and non-British migrants. This concentration was not only based on migration movements in the aftermath of World War II, which triggered migration movements out of Europe, but it also indicated the research interests. Migration movements in regions in Asia and the ‘middle and far East’ played no primary role in the inquiries, a fact that was criticised especially by social scientists with a non-European and non-‘western’ background. Studies and case studies conducted focused on the movements of Europeans.

Contributions of Migrants

From the early months of work and in accordance with the ILO, the discourse of contribution has its beginnings in the concept and perception that the immigrating individual had to enrich the nation state socially and ‘culturally’. That was true for international immigrants and also for individuals or groups of so-called ‘indigenous populations’.⁵⁵¹ The members of the 1955-1956 conference on the ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’ agreed ‘universally’ that ‘immigration is not only good for the immigrants but that it benefits the receiving country’.⁵⁵² The ‘positive contributions’ can be traced to a specific group of immigrants, whereas contributions perceived as negative were applied to another set of immigrants. The discourse that focused on the contribution of immigrants served a particular aim, namely to diminish voices against migration and im-migration and to positively spotlight the international discussion. The idea and thought of a ‘positive contribution’ that immigrants must provide was comprehended in the context of the domestic and foreign political interests of the member states and collaborating nation states.

The introduction of a study called ‘positive contribution of immigrants’ must be understood within the discursive lines of the UNESCO’s experts’ arguments favouring assimilation. The

⁵⁵⁰ Mauco, Georges, *The Assimilation of Foreigners in France*, *Population Studies* 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 13-22, p. 19.

⁵⁵¹ UNESCO, Tentative outline of problems to be dealt with in the proposed instrument on indigenous populations in independent countries. For the ILO Convention on the Protection and Integration of Indigenous Populations in Independent Countries. Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

discourse of contribution was disseminated widely and is still referred to by the UN today.⁵⁵³ The discourse was part of a line of assertions generated by its mode of reasoning. A ‘positive contribution’ study was, I would suggest, necessary in order to acknowledge prior investigative approaches. It also focused on countries considered to be ‘major immigration’ regions and, therefore, upon European immigrants. For the UNESCO and its associates it was important to formulate assimilation as a solution for social tensions and not as a source of friction. In their point of view, it was necessary to examine the influences, especially ‘positive’ influences, on the ‘receiving’ country. The approach was supposed to favour assimilation in terms of an imagined ‘positive’ influence of immigrants upon the ‘core’ population. The UNESCO therefore placed the contribution study within their frame of responsibility and focussed on the ‘cross-fertilization of cultures’ and the ‘cultural enrichment of those affected’ rather than on economic contributions.⁵⁵⁴ The study was intended to complement the investigations on the cultural assimilation of immigrants.

Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess had already indicated in 1921 that the ‘contribution’ of immigrants was another and different notion of assimilation. According to them, both notions ‘assimilation’ and ‘Americanization’ were ‘based on the conviction that the immigrant has contributed’ something.⁵⁵⁵ But in what terms was this contribution considered to have happened? Park elaborated further that, according to this idea, the immigrant was expected ‘to contribute something of his own in temperament, culture, and philosophy of life...’.⁵⁵⁶ A UNESCO study on immigrants’ contribution to the ‘receiving’ country had been under discussion by the international community since 1951. In 1952, consultants carried out the study on the ‘Positive Contribution by Immigrants’ in cooperation with the International Sociological Association (ISA) and the International Economic Association (IEA), both established and supported financially by the UNESCO. A ‘positive contribution’, in agreement with the IEA, meant ‘primarily their contribution in the social and cultural field’.⁵⁵⁷ The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) rejected a study of economic contribution, as had been first intended in the study. Bernard O. Binns of the FAO’s Land and Water Use

⁵⁵³ Ban Ki-Moon, UN Secretary General stated in 2013 that ‘we need policies that recognize the positive contribution of migrants’. See: United Nations System Chief Executive Board for Coordination (Ed.), *International Migration and Development: Contributions and Recommendations for the International System*. Coordinated by UNFPA and IOM 2013, p. 7.

⁵⁵⁴ See UNESCO Resolution 3.23 for 1952.

⁵⁵⁵ Robert E. Park, Introduction, p. 735.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ UNESCO, Agreement, 27.11.1952. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) ‘55’ - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part I up to 31/5/1953, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

Branch Agriculture Division did not agree ‘that techniques, methods of work and inventions for which immigrants are responsible can properly be described as “economic” contributions. Surely, as they represent additions to local knowledge and skill, they are definitely “cultural”’.⁵⁵⁸ The UNESCO selected a series of countries for which the study were to be conducted; the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom,⁵⁵⁹ Argentina and Brazil, which caused some criticism by the FAO.

Binns indicated his dissatisfaction of the country selection by pointing out that the ‘prospectus suggests countries which have received mainly if not entirely European immigrants’.⁵⁶⁰ From his perspective, representing the FAO, this approach perpetuated a ‘common error about modern migration’ because ‘it neglects the very important effects of Chinese immigration into the countries of South East Asia and the Pacific, Indian immigration in the same regions and also in Ceylon,...’⁵⁶¹ Otto Klineberg also did not like the emphasis of European immigrants. He asked about Japanese in Brazil and ‘Orientals in general in the US and was keen to see the Brazilian chapter of the study redrafted to make it ‘less European’.⁵⁶² Assimilation was and is a topic focussed on regions in the ‘western’ hemisphere and by social scientists coming from this hemisphere. Maurice Freedman, professor at the London School of Economics and Social Sciences, uttered his concerns regarding the country selection of the publication. He stated that ‘all these countries...are ideologically attached to the assimilation of immigrants to a central set of political institutions and cultural values’.⁵⁶³ On the contrary, Freedman asserted, ‘there are many other countries which admit a “plural solution”’.⁵⁶⁴ Those critical notes found no entry into the organization of the studies.

⁵⁵⁸ UNESCO, Correspondence from Bernard O. Binns, Land Tenure and Settlement, Land and Water Use Branch Agriculture Division, 30.6.1952, to: Mr. H.M. Phillips, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) '55' - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part I up to 31/5/1953, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁵⁹ The UK was selected as a country of ‘major immigration,’ although the experts did not consider it to be such a region. Even the national rapporteur Julius Isaac stated that the UK was ‘not in principle a country of immigration’. See: UNESCO, Comments on the Draft of the Positive Contributions of Immigrants manuscript. 30.11.1953, Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) '55' - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: SS/422.199, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² UNESCO, 1) Draft Note; 2) Note by OK. (Otto Klineberg), 21.4.1954. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁶³ UNESCO, Correspondence by Maurice Freedman with Comments and Critique on the Study 'positive Contribution by Immigrants', 14.11.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) '55' - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: Memorandum DPV/PV/448, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

And thus the DSS decided in favour of the countries named above and, in the course of further deliberations, national rapporteurs were selected to conduct the study under the auspices of the UNESCO. As recommended by David Glass, the experts selected W.D. Borrie to be the national rapporteur for Australia, Julius Isaac for the UK, Oscar and Mary Handlin for the US, Emilio Willems for Brazil and George Hechen for Argentina. Thomas Brinley was appointed the special rapporteur for economic aspects, which was treated separately. Oscar Handlin was appointed general rapporteur and was expected to edit the publication and bring the individual articles together. Although obligated to avoid concentration on economic contributions of immigrants, two theoretical lines guided the investigation's focus – an economic and a sociological. The study was released in 1955 and the 'investigations' dealt with historical overviews of immigration movements into the respective countries. In pointing to the 'positive' contributions of immigrants to their receiving countries, the studies seemed all about confirming a stable 'uniformity' in terms of 'culture' and 'social' life. A biased presentation of 'positive' contributions on behalf of the 'major immigration countries' of the time caused inconvenience for the FAO and the ILO. A. Oblath, Chief of the ILO's Migration Studies, expressed his discomfort. Drawing attention to the UNESCO's efforts on delineating 'positive' contributions, Oblath warned that they 'avoid giving the impression that you are "selling" migration by slurring over the adverse aspects and the negative contributions'.⁵⁶⁵ However, no further critique of the study occurred. The IEA and the UNESCO agreed upon the presentation of 'positive contributions' that immigrants had introduced. The investigation encompassed the immigrants' contributions to issues like the country's 'way of life', 'the reduction of their social tensions', education and technical knowledge, the arts and 'international understanding'. The UNESCO's and IEA's prospects even included an examination of the immigrant's contribution to the development of human rights.⁵⁶⁶ Hence, the immigrant was determined to be a 'foreign' subject who arrived into a 'relatively homogeneous society', as was pointed out by H.M. Phillips of the DSS in a letter to Brinley Thomas with reference to the UK study.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ UNESCO, Correspondence from A. Oblath, Chief of the Migration Studies, Bureau International du Travail (ILO), Geneva, to H.N. Phillips, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, 5.9.1952. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part I up to 31/5/1953, Signature: UN. 50-9, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁶⁷ UNESCO, Correspondence from H.M. Phillips, Department of Social Sciences, to Professor Brinley Thomas, Department of Economics & Social Sciences, University College, Cardiff, U.K., 7.3.1955. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: SS/521.295, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

In opposition to the criticism brought forth in the course of the studies' evolution, David Glass praised the approach and the case studies. He even stated that some of his colleagues would use it as a standard reference in University courses on migration and population.⁵⁶⁸ The DSS preferred Glass' comments of praise and dismissed Maurice Freedman's critique. H.M. Phillips mocked that Freedman's criticisms were 'based on some misunderstanding of the purpose of the book' and that he had 'not appreciated that our work is directed to helping in the execution of immigration plans and movements'.⁵⁶⁹ The participating individuals agreed upon their outcomes and considered immigration a significant part of international understanding. In the course of the intellectual considerations, the 'problem of international migration' was redefined in attempts to change the approach into a positive, non-problematic one. Therefore immigration was, as Handlin expressed, 'a gesture...of human solidarity...'.⁵⁷⁰

The discourse was clearly linked to the migration flows from Europe to countries overseas. Although 'ethnic cysts',⁵⁷¹ were not appreciated by the national governments, European immigrants were perceived as 'civilizational' on a higher or superior level. Therefore, and as argued by social scientists, those immigrants would contribute positively to the 'native' population rather than the other way around. Similar lines of discourse guided the Brazilian, Argentinian, Venezuelan, Australian and New Zealander concepts of integration and assimilation. 'Ethnic cysts', as referred to by the Brazilian researchers, were defined as linguistically separated bodies of immigrants who established and maintained communities of a common language other than the nation state's official language. Their abilities, however, in agriculture would contribute to the Brazilian economic and social development. Development was understood as a process of 'civilization' in terms of industrialization, capitalism and economic liberalism.

⁵⁶⁸ UNESCO, Correspondence from David Glass with Comments and Critique on the Study "positive Contribution by Immigrants", 26.10.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) "55" - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: Memorandum DPV/PV/448, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁹ UNESCO, Correspondence from H.M. Phillips, SSD, to Mr. Vranek, D&P, 14.11.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) '55' - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325.1 A 53 Study on the Positive Contribution by Immigrants, Part II from 1st June 1953, Signature: SS/MEMO/OBC/9885, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁰ UNESCO, Migration as a Positive Factor, 3.1.1956. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 Part I (B) - Part II (Box 819), Folder: 325 Migration - General Part I (E) from 1/IV/54 up to 31/XII/60, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 1.

⁵⁷¹ Brazilian researchers working on the cultural integration of immigrants to Brazil starting in the mid-1950s formulated the concept of 'ethnic cysts', which was adopted in the 1955-1956 conference resolutions. See: Ibid.

Creating Minorities

Since 1949, the UNESCO had increasingly dealt within its TP with the question of how ‘minority’ groups influenced international relations. Within the discourses that focused on inquiries about minority, the ‘majority’ of the ‘population’ was considered homogeneous within a nation state. Those who consider themselves members of a ‘majority’ usually pursued the naming and defining of ‘minorities’. This is first of all a political question and social scientists commonly and unquestioningly utilized the notion. The scientific discourse backed and fed particular immigration policies and the national and international comprehension of the ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’ of immigrants and other individuals and ‘groups’ defined as ‘minorities’. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this was true for the time after 1945 and within the context of international and trans-disciplinary cooperation. In this chapter, ‘minority’ as a supporting concept and its utilization shall be more closely delineated. How was it used, and by and to whom was it applied?

An exemplary formulation, written by O.S. Reading in a paper that he sent to the UNESCO between 1947 and 1949, expresses well how the term ‘minority’ was employed, although critically questioned by the author. It reads: ‘Some people seem to assume that Jews, Negroes, Indians and other minority groups behave differently from other people because of their heredity’.⁵⁷² Reading was not actually pointing to ‘minorities’ as such, but rather to past deficient studies that had tried to link people categorized as ‘Jews, Negroes, Indians and other minorities’ to a psychological proposition. His unconcerned usage of the term ‘minority’, however, is most interesting in the context of this doctoral dissertation. He re-stated that ‘Jews’, ‘Negroes’ and ‘Indians’ were ‘minorities’. Reading was writing in Washington, DC in the United States, but beyond that little information about him exists. Nonetheless, this detail is enough in order to arrange his view within the context. Non-white, non-Protestant individuals were also considered ‘minorities’ in the US in the 1940s, as were ‘Indians’ (‘Native Americans’). Further in his paper, Reading mitigated his idea by declaring that the reader can ‘relax’, as he put it, because ‘according to modern anthropology, the inheritance of behaviour resembles that of language (through training), not that of nose shape or hair (through the genes)’.⁵⁷³ He also pointed out that the idea that ‘genes do get tainted with

⁵⁷² Reading, O.S., Some Uniform Sequences of Human Behavior and World Peace, undated. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 327.5 A53, 327.6 A01FIYW, Folder: 327.5: 301.18 A 53 Tensions affecting Int. Understanding-Community Studies Part I - up to 31/X/49, Paris, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 4.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

undesirable behaviour' had not been successfully proven by the sciences.⁵⁷⁴ According to the underlying assumption that 'Jews, Negroes, and Indians' were 'minorities', Reading's intersection was based on power relations within the nation state. He elucidated that it was 'so very convenient to assume defective heredity in a minority group and a superior heredity in one's own group to justify unequal treatment of the minority'.⁵⁷⁵ Reading closed with 'The Germans and Japanese believed strongly in this assumption (don't we all?)'.⁵⁷⁶ In the first two decades after 1945, the discursive determination of what a minority was established along the lines of the balance of power relations international and inner-national. The newly advanced and internationally recognized Declaration of Human Rights was also applied to those 'groups' defined as 'minorities'. Similar to the development discourse, this construction and intersection more than anything else aided the goals of those who considered themselves to be of the 'majority' and who were officially recognized as such by the international community. Regions in which 'minorities' – 'racial' and 'cultural' minorities – were considered endangered by the UNESCO associates were Eastern and Central Europe (especially Belgium, Switzerland, former Czechoslovakia and Hungary), South Africa, the US, Brazil and Canada.

The 'Assimilability' of Migrants

In the course of the studies, one specific discursive line endured, namely the search for favouring conditions for the cultural assimilation of immigrants. Studies like the one conducted in Israel were undertaken in Brazil, Australia, France and West Germany. Because the UNESCO was an intergovernmental and international organization, the theoretical suggestions and the assimilation models designed were intended for transfer into various national settings and implemented both in national social sciences bodies and on the governmental level. A 'successful cultural assimilation' intersected with migration management on various levels, including the possibilities of economic, social and cultural adaptability, in order to assist 'suitable migration which will aid the population problems...'.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ UNESCO, Projected study and popular pamphlets on the assimilation of immigrants, 7.5.1952. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 323.12:37 A 064 (44) '55' - 325.1 A53 Part II, Folder: 325(8) A 023 UNSA Inter-Agency Regional Coord. Cttee on Migration in Latin America, Signature: SS/Memo/52/1874, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

The answer to the question formulated by Avid Brodersen in 1956 and stated at the beginning of this chapter - 'Will Israel then still remain a nation of essentially Western civilization'? - points to the possibility of taking into account the 'modern concept' of a pluralistic society. In his terms and at that stage in time, in the example of Israel, this pointed at a 'cultural pluralism' within a 'core national pattern'. The answer, however, could have been, as in the case of South American countries, a different one. For experts on that region, the European immigrant 'was sought more as a leader of society and as the representative of a higher civilization to which the native would assimilate, than as a newcomer who had to adapt himself to fit into a new national environment'.⁵⁷⁸ In this case, assimilation was comprehended differently. It was not about a common 'cultural core' or a national homogeneity reflected by such common culture. Rather, this line of thought expressed something inherent to the assimilation discourse: the presumption of 'development' defined through 'civilizational' patterns. The concept of 'development' was perceived in terms of economic and scientific 'progression'. This theoretical approach intersected simultaneously with 'contribution' as conceptualized by the UNESCO's DSS. A 'contribution' by the immigrant was also regarded as a contribution to a national 'development', as interpreted by scientists with a 'western' intellectual background, and of the 'nation' and the world overall, as it was intended by the UNESCO staff members. An argument along those lines was also not taken without contradiction outside of the UNESCO network, but was recognized by the organization. For example, the Indian High Commissioner in 1955, Ms. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, published a statement in March 1955 in the Indian newspaper 'India News' regarding 'racial prejudice'. Her statement related to her efforts in outlawing racial discrimination in India and she argued that 'If we think today that the contribution of the West has resulted in great scientific developments, we cannot also help thinking that great scientific development also led to something which threatens to destroy civilisation, and we begin to wonder whether the West has reached a state where civilization could offer only death'.⁵⁷⁹ The article was recognized by the Indian delegate to the UNESCO, R. Naidu, and passed on to the DSS.

⁵⁷⁸ W.D. Borrie, M. Diégues Jr., J. Isaac, A.H. Neiva, C.A. Price, J. Zubrzycki, *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956 (Population and Culture)*, Paris, 1959, p. 56.

⁵⁷⁹ UNESCO, Excerpt of the newspaper article was sent by R. Naidu, staff member in the Office of the Director General to A. Metraux, DSS. In: *Discrimination and Minorities, 1950-1965, Secretariat, Minorities, Discrimination*, Box: 323.12:37 (689) AMS, 325 - Part I (A), Folder: 323.15 Discrimination & Protection of Minorities, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

The ‘assimilability’ of migrants was an indicator for a variety of inherent concepts of ‘society’. Ideas of ‘standard of living’ as described and investigated by the UNESCO’s ‘Home and Community Planning’ project was also a link to the earlier idea of ‘civilization’ and the later ‘development’.⁵⁸⁰

But the European migrant was not necessarily gladly received or perceived as easily ‘assimilable’. In the course of on-going discussions, negotiations and inquiries about the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants, Julius Isaac asserted in a letter to Pierre de Bie in May 1950 that ‘Experience shows that certain ethnic groups of European origin are more difficult to assimilate than others’.⁵⁸¹ Isaac further elaborated that ‘there is some evidence that differences in assimilability are mainly due to environmental factors’.⁵⁸² Isaac was involved in UNESCO’s studies on ‘cultural assimilation’ from the start and he, like other collaborators in their roles as experts and contact persons in specific countries, was in close contact with the DSS’s staff developing approaches in its study. Against the background of the observation that ‘difficulties of assimilation have...been exaggerated by the immigrant-receiving countries, or even heightened by their non-receptive attitude’,⁵⁸³ Isaac’s inquiry into environmental factors would be an enhancement of a national point of view’. The main concern here was, however, the tendency of European migrants to South America who built encapsulated linguistic communities. Studies in South America focussed especially upon Brazil and Venezuela, as already stated, and a series of reports resulted from them and were published under the auspices of the UNESCO between 1950 and 1955.

I shall now elaborate upon these studies with regard to the discourse of ‘assimilability’ and the methods of the measurement of assimilation contemplated. As previously indicated, the concept of assimilation was successfully embedded within international studies after 1945. Already in 1937, two UNESCO collaborators had agreed upon the ‘fact’ that assimilation was a ‘natural process’.⁵⁸⁴ Their argument that ‘assimilation’ was a ‘natural phenomenon’ was based on the assumption that migrants’ in history would have been assimilated into the

⁵⁸⁰ Alison Bashford, *Global population. History, geopolitics, and life on earth* (Columbia Studies in International and Global History), New York 2014, p. 97.

⁵⁸¹ UNESCO, Correspondence from Julius Isaac to Professor Pierre de Bie, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, UNESCO House, Paris, 16e; 31.5.1950. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325.1 : 008 PartI/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Parts I [Box Nr.: 822], Folder: 325.1 : 008 Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Part I - up to 31 October 1955, Signature: SS/160.819, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ League of Nations, *Peaceful Change. Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference, Paris, June 28th - July 3rd, 1937 (Peaceful Change 1), Paris 1938, p. 152–153.

⁵⁸⁴ See George Mauco’s contributions about immigrant assimilation in France and Alexander Carr-Saunders in ‘World Population’. In: Ibid.

‘receiving’ society informally and without constraint, and thus without intervention. Assimilation as a concept became a non-natural phenomenon when pointing to the countries of ‘emigrants’ that politically coordinated efforts to prevent ‘their nationals’ from being assimilated into another ‘national society’. In addition to Robert Ezra Park’s sociological studies and those of some of his colleagues in the 1920s who preferred to investigate immigrant assimilation into urban environments, the increasing interest on immigrant assimilation into a national framework was caused by the foreign political endeavours mentioned above.

In inquiries conducted after 1945, the question open for scientific investigation was oriented toward ‘favouring and unfavourable conditions’ and aimed to identify factors that counteracted the ‘natural tendency towards assimilation’. On behalf of several case studies published between 1950 and 1955, the ‘experts’ tried to define the counteracting and supportive factors of assimilation. Therefore the immigrant was categorised alongside specific characteristics that were scientifically developed at that time. There was not yet much corresponding material. Theoretical material regarding immigrants’ categorisation referred to LON’s ‘Studies and Reports on Statistical Methods’ (1938) and UN documents and reports made by the Population Commission; inter alia, the UN’s ‘Labour Force: Problems of Census Definition and Enumeration, Studies on Census Methods’ (1948); John D. Durand, ‘The Labor Force in the United States, 1890-1960’ (1948); Calvert L. Dedrick, ‘Cultural Differences and Census Concepts’ (1949); ILO ‘Statistics of Migration: Definitions, Methods, Classifications, Studies and Reports Series’ (Statistics), No.18, Geneva, ILO (1932). The census material on immigrants was, until 1950, rather rudimentary and only in the course of these inquiries did statistical data on immigrants begin to be used as a measurement of assimilation. Thus, in 1950 Max Lacroix and Edith Smith were both concerned with statistics for the study the ‘cultural assimilation of immigrants’. And because, as they stated, ‘census classifications based on ethnic or racial origin are evidently directly relevant to studies of assimilation,’ their estimations were based on three factors: country of birth, language and nationality or citizenship.⁵⁸⁵ In their point of view, birthplace was considered insufficient for identifying ethnic groups, but difference in language was regarded as an indicator of other ‘cultural traits’.⁵⁸⁶ It was a difficult task to cope with hard-to-measure ‘cultural traits’, such as nationalism and patriotism. Julius Isaac was unsure about the recommended classifications

⁵⁸⁵ Lacroix, Max; Adams, Edith, Statistics for Studying the Cultural Assimilation of Migrants. In: *Population Studies* 2 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 69–107, p.7, 3-74.

⁵⁸⁶ UNESCO, 72 (wie Anm. 36)

and the assumed possibility of measuring degrees of assimilation. He rather promoted the concept of 'cultural pluralism' and posited a 'certain degree of cultural variety' and 'tolerance in religious and other matters'.⁵⁸⁷ The question as to whether someone is 'assimilable', relied specifically upon the idea of 'society' that represented itself in a frame of a culturally homogeneous national-state. This idea of 'society' was different. Hence, it was suggested that the criteria of assimilation depended 'on the outlook and way of life of the new country', because, as argued, 'assimilation appears to be a relative factor varying with different countries'.⁵⁸⁸ The search for variables or indices of measure was directly linked to another question: was assimilation a 'one-way or interacting process'?⁵⁸⁹ This question could not be answered in a general matter because it was perceived either in culturally pluralistic or culturally monistic terms. However, in 1951 Eisenstadt provided a basis for indices as a means or tool for measuring the 'cultural and social adaptation of immigrants'. As already explained, experts investigating assimilation and integration in Israel, such as Shmuel N. Eisenstadt and Judith Shuval preferred to use the term 'adaptation'. In Eisenstadt's article published in the UNESCO's International Social Science Bulletin, he distinguished between six indices⁵⁹⁰:

1. The extent of relations between the 'old' inhabitants and the 'immigrants'
2. The participation of the immigrant in social organizations and associations. Eisenstadt included leisure activities, social relations in the work place and informal friendships as measurable in terms of duration and stability.
3. 'The extent of successful performance of the roles inherent in the new social structure...'
4. Deviant behaviour, such as delinquency, crime and alcoholism
5. 'The extent of personal and group aggression, including various manifestations of aggression towards the new social structure'⁵⁹¹
6. Extent of voluntary or forced social segregation, including symbols of group identification

⁵⁸⁷ UNESCO, Correspondence from Julius Isaac to Professor Pierre de Bie, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, 19.5.1950. In: Secretariat – Tensions Project, Box: 325.1: 008 Part I/II, 325.1 : 008 A06 (729.1) AMS, Part I (Box Nr.: 822), Folder: 325.1 : 008 Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Part I – up to 31 October 1955, Signature: SS/160.819, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ The outcome of assimilation and the question of the type of process of assimilation will further be elaborated in Chapter 7. Reference to the citation, see: UNESCO's RESOLUTIONS in the Field of Population and Research Proposals, 20.7.1950. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/TAIU/Conf.2/2, p. 3-4.

⁵⁹⁰ See: Eisenstadt, S.N., Research on the Cultural and Social Adaptation of Immigrants, in: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 3 (1951) 2. 258–261, p. 258–259.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

Those ‘indices’, as Eisenstadt suggested, could be analysed under various conditions and could disclose the degrees of adaptation.⁵⁹² The degree of cultural assimilation was defined as a ‘cultural identification and acceptance’, where ‘initial cultural and social similarity and/or mutual identification between the immigrants and the old inhabitants are of crucial importance...’.⁵⁹³ From this perspective, a free global or international migration flow and an argument favouring a ‘right to move’ was automatically restricted when identifying ‘cultural dissimilarity’ and ‘un-assimilability’. Assimilability circled around the indices that would disclose the immigrant’s aptitude for adaptation to the ‘techniques of behaviour’ of the ‘receiving country’.⁵⁹⁴ Similarity or dissimilarity between the immigrant and the ‘old inhabitant’ became a crucial issue and can be traced back theoretically to Robert Ezra Park’s considerations on ‘visibility’. Assimilability was also understood as a question of ‘willingness’ to assimilate and the proficiency of language use. Along these social scientific lines of discourse, two possibilities of action emerged: first, the need for national institutions that would cope with immigrants as a group with specific needs, and second, the immigrant as the object to whom certain preconditions were applied. Especially the ‘cultural’ aspect of assimilation, integration or adaptation was formulated and negotiated on a formal and social scientific level in those years. In his article on the ‘Psycho-Social Aspects of Immigration’, Brinley Thomas referred to an immigrant’s assimilation as ‘being indistinguishable from the native people’, the immigrant willing to ‘stay in the country and participate in the common life’ and to build a ‘group consciousness’.⁵⁹⁵ This implicated the possibility of a non-willingness of the immigrant to adapt to the national cultural core and therefore entailed that the immigrant could either be desirable or undesirable. Conditions of those favourable to a nation state were those defined alongside economic terms. The lines between economic, social and cultural favoured and unfavoured immigrants were not and still are not clear. From the cultural perspective, or from what ‘culture’ is applied to, adaptation went into directions such as ‘social environmental’ adaptation that Alfred Sauvy mostly regarded as a concern of language, an adaptation of religion and a ‘culinary adaptation’.⁵⁹⁶ These indices were specified as a tool to measure whether or not someone was able to assimilate. Individuals or

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Eisenstadt, S.N., Research on the Cultural and Social Adaptation of Immigrants. In: International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO) 3 (1951) 2. 258-261, p. 259.

⁵⁹⁴ Eisenstadt, S.N., Ben-David, Joseph, Inter-Generation Tensions in Israel. In: International social science bulletin (UNESCO) 8 (1956) 1. 54–75, p. 55.

⁵⁹⁵ Brinley, Thomas, Psycho-Social Aspects of Immigration, 27.1.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Mig.Conf./7, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁶ Sauvy, Alfred, Working Paper on the Socio-psychological Aspects of Migration, 6.3.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/Conf.Mig./11, p. 3-5.

groups considered 'unassimilable' began to be segregated and therefore was understood as evidence of ineffective assimilation policy or a lack of migrant's willingness.

Chapter 13: The Concepts of Social Progress and Cultural Enrichment Adapted to the 'Cultural Assimilation' of Immigrants

According to the tensions discourse, because of a 'cultural impact' brought about by migration, the UNESCO and its associated 'experts' of diverse social scientific fields referred to 'different levels of culture' and the problems that contact between these levels would generate.⁵⁹⁷ The goal of reaching a 'reasonable standard of living' was based on the idea of 'progress', which was internalized within social scientific endeavours and in trans-disciplinary accord. This correlated with the basic assumption of 'experts' that migrants carry 'cultural patterns' and 'patterns' of attitudes along with them, whereas both were considered teachable and learnable. In the interplay between psychology, psychiatry, socio-psychology, sociology and education, the 'misinterpretation' of a situation or the 'adherence to a pattern that is no longer suitable' was construed also in terms of a 'psychic disorder'.⁵⁹⁸ 'Misunderstandings' of 'cultural patterns' or misbehaviour in a certain national ('cultural') context was conceived as a disruption of the social order and hence proscribed. In their 'law of progress' argument, 'experts' determined that because of those norms, the 'rigidity of attitude leads to disaster'.⁵⁹⁹ Promoting international peace and understanding went hand in hand with disease mongering in the early years after World War II.⁶⁰⁰ The very foundation of these considerations intersected with other strains of discourse. Individualism and the concepts of humanism and human rights founded the basis of the UNESCO's expertise and its further promotion. Associates of non-European/North-American background often criticised this rather one-sided approach. The subjects of inquiries – individual migrants and groups – were perceived as 'culturally displaced' and their behaviour was regarded in terms of a 'psychology of foreign peoples'. This interpretation intersected with notions about the 'characteristics' and 'mentality' of immigrants. 'Mental hygiene' was a keyword and a social scientific field of research engaged in medical assistance as a way to improve the adaptation

⁵⁹⁷ Awad, Mohammed, Provisional Statement regarding the Social Sciences, 1946-1947. In: Box 3287, X 07.55 SS Pt.I, Folder: X 07.55 SS Programme Budget & Organization Department of Social Sciences, Part I - upto 31/XII/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁵⁹⁸ UNESCO, The Teacher and World Peace. A Preliminary Survey of Fundamentals, 6.8.1948. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/SS/TAIU/5, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ For an introduction to the history and development of the intersections of the psychological and psychiatric definitions of disorders, see the WHO 'International Classification of Diseases' (ICD), first published in 1948 as ICD-6. For a history of defining 'idiocy' and 'insanity' within the population of the US in census and immigration restrictions that reach back to the 1840s, see the 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders' (DSM), first published in 1952. The ICD and the DSM competed with each other and dealt with different classification terms and keys.

of the identified ‘characteristics’ of the ‘receiving’ countries. Other than the prior categories utilized in immigration policy and the newly introduced ‘mental disorders’, the ‘experts’ associated with the UNESCO studies on international understanding considered ‘maladjustment’ to be ‘antisocial, reactionary, unbalanced, disruptive and antidemocratic behaviour’.⁶⁰¹ This opened the classifications widely to all sorts of ideas of ‘maladjustment’ or failure of ‘cultural integration’ or ‘cultural assimilation’ of migrants and other ‘minorities’ into the ‘national’ body. Simultaneously, this approach reduced the numbers of nation states that recognized the political ‘democratic’ system as their ‘national’ characteristic. The Society for Psychological Study (USA), the International Congress on Mental Health conducted in 1948 and the WHO closely cooperated with the UNESCO on matters of the mental health of ‘minority groups’ in this time period. However, the UNESCO’s engagement in mental health questions pointed to migrants and their ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’ and not to their economic and social integration. It exhibited less the psychiatric and psychoanalytical interests that the WHO and psychiatric associations were pursuing at that time, but more often critically remarked within the fields and perspectives psychiatry and psychology. ‘Cultural patterns’ in particular were not implemented until the 1980s. The UNESCO emphasised differences between ‘cultures’ to promote ‘cultural’ and social ‘development’ within the framework of the international community. As discussed by the UNESCO, the regions of the world - ‘China, India, Islam, and Europe-America’ – intermingled with a certain defined ‘evolution of cultures of peoples’.⁶⁰² The organization concentrated on these regional ‘cultures’, as they moved toward political independence and membership in the UN. In the eyes of the UN and the UNESCO in particular, their ‘cultural stability and cultural values were threatened by the rapidity of economic and political change,’ and by technological change.⁶⁰³ Relations between ‘cultures’, so went the argument, were fragile because of different ‘cultural levels’, and the migrant was said to be the bearer of ‘cultural patterns’. The UNESCO pursued specific ideas of a world with an understanding of a diversity of cultures and which should be held together by a new form of ‘humanism in which universality is achieved by the recognition of common values’.⁶⁰⁴ The notions of ‘humanity’, ‘democracy’,

⁶⁰¹ UNESCO, Correspondence from Kenneth Soddy, Tavistock Clinic, to Dr. Zhukova, 28.6.1947. In: Secretariat, Tensions Project 1947-1949, Box 151 (327.4-327.5), Folder: Part II from 1/VI/47 up to 30/X/47, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 2.

⁶⁰² UNESCO, Report of the Meeting of the Committee on the Comparative Study of Cultures, 23.11.1949. In: UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/PHS/Conf.4/3, UNESCO/PHS/Conf.4/1, p. 1.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ UNESCO, Statement issued by the undersigned group of experts brought together by UNESCO to consider the problems presented by the contacts and relations of cultures in the world today, 23.11.1949. In: UNESDOC, Signature: PHS/Conf.4/3, p. 3.

‘liberty’ and ‘equality’, however, were not adapted without challenge. Within the UNESCO projects concerns were directed toward the philosophical analysis of those ‘fundamental concepts’. The 1948 program resolutions put forth the ‘humanistic aspects of culture’ (Resolution 5.3.) and promoted the inquiry into those aspects ‘from the point of view of their mutual relations and their subjective valuation’.⁶⁰⁵ Discussions on these topics were mainly addressed to intellectuals, the ‘scholars and experts’, and their engagement found its way into studies on countries’ self-perceptions of their ‘culture and the relations of that culture with other cultures’.⁶⁰⁶ In relation to this resolution a Committee of Experts for the Comparative Study of Cultures was assembled in November 1949 to discuss those enquiries. Against this theoretical background, some of the UNESCO’s member-states’ governments and their associated social scientists arranged (historical) studies and ‘model textbooks’, in which the ‘development’ of their nation states was described in terms of the ‘contributions of other cultures’ and presented to the international community.⁶⁰⁷ The commission assembled in 1949 to summarize the inquiries promoted from late 1947. Some passages shall be quoted thoroughly below in order to exhibit the sense of the arguments that centred round the Europe-American benchmark.

The essays fall naturally into groups – groups of cultures, and groups of problems.

A. Cultures that are evolving so rapidly and have so little connexion with their past that it is legitimate to think that they will, in the future, be merely hybrid forms of Western culture. This is at least true of African cultures and of the cultures of the Philippines.

[...]

B. Cultures whose progress, though already considerable, has been retarded and almost arrested by historical events, like invasion, conquest or colonial regimes (as, for instance, in the case of Indonesia).

These are cultures that, despite a most creditable past, are displaying a haste to evolve and leave their past behind almost equal to that of the cultures just mentioned. The problem of preserving the ancient values that are worthwhile is the more crucial in that there is a danger of their continuing to be associated in the minds of these peoples with the out-of-date social structures into which, and no doubt thanks to which, they were

⁶⁰⁵ See Resolution 5.2. ‘Philosophical Analysis of Fundamental Concepts’. In: Proposed Programme and Budget for 1949, 27.7.1948, General Conference, 3rd Session, Beirut 1948, Proposed Programme for 1949, Budget Estimates for 1949, Signature: 3C/5, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 73-74.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 74.

⁶⁰⁷ For example, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel prepared a model text book of French history ‘to show the contributions of other cultures to the greatness of France’. See: Ibid.

born – and also because these same values under the colonial regimes have come to be considered as inferior.

[...]

C. The great cultures of the East: India and China. From the point of view of the history of cultures, the formation of Indian culture, as described by Professor S. K. Chatterji or Professor Raju, is a concentrate of many elements and of syntheses. The difficulties (which it seems are always present) arising from the contact with Islam invite the question of what constitutes really true ‘universalism’. The importance of the systems of values here described...and the fact that they have so far, as a whole, remained outside the Western humanism, open up for the latter a considerable field, though it will be hard to take advantage of it.

[...]

E. ...With respect to Spanish culture and its evolution in Latin America, the movement was no doubt clearly defined at the outset...but has remained flexible and, as time goes on, will claim new countries. Professor Zavala refers to one of those, Mexico, as the scene of a model experiment in cultural synthesis. Professor Romero shows that the general culture, and especially the philosophical culture, of these countries is still of a primary or derivative nature.⁶⁰⁸

In the light of the promotion of highlighting both the specificity and uniqueness of ‘national cultures’ and the historical intersections of those cultures the concepts of cultural monism and cultural pluralism met a dilemma. Which historical ‘cultural value’ was ‘worthwhile’ to intersect, and which was not? What deserved protection and what did not? The first approach – to stress the uniqueness of a ‘national culture’ – was a political discourse, or at least was guided by it. The second – emphasising cultural intersections – was influenced by a universalist point of view but was not free of nationalism. The approaches crossed and collided, at some points severely, but an open discussion was impossible because of the UNESCO’s relations to its member states.

But how was that ambiguity handled in the late 1940s? The Commission addressed that point and admitted that the ‘influence of cultural diversity stresses the fundamental questions at issue and the drawing of conclusions’.⁶⁰⁹ In their attempts to define the two concepts – cultural pluralism and cultural monism – within that discussion, two paths were suggested. First, ‘the alternative between cultural pluralism and cultural monism lies somewhere between

⁶⁰⁸ See: Report of the Meeting of the Committee on the Comparative Study of Cultures, 23.11.1949, UNESDOC, Signature: UNESCO/PHS/Conf.4/3, UNESCO/PHS/Conf.4/1, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 3-4.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

the “emotional” attachments of the past, which however, bear the seeds of conflict, and the possibility of a rational plan designed to unite humanity by creating for it a common philosophy’.⁶¹⁰ Professor Richard McKeon, adviser for the US delegation and a deputy to Milton S. Eisenhower put forward the second approach, which the Committee emphasised. He spotted a problem in the history, in which ‘many forms of the conviction that the community of men and their freedom depend on the truth of a doctrine...have been opposed by many forms of the conviction that the community of men and their progress in discovering truths and values depends on freedom and the tolerance of differences’.⁶¹¹ From the second point of view, in accordance with the delegates to the committee, the solution rested with the retention of differences. The later and better known mission of the UNESCO was linked to the preservation of the ‘cultural heritage of mankind’. The project is also known as ‘cultural history of mankind’ and related (and still relates) to the UNESCO’s perspective toward all countries, especially those in which the organization predicted a ‘rapid evolvement’ and a ‘loss of the past’.⁶¹²

In France, or as the experts elaborated about France, the migration and settlement of ‘national foreigners’ with regard to successful ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’ was identified as offering ‘the immigrant good prospects of raising his standard of living and cultural level’ and where there was ‘the existence of a general atmosphere of economic and social progress’.⁶¹³ This was both the outlook for the immigrant in France as assessed by social scientist Georges Mauco and a projected incentive promoting ‘cultural assimilation’ or ‘cultural integration’. From 1951 onward, the assurance of the ‘social progress’ and ‘cultural enrichment’ of those involved was listed in the UNESCO’s resolutions for the social sciences.⁶¹⁴ Hence, when the ILO targeted the assistance of economic and social development in countries such as Brazil and Venezuela, the UNESCO aimed for ‘cultural enrichment’, ‘higher standards of living’ and ‘social progress’. The immigrant was considered as enriching the ‘culture’ of Brazil in terms of raising the standard of living of the ‘national elements’, not the other way around. Aníbal Buitron formulated in 1956 that, ‘while German and French, especially, used no doubt to a higher standard of living during better times, had taken advantage of their profits to again reach that level; Venezuelans, Italians and Portuguese continued to live as before, even while they had reached a much better economical

⁶¹⁰ Ibid, 4-5.

⁶¹¹ Ibid, p. 5.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Mauco, Georges, *The Assimilation of Foreigners in France*. In: *Population Studies* 3 (1950) Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants: Supplement. 13–22, p. 22.

⁶¹⁴ See Resolutions 3.23 and 3.24, 1951.

situation'.⁶¹⁵ For Buitron, this revealed a 'necessity for stimulating, directing and supervising the social, economic and cultural relations...of the various groups of nationalities' in Venezuela.⁶¹⁶ For Brazil, Father Bastos de Avila, an intellectual and Catholic priest who was considered an 'expert' in migration questions and who authored several papers for the UNESCO, claimed to distinguish two types of 'assimilation' in Brazil that pointed in the direction addressed in this chapter:

Type 1: 'by promotion, that is by raising the educational level of the nationals until they reach the immigrant's level'; or

Type 2: 'by "demotion", that is, by lowering the educational level of the immigrants until it reaches the levels of the nationals.'⁶¹⁷

With particular regard to South American countries, both social scientific and non-scientific delegates to the UNESCO raised the issue of 'improvement' of 'cultural patterns'. Likewise the Bolivian delegate to the UNESCO's commission meetings on the program and budget in 1947 emphasised a need to promote a 'minimum standard of culture for countries which are culturally backwarded'.⁶¹⁸ He also brought forth the matter to the UNESCO and the role of associated 'experts' by asking, 'Who are the men we must help?' and further 'Those who have not had the good fortune to reach even the lowest cultural level'.⁶¹⁹ The measurement of 'cultural levels' was conceived as being conducted on behalf of the measurement of fundamental education. Avila, like other 'experts' and governmental delegates, emphasised an element of willingness (*élément volitif*) in order to change the immigrants' psychology.⁶²⁰ In addition, his approach was embedded within the common international considerations of international migration and 'cultural assimilation'.

⁶¹⁵ Buitron, Aníbal, Sharing the life of the community; (a) The problem of isolated groups, (b) Participation in rural and city life, 25.4.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Mig.Conf./37, p. 2.

Aníbal Buitron was the anthropologist who conducted a study on the cultural integration of immigrants in Venezuela on behalf of the UNESCO. He attended international conferences on the matter in 1956, also in his role as a delegate to the Organization of American States of the Pan American Union.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ UNESCO, Records of Meetings of the Programme and Budget Commission, 12.11.1947. In: General Conference, 2st Session, Mexico 1947 - Records, Signature: Second Meeting of the Verbatim Records of the Meetings of the Programme and Budget Commission, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 284.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Avila, Fernando B. de, Rapport sur le point 3(7) de L'ordre du jour, Conditions de l'intégration tenant aux immigrants, 26.4.1956. In: UNESDOC, Signature: SS/Conf.Mig/42, p. 2.

In 1959 at the latest, the UNESCO-related discussion focused on the question of how the future migration can be directed and assisted in ‘qualitative’ terms. The organization recognized the ILO’s and the FAO’s⁶²¹ quantitative and qualitative responsibilities in economic and social ‘development’ and focused solely upon the ‘qualitative’ side of international migration. The UNESCO implemented these program points in education matters according to its mandate. A commentator suggested in 1960, with reference to Thomas Brinley’s⁶²² trend report of 1959, that international migration ‘may be conceived as one salient aspect of the more general problem of interrelations of culture and civilizations’.⁶²³ Those interrelations were also conceived as being problems of transfers in a certain direction, namely from ‘one type of culture – for example, modern Western’ to ‘underdeveloped countries, certain patterns of culture – science technology and culture education’.⁶²⁴ Against this background, international migration registered as a ‘human agent of socio-cultural change’.⁶²⁵ The author emphasised ‘the fact’ that ‘qualitative migration’ would be required for ‘underdeveloped countries’ at ‘all levels of the socio-economic cultural structure’. The levels to which the author referred included ‘standards’ of knowledge in the social sciences and the natural sciences, agriculture, industry, communication, trade, ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’. The approach extended the organization’s previous ‘technical assistance’ and ‘aid’ projects to member and non-member states. It also fostered the amplification of statistical data in the social sciences for increasing funding and promoted intellectual focus. Facilitating ‘social development’ evolved into a major point within the UNESCO’s program through 1960, which included the advancement of studies on the ‘social implications of industrialization and technological change’ (Resolution 3.725). Research centred on the social implications of industrialization in Southern Asia (Resolutions 3.723 and 3.724); the social sciences in South America (Resolution 3.722); ‘social development’ studies (Resolution

⁶²¹ The FAO’s view was similar in terms of ‘quality’ immigrants. The organization differentiated between the superior and inferior status of immigrants and aimed to raise the ‘standard’. For more details, see: Economic Commission for Latin America, Economic Development and Immigration, Working Committee at the Secretariat Level, Copy of Letter to Mrs. Alva Myrdal from Sir Herbert Broadley giving FAO views on Migration, 25.4.1950. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 325 AO1 I.C.M.C. 325 UN/AO2 Part I/II (820), Folder: 325 UN/A 02 Technical Working Group & Migration Part I up to 30/XI/56, Signature: W.P.16, Paris, UNESCO Archive.

⁶²² Thomas Brinley was a professor in the Department of Economics and Social Sciences at the University College Cardiff. He acted as a rapporteur to the International Economic Association. Brinley’s trend report, which dealt heavily with economic questions in international migration. He was criticised by the ILO and the UNESCO collaborators.

⁶²³ UNESCO, Analysis of Brinley's Trend Report on 'International Migration and Economic Development', 04.05.1960. In: Secretariat - Tensions Project, Box: 705, Folder: 3 A 31 'International Migration and Economic Development' UNESCO/SS Publication Part I - up to 31 January 1960, Signature: --, Paris, UNESCO Archive, p. 5.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

3.726); and inquiries into the ‘cultural integration of immigrants and related studies’ (Resolution 3.727). According to the budgetary dispersion, the allotted funds differed tremendously. \$2,500 was assigned to ‘cultural integration’ projects for 1959 and 1960, whereas projects on ‘social implications’ and ‘social developments’ was granted funding between \$8,550 and \$60,000.⁶²⁶

Against this theoretical backdrop, education evolved into a tool and method to teach ‘development’ as understood in terms of technical, social and cultural ‘progress,’ in which discourses on ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ were imbedded.

⁶²⁶ UNESCO, Approved Programme and Budget for 1959-1960, 1958. In: UNESDOC, Signature: 10 C/5, p. 108.

Conclusion

The concluding pages of this doctoral thesis shall introduce the most important outcomes of my analysis. In addition, the discourses and discursive sequences shall be interpreted and additional questions that emerged in the course of the analysis will be formulated. Some will be left unanswered but they may stimulate new discussion about the meanings and consequences of the concept(s) of ‘cultural assimilation’ and related discourses in the future.

This dissertation has shown that the social scientific discourse on ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘integration’ was strengthened and determined within the social sciences and in political discussions in the first decade after 1945. The two immediate post-war decades, in fact, represent a bridge – not a gap – within scientific research activity. The bulk of the investigations conducted between 1945 and the early 1960s represent the very foundation of modern assimilation and integration inquiry. The UNESCO promoted the assimilation concept in the social sciences and facilitated it on the international and the national levels in support of international political and economic organizations that evolved in the aftermath of World War II. In the course of global dissemination, the social sciences were scientifically and intellectually perceived as backing political interests. The international community promoted the social scientific concepts of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’, which at the same time, or because of this, were strongly influenced by political ideas and goals. Hence, economic aims and political power interests guided them.

At the same time, the discourse held that ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ were to be used as elements of a peace-keeping instrument that served national and international relations. Because of the involved ‘experts’ and trans-disciplinary negotiations, the concepts found entry into areas of the world where they previously had not been discussed. University departments and social scientific institutes, governmental departments and international organizations were introduced to the matter, and non-governmental organizations were created to support the ‘cultural assimilation’ of immigrants. It is important to emphasise that the UNESCO was a leading force behind the process of the dissemination and globalization of the ideas of assimilation and integration. In cases where studies were in progress in 1945, when the organization started to promote the concepts (such as in Australia), inquiries were strengthened and international ‘experts’ on the topic were connected. The UNESCO network in the social sciences that was established in the first two decades after 1945 was crucial for

the dissemination of the assimilation and integration concepts and discourses. On occasions that no social scientific department existed, one was established and experts were dispatched to carry forward the pre-defined work.

The concepts, however, were not introduced in all countries in the same way, which produced different lines of discourse. In India, for example, social scientific institutes were promoted to be established by international collaborators for the UNESCO. The concepts of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’, however, were not introduced. Approaches varied along with political ideas about the nation state, national ‘identity’ and tensions within the nation state. And in India, for example, the UNESCO’s social scientific collaborators mainly identified tensions for and between social groupings – better known as ‘castes’ – but the cultural ‘integration’ or ‘assimilation’ of immigrants was not discussed. Interestingly, the British colonizers were neither forced nor asked to ‘culturally assimilate’ or ‘integrate’ into Indian society, as was the case for Indian immigrants in Commonwealth countries. In fact, after 1945 English was the second official language of the Indian school system, as the Indian population was encouraged to learn the language of the British immigrants.

The discursive practices, as elaborated in the second part of this doctoral thesis, represent the very foundation of the discourses observable between 1945 and 1962. The different sequences of discourse offer insight into the interconnectedness between social scientific expertise and political power interests. In the field of assimilation and integration studies, the experts in social sciences pacified – and in some cases still pacify – the respective political interests. This can be regarded as an example of the failure of claims of social scientific ‘objectivity’. The discursive sequences in their seeming minor but truly significant theoretical differences offer the partiality of nationalist and imperialist interests of European and so-called Western ideas about the world. With this in mind, I shall point out three distinct biases.

- According to the integration and assimilation concepts, as well as the studies conducted by social scientists and promoted in major immigration countries after World War II, the demand for ‘cultural assimilation’ went in one direction. As part of the ideas of ‘development’ and ‘civilization’, the ‘experts’ discussed the biological and ‘cultural assimilation’ of non-‘white’ immigrants or a country’s non-‘white’ population. This was true for countries of emigration in Western Europe in the first decades after 1945, and for those of immigration in South America, North America, and Europe. This also included South Africa and other British Commonwealth countries.

- In addition to skin-colour as a main factor of ‘visibility’ – an idea established in the 1920s and further discussed in the course of social scientific concerns after 1945 – language was (and still is) a factor of visible difference. Language was recognised and defined in assimilation and integration studies as the very sign of national identity and, therefore, as a measurable factor of ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’. This was true for all countries of immigration and emigration after 1945. In Brazil, for example, ‘white’ immigrants were favoured in order to ‘increase’ social and economic development, as argued by the ‘experts’. The failure of linguistic assimilation was recognized as hindering or weakening overall national ‘development’ and ‘civilization’.
- In connection with both points above, the ‘cultural assimilation’ and ‘cultural integration’ of immigrants was understood as ‘up-lifting’ in terms of ‘civilizing’ and economic ‘development’. Social scientists in South American countries in particular especially favoured and officially expressed this point of view. Skin colour as a matter of visibility was also a crucial part in South American trans-disciplinary negotiations and discussions, and was depicted as a carrier of ‘degree’ of ‘development’. ‘High development’ was understood rather as an attribute of ‘white’ immigrants in Brazil and Venezuela, for example. Therefore, ‘white’ immigrants of (Western) European stock were preferred and these lines guided social scientific discourse on ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’. Citizens and immigrants with ‘dark’ skin colour, on the other hand, were perceived as ‘underdeveloped’. Stereotypes, discrimination and immigration restrictions followed.

This analysis has shown that the basic distinction between ‘white’ and non-‘white’ mattered very much in the years in question and within social scientific and political ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ discourses. ‘White’ migrants were only considered ‘non-assimilable’ if they did not adopt the national language, as was true for ‘white’ Germans and Austrians in Brazil, for instance. ‘Non-white’ immigrants were considered difficult to assimilate or integrate in nearly all ‘Western’ immigration countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, as well as in countries in South and North America. Even the native population (‘aborigines’) in Australia was regarded as hard to assimilate into the ‘white’ British population. Hence, in the course of my work on this doctoral thesis I have discovered that concepts of assimilation and integration were discussed differently in ‘non-Western’ countries, such as India, South Africa and in South American nations. European immigrants to South America were to integrate linguistically into the general population; as occurred in Venezuela and Brazil where only

language was perceived as an important factor of assimilation; European immigrants were forced to adopt the national language.

Concepts of 'social progress' and 'cultural enrichment' guided immigration politics and social scientific studies in the aftermath of World War II, particularly in Venezuela and Brazil. In these two countries, European immigrants were expected to 'increase' social and economic standards, while in the name of 'development' the 'native' population was to assimilate with the immigrants – not the other way around. Politicians aimed for 'lighter' skin-colour by the means of 'white' immigrants from Europe. In Australia, the case was similar but different in political outlook: the British 'white-colour line' underpinned the assimilation discourse in the social sciences and in national politics.

Throughout this analysis it has become clear that in the aftermath of World War II 'racial' differentiation as put forth by 'experts' from 'Western' European countries and the United States guided the very basis of assimilation and integration discourses. Hence, biological aspects played a crucial role therein, whether or not 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' stood at the fore. This fact raises one further question: Did the social scientific idea of assimilation, as promoted after 1945, favour 'Western' hegemony and global power interests?

Although, the rather one-sided influence and force upon individuals subjected to the assimilation and integration discourses represent the social contexts of the time in question, it must be recognized that those ideas are at the foundation of this discourse. It is an ongoing concept that is still and increasingly applied to the social world of so-called 'immigration' countries. Visibility is still a very important factor within these discourses. Although not found in social studies since the mid-1960s, visibility was still seen as hindering assimilation and integration processes through early 1960s.

From a social constructivist perspective, the determination of discourses on a global scale and on behalf of Western European and 'Western' researchers points critically to the normative assumptions of homogeneous societies within the established nation state system. As the doctoral thesis has shown, 'Western' societies or 'experts' rooted within white (and male) racial thought have produced assimilation and integration discourses. While social scientists found the concepts' meanings hard to grasp and difficult to differentiate discursively, the ideas of assimilation and integration were and are part of a 20th century power discourse inherent within the nation state idea. By connecting the diverse sequences of interests,

ambiguities emerge that explain the difficulties in defining the meanings of assimilation and integration. Most of the experts involved were committed to the principles of the UNESCO and the United Nations. Their approaches, however, were bound to member states' political interests and the UNESCO's dependence on their financial support. Throughout the negotiations and collaborative studies, these ambiguities facilitated tensions between social scientific and non-social scientific approaches. In this regard, the matter illuminated the relationship between the social sciences and political interests and destabilized the concept of scientific 'objectivity'. And clearly, the discourses and their ambiguities provoked tensions between 'Western' and 'non-Western' collaborators.

Some final questions have arisen with regard to events on-going in Europe since mid-2015: Will a 'new' assimilation and/or integration discourse in European countries evolve after some months (or years) of extensive migration to the European Union? How will that look? Will a demand for 'cultural assimilation' or 'cultural integration' continue to be a tool of exclusion, or might it lead to global integration? And must we in 2015 agree with the statement made more than 60 years ago that 'freedom to migrate is yet to be recognized as one of the fundamental freedoms'?⁶²⁷ Indian demographer, UNESCO collaborator and early internationalist Sripati Chandrasekhar made this assertion in 1954 – would the tenor of claiming 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural integration' limit this freedom?

⁶²⁷ Chandrasekhar, p. 256.

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Annex II: Resources

In Appendix 2 all resources are listed that represent the very foundation of this doctoral dissertation's analysis. Some of the documents are accessible online through the UNESCO online database 'UNESDOC' (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/resources/online-materials/publications/unesdoc-database/>), but the most are available in its original form at the UNESCO Archive in the organization's headquarters in Paris (7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris). Some documents correspond to the archival material at the National Archives Australia in Sydney and Canberra. The information as provided in the following list includes a set of data which was originally applied by the archive:

- the documents body of creation
- Title or Subject (if available)
- the date of production (if available),
- signature (if available)
- exact documentation of archival placement: Box, Folder

Additional data that had been added to several documents in this list of resources is not part of the original archival documentation but added by myself due to comprehension. This is true in the cases of some correspondences where I applied the following terms:

- 'correspondence' or 'memorandum' (or short 'memo')
- the correspondences' authors and receivers (both if available)

The list is chronologically organized - from 1945 up to 1962 - and contains all types of text as described in the introduction. Please note, that some resources, as they are individually presented in this list, contain more than one document. That is especially true in case of mission reports and extensive exchange of letters. The aggregation of some documents in the list of resources is due to its archival deposition and correlation. In the doctoral thesis' footnotes, however, the specific documents to which the section refers to is documented exactly.

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Annex III:

Abstract (English)

The doctoral dissertation 'Assimilation and Integration Discourses in the Social Sciences (1945-1962)' presents original research conducted on assimilation and integration discourses that developed in the social sciences after 1945 within an international, transnational, and transdisciplinary frame. This inquiry focusses on the first two decades after World War II and analyses the studies on assimilation and integration that determined the discourses through today, but which are rarely recognized. The international community and especially the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – the UNESCO – adapted and strongly promoted assimilation and integration studies within the given timeframe. The UNESCO not only encouraged social scientists to undertake studies on the 'cultural assimilation' of migrants and immigrants, but it also globally disseminated the concept and facilitated the discussions about it on social scientific and the governmental levels. This doctoral dissertation, divided into two main sections, covers a wide range of intellectual and social scientific inquiries that were conducted after 1945, and reveals the development of discursive lines in the years that followed. In the course of the study, the author elucidates intellectual negotiations on definitions and meanings, as well as the paths the discourses took in order to pacify all involved interest groups.

Abstract (German)

Die Dissertation ‚*Assimilation and Integration Discourses in the Social Sciences (1945-1962)*‘ erforscht anhand von Primärquellen die Entwicklung und Festigung von Assimilations- und Integrationsdiskursen in den Sozialwissenschaften. Dies geschieht in einem internationalen und transdisziplinären Rahmen und mit Hilfe der internationalen und inter-governmentalen UN Organisation ‚UNESCO‘ (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). Die Organisation konzentrierte ihre sozialwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen bzw. die Förderung sozialwissenschaftlicher Studien in den ersten Jahren nach 1945 auf die Konzepte Assimilation und Integration von Migranten und Immigranten. Damit ermöglicht die Untersuchung des Archivmaterials der UNESCO einen globalen, interdisziplinären und transdisziplinären Einblick in die Assimilations- und Integrationsdiskurse und deren Entwicklungen. Die Konzentration auf die Konzepte durch die UNESCO und dessen globalem Netzwerk führte zur Förderung sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschungen und Einrichtungen insgesamt und zur weltweiten Verbreitung der Konzepte

Assimilation und Integration im Speziellen. Die Dissertation stellt in zwei Hauptkapitel die diskursive Entwicklung der Konzepte und die diskursiven Sequenzen dar die sich im Laufe der ersten beiden Dekaden nach 1945 abzeichneten. Im Zuge dessen werden die ‚Experten‘ ebenso vorgestellt, wie das global aufgebaute Netzwerk und die Netzwerkarbeit. Es wird der Weg nachgezeichnet den die Diskurse unternahmen und die internationalen, politischen und sozialwissenschaftlichen Interessen Einflüsse die sie prägten.