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Social Subjecthood? The inclusion of (post)colonial migrants in Dutch, French, and British welfare states, 1945-1970

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Appendix

Appendix A. Historical-interpretivism examples

A.1 Du Bois' contextualised self-interpretation

Consider Du Bois' introduction to the ninth chapter of *Black Reconstruction in America*. In this book, Du Bois revisits accounts of the role that Black people played in the American Civil War, the abolition of slavery and the Reconstruction era that followed the war, covering a period of around 1861 to 1877.

The year 1867 comes. The election of 1866 has sent to the 40th Congress a Republican majority... The decisive battle of Reconstruction looms. Abolition-democracy demands for Negroes physical freedom, civil rights, economic opportunity, and education, and the right to vote... Industry demands profits, and is willing to use for this end Negro freedom or Negro slavery, votes for Negroes, or Black Codes... In the midst of these elements stood Andrew Johnson, with the tremendous power which lay in his hands as commander-in-chief of the Army, with the large patronage which arose through the expansion of governmental functions during the war, and with a stubborn will, and a resourceful and astute secretary of state. Logically, Andrew Johnson, as an early leader of land reform, and of democracy and industry, for the peasant farmer in the labouring class, was in position to lead the democracy of the West. But, perversely, he had been induced by flattery, by his Southern birth, and his dislike of New England puritanism, to place himself at the head of the Southerners.¹

Du Bois aptly illustrates contextualised self-interpretations. He foregrounds several elements of setting, like a previous election and a future battle, considers the demands of interest groups as a means of dislodging the ideological battlefield, and lingers on material economic conditions as interpreted by key industrial stakeholders. He equally pays attention to the past experiences, expanded administrative role, and personality of a powerful figure in the narrative. The meanings that Andrew Johnson makes of his surroundings are recovered, without any of his actions reduced to those meanings. Du Bois portrays Johnson as facing cross-pressures from industry, his Southern supporters, the army, and his secretary of state, but still exhibiting preferences and qualities of his own: disliking New England puritanism, for instance. Du Bois also demonstrates how to adjudicate among various factors. Although Johnson was an early leader of land reform, which could have shaped whose patronage he sought, his history as a campaigner appears as a less important driver for his decisions than his preferences for Southern ideology given that he positioned himself to lead the South.

¹ Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward the History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*, 325.

A.2 Fox' and Cooper's entangled comparisons

Fox' *Three Worlds of Welfare Relief* initially set out to disentangle the relative individual influence of race, citizenship, and legal status on the access of Mexican immigrants, European immigrants, and Black Americans to the American social safety net from 1890s to the 1930s.² Ultimately, however, “adjudicat[ing] between competing theories that highlighted politics, class, race, or other factors,” proved difficult, not least because each group was concentrated in a specific region, which in turn was “different from the rest of the country on so many dimensions that it is hard to know with any certainty which factor or combination of factors” explained the outcome.³ Her solution was to compare across groups *and* regions. Fox reconstructed three distinct and internally coherent configurations of institutions that, nodding to Esping-Andersen, she called “worlds” of relief. Each world differed in the amounts and character of public and private spending. Most European immigrants lived in urban areas of the Northeast and Midwest, where they worked manufacturing jobs that offered generous coverage when the Social Security Act (1935) entered into force. Black Americans, in contrast, lived in rural areas in the South where, besides being subject to Jim Crow laws they worked agricultural occupations that were excluded from the provisions of the Social Security Act. Meanwhile, Mexican immigrants worked in the Southwest where there was far less public relief and in general a more stratified benefits system than the areas in which European immigrants live, for example.

Similarly, in *Decolonisation and African Society*, Cooper studies how the colonial state responded to challenges from African workers by comparing efforts under late colonial rule in British and French Africa from the 1930s to the 1950s.⁴ There is no attempt to tease apart analytically distinct variables, nor to assume that France or Britain were perfectly contained systems. In fact, Cooper shows how both French and British governments were influenced by discussions of minimum wage and social security during International Labour Conferences of the 1920s.⁵ In addition, both were under pressure from the Allies and in particular the US to universally grant the right to self-determination.⁶ Still, Cooper's constant comparison brings the reader's attention to distinctive elements of each context. For example, although both France and Britain were interested in ‘stabilising’ the colonial system in the 1930s, imagining themselves as enlightened imperialists who would break with archaic traditions of the colonial past, France modelled codified labour practices after their metropolitan model, while Britain avoided centralised solutions and instead entered into dialogue with African trade unions. This was in part a response to the strikes and riots they staged in 1935.⁷

Done correctly, these geographies of inclusion are not just descriptive, but provide the skeleton of a socially meaningful explanation. For Fox, the entanglement of race, labour and politics becomes itself a topic of study: racialisation determined employment opportunities, and stigmatising attitudes about group-level welfare use were linked to labour relations and their

2 Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*, 2.

3 Fox, 11.

4 Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*.

5 Cooper, 24.

6 Cooper, 112.

7 Cooper, 18.

political manifestations.⁸ Geography-specific material conditions, like the political strength of white supremacist Democrats in the South, the level of respect that social workers commanded, or the existing structure of the labour market, influenced the interests and ideologies of employers, politicians and researchers. In Cooper's work, equally, context-specific structural constraints and "constraints of the imagination"⁹ that policymakers faced become particularly clear only through comparison.

Appendix B. Nomenclature

B.1 Common-sense categories

Common-sense categories in the sources I consulted were value-laden and wrapped up in the politics of state intervention. In France and the Netherlands, repatriate (*rapatrié* and *gerepatrieerde*) was used frequently to refer to displaced persons after war, and then to citizens leaving former colonies.¹⁰ Repatriate status conferred a self-evident right both to national belonging in the abstract (in relation to an imagined *patria*), and to its realisation through state intervention, since the term gained currency from state-sponsored repatriating efforts. However, as I detail in chapters 6 and 7, the status was granted selectively. Those who had been granted 'native' or 'Muslim' status under Dutch or French colonial law respectively were usually excluded and assigned specific group names. In the Netherlands, former colonial soldiers from the Moluccas were called *Ambonezen* (Ambonese), and former soldiers who transferred to metropolitan France from Algeria were known as *harkis*.

British common-sense categories are noteworthy for their absence of reference to national belonging. Official texts called new arrivals *Colonials* if not *Coloured Colonials*. They were also frequently referred to by their region of origin, even before the independence of that region: *West Indians*, *West Africans*, *East Africans*, *Arabs*, *Pakistanis*, etc. *Commonwealth immigrants* came closest in referring to a shared national heritage by invoking the term that the post-war British empire used for itself. However, it was misleading when used to describe Caribbeans, whose legal status from 1948 to 1962 was technically "Citizens of the UK and Colonies." The term *Commonwealth immigrants* therefore actually increased the discursive distance between the UK citizen from the British Isles and the UK citizen from the colonies, an increase which was augmented by its frequent marriage with the word immigrant (rather than subject, citizen or patrial).

I therefore tried to avoid using common-sense categories inclined to reproduce patterns of state power, like *Commonwealth immigrant*. I also discarded terms that (some) interviewees rejected outright, like *Muslim French*.¹¹

8 Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief*.

9 Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, 3.

10 Scioldo-Zürcher, *Devenir Métropolitain: Politique d'intégration et Parcours de Rapatriés d'Algérie En Métropole (1954-2005)*, 91; Janssen, Leenders, and van Rooij, inventory of the archives of the *Ministerie van Sociale Zaken: Regeringscommissaris Voor Repatriëring: Afdeling Repatriëring En Opsporing; Missie Tot Opsporing van Vermiste Personen Uit de Bezettingstijd, 1943-1952*, 2.15.43.

11 Jordi and Hamoumou, *Les Harkis, Une Mémoire Enfouie*, 20.

B.2 Analytical categories

Some scholars fuse common-sense and analytical categories, especially in the French case. For example, for those whom the French government had considered European, Scioldo-Zürcher uses the terms Français d'Algérie (French of Algeria) prior to Algerian independence and *rapatriés* afterward.¹² He describes all those who the French state had called Muslim or 'native' as *Algériens* (Algerian). Many others follow suit in this latter respect.¹³ Cohen complements this with the term migrants (*post*)*coloniaux*.¹⁴ Fewer scholars of the Dutch case repurpose the translation of repatriate. Jones and Laarman both trade in the plethora of terms used by the Dutch administration for *postkoloniale burgers* (postcolonial citizens).¹⁵ Schuster uses terms that differentiate by region and social designation, like *Indische Nederlanders* and *Surinamers*.¹⁶ Manuhutu and many others prefer the term *Molukkers* to *Ambonezen*, arguing that the latter reflects the dominance of Ambon and its adjacent islands, relative to other islands located further southeast in the Moluccas.¹⁷

Scholars of British history tried somewhat harder than their French and Dutch colleagues to discard common-sense categories. Banerjee uses *imperial citizens* to place greater emphasis on the web of ties, statutory rights and obligations woven between the UK and its colonial subjects than common sense categories of the time did.¹⁸ Legal scholar El-Enany takes issue with the designation of *citizen*, however, arguing that British citizenship did not exist in its modern form at that time and that this categorisation risks "legitimising the colonial British state's immigration regime by ceding to it the power of recognition."¹⁹ Sivanandan opts for *black settlers* rather than immigrants, expanding and claiming the settler status hitherto reserved for white British nationals.²⁰ Gilroy follows suit, referring either to black settlers or *black citizen/settlers*.²¹ Goodfellow avoids a specific term and describes instead *people of colour who lived in colonies and former colonies [who] decided to make the journey to the metropole*.²²

12 Scioldo-Zürcher, *Devenir Métropolitain: Politique d'intégration et Parcours de Rapatriés d'Algérie En Métropole (1954-2005)*, 22.

13 Pitti, "La Main d'oeuvre Algérienne Dans l'industrie Automobile (1945-1962), Ou Les Oubliés de l'histoire." Emmanuel Blanchard, "29 Contrôler, Enfermer, Éloigner La Répression Policière et Administrative Des Algériens de Métropole (1946-1962).;" in *La France En Guerre 1954-1962* (Autrement, 2008), 318–31, <https://doi.org/10.3917/autre.branc.2008.01.0318>; Caroline Izambert, "20 Le Rendez-Vous Manqué Des Algériens et Du Parti Communiste Français L'expérience de L'Algérien En France (1950-1960).;" in *La France En Guerre 1954-1962* (Autrement, 2008), 222–27, <https://doi.org/10.3917/autre.branc.2008.01.0222>.

14 Cohen, "Les Circulations Entre France et Algérie."

15 Jones, "Tussen Onderdanen, Rijksgenoten En Nederlanders: Nederlandse Politici over Burgers Uit Oost En West En Nederland, 1945-2005"; Laarman, *Oude Onbekenden: Het Politieke En Publieke Debat over Postkoloniale Migranten, 1945-2005*.

16 Schuster, *Poortwachters over Immigranten: Het Debat over Immigratie in Het Naoorlogse Groot-Britannië En Nederland*.

17 Wim Manuhutu, "Moluccans in the Netherlands: A Political Minority?," *Publications de l'École Française de Rome* 146 (1991): 497–511.

18 Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire*.

19 El-Enany, *Bordering Britain*, 32–33.

20 Ambalavancer Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance* (London: Pluto Press, 1982), 111.

21 Paul Gilroy, "Race Is the Prism," in *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, ed Paulina De Los Reyes and Ruth Wilson Gilmore (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021), 6.

22 Goodfellow, *Hostile Environment: How Immigrants Became Scapegoats*, 57–58.

With the exception of (translations of) *repatriate*, these terms have the advantage of resisting the re-embedding of power dynamics associated, for example, with the state's efforts. As Sivanandan illustrates, they are also imbued with attempts to renovate those political landscapes. However, they suffer sometimes from presentism - for example, analysing pre-1962 Algerian migrants as "Algerian" denies their then-formal status as French citizens - and depart sometimes from self-determined categories.

B.3 Self-determined categories

In this section, I recover the terms used by the individuals in question to describe themselves. An important caveat is that I do not share their experiences, and base my information off of secondary sources containing interviews with these individuals. For the French case, Jordi and Hamoumou interviewed "pro-French Muslims" from Algeria in France - including from other types of military units and in administrative roles during colonial rule.²³ Their respondents identify as harkis and firmly reject any 'Muslim' or 'North African' qualifiers. One respondent explained: "I don't understand why they keep calling us 'Muslims.' My mom is from Brittany, my dad is from Kabylia. I don't speak a word of Arabic and I was a practicing Catholic."²⁴ Another expressed in no uncertain terms: "the term 'Muslim French,' we don't want it... I ask to be called 'harki' because it has historic meaning. We define ourselves in relation to that, and not in relation to a religion."²⁵ Meanwhile, those whom the French government designated repatriates reclaimed an originally derogatory term to identify as *pieds-noirs* ('black feet').²⁶

In the Netherlands, interviewees with whom Molemans spoke identified as *Indo* and *Indisch*, for example: "We Indo's are not like Jews [in how we support each other]. Indisch people keep all their emotions to themselves instead of looking for support from each other."²⁷ However, those who passed as Dutch - for whatever reason - were also often adamant about being Dutch, as illustrated by the following quote from someone whose mother came from the Moluccan islands and whose father had Dutch citizenship: "throughout 1956, we Dutch were no longer welcome in Indonesia."²⁸ Meanwhile, respondents interviewed by Snels and van Inge identified as *Moluks* (Moluccan).²⁹ One of Huijsman's interviewees outright rejected the *Ambonese* label and to some extent the political project of Ambonese fighters for an independent country, pointing out that the island from which they hailed - Fornata - was "closer to Australia than to Ambon" and identified instead in relation to their specific archipelago of origin - *Tanimabarezen*.

In the UK, a strong (initial) identification with Britishness seems to have overlapped with a secondary identification with the specific (subnational or subimperial) region of origin. Colin Grant, whose parents arrived in England from Jamaica in the late 1950s, interviewed over fifty

23 Jordi and Hamoumou, *Les Harkis, Une Mémoire Enfouie*.

24 Jordi and Hamoumou, 20.

25 Jordi and Hamoumou, 20.

26 Jordi, 1962: *L'arrivée Des Pieds-Noirs*.

27 Molemans, *Opgevangen in Andijvielucht: De Opvang van Ontheemden Uit Indonesië in Kampen En Contractpensions En de Financiële Claims Op Basis van Uitgebleven Rechtsberstel*, 204.

28 Molemans, 203.

29 HAN, "Molukken: het leven en de identiteit van Molukse Nederlanders," *Oral History In De Klas* (blog), accessed July 17, 2023, <https://blog3.han.nl/oralhistory/interviews-uit-de-klas/molukken/>.

people from his parents' generation.³⁰ Many emphasised that prior to coming to England, they identified as British. Said one respondent: "[as] a small boy growing up in my Jamaican rural village, the idea of being British made us special; we were not African, not American, we were British."³¹ Grant describes his respondents as West Indian, a term that many also use for themselves or their families.³² Similarly, in the interviews conducted by Mike and Trevor Phillips, identification with Britishness seems to take precedence over regional identity. Says one former Windrush passenger: "I wouldn't say that we had our own identity. We were always British."³³ Another clarifies in more nuanced but somewhat contradictory terms, "I mean, I didn't have any strong sense of British identity. I never really had it. But it's the only identity I had, because people from the Caribbean are not from the Caribbean originally. We were taken there, either slaves or indentured labour, or whatever. And I didn't have any strong great feeling for Guyana."³⁴ On the other hand, in *The Lonely Londoners*, a short novel written by Sam Selvon who migrated from Trinidad to the UK in the 1950s, the characters call each other by their region of origin and emphasise the distinct experiences with which this is associated. "I wish I was like all you Jamaican," says one character; later, another calls him out: "Moses don't know a damn thing about Jamaica. Moses come from Trinidad, which is a thousand miles from Jamaica..."³⁵

30 Grant, *Homecoming: Voices of the Windrush Generation*.

31 Grant, 36.

32 Grant, 119.

33 Phillips and Phillips, *Windrush: The Irresistible Rise of Multi-Racial Britain*, 12.

34 Phillips and Phillips, 12.

35 Sam Selvon, *The Lonely Londoners* (London: Allan Windgate, 1956), 26.