



Universiteit
Leiden

The Netherlands

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

Wolff, E.A.

Citation

Wolff, E. A. (2024, June 18). *Social Subjecthood?: The inclusion of (post)colonial migrants in Dutch, French, and British welfare states, 1945-1970*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3763857>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3763857>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Archives consulted

The Netherlands (NL)

- Het Nationaal Archief, The Hague (HaNA): Ministerie van Maatschappelijk Werk (2.27.02), Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk (2.27.19), Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid (2.15.5142), Ministerie van Justitie: Vreemdelingenzaken en Grensbewaking (2.09.52), Coördinatie-Commissie voor Grepatriëerden (2.04.48.16), Stichting Comité Nationale Actie Steunt Spijtoptanten Indonesië (2.20.27), Kabinet der Koningin (2.02.20), Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal (2.02.25), Gouverneur van Suriname (2.10.26), Raad voor Sociale Aangelegenheden in Indonesië (2.27.01.01), *Afdeling Armwezen* (2.04.55), *Commissariaat van Ambonezenzorg 1952-1970* (2.27.148), *Centraal Bureau Verzorging Oorlogsslachtoffers en de Rijksdienst voor Maatschappelijke Zorg, 1945-1949* (2.04.48.14), *Regeringscommissaris voor Repatriëring* (2.15.43)
- Utrechts Archief (UtA): Centraal Comité van Kerkelijk en Particulier Initiatief (1405), Gemeente Utrecht, sociale raad (867), Aartsbisdom Utrecht (449)
- Stadsarchief Rotterdam (StRo): Gemeentelijke Dienst voor Sociale Zaken (1402)
- Haags Gemeentearchief (HaHG): Gemeentelijke Dienst voor Maatschappelijke Hulpbetoon (0502-01)

France (FR)

- Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (Paris) (PaAN): Archives de Charles de Gaulle, président de la République (AG/5(1)) Direction de la population et des migrations: actions sociales pour les travailleurs étrangers (19770391), Service d'accueil et de reclassement des Français d'Indochine et des Français musulmans (19920149), Fonds du Comité national pour les Musulmans français dit Comité Parodi (20120054), Fonds d'action sociale pour les travailleurs migrants (19850021 and 19990118), Fonds d'action sociale et de soutien pour l'intégration et la lutte contre les discriminations (19760140), Contrôle général de la sécurité sociale (19830235), Cabinet du ministre et du Secrétariat général du ministère de l'Intérieur (F/1A), Travail et sécurité sociale (F/22/2059)
- Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence (AixAN): Ministère d'État chargé des affaires algériennes (81F)
- Sciences Po Centre d'Histoire, Paris (PaSP): Charles-André Julien, Haut comité méditerranéen/Afrique du nord (JU11)
- Archives départementales de Bouches du Rhône, Marseille (FR-MaAD): Service des rapatriés d'Algérie, recensement et secours (172W), Service des affaires musulmanes (138W)

United Kingdom (UK)

- National Archives, Richmond (London) (LoNA): the Colonial Office Social Services Department and successors (CO 859) and Students Department (CO 1028), Commonwealth Immigration files of the Home Office (HO 344), various collections housed at the archives of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance (PIN 34, PIN 57, PIN 73, PIN 95), Lord Chancellor's Office (LCO 2)

10. Bibliography

- Akiahary, H. "Van Almere Tot de Zwaluwenberg: Molukse Woonoorden in Nederland." In *Tijdelijk Verblijf: De Opvang van Molukkers in Nederland, 1951*, edited by Wim Manuhutu and Henk Smeets. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1991.
- Afonso, Alexandre. "Migrant Workers or Working Women? Comparing Labour Supply Policies in Post-War Europe." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 21, no. 3 (May 27, 2019): 251–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2018.1527584>.
- . *Welfare States, Closed Borders: Welfare Protection and Birth of Immigration Control in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming.
- Afonso, Alexandre, and Camilla Devitt. "Comparative Political Economy and International Migration." *Socio-Economic Review* 14, no. 3 (2016): 591–613.
- Ageron, Charles-Robert. "Les supplétifs Algériens dans l'armée française pendant la guerre d'Algérie." *Vingtième Siècle, revue d'histoire* 48, no. 1 (1995): 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.3406/xxs.1995.4419>.
- Alber, Peter Flora, Jens. "Modernization, Democratization, and the Development of Welfare States in Western Europe." In *Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*. Routledge, 1981.
- Alesina, Alberto, Arnaud Devleeschauwer, William Easterly, Sergio Kurlat, and Romain Wacziarg. "Fractionalization." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8, no. 2 (June 2003): 155–94.
- Alesina, Alberto, and Edward L. Glaeser. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Rodolfo Debenedetti Lectures. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Alesina, Alberto, Edward Glaeser, and Bruce Sacerdote. "Why Doesn't the US Have a European-Style Welfare System?" NBER Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, October 2001.
- Amersfoort, Hans van. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950-2002." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004): 151–74.
- Amin, Samir. "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa - Origins and Contemporary Forms." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 10, no. 4 (1972): 503–24.
- Andersen, Jørgen Goul, and Tor Bjørklund. "Structural Changes and New Cleavages: The Progress Parties in Denmark and Norway." *Acta Sociologica* 33, no. 3 (July 1990): 195–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000169939003300303>.
- Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Books, 1991.
- Anderson, Bridget. *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199691593.001.0001>.
- Andeweg, Rudy B., and Galen A. Irwin. *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Appiah, K. Anthony. "Race, Culture, Identity: Misunderstood Connections." In *Color Conscious*, by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Amy Gutmann, 30–105. Princeton University Press, 1998. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400822096-002>.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1976.
- Asari, Eva-Maria, Daphne Halikiopoulou, and Steven Mock. "British National Identity and the Dilemmas of Multiculturalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1 (2008).
- Ash, Timothy Garton. "Is Britain European?" *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 77, no. 1 (2001): 1–13.

- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Atkinson, Will. *Bourdieu and after: A Guide to Relational Phenomenology*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2020.
- Baay, Reggie. *Daar Werd Wat Gruwelijks Verricht; Slavernij in Indië*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum, 2015.
- Baillet, Pierre. "L'intégration des rapatriés d'Algérie en France." *Population* 30, no. 2 (1975): 303–14. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1530668>.
- Baldwin, M. Page. "Subject to Empire: Married Women and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act." *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (October 2001): 522–56.
- Baldwin, Peter. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1875-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Balibar, Étienne. "Is There a Neo-Racism?" In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, by Immanuel Wallerstein and Etienne Balibar, 15–29. London, New York: Verso Books, 1991.
- Banerjee, Sukanya. *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Barr, Nicholas. *Economics of the Welfare State*. 5th ed. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bayer, A.E. *Surinaamse Arbeiders in Nederland*. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., 1965.
- Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013.
- Béland, Daniel, and Alex Waddan. "Policy Change in Flat Pensions: Comparing Canada and the UK." *Canadian Public Administration* 57, no. 3 (2014): 383–400.
- Bell, David A. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800*. Harvard University Press, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjghtml>.
- Bellecize, Diane de. "Le Comité Général D'études De La Résistance." *Revue d'histoire de La Deuxième Guerre Mondiale* 25, no. 99 (1975): 1–24.
- Berkel, Rik van, and Willibrord de Graaf. "The Liberal Governance of a Non-Liberal Welfare State? The Case of the Netherlands." In *The Governance of Active Welfare States in Europe*, edited by Rik van Berkel, Willibrord de Graaf, and Tomáš Sirovátka, 132–52. *Work and Welfare in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230306714_7.
- Berthet, Pascal. "La Récupération Des Prestations d'aide Sociale." *Journal Du Droit Des Jeunes* 2, no. 212 (2002): 8–19.
- Betts, Raymond F. *France and Decolonisation, 1900-1960*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Bevir, Mark, and Rod Rhodes. "Interpretation and Its Others." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 40, no. 2 (2005): 169–87.
- Bezabeh, S. A. "Citizenship and the Logic of Sovereignty in Djibouti." *African Affairs* 110, no. 441 (October 1, 2011): 587–606. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adr045>.
- Bhageloe-Datadin, Rita, and Jurriën de Jong. "De Naoorlogse Economische Ontwikkeling van Nederland En Duitsland." *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, 2010.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K. "Relations of Extraction, Relations of Redistribution: Empire, Nation, and the Construction of the British Welfare State." *The British Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 1 (January 2022): 4–15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12896>.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K., and John Holmwood. "Colonialism, Postcolonialism and the Liberal Welfare State." *New Political Economy* 23, no. 5 (September 3, 2018): 574–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2017.1417369>.
- Blaagaard, Bolette B. "Whose Freedom? Whose Memories? Commemorating Danish Colonialism in St. Croix." *Social Identities* 17, no. 1 (January 2011): 61–72.

- Blakely, Allison. *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Blanchard, Emmanuel. "29. Contrôler, Enfermer, Éloigner. La Répression Policière et Administrative Des Algériens de Métropole (1946-1962):" In *La France En Guerre 1954-1962*, 318–31. Autrement, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.3917/autre.branc.2008.01.0318>.
- Blankenberg, J.F.L. "De Armenwet 1912." *Onze Eeuw*, 1923.
- Blatter, Joachim, and Till Blume. "In Search of Co-Variance, Causal Mechanisms or Congruence? Towards a Plural Understanding of Case Studies." *Swiss Political Science Review* 14, no. 2 (2008): 315–56.
- Blumer, Herbert. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1958).
- Boels, Henk. "Van Statenbond Naar Eenheidsstaat: De Groei van Een Natie (1795-1880)." In *Duizend Jaar Openbaar Bestuur in Nederland*, edited by Pieter Wagenaar, Toon Kerkhoff, and Mark Rutgers, 149–215. Bussum: Uitgeverij Coutinho, 2011.
- Boeri, Tito. "Immigration to the Land of Redistribution," no. 77 (2010): 651–87.
- Bommes, Michael, and Andrew Geddes. *Immigration and Welfare: Challenging the Borders of the Welfare State*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Bosma, Ulbe, ed. *Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.
- . *Terug Uit De Koloniën: 60 Jaar Postkoloniale Migranten En Hun Organisaties*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009.
- Bosma, Ulbe, Jan Lucassen, and Gert Oostindie, eds. *Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780857453280>.
- Bossenbroek, Martijn. *De Meelstreek*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bakker, 2004.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- . "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/202060>.
- Brinkmann, Svend. "Doing Without Data." *Qualitative Inquiry*, Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding, 20, no. 6 (2014): 720–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414530254>.
- Brown, Gillian, and George Yule. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805226>.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Bruzelius, Cecilia. "Freedom of Movement, Social Rights and Residence-Based Conditionality in the European Union." *Journal of European Social Policy* 29, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 70–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718756262>.
- Buettner, Elizabeth. *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139047777>.
- . "Postcolonial Migrations to Europe." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, edited by Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson, 601–20. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Burawoy, Michael. *Symbolic Violence: Conversations with Bourdieu*. Duke University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781478007173>.
- Burbank, Jane, and Frederick Cooper. "Empires After 1919: Old, New, Transformed." *International Affairs*, 2019, 81–100.

- Burgess, Greg. "The Demographers' Moment : Georges Mauco, Immigration and Racial Selection in Liberation France, 1945-46." *French History and Civilization* 4 (2011): 167-77.
- Burgoon, Brian. "Immigration, Integration, and Support for Redistribution in Europe." *World Politics* 66, no. 3 (July 2014): 365-405. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887114000100>.
- Burns, Tom. *Erving Goffman*. London, New York: Routledge, 1992.
- C., C. M. "The French Committee of National Liberation." *Bulletin of International News* 21, no. 12 (1944): 467-74.
- Caillet, Geoffroy. "4 Juin 1958 : Que Cachait Le «Je Vous Ai Compris» de De Gaulle ?" *Le Figaro*, June 4, 2018. <https://www.lefigaro.fr/histoire/2018/06/04/26001-20180604ARTFIG00058-4-juin-1958-que-cachait-le-je-vous-ai-compris-de-de-gaulle.php>.
- Canon van Nederland. "Maatschappij van weldadigheid." Accessed March 21, 2023. <https://www.canonvannederland.nl/nl/drenthe/drenthe-vo/maatschappij-van-weldadigheid>.
- Carmel, Emma, and Božena Sojka. "Beyond Welfare Chauvinism and Deservingness. Rationales of Belonging as a Conceptual Framework for the Politics and Governance of Migrants' Rights." *Journal of Social Policy*, July 24, 2020, 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279420000379>.
- Carson, John. "A Matter of Policy: The Lessons of Recent British Race Relations Legislation." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 8, no. 2 (1976): 154-77.
- Cavallé, Charlotte, and Karine Van der Straeten. "Immigration and Support for Redistribution: Lessons from Europe." *Toulouse School of Economics Working Papers*, Journal of Economic Literature, N° 1358 (September 2022).
- Chambers, Rosalind. "The National Assistance Act, 1948." *The Modern Law Review* 12, no. 1 (January 1949): 69-72.
- Chan, Chak Kwan, and Graham Bowpitt. *Human Dignity and Welfare Systems*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2022.
- Charbit, Tom. "Un Petit Monde Colonial En Métropole: Le Camp de Harkis de Saint-Maurice-L'Ardoise (1962-1976)." *Politix* 4, no. 76 (2006): 31-52.
- Charlesworth, Lorie. "Welfare's Forgotten Past: A Socio-Legal History of the Poor Law." *Amicus Curiae*, no. 81 (Spring 2010): 16-20.
- Childers, Kristen Stromberg. "The Second World War as a Watershed in the French Caribbean." *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 4 (2012): 409-30.
- Choi, Sung. "The Muslim Veteran in Postcolonial France: The Politics of Integration of Harkis after 1962." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2011).
- Chrisafis, Angelique. "France Admits Systematic Torture during Algeria War for First Time." *The Guardian*, September 13, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/13/france-state-responsible-for-1957-death-of-dissident-maurice-audin-in-algeria-says-macron>.
- Christen-Lécuyer, Carole. "Histoire Des Caisses d'épargne En France. 1818-1881. Une Étude Sociale: Thèse de Doctorat En Histoire Sous La Direction d'André Gueslin, Université Paris 7-Denis Diderot, 1040 F°, Soutenu Le 6 Novembre 2003 Devant Un Jury Composé de Jean-Pierre Chaline (Président), Francis Démier, André Gueslin, Yannick Marec, Bernard Vogler." *Revue d'histoire Du XIXe Siècle*, no. 28 (June 1, 2004). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rh19.681>.
- Christofferson, Thomas R., and Michael S. Christofferson. "France during World War II: From Defeat to Liberation." In *France during World War II*. Fordham University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780823291595>.
- Clegg, Alex, Deven Ghelani, Zoe Charlesworth, and Tylor-Maria Johnson. "Missing out: £19 Billion of Support Goes Unclaimed Each Year." London: Policy in Practice, 2023.

- Cocks, Ray. "The Poor Law." In *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, XIII:473–506. Oxford University Press, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199239757.001.0001>.
- Cohen, Muriel. "Les Circulations Entre France et Algérie: Un Nouveau Regard Sur Les Migrants (Post Coloniaux (1945–1985))." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 34, no. 2 (January 1, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.3167/fpcs.2016.340205>.
- . "L'immigration Algérienne Post-Indépendance: L'enracinement à l'épreuve de l'exclusion." *Le Mouvement Social* 258 (2017): 29–48.
- Colley, Linda. "'This Small Island': Britain, Size and Empire." In *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 121:171–90. The British Academy, 2003.
- Collins, Doreen. "The Introduction of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain." *The Historical Journal* 8, no. 2 (1965): 246–59.
- Combat and the Colonies: The Role of Race in World War I*, 2022. <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/combat-colonies-role-race-world-war-i>.
- Companje, K.P., R.H.M. Hendriks, K.F.E. Veraghtert, and B.E.M. Widdershoven. *Two Centuries of Solidarity: German, Belgian and Dutch Social Health Insurance, 1770-2008*. Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. University of California Press, 2005.
- . *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . "Decolonization and Citizenship: Africa between Empires and a World of Nations." In *Beyond Empire and Nation: Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s-1970s*, edited by Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, 39–67. Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Cornelius, Wayne a., Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield. *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Vol. 2nd ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 139 (1989).
- Crepaz, Markus M. L., and Regan Damron. "Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 3 (March 2009): 437–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414008325576>.
- Curtin, Philip D. *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Dahinden, Janine. "A Plea for the 'de-Migrantization' of Research on Migration and Integration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39, no. 13 (October 20, 2016): 2207–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129>.
- Damme, Leon van. "Werkloosheidsregelingen in Nederland: Een Parlementaire Geschiedenis." Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2021. <https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/239433/239433.pdf>.
- Davies, Christie. "Goffman's Concept of the Total Institution: Criticisms and Revisions." *Human Studies*, Goffman's Sociology, 12, no. 1/2 (1989): 77–95.
- Davis, Muriam Haleh. "Restaging Mise En Valeur: 'Post-war Imperialism' and The Plan de Constantine." *Review of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 2 (January 2010): 176–86. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S215134810000149X>.
- Deakin, Simon, and Frank Wilkinson. "Labour Law, Social Security and Economic Inequality." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 15, no. 2 (1991): 125–48.

- Deeming, Christopher. "The Lost and the New 'Liberal World' of Welfare Capitalism: A Critical Assessment of Gøsta Esping-Andersen's *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* a Quarter Century Later." *Social Policy and Society* 16, no. 3 (July 2017): 405–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746415000676>.
- Delvolvé, Pierre. "The Council of State, the Supreme Court of the French Administrative System." *Pouvoirs* 123, no. 4 (2007): 51–60.
- Depaigne, Vincent. *Legitimacy Gap: Secularism, Religion, and Culture in Comparative Constitutional Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Modern Criticism and Theory; a Reader." In *Structure, Sign and Play*, edited by David Lodge, 107–23. 1966. Reprint, London, New York: Longman, 1988.
- Dewitte, Philippe. "Historique." *Hommes et Migrations*. Accessed April 18, 2022. <https://journals.openedition.org/hommesmigrations/1768>.
- Dieckhoff, Alain. *Nationalism and the Multination State*. Oxford University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190607913.001.0001>.
- Dornel, Laurent. *La France Hostile: Socio-Histoire de La Xénophobie (1870-1914)*. Paris: Fayard, 2014.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. *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*. 1935. Reprint, Frank Cass & Co Ltd., 1966.
- . *Dusk of Dawn*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 2007.
- Dubois, Laurent. "La République Métissée: Citizenship, Colonialism, and the Borders of French History." *Cultural Studies* 14, no. 1 (January 2000): 15–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095023800334968>.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Edited by Steven Lukes. Translated by W.D. Halls. 1895. Reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1982.
- Dutton, Paul V. *Origins of the French Welfare State: The Struggle for Social Reform in France, 1914-1947*. New Studies in European History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Ebbinghaus, Bernard. "Comparing Welfare State Regimes: Are Typologies an Ideal or Realistic Strategy?" In *European Social Policy Analysis Network*. Edinburgh, UK, 2012.
- Edo, Anthony. "Migrations et salaires : le cas des rapatriés d'Algérie," n.d.
- Eldridge, Claire. *From Empire to Exile: History and Memory within the Pied-Noir and Harki Communities, 1962-2012*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- El-Enany, Nadine. *Bordering Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020.
- Elich, J.H., and P.W. Blauw. *En Toch Terug*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University, 1981.
- Ellemers, J.E., and R.E.F. Vaillant. *Indische Nederlanders En Grepatrieerden*. Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1985.
- Emmer, Pieter C., and Leo Lucassen. "Migration from the Colonies to Western Europe since 1800," 2012. <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/economic-migration/pieter-c-emmer-leo-lucassen-migration-from-the-colonies-to-western-europe-since-1800NonEuropeanSoldiersandContractLaborersinEuropeDuringtheWorldWars>.
- Erickson, Frederick. "Comments on Causality in Qualitative Inquiry" 18, no. 8 (2012): 686–88.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State." *International Journal of Sociology* 20, no. 3 (1990): 92–123.
- . *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Faassen, Marijke van. "Polder En Emigratie: Het Nederlandse Emigratiebestel in Internationaal Perspectief 1945-1967." Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2014.

- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. 1961. Reprint, London: Penguin Books, 2001.
- Fasseur, Cornelis. *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation: Java, The Dutch, and the Cultivation System*. *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation*. Cornell University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501719127>.
- Fatah-Black, Karwan. *White Lies and Black Markets: Evading Metropolitan Authority in Colonial Suriname, 1650-1800*. BRILL, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004283350>.
- Feldman, David. "Migrants, Immigrants and Welfare from the Old Poor Law to the Welfare State." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 79–104.
- Fenwick, Clare. "The Political Economy of Immigration and Welfare State Effort: Evidence from Europe." *European Political Science Review* 11, no. 3 (2019): 357–75.
- Ferrera, Maurizio. *The Boundaries of Welfare: European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Fields, Karen E., and Barbara J. Fields. *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*. London and New York: Verso, 2012.
- Fleury, Béatrice, and Jacques Walter. "The Papon Trial." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire* 88, no. 4 (2005): 63–76.
- Flora, Peter, ed. *Growth to Limits: The Western European Welfare States Since World War II*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986.
- Flynn, Lindsay B. "The Young and the Restless: Housing Access in the Critical Years." *West European Politics* 43, no. 2 (2020): 321–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1603679>.
- Flyvbjerg, Bent. "Phronetic Planning: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections." *Planning Theory & Practice* 5, no. 3 (2004): 283–306.
- Foks, Freddy. "Emigration State: Race, Citizenship and Settler Imperialism in Modern British History, c. 1850–1972." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 35, no. 2 (June 2022): 170–99. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12366>.
- Ford, Robert. "Who Should We Help? An Experimental Test of Discrimination in the British Welfare State." *Political Studies* 64, no. 3 (October 2016): 630–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12194>.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon, 1977.
- . "Prison Talk." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper, 37–54. 1972. Reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- . *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*. Edited by Michel Senellart. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Fournier, P. "Les Salaires." *Révue d'économie Politique*, La France économique en 1961, 72, no. 4/5 (1962): 739–52.
- Fox, Cybelle. *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. <http://dx.doi.org/10.23943/princeton/9780691152233.001.0001>.
- Frader, Laura Levine. *Breadwinners and Citizens: Gender in the Making of the French Social Model*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Fraser, Derek. *Evolution of the British Welfare State*. 5th ed. 1973. Reprint, London: Red Globe Press, 2017.
- . *Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*. London and Basingstoke: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1973.

- Frederik, Jesse. *Waarom Ik Me Een Sociaaldemocraat Voel, Maar Nooit PvdA Heb Gestemd*. Den Uyl-Lezing, 2017. <https://decorrespondent.nl/7731/lees-en-luister-waarom-ik-me-een-sociaaldemocraat-voel-maar-nooit-pvda-heb-gestemd/465107002569-7a288df1>.
- Freeman, Gary. *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: The French and British Experience, 1945-1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- . “Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 485 (1986): 51–63.
- Frémeaux, Jacques. “Les SAS (sections administratives spécialisées).” *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 208, no. 4 (2002): 55. <https://doi.org/10.3917/gmcc.208.0055>.
- Frisch, Scott A., Douglas B. Harris, Sean Q Kelly, and David C.W. Parker. “Taking the Road Less Traveled.” In *Doing Archival Research in Political Science*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2012.
- Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. 1984. Reprint, London: Pluto Press, 2010.
- Fuchs, Michael, Katrin Gasior, Tamara Premrov, Katarina Hollan, and Anette Scoppetta. “Falling through the Social Safety Net? Analysing Non-take-up of Minimum Income Benefit and Monetary Social Assistance in Austria.” *Social Policy & Administration* 54, no. 5 (2020): 827–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12581>.
- Garland, David. “What Is a “History of the Present”? On Foucault’s Genealogies and Their Critical Preconditions.” *Punishment & Society* 16, no. 4 (2014): 365–84. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1177/1462474514541711>.
- Geddes, Barbara. “How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics.” *Political Analysis* 2 (1990): 131–50.
- Geloven, Annemarie van. “De Rol van de Burgerlijk Armbesturen in de Plaatselijke Armezorg.” Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 2017. <https://www.bhic.nl/ontdekken/verhalen/de-rol-van-de-burgerlijk-armbesturen-in-de-plaatselijke-armezorg>.
- Genova, James E. “Constructing Identity in Post-War France: Citizenship, Nationality, and the Lamine Guèye Law, 1946–1953.” *The International History Review* 26, no. 1 (March 2004): 56–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2004.9641024>.
- George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.
- Gerring, John. *Case Study Research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . “What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good For?” *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 2 (May 2004): 341–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182>.
- Ghaddar, J. J., and Michelle Caswell. “To Go beyond: Towards a Decolonial Archival Praxis.” *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 71–85. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09311-1>.
- Gilbert, Bentley B. “Health and Politics: The British Physical Deterioration Report of 1904.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 39, no. 2 (April 1965): 143–53.
- Gilens, Martin. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Gilroy, Paul. “Race Is the Prism.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paulina De Los Reyes and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . “There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack”: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation. London: Hutchinson, 1987.

- Glynos, Jason, and David Howarth. *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Science*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- . “Structure, Agency and Power in Political Analysis: Beyond Contextualised Self-Interpretations.” *Political Studies Review* 6 (2008): 155–69.
- Godechot, Olivier, Mirna Safi, and Matthew Soener. “The Intersection of Organizational Inequalities: How Gender, Migrant Status, and Class Inequality Relate to Each Other in French Workplaces,” May 1, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4740556>.
- Goldberg, David Theo. “Modernity, Race, and Morality.” edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, 283–306. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Goma-Thether, Joachim E. “Les Élections à l’Assemblée Nationale Constituante de 1945 Dans La Circonscription Du Gabon-Moyen-Congo.” *Outre-Mers* tome 95, no. 358–359 (2008): 229–47.
- Goodfellow, Maya. *Hostile Environment: How Immigrants Became Scapegoats*. London, New York: Verso, 2020.
- Goodman, Sara Wallace. *Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Gool, Roy van. “70 Jaar Geleden Kwamen Indische Nederlanders Aan in De Schattenberg,” July 4, 2020. <https://www.rtvdrenthe.nl/nieuws/161311/70-jaar-geleden-kwamen-indische-nederlanders-aan-in-de-schattenberg>.
- Gorsky, Martin. “The Growth and Distribution of English Friendly Societies in the Early Nineteenth Century.” *The Economic History Review* 51, no. 3 (August 1998): 489–511.
- Goudswaard, K.P., C.A. de Kam, and C.G.M. Sterks. *Sociale Zekerheid Op Het Breukvlak van Twee Eeuwen*. Alphen aan de Rijn: Samsom, 2000.
- Grant, Colin. *Homecoming: Voices of the Windrush Generation*. London: Vintage, 2020.
- Griffiths, Melanie, and Colin Yeo. “The UK’s Hostile Environment: Deputising Immigration Control.” *Critical Social Policy* 41, no. 4 (November 2021): 521–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018320980653>.
- Groenveld, Simon, and Pieter Wagenaar. “De Republiek Der Verenigde Nederlanden: Het ‘makelaarskarakter’ van Het Nederlandse Openbaar Bestuur (1555-1795).” In *Duizend Jaar Openbaar Bestuur in Nederland*, edited by Pieter Wagenaar, Toon Kerkhoff, and Mark Rutgers, 91–148. Bussum: Uitgeverij Coutinho, 2011.
- Grosjean, Arthur. “L’action des conseillers techniques aux Affaires musulmanes. L’exemple du camp de Thol.” *Matériaux pour l’histoire de notre temps* 92, no. 4 (2008): 15–23. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mate.092.0003>.
- Hafida, Chabi. “La Situation Sociale Des Enfants Des Harkis.” Conseil Economique et Social, 2007.
- Hall, Peter A. “Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research.” In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, edited by James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- . “The Political Sources of Social Solidarity.” In *The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies*, by Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, 349–98. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Hall, Stuart. “Black Men, White Media.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 51–56. 1974. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “C.L.R. James: A Portrait.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 272–85. 1992. Reprint, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021.

- . “Cultural Identity and Diaspora.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 257–71. 1989. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “Gramsci’s Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 295–328. 1986. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “Race and ‘Moral Panics’ in Post-war Britain.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 56–70. 1978. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 195–245. 1980. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “The Whites of Their Eyes.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 97–120. 1981. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- . “The Young Englanders.” In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 42–50. 1967. Reprint, Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- Hammar, Thomas. “State, Nation, and Dual Citizenship.” In *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*, edited by W.R. Brubaker. Lanham, London: German Marshall Fund of the US, 1989.
- Hammar, Tomas. *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- 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/>.
- Hansen, Peo, and Stefan Jonsson. *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism*. London, New York, Toronto: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.
- Hansen, Randall. *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Harell, Allison, Stuart Soroka, and Shanto Iyengar. “Race, Prejudice and Attitudes toward Redistribution: A Comparative Experimental Approach.” *European Journal of Political Research* 55, no. 4 (November 2016): 723–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12158>.
- Harrington, Jack. “The Imperial Citizen: British India and French Algeria.” In *Citizenship after Orientalism*, edited by Engin Isin. Palgrave Studies in Citizenship Transitions. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Harris, Jose. *William Beveridge: A Biography*. Oxford University Press, 1997. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198206859.001.0001>.
- Hartmann, Heidi. “The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union.” *Capital & Class* 3, no. 2 (1979): 1–33.
- Harvey, David. “Population, Resources, and the Ideology of Science.” In *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. 1974. Reprint, Edinburgh University Press, 2019. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781474468954/html>.
- Harvey, Donald J. “Algeria: Tiger by the Tail.” *Current History* 41, no. 242 (October 1, 1961).
- Hatton, Timothy J. “Emigration from the UK, 1870-1913 and 1950-1998.” *European Review of Economic History* 8 (2004): 149–69.
- Haverland, Markus, and Dvora Yanow. “A Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Public Administration Research Universe: Surviving Conversations on Methodologies and Methods.” *Public Administration Review* 72, no. 3 (2012): 401–8.
- Helderman, Coen. “De Hoge Raad van Arbeid, 1919-1940(-1950).” *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale En Economische Geschiedenis* 1, no. 2 (2004): 45–70.

- Heller, Michael. "The National Insurance Acts 1911-1947, the Approved Societies and the Prudential Assurance Company." *Twentieth Century British History* 19, no. 1 (2008): 1–28.
- Hennesse, Marie-Claude. "Le Patronat et La Politique Française d'Immigration, 1945-1975." L'Institut d'Etudes Politiques, 1979.
- Herchenroder, M. F. P. "The Aliens Regulations in France." *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* 21, no. 4 (1939): 220–29.
- Herderscheë, Gijs. "Kamer wil spoed met AOW-compensatie voor Surinaamse Nederlanders." de Volkskrant, November 17, 2022. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/kamer-wil-spoed-met-aow-compensatie-voor-surinaamse-nederlanders~b5b2a9b7/>.
- Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. "Schattenberg 1950-1971," n.d. <https://kampwesterbork.nl/planje-bezoek/40-schattenberg-1950-1971>.
- Hill, Michael R. *Archival Strategies and Techniques*. Qualitative Research Methods Series 31. Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1993.
- Hoogenboom, Marcel. *Standenstrijd En Zekerheid: Een Geschiedenis van Oude Orde En Sociale Zorg*. Amersfoort: Drukkerij Wilco, 2004.
- Hooghe, Marc, Tim Reeskens, Dietlind Stolle, and Ann Trappers. "Ethnic Diversity and Generalized Trust in Europe: A Cross-National Multilevel Study." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 2 (February 2009): 198–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414008325286>.
- hooks, bell. *Ain't I A Woman*. London: Pluto Press, 1987.
- Hooren, Franca van, and Eline Westra. "Wanneer Volgt de Echte Reparatie van Het 'AOW-Gat' van Surinaamse Nederlanders?" *NRC*, May 8, 2023. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2023/05/08/wanneer-volgt-de-echte-reparatie-van-het-aow-gat-van-surinaamse-nederlanders-a4164120>.
- Hopkins, Antony Gerald. "Globalisation and Decolonisation." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 5 (September 3, 2017): 729–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2017.1370218>.
- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Hubert, Michel. "Convergences et Divergences Démographiques Depuis 1870." In *Le Couple Franco-Allemand En Europe*, by Henri Ménudier, 141–58. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1993. <http://books.openedition.org/psn/5720>.
- Hull, Akashia Gloria, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbarad Smith, eds. *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*. New York: Feminist Press, 1982.
- Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. Routledge, 2008.
- Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques. "Immigrés et Descendants d'immigrés En France." Insee Références. Fiches Thématiques, 2012. <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/1374013?sommaire=1374025>.
- Isoart, Paul. "L'élaboration de la Constitution de l'Union française : les Assemblées constituantes et le problème colonial." In *Les chemins de la décolonisation de l'empire colonial français, 1936-1956 : Colloque organisé par l'IHTP les 4 et 5 octobre 1984*, edited by Charles-Robert Ageron, 15–31. Hors collection. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editions-cnrs.445>.
- Izambert, Caroline. "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*, 222–27. Autrement, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.3917/autre.branc.2008.01.0222>.
- Jabbari, Éric. *Pierre Laroque and the Welfare State in Post-war France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

- Jabbari, Eric. "The Genesis of the Laroque Plan (1944–1945)." In *Pierre Laroque and the Welfare State in Post-War France*, edited by Eric Jabbari, 0. Oxford University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199289639.003.0006>.
- Jackson, Ashley. *The British Empire: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199605415.001.0001>.
- Jackson, Ben. "Introduction." In *Essays on the Welfare State (Reissue)*, by Richard M. Titmuss, 1st ed. Bristol University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447349532>.
- Jackson, Julian. *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus. *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and Its Implications for the Study of World Politics*. The New International Relations Series. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Jacobs, Alan M., Tim Büthe, Ana Arjona, Leonardo R. Arriola, Eva Bellin, Andrew Bennett, Lisa Björkman, et al. "The Qualitative Transparency Deliberations: Insights and Implications." *Perspectives on Politics* 19, no. 1 (March 2021): 171–208. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001164>.
- Jacobson, David. *Rights across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Jansen, Jan C., and Jürgen Osterhammel. *Decolonization: A Short History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Jaume, Lucien. "La laïcité selon Jules Ferry." *Commentaire* Numéro 155, no. 3 (2016): 591. <https://doi.org/10.3917/comm.155.0591>.
- Jensen, Carsten. "Labour Market- versus Life Course-Related Social Policies: Understanding Cross-Programme Differences." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, no. 2 (March 2012): 275–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2011.599991>.
- Jensen, Carsten, and Michael Bang Petersen. "The Deservingness Heuristic and the Politics of Health Care." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 1 (2017): 68–83.
- Johnson, Douglas. "The Making of the French Nation." In *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, edited by Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter, 1st ed., 35–62. Cambridge University Press, 1993. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511622298.003>.
- Johnson, Melissa N.P., and Ethan McLean. "Discourse Analysis." In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2020.
- Jones, Guno. "Tussen Onderdanen, Rijksgenoten En Nederlanders: Nederlandse Politici over Burgers Uit Oost En West En Nederland, 1945–2005." Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2007.
- . "What Is New about Dutch Populism? Dutch Colonialism, Hierarchical Citizenship and Contemporary Populist Debates and Policies in the Netherlands." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 6 (2016): 605–20.
- Joost J. Dankers. "Thorbecke En de Armenwet van 1854. Armenzorg Tussen Staatsvermogen En Particulier Initiatief." In *Geschiedenis & Cultuur. 18 Opstellen Ter Gelegenheid van Het Afscheid van Prof. Dr. H.W. von Der Dunk*, 119–30. 's Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1990.
- Joppke, Christian. *Citizenship and Immigration*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010.
- . *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Jordi, Jean-Jacques. *1962: L'arrivée Des Pieds-Noirs*. Paris: Les Éditions Autrement, 1995.
- Jordi, Jean-Jacques, and Mohand Hamoumou. *Les Harkis, Une Mémoire Enfouie*. Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1999.
- Kahneman, Daniel. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.

- Kalm, Sara, and Johannes Lindvall. "Immigration Policy and the Modern Welfare State, 1880-1920." *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2019, 1–15.
- Kerchouche, Dalila. "« Entre Les Barbelés, Les Enfants de Harkis Du Camp de Bias Dribblent Pour Échapper à La Folie Postcoloniale »." *Le Monde.Fr*, March 18, 2022. https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2022/03/18/entre-les-barbeles-les-enfants-de-harkis-du-camp-de-bias-dribblent-pour-echapper-a-la-folie-postcoloniale_6118036_3232.html.
- Kersbergen, Kees van. "Religion and the Welfare State in the Netherlands." In *Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States*, edited by Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Kessler, Denis. "Histoire et Avenir Du Système de Retraite En France." *Revue d'économie Financière*, 465-590, Caisse des dépôts et consignations (1991).
- Kessous, Mustapha. "La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme s'invite dans le débat sur les harkis." *Le Monde.fr*, December 15, 2021. https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/12/15/la-cour-europeenne-des-droits-de-l-homme-s-invite-dans-le-debat-sur-les-harkis_6106080_823448.html.
- . "La délicate question de la réparation des harkis et de leurs enfants." *Le Monde.fr*, September 20, 2022. https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2022/09/20/la-delicate-question-de-la-reparation-des-harkis-et-de-leurs-enfants_6142441_823448.html.
- King, Gary, Robert O Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Klag, Malvina, and Ann Langley. "Approaching the Conceptual Leap in Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 15 (2013): 149–66.
- Ko, Wonsik, and Robert A. Moffitt. "Take-up of Social Benefits." IZA DP. Institute of Labor Economics, June 2022.
- Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1961.
- Koivu, Kendra L., and Annika Marlen Hinze. "Cases of Convenience? The Divergence of Theory from Practice in Case Selection in Qualitative and Mixed-Methods Research." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50, no. 4 (October 2017): 1023–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001214>.
- Kool, Wouter, Joseph T. McGuire, Zev B. Rosen, and Matthew M. Botvinick. "Decision Making and the Avoidance of Cognitive Demand." *Journal of Experimental Psychology. General* 139, no. 4 (November 2010): 665–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020198>.
- Koopmans, Ruud, and Ines Michalowski. "Why Do States Extend Rights to Immigrants? Institutional Settings and Historical Legacies across 44 Countries Worldwide." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 1 (2017): 41–74.
- Kootstra, Anouk. "Deserving and Undeserving Welfare Claimants in Britain and the Netherlands: Examining the Role of Ethnicity and Migration Status Using a Vignette Experiment." *European Sociological Review* 32, no. 3 (June 2016): 325–38. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcw010>.
- Korpi, Walter. *The Democratic Class Struggle*. Routledge Library Editions: The Labour Movement Series. Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1983.
- Kremer, Monique. *How Welfare States Care: Culture, Gender and Parenting in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Kreuzer, Marcus. "Varieties of Time in Comparative Historical Analysis." In *The Oxford Handbook of Time and Politics*, edited by Klaus H. Goetz. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Kuhn, Theresa, and Aaron Kamm. "The National Boundaries of Solidarity: A Survey Experiment on Solidarity with Unemployed People in the European Union." *European Political Science Review* 11, no. 2 (May 2019): 179–95. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773919000067>.

- Kuipers, Susanne Liesbeth. "Cast in Concrete? The Institutional Dynamics of Belgian and Dutch Social Policy Reform." Leiden University, 2004.
- Kuitenbrouwer, Vincent. "Beyond the 'Trauma of Decolonisation': Dutch Cultural Diplomacy during the West New Guinea Question (1950-62)." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, no. 2 (2016): 306–27.
- Kymlicka, Will, and Keith Banting. "Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State." *Ethics & International Affairs* 20, no. 3 (September 2006): 281–304. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7093.2006.00027.x>.
- Kymlicka, Will, and Keith G. Banting, eds. *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- "La Politique de Securite Sociale En Algerie." *Population (French Edition)* 7, no. 1 (January 1952): 17. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1523518>.
- Laarman, Charlotte. *Oude Onbekenden: Het Politieke En Publieke Debat over Postkoloniale Migranten, 1945-2005*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2013.
- Lahav, Gallya, and Virginie Guiraudon. "Actors and Venues in Immigration Control: Closing the Gap between Political Demands and Policy Outcomes." *West European Politics* 29, no. 2 (2006): 201–23.
- Lange, Matthew. *Comparative-Historical Methods*. SAGE Publications Ltd., 2012.
- Laroque, Michel. "Préface." In *La Sécurité Sociale de Pierre Laroque: Sélection d'articles, Conférences et Écrits (1932-1996) de Pierre Laroque*, by Pierre Laroque, 61–68. Paris: Comité d'histoire de la sécurité sociale, 2020.
- Laroque, Pierre. *La Sécurité Sociale de Pierre Laroque: Sélection d'articles, Conférences et Écrits (1932-1996) de Pierre Laroque*. Paris: Comité d'histoire de la sécurité sociale, 2020.
- . "Préface." In *Les Travailleurs Algériens En France*, by Andrée Michel, 2–4. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956.
- Laroque, Pierre, and Ollive Français. "Les Nord-Africains En France." *Les Archives Charles-André Julien: Haut comité Méditerranéen et de l'Afrique du Nord*, March 1938.
- Larsen, Christian Albrekt. "Revitalizing the 'civic' and 'Ethnic' Distinction. Perceptions of Nationhood across Two Dimensions, 44 Countries and Two Decades." *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 4 (2017): 970–93.
- . "The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 2 (February 2008): 145–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006295234>.
- Lavrut, Didier. "S'évader de Saint-Maurice l'Ardoise." *Matériaux Pour l'histoire de Notre Temps* N° 92, no. 4 (2008): 37–44.
- Layton-Henry, Zig, Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin, and James Frank Hollifield. "Britain: The Would-Be-Zero-Immigration Country." In *Controlling Immigration*. Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Le Conseil d'Etat. "Responsabilité de l'État Concernant Les Conditions de Vie Réservées Aux Familles de Harkis." Conseil d'État, October 3, 2018. <https://www.conseil-etat.fr/actualites/responsabilite-de-l-etat-concernant-les-conditions-de-vie-reservees-aux-familles-de-harkis>.
- Leeuwen, Marco H.D. van. "Armenzorg 1800-1912: Erfenis van de Republiek." In *Studies over Zekerheidsarrangementen. Risico's, Risicobestrijding En Verzekeringen in Nederland Vanaf de Middeleeuwen.*, edited by J. van Gerwen and Marco H.D. van Leeuwen. Amsterdam: NEHA, 1998.
- . "Armenzorg 1912-1965: Van Centrum Naar Periferie." In *Studies over Zekerheidsarrangementen. Risico's, Risicobestrijding En Verzekeringen in Nederland Vanaf de Middeleeuwen.*, edited by J. van Gerwen and Marco H.D. van Leeuwen. Amsterdam: NEHA, 1998.

- Lemasurier, Jeanne. "Les Inspecteurs Généraux de l'Administration En Mission Extraordinaire." *La Revue Administrative* 7, no. 40 (1954): 377–82.
- Lewis, James I. "The French Colonial Service and the Issues of Reform, 1944–8." *Contemporary European History* 4, no. 2 (1995): 153–88.
- Lewis, Jane. "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 2, no. 3 (August 1992): 159–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095892879200200301>.
- Lieberman, Evan S. "Causal Inference in Historical Institutional Analysis: A Specification of Periodization Strategies." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 9 (November 2001): 1011–35.
- Lieberman, Robert C. *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. New edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Liebesny, Herbert J. "Chapter II. Morocco and Tunisia." In *The Government of French North Africa*, 25–74. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9781512817669-005>.
- Lijphart, Arend. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *The American Political Science Review* 65, no. 3 (September 1971): 682–93.
- . *The Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966.
- . *Verzuiling, Pacificatie, En Kentering in de Nederlandse Politiek*. 9th ed. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Linders, Lilian. "De Betekenis van Nabijheid: Een Onderzoek Naar Informele Zorg in Een Volksbuurt." Tilburg University, 2010.
- Lizotte, Christopher. "Laïcité as Assimilation, Laïcité as Negotiation: Political Geographies of Secularism in the French Public School." *Political Geography* 77 (March 1, 2020): 102121. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.102121>.
- L'Obs*. "Marseille, 1962 : Le Cauchemar Des Rapatriés d'Algérie." July 6, 2012.
- Longo, Matthew. *The Politics of Borders: Sovereignty, Security and the Citizen after 9/11*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Lucassen, Leo. *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Luttikhuis, Bart. "Beyond Race: Constructions of 'Europeanness' in Late-Colonial Legal Practice in the Netherlands Indies." *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'histoire* 20, no. 4 (2013): 539–58.
- Lyons, Amelia H. "Social Welfare, French Muslims and Decolonization in France: The Case of the Fonds d'action Sociale." *Patterns of Prejudice* 43, no. 1 (February 2009): 65–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220802636072>.
- . *The Civilizing Mission in the Metropole: The French Welfare State during Decolonization*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Magubane, Zine. *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Manow, Philip. "Electoral Rules, Class Coalitions and Welfare State Regimes, or How to Explain Esping-Andersen with Stein Rokkan." *Socio-Economic Review* 7 (2009): 101–21.
- Manow, Philip, and Bruno Palier. "A Conservative Welfare State Regime without Christian Democracy? The French État-Providence, 1880–1960." In *Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States*, edited by Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, 146–75. Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511626784.007>.
- Manuhutu, Wim. "Moluccans in the Netherlands: A Political Minority?" *Publications de l'École Française de Rome* 146 (1991): 497–511.

- Margairaz, Michel. "Les crises de l'épargne en France dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. La construction de la politique de prudence de la Caisse des dépôts et consignations." In *Crises financières, crises politiques en Europe dans le second XIXe siècle*, 121–35. Publications d'histoire économique et sociale internationale. Genève: Librairie Droz, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.3917/droz.aglan.2011.01.0121>.
- Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology*. 1846. Reprint, Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1991.
- Massey, Douglas S. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Math, Antoine. "Les Allocations Familiales et l'Algérie Coloniale." *La Revue de La CNAF Recherches et Prévisions*, no. 53 (September 1998).
- Mau, Steffen, and Christoph Burkhardt. "Migration and Welfare State Solidarity in Western Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 19, no. 3 (July 2009): 213–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928709104737>.
- Maxwell, Joseph A., and Margaret Chmiel. "Generalization in and from Qualitative Analysis." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, edited by Uwe Flick. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2013.
- McKay, James. "The Passage of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, a Case-Study of Backbench Power." *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, no. 6 (June 1, 2008): 89–108. <https://doi.org/10.4000/osb.433>.
- McLean, Iain, and Alistair McMillan. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. 3rd ed. Oxford University Press, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199207800.001.0001>.
- Meer, Frits van der, Jos Raadschelders, and Toon Kerkhoff. "Van Nachtwakersstaat Naar Waarborgstaat: Proliferatie En Vervlechting van Het Nederlandse Openbaar Bestuur in de Lange Twintigste Eeuw (1880-2005)." In *Duizend Jaar Openbaar Bestuur*, edited by Pieter Wagenaar, Toon Kerkhoff, and Mark Rutgers. Bussum: Uitgeverij Coutinho, 2011.
- Meghji, Ali. *The Racialized Social System*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2022.
- Mendelsohn, R. "Ministry of National Insurance: Central Offices, Newcastle-upon-Tyne." *Social Service Review* 25, no. 2 (June 1951): 210–16.
- Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary. "Paternalism," October 28, 2023. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/paternalism>.
- Merrien, François-Xavier. "Aux Origines de l'État-Providence." *La Vie Des Idées*, October 8, 2019. <https://laviedesidees.fr/Aux-origines-de-l-Etat-providence>.
- Merriënboer, Johan van. *Mansholt: Een Biografie*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2006.
- Meuleman, Bart, Femke Roosma, and Koen Abts. "Welfare Deservingness Opinions from Heuristic to Measurable Concept: The CARIN Deservingness Principles Scale." *Social Science Research* 85 (January 2020): 102352. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2019.102352>
- Meurior, P. Population et populations de l'Algérie, 55, *Journal de la société statistique de Paris*: 239-251. http://www.numdam.org/item/JSFS_1914__55__239_0.pdf
- Michel, Andrée. *Les Travailleurs Algériens En France*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Politics of Decolonial Investigations*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- Miller, Jeannette E. "A Camp for Foreigners and 'Aliens': The Harkis' Exile at the Rivesaltes Camp (1962-1964)." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Special Issue: Algerian legacies in metropolitan France, 31, no. 3 (Winter 2013): 21–44.
- Millward, Gareth. *Sick Note: A History of the British Welfare State*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.

- Molemans, Griselda. *Opgevangen in Andijvlucht: De Opvang van Ontheemden Uit Indonesië in Kampen En Contractpensions En de Financiële Claims Op Basis van Uitgebleven Rechtsherstel*. Amsterdam: Quasar Books, 2014.
- Moses, Julia. *The First Modern Risk: Workplace Accidents and the Origins of European Social States*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108657853>.
- Mostert, Gerard. *Marga Klompé 1912-1986: Een Biografie*. Boom uitgevers Amsterdam, 2011.
- Moumen, Abderahmen. “De l’Algérie à La France. Les Conditions de Départ et d’accueil Des Rapatriés, Pieds-Noirs et Harkis En 1962.” *Matériaux Pour l’histoire de Notre Temps* 3, no. 99 (2010): 60–68.
- . “Le Logement Des Harkis: Une Ségrégation Au Long Cours.” *Métropolitiques*, March 19, 2012. <https://metropolitiques.eu/Le-logement-des-harkis-une.html>.
- Myers, Garth A. “Late Colonial Lusaka and Postcolonial Geography.” *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 27, no. 3 (2006).
- Nationale-Nederlanden. “De Geschiedenis van NN Group,” n.d. <https://www.nn.nl/Over-NationaleNederlanden/Wie-zijn-wij/Onze-geschiedenis/Historische-collectie.htm>.
- Niekerk, Mies van. “Afro-Caribbeans and Indo-Caribbeans in the Netherlands: Premigration Legacies and Social Mobility.” *International Migration Review* 38, no. 1 (2004): 158–83.
- Nieuwe Leidsche Courant*. “Rudolphstichting Bereidt Zich Voor Op Zilveren Feest.” January 14, 1953. <https://leiden.courant.nu/issue/NLC/1953-01-14/edition/null/page/3>.
- Nieuwenhuizen, Bert van. *Willem Drees: Vernieuwer Voor, in En Na de Oorlog*. Utrecht: Aspekt B.V. Uitgeverij, 2010.
- Nord, Philip. “The Welfare State in France, 1870-1914.” *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 821–38.
- Obdeijn, H.L.M., and Marlou Schrover. *Komen En Gaan. Immigratie En Emigratie in Nederland Vanaf 1550*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008.
- Olmos-Vega, Francisco M. “A Practical Guide to Reflexivity in Qualitative Research: AMEE Guide No. 149” 45, no. 3 (2023): 241–51.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. 3rd ed. London, New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Oorschot, Wim van. “Non-Take-up of Social Security Benefits in Europe.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 1, no. 15 (1991).
- . “Who Should Get What, and Why? On Deservingness Criteria and the Conditionality of Solidarity among the Public.” *Policy & Politics* 28, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 33–48. <https://doi.org/10.1332/0305573002500811>.
- Oorschot, Wim van, and Femke Roosma. “The Social Legitimacy of Targeted Welfare and Welfare Deservingness.” In *The Social Legitimacy of Targeted Welfare*, edited by Bart Meuleman and Tim Reeskens, 3–35. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785367212.00010>.
- Oostindie, Gert. “Black Power, Popular Revolt, and Decolonization in the Dutch Caribbean.” In *Black Power in the Caribbean*, edited by Kate Quinn, 239–60. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014.
- . “Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands: Identity Politics versus the Fragmentation of Community.” In *Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison*, edited by Ulbe Bosma, Jan Lucassen, and Gert Oostindie, 18:95–126. International Studies in Social History. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012.
- . *Soldaat in Indonesië, 1945-1950*. Amsterdam: Prometheus Books, 2017.

- Oostindie, Gert, Ireen Hoogenboom, and Jonathan Verwey. "The Decolonization War in Indonesia, 1945–1949: War Crimes in Dutch Veterans' Egodocuments." *War in History* 25, no. 2 (April 2018): 254–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0968344517696525>.
- Orloff, Ann Shola. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 3 (June 1993): 303. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095903>.
- Osborn, Phyllis. "Selected Observations on the National Assistance Program of Great Britain." *Social Service Review* 32, no. 3 (1958): 258–86.
- Oude Nijhuis, Dennie. *Labor Divided in the Post-war European Welfare State: The Netherlands and the United Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- . "Middle-Class Interests, Redistribution and the Post-war Success and Failure of the Solidaristic Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* 32, no. 1 (February 2022): 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09589287211035686>.
- . *Religion, Class and the Post-war Development of the Dutch Welfare State*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.
- Owen, A.D.K. "From Poor Law to Beveridge Report." *Foreign Affairs*. 21, no. 4 (July 1943): 743–55.
- Palier, Bruno. *Gouverner La Sécurité Sociale*. 1st ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005.
- . "Les Transformations Du Modèle Social Français Hérité de l'après-Guerre." *Modern & Contemporary France* 16, no. 4 (2008): 437–50.
- . "The Dualizations of the French Welfare System." In *A Long Goodbye to Bismarck?*, 73–100. The Politics of Welfare Reform in Continental Europe. Amsterdam University Press, 2010. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46n02d.7>.
- Paul, Herman, and Ethan Kleinberg. "Are Historians Ontological Realists? An Exchange." *Rethinking History* 22, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 546–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2018.1530820>.
- Paul, Kathleen. *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- PDC. "Mr. Ph.H.M. (Philip) Werner." Accessed April 3, 2023. https://www.parlement.com/id/vg09llzypcqj/ph_h_m_philip_werner.
- Peterson, V. Spike. "State/Nation Histories, Structural Inequalities and Racialised Crises." *New Political Economy* 26, no. 2 (March 4, 2021): 291–301. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2020.1841142>.
- Phillips, Ann. "Defending Equality of Outcome." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12, no. 1 (2004): 1–19.
- Phillips, Mike, and Trevor Phillips. *Windrush: The Irresistible Rise of Multi-Racial Britain*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998.
- Pierce, Sylvie. "Single Mothers and the Concept of Female Dependency in the Development of the Welfare State in Britain." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 11, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 57–85.
- Pierson, Paul. "Big, Slow-Moving, and... Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics." In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, edited by James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, 1st ed., 177–207. Cambridge University Press, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803963.006>.
- , ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Pitti, Laure. "La Main d'oeuvre Algérienne Dans l'industrie Automobile (1945-1962), Ou Les Oubliés de l'histoire." *Hommes et Migrations*, Immigration et marché du travail. Un siècle d'histoire, n°1263 (October 2006): 47–57.
- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. 2nd ed. New York: Knopf Doubleday, 1993.

- Pluen, Olivier. "1315-1946: Le Mythe d'un 'Empire' Français sans Esclavage." *Histoire de La Justice*, Association française pour l'histoire de la justice, N°31 (January 2021): 19–43.
- Polanyi, Karl R. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. 1944. Reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
- Polit, Denise F., and Cheryl Tatano Beck. "Generalization in Quantitative and Qualitative Research: Myths and Strategies." *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 47 (2010): 1451–58.
- Pontusson, Jonas. "The American Welfare State in Comparative Perspective: Reflections on Alberto Alesina and Edward L Glaeser, 'Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe.'" *Perspectives on Politics* 4, no. 2 (2006): 315–26.
- Popper, Karl R. "Of Clouds and Clocks." Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Pre, Raoul du. "Commissie: AOW-gat Surinaamse Nederlanders moet gerepareerd." *de Volkskrant*, July 2, 2021. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/commissie-aow-gat-surinaamse-nederlanders-moet-gerepareerd~b86a2fdc/>.
- Putnam, Robert D. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (June 2007): 137–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x>.
- Rager, Jean-Jacques. *Les Musulmans Algériens En France et Dans Les Pays Islamiques*. Paris: Sociétés Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1950.
- Ramdin, Ron. *Reimagining Britain: 500 Years of Black and Asian History*. London: Pluto Press, 1999.
- "Rapatriés d'Algérie, Du Maroc et de Tunisie 1." *Pierrefitte-sur-Seine*, July 26, 1965. Archives de Charles de Gaulle, président de la République (1959-1969). Les Archives Nationales.
- Ray, Joanny. "Les Marocains en France." Paris, France: Librairie du recueil Sirey, 1938.
- Reeskens, Tim, and Tom van der Meer. "The Inevitable Deservingness Gap: A Study into the Insurmountable Immigrant Penalty in Perceived Welfare Deservingness." *Journal of European Social Policy* 29, no. 2 (May 2019): 166–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718768335>.
- Rinehart, Kerry Earl. "Abductive Analysis in Qualitative Inquiry." *Qualitative Inquiry* 27, no. 2 (February 2021): 303–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800420935912>.
- Ringeling, Arthur Bernard. "Beleidsvrijheid van Ambtenaren: Het Spijtoptantenprobleem Als Illustratie van de Activiteiten van Ambtenaren Bij de Uitvoering van Beleid." Samsom Uitgeverij, 1978.
- Rist, Gilbert. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. 5th ed. London: Zed Books, 2019.
- Rizzo, Matteo. "What Was Left of the Groundnut Scheme? Development Disaster and Labour Market in Southern Tanganyika 1946-1952." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 6, no. 2 (April 2006): 205–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2006.00120.x>.
- Robson, W.A. "The National Insurance Act, 1946." *The Modern Law Review* 10, no. 2 (April 1947): 171–79.
- Roediger, David. *Wages of Whiteness*. London, New York: Verso, 1999.
- . "Whiteness and Ethnicity in the History of 'White Ethnicities' in the United States." In *Race Critical Theories*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, 325–43. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Rokkan, Stein. *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe. The Theory of Stein Rokkan*. Edited by Peter Flora, Stein Kuhlne, and Derek Urwin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Roopnarine, Lomarsh. "Indian Indentured Servitude in the Atlantic World." Oxford University Press, March 30, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199730414-0210>.
- Rose, E.J.B. *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*. Oxford University Press. London, New York, Toronto, 1969.

- Rosen Jacobson, Liesbeth. "‘The Eurasian Question’: The Colonial Position and Postcolonial Options of Colonial Mixed Ancestry Groups from British India, Dutch East Indies and French Indochina Compared." Verloren, 2018.
- Rowthorn, Robert. "The Fiscal Impact of Immigration on the Advanced Economies." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 24, no. 3 (2008): 560–80.
- Royal House of the Netherlands. "Statement by King Willem-Alexander at the Beginning of the State Visit to Indonesia." Jakarta, March 10, 2020. <https://www.royal-house.nl/documents/speeches/2020/03/10/statement-by-king-willem-alexander-at-the-beginning-of-the-state-visit-to-indonesia>.
- Rudolph, Hedwig. "The New Gastarbeiter System in Germany." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, New Migration in Europe: Dilemmas of Mobility and Control, 22, no. 2 (1996): 287–300.
- Ruhs, Martin. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Rutjes, Mart. "Useful Citizens. Citizenship and Democracy in the Batavian Republic, 1795-1801." In *Useful Citizens. Citizenship and Democracy in the Batavian Republic, 1795-1801*, 73–84. Amsterdam University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048522415-008>.
- Rütte, Barbara von. "Citizenship and Nationality: Terms, Concepts and Rights." In *The Human Right to Citizenship*, 11–57. Brill Nijhoff, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004517523_003.
- Saada, Emmanuelle. "Citoyens et Sujets de l’Empire Français: Les Usages Du Droit En Situation Coloniale." *Genèses* 53, no. 4 (2003): 4–24.
- . *Empire’s Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- . "The Empire of Law: Dignity, Prestige, and Domination in the ‘Colonial Situation.’" *French Politics, Culture & Society* 20, no. 2 (2002): 98–120.
- Sadri, Ahmad. *Max Weber’s Sociology of Intellectuals*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Said, Edward. "Imaginative Geography and Its Representations." In *Race Critical Theories*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, 15–37. 1978. Reprint, Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Sainsbury, Diane. "Immigrants’ Social Rights in Comparative Perspective: Welfare Regimes, Forms of Immigration and Immigration Policy Regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no. 3 (2006): 229–44.
- . *Welfare States and Immigrant Rights: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Oxford University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199654772.001.0001>.
- Sainsbury, Diane, and Ann Morissens. "Immigrants’ Social Rights across Welfare States." In *Welfare States and Immigrant Rights: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion*, 113–32. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Salvador Casara, Bruno Gabriel, Silvia Filippi, Caterina Suitner, Ervin Dollani, and Anne Maass. "Tax the Élités! The Role of Economic Inequality and Conspiracy Beliefs on Attitudes towards Taxes and Redistribution Intentions." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 62, no. 1 (January 2023): 104–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12555>.
- Santos do Nascimento, Ryçond. "Het Koninkrijk Ontsluierd." Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2016.
- Schall, Carly Elizabeth. *The Rise and Fall of the Miraculous Welfare Machine: Immigration and Social Democracy in Twentieth-Century Sweden*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016.
- Schierup, Carl-Ulrik, Peo Hansen, and Stephen Castles. *Migration, Citizenship and the European Welfare State: A European Dilemma*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Schiffman, Zachary Sayre. *The Birth of the Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

- Schmidt, Nelly. "Abolition de l'esclavage: Entre Mythes et Réalités." *Africultures* N°67 (February 2006): 18–24.
- Schmitt, Carina. "The Warfare – Welfare Nexus in French African Colonies in the Course of the First and Second World War." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, Special Issue: Conscription, Military Interests, and Western Welfare States in the Age of Industrialized Mass Warfare, 45, no. 2 (2020): 217–31.
- Schmitt, Carina, and Céline Teney. "Access to General Social Protection for Immigrants in Advanced Democracies." *Journal of European Social Policy* 29, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 44–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718768365>.
- Schneider, Anne, and Helen Ingram. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 2 (June 1993): 334–47.
- Schouten, C. RAPWI: Geschiedkundig Overzicht, 1947.
- Schrover, Marlou, and Tycho Walaardt. "Displaced Persons, Returnees and 'Unsuitables': The Dutch Selection of DPs (1945–1951)." *Continuity and Change* 33, no. 3 (December 2018): 413–40. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0268416018000255>.
- Schrover, Marlou. "Rats, Rooms and Riots: Usage of Space by Immigrants in the Dutch Town Utrecht 1945–1970." *Journal of Migration History* 7 (2021): 244–71. <https://doi.org/10.1163/23519924-00703003>.
- Schuster, John. *Poortwachters over Immigranten: Het Debat over Immigratie in Het Naoorlogse Groot-Britannië En Nederland*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1999.
- Schwartz-Shea, Peregrine, and Dvora Yanow. *Interpretive Research Design*. Routledge, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203854907>.
- Scioldo-Zürcher, Yann. *Devenir Métropolitain: Politique d'intégration et Parcours de Rapatriés d'Algérie En Métropole (1954-2005)*. Paris: EHESS, 2010.
- . "Faire des Français d'Algérie des métropolitains." *Pôle Sud* 24, no. 1 (2006): 15–28. <https://doi.org/10.3917/psud.024.0015>.
- Scott, W. Richard. *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests and Identities*. 4th ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2014.
- Scruggs, Lyle A., and James P. Allan. "Social Stratification and Welfare Regimes for the 21st Century: Revisiting the "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism." Chicago, IL, 2006.
- Scruggs, Lyle, and James Allan. "Welfare-State Decommodification in 18 OECD Countries: A Replication and Revision." *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no. 1 (February 2006): 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928706059833>.
- Selvon, Sam. *The Lonely Londoners*. London: Allan Windgate, 1956.
- Sen, Amartya. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*. New York, London: WW Norton & Company, 2006.
- Sessions, Jennifer E. "Colonizing Revolutionary Politics: Algeria and the French Revolution of 1848." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, SPECIAL ISSUE The Politics of Empire in Post-Revolutionary France, 33, no. 1 (2015): 75–100.
- Sewell Jr., William H. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Shepard, Todd. *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Shilliam, Robbie. *Race and the Undeserving Poor: From Abolition to Brexit*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing, 2018.
- Sivanandan, Ambalavaner. *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*. London: Pluto Press, 1982.

- Skocpol, Theda, and Edwin Amenta. "States and Social Policies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 12 (1986): 131–57.
- Skocpol, Theda, and Margaret Somers. "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 2 (April 1980): 174–97.
- Smith, Andrea L. "Introduction." In *Europe's Invisible Migrants*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.
- Smith, Timothy B. *The Two World Wars and Social Policy in France*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198779599.003.0005>.
- Smith, Tony. "A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20, no. 1 (January 1978): 70–102.
- Sociale Verzekeringsbank. "Sociale Regelingen Door de Jaren Heen." Accessed March 16, 2023. <https://www.svb.nl/nl/over-de-svb/wie-zijn-we/geschiedenis-sociale-regelingen>.
- Somers, Margaret R. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Soroka, Stuart N., Keith Banting, and Richard Johnston. "Migration and Redistribution in a Global Era." In *Globalization And Egalitarian Redistribution*, edited by Pranab K. Bardhan, Samuel Bowles, and Michael Wallerstein, 261–68. Princeton [N.J.]: Princeton University Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 2006.
- Soroka, Stuart N., Richard Johnston, Anthony Kevins, Keith Banting, and Will Kymlicka. "Migration and Welfare State Spending." *European Political Science Review* 8, no. 2 (May 2016): 173–94. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773915000041>.
- Soss, Joe. "On Casing a Study vs. Studying a Case." *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research* 16, no. 1 (2018).
- Spencer, Ian R.G. *British Immigration Policy since 1939 : The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Staalduinen, Briitta van. "Ethnic Inequality in the Welfare State." Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2022.
- Stadsarchief Rotterdam. "Archief van de Gemeentelijke Dienst Voor Sociale Zaken, Vanaf 1965 Gemeentelijke Sociale Dienst," October 9, 2021. <https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoek-en-ontdek/archieven/zoekresultaat-archieven/?mivast=184&mizig=210&miadt=184&miview=inv2&milang=nl&mico de=1402&minr=43315813&miaet=linv3t1>.
- Statistiek der Rijksfinancien. "Herleiding van de Uitgaven En Inkomsten van de Hoofdstukken Der Rijksrekeningen En Der Ingewerkte Fondsen Enerzijds Tot de Volgens de Codering Verkregen Uitgaven En Inkomsten Anderzijds," 1963. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. https://historisch.cbs.nl/STATISTIEKpercent20DERpercent20RIJKSFINANCIEN/34?nav_id=0-1&cid=559230424&index=62.
- Steijlen, Fridus. "In and out of Uniform: Moluccan Soldiers in the Dutch Army." In *Colonial Soldiers in Europe, 1914-1945: "Aliens in Uniform" in Wartime Societies*, edited by Eric Storm and Ali Al Tuma, 229–48. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Steinmo, Sven. *Taxation and Democracy: Swedish, British and American Approaches to Financing the Modern State*. Yale University Press, 1993. <https://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/2048/stable/j.ctt32bsrs>.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton University Press, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400835478>.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, and Frederick Cooper, eds. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in A Bourgeois World*. Oakland: University of California Press, 1997.

- Strang, David. "British and French Political Institutions and the Patterning of Decolonization." In *The Comparative Political Economy of the Welfare State*, edited by Janowski and Hicks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Suari-Andreu, Eduard, and Olaf Van Vliet. "Intra-EU Migration, Public Transfers and Assimilation." *Economica* 90, no. 360 (October 2023): 1229–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ecca.12484>.
- Swaan, Abram de. *Zorg En de Staat: Welzijn, Onderwijs En Gezondheidszorg in Europa En de Verenigde Staten in de Nieuwe Tijd*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1989.
- Tajfel, Henri, M.G. Billig, R.P. Bundy, and Claude Flament. "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1971): 149–78.
- Tarschys, Daniel. "Tributes, Tariffs, Taxes and Trade: The Changing Sources of Government Revenue." *British Journal of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (January 1988): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123400004932>.
- Taylor, Charles. "Neutrality in Political Science." In *Philosophy and the Human Sciences*, Vol. II. Philosophical Papers. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Taylor, Russell. "Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy: Debate on 14 June 2018." Library Briefing. London: House of Lords, June 11, 2018.
- Thambinathan, Vivetha, and Elizabeth Anne Kinsella. "Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating Spaces for Transformative Praxis." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211014766>.
- Thandi, Shinder S. "Postcolonial Migrants in Britain: From Unwelcome Guests to Partial and Segmented Assimilation." edited by Ulbe Bosma, Jan Lucassen, and Gert Oostindie, 61–94. *International Studies in Social History*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.
- Thane, Pat. "Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England." *History Workshop*, no. 6 (Autumn 1978): 29+31-51.
- "The British Family Allowances Act, 1945." *International Labour Review* 52 (1945): 548.
- "The Meaning of Race in Science - Considerations for Cancer Research." Bethesda, Maryland: National Cancer Institute, 1998.
- The National Archives. "1834 Poor Law," 2014. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/1834-poor-law/>.
- . "Records of the Unemployment Assistance Boards, the Supplementary Benefits Commission, and of Related Bodies." Catalogue description. Accessed August 2, 2022. <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C17>.
- The Race Question*. Paris: UNESCO, 1950. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000128291>.
- The Unwanted: The Secret Windrush Files*. BBC, 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00068sk>.
- Thire, Maurice. "L'aide sociale et le décret du 29 novembre 1953." *La Revue Administrative* 7, no. 41 (1954): 506–12.
- Tilley, Lisa, and Robbie Shilliam. "Raced Markets: An Introduction." *New Political Economy* 23, no. 5 (2018): 534–43.
- Tilly, Charles. "States and Nationalism in Europe 1492-1992." *Theory and Society* 23, no. 1 (1994): 131–46. ———. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Titmuss, Richard M. *Essays on the Welfare State*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Trescott, Jacqueline. "France to Shine a Light on Its Notorious Camp." *Washington Post*, May 2, 2006. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/01/AR2006050101735.html>.
- Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350225282>.

- Turack, Daniel C. "Freedom of Movement Within the British Commonwealth." *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 1, no. 3 (1968): 476–84.
- United Nations Population Division. "International Migrant Stock, Total." The World Bank, 2012. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.TOTL>.
- Vacher-Desvernaix, Jean. *L'avenir Des Français d'outre-Mer*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
- Valat, Bruno. "Les Retraites et La Création de La Sécurité Sociale En 1945 : Révolution Ou Restauration?" *Revue d'Histoire de La Protection Sociale* 1, no. 13 (2020): 36–53.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. "Settler Colonialism as a Distinct Mode of Domination." In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 1–9. Routledge, 2017. <https://web-p-ebcsohost-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlymtfXzEzMzcwMzhfX0FO0?sid=6ca0101c-50f5-4220-b27c-3f66c7014513@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1>.
- Verheijen, Bart. "Staatsburgerschap en Nederlandschap in Nederlands-Indië in de negentiende eeuw." *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 134, no. 3 (December 1, 2021): 448–72. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVG2021.3.006.VERH>.
- Vie Publique. "Prestations Sociales: Le Manque d'information, Principale Cause de Non-Recours," April 20, 2023. <https://www.vie-publique.fr/en-bref/289086-prestations-sociales-quelles-sont-les-causes-de-non-recours>.
- Viguié, Frédéric. "Chapitre 2. L'assistance sociale délégitimée par la Sécurité sociale mais toujours indispensable." In *La cause des pauvres en France*, 53–79. Académique. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2020. <https://www.cairn.info/la-cause-des-pauvres-en-france--9782724625400-p-53.htm>.
- Visser, Dineke de. "Ontwikkeling van Het Denken over Materiële Vergoeding." Onderzoeksgids Oorlogsgetroffenen WO2, n.d. https://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/thema/wetgeving/01_01_Ontwikkeling_van_het_denken_over_materiele_vergoeding.
- Voncken, Jack. "Ontstaansgeschiedenis van de Steenkoolwinning in Nederland." *Human Resources for Health - HUM RESOUR HEALTH*, January 1, 2008.
- Wacquant, Loic. "Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity." *Sociological Forum* 25, no. 2 (June 2010): 197–220. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01173.x>.
- . *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822392255>.
- Walzer, Michael. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1983.
- Watson, Cicely. "Population Policy in France: Family Allowances and Other Benefits I." *Population Studies* 7, no. 3 (March 1954): 263–86.
- . "Population Policy in France: Family Allowances and Other Benefits II." *Population Studies* 8, no. 1 (July 1954): 46–73.
- Weil, Patrick. "Le statut des musulmans en Algérie coloniale: Une nationalité française dénaturée." *Histoire de la justice* 16, no. 1 (2005): 93. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rhj.016.0093>.
- Wekker, Gloria. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Welshman, John. "Evacuation, Hygiene, and Social Policy: The Our Towns Report of 1943." *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 3 (September 1999). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3020921>.
- Westra, Eline, and Franca van Hooren. "Social Rights in a Post-Colonial Welfare State: Revisiting 'Universality' and 'Inclusivity.'" Manuscript submitted for publication, 2024.
- Whiteside, Noel. "The Beveridge Report and Its Implementation: A Revolutionary Project?" *Histoire@Politique* 24, no. 3 (2014): 24. <https://doi.org/10.3917/hp.024.0024>.
- Willems, Wim. *De Uittocht Uit Indië, 1945-1995*. Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2001.

- . “No Sheltering Sky: Migrant Identities of Dutch Nationals from Indonesia.” In *Europe’s Invisible Migrants*, 33–60. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. “Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences.” *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–34.
- Wolff, Emily Anne. “Diversity, Solidarity and the Construction of the Ingroup among (Post)Colonial Migrants in The Netherlands, 1945–1968.” *New Political Economy* 0, no. 0 (June 23, 2023): 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2023.2227120>.
- Wormser, André. “L’action Du Comité National Pour Les Musulmans Français.” *Hommes et Migrations* 1135 (September 1990): 53–58.
- Yanow, Dvora. “Interpretation in Policy Analysis: On Methods and Practice.” *Critical Policy Analysis* 1, no. 1 (2007): 110–22.
- . “Interpretive Analysis and Comparative Research.” In *Comparative Policy Studies*, edited by Isabelle Engeli and Christine Rothmayr Allison, 131–59. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137314154_7.
- Yeo, Colin. “Briefing: What Is the Hostile Environment, Where Does It Come from, Who Does It Affect?,” May 1, 2018. <https://freemovement.org.uk/briefing-what-is-the-hostile-environment-where-does-it-come-from-who-does-it-affect/>.
- Young, A.F. *Industrial Injuries Insurance: An Examination of British Policy*. Vol. 3. 1964. Reprint, London: Routledge, 2002.
- Zarka, Yves Charles. “Qu’est-Ce Que La Raison d’État?” *Cités* 2, no. 94 (2023): 3–8.
- “Zeeburgerdorp.” Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, April 23, 2019. <https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/stukken/verdwenen-amsterdam/zeeburgerdorp/>.
- Zehr, Yves. “Les Politiques Financières Conduites En Faveur Des Français Rapatriés.” Conseil Economique et Social, 2007.
- Zytnicki, Colette. “L’administration Face à l’Arrivée Des Rapatriés d’Algérie: L’exemple de La Région Midi-Pyrénées (1962-1964).” *Annales Du Midi : Revue Archéologique, Historique et Philologique de La France Méridionale* 110, no. 224 (1998): 501–21.

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.