Dissociating Society

Knowledge, Affect and Performativity in immigrant integration monitoring

Sanne Boersma

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Knowledge, affect and performativity in immigrant integration monitoring

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I have never lived, nor has any of us, in a world in which race did not matter. Such a world, one free of racial hierarchy, is usually imagined or described as dreamscape – Edenesque, utopian, so remote are the possibilities of its achievement. (…) I prefer to think of a-world-in-which-race-does-not-matter as something other than a theme park, or a failed and always-failing dream, or as the father's house of many rooms. I am thinking of it as home. (…) How to be both free and situated; how to convert a racist house into a race-specific yet nonracist home. How to enunciate race while depriving it of its lethal cling?

(Toni Morrison "Home" 1998)

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IMAGINING

Figuring immigrants, grounding societies

> "What are *you* doing here?" was asked by many of my fellow participants in a language and integration course in Berlin in 2011. The participants were absolutely astonished by my participation in this course. While I often lacked German language skills more than the participants, *I* was perceived as the person out of place on this course. My idea of coming to Berlin after graduation to learn German and 'just see what happens' was put in a completely different and actually embarrassing light. Here I was, in the middle of a room full of people uncertain about their long-term residency permits for Germany if they did not pass the test, confronted with my extremely privileged position in contrast to that of the other participants; a highly-educated white 26-year-old, born in the Netherlands to parents who were born in the Netherlands as well. This meant by the way that I was dismissed from any obligatory test from the start.

This situation from my personal memory was one of the many occasions in which I became aware of my privileged position as a white person born in Europe. My experience in the language and integration course in Berlin showed me in a very concrete way how much I was part of what is perceived as their, or rather, '*the* immigrant story' and thus the imagination of Western European societies. While through postcolonial

literature and literary studies I was used to focusing on the importance of telling the stories of those who have been marginalized, as opposed to the dominant and 'official' well-known stories, now I personally realized how I was inevitably part of this imagination. This disconcerted me because I embodied that which they, the participants of the integration course, had to live up to. Namely, I am part of what, at that moment in Berlin, did and still does represent that kind of Europe, which is imagined by a variety of actors. For once, I was in the spotlight in that classroom in Berlin while my fellow participants faded into the background. Usually it is imagined the other way around, that is, those assigned as immigrants are highly visible, often seen as exceptional and displayed as problems, while white – so-called autochthonous or native – people are rendered invisible and perceived of as normal.

These persistent roles played in our West European societies, in which one is put in the spotlight and the other in the shadow, is at the heart of this dissertation. I transformed these encounters in Berlin (amongst many others) into a lens for observing the production process of the monitoring of immigrant integration. Monitoring immigrant integration consists of quantitative measurements of people classified in one way or another as 'immigrant'. The aim of such measurements is to show if and how 'immigrants' are 'integrated' in 'society'. This kind of monitoring is statistical bureaucratic work intricately tied to population management by the state. I put the aforementioned concepts in quotation marks to emphasize that this dissertation does not take these concepts for granted; and even more so it does not go along with a dominant discourse of immigrant integration running through policy-making, media coverage and social scientific research. Hence it questions the way in which 'society' is made plausible and how it is imagined through immigrant integration.

Monitoring immigrant integration I approach and understand as a *performative* practice, which consists of practices that are specified in the chapters of this dissertation as visualizing, narrating, questioning and

seeing. In the specific chapters, a variety of performative practices will take center stage. Performativity as a concept originated from J.L. Austin's lectures in 1955 titled 'How to do things with words' in which he stressed the 'performative effects' of language, that is, by noting how words are not just descriptive but active in producing something (Austin 1955). 'Performative' is derived from the verb 'perform' belonging to the noun 'action', says Austin: "It indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action (…)" (Austin 1955: 6,7). This he explains further with the example, which has become most famous, of a wedding. At the wedding, the bride and groom say 'I do' to each other, which is not a mere descriptive utterance but entails a lifelong engagement to share but even more so 'do' life together. "Austinian performativity", wrote Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "is about how language constructs or affects reality rather than merely describing it" (Sedgwick 2003: 5). She summarizes the approach to and understanding of performativity perfectly when she starts off with Austin's lectures, yet also broadens this to the work on performativity by Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler. Their performativities extend to saying that 'all language is performative' (Derrida 1988) and that performativity is not embodied in actual words but in repetitive acts by which, in Butler's focus, gender is constituted (Butler 1990).

These approaches to performativity have been useful in my research process on the images, instruments and practices of monitoring immigrant integration. The narrations of immigrant integration that run through this, either spoken at conferences or in interviews, or written in reports, never exclude language from doing research either. The language of my field of scrutiny attempts to describe social reality 'out there', which I will turn upside-down to demonstrate how it constructs and affects social reality. Also, this dissertation depends mostly upon language, yet, with the aim of constructing and affecting reality rather than merely describing it (Sedgwick 2003). Hence in writing about 'integration' this is where I start. I am solely interested in how it is constructed and how it affects social

reality. This means that this dissertation lacks any sort of statement about the 'actual attainment of that integration' by so-called immigrants.

The monitoring of immigrant integration, therefore, does not just describe the 'immigrant's' social reality, but enacts, through practices, both the 'immigrant' and reality in a particular way. Janine Dahinden for instance problematized how migration and integration research as an apparatus reproduces the categories that it aims to describe (Dahinden 2016). With a stronger focus on the concept of 'society' Willem Schinkel argues that it is through immigrant integration measurements that society is imagined and that 'immigrants are imagined outside of society' (Schinkel 2017). He writes that the image of 'society' is at once both a particular national society while also claiming universal values such as liberty, tolerance and democracy. Yet Western European societies articulate their identity by making visible what does not belong, what appears as opposite, from an "outside", or "nonintegrated." (Ibid: 1, 2). It is in the problematization of an 'outside' and 'non-integrated' that 'society' gains plausibility, boundaries, order, stability and cohesion (Ibid: 72).

Schinkel claims that one site in which the social imagination of 'society' is produced is the social science of immigrant integration. He provides a critique of the ways in which the asymmetries reported in social scientific studies of immigrant integration "are a priori introduced into them" (Ibid: 3). The knowledge produced contributes to, or better serves, the construction of governing imaginaries. Namely, government bureaucrats and positivist social scientists are intricately related to one another in the 'moral monitoring' of the national population. In Foucauldian terms the state, and research actors of immigrant integration monitoring, are entangled in a "knowledge-power nexus" (Foucault 2007: 61). Foucault said that knowledge and power are not to be perceived as two categories since the first, knowledge, needs to conform itself to a set of rules, constraints given by a certain discourse in a particular time and by what is scientifically valid, rational and accepted. In contrast, the

mechanism of power only functions when in the midst of a more or less coherent system of knowledge including procedures, instruments, means and objectives (Ibid). Foucault therefore proposes not to discuss what one, power, or the other, knowledge, are, but to describe the knowledge-power nexus to be able to grasp the ways in which a system is accepted.

According to Christina Boswell, immigration policy depends upon "expert-knowledge" (Boswell 2009). The relationship between policy and research then is based on the functionality of knowledge in policy, which she analyzes as legitimization, i.e., "how research can endow organizations and their members with legitimacy" (Boswell 2009: 7). Next to that she describes substantiation as "the way in which expert knowledge can lend authority to particular policy positions" (Ibid). Migration, or 'migrant', research thus serves primarily to give authority and legitimacy to the way in which people will be governed. "Categories are the backbone of policies", claim Mügge and van der Haar (2016), who analyze how categories are constructed in immigration and integration policies. The authors focus strongly on how categories are created throughout policies which undermine the role of social science in coproducing such categories. According to them the naming of groups then "results" also in the monitoring of the target groups in official statistics (Mügge and van der Haar 2016: 79). This casts policy as the main actor in the construction of immigrant categories while the official statistics passively adopt the constructed categories. Although implicitly present in their analysis, I will emphasize and make more explicit how knowledge production and policy share this hybrid role and are completely entangled in the construction of categories. Hence, the ways of knowledge production and the governing of populations are to be seen as going hand in hand, existing in a hybrid relationship in producing the way society is imagined.

Producing (post)colonial knowledges

Many studies of (colonial) knowledge making show how administrative practices, surveys and measurements were developed as instruments of rational, modern forms of governing (Mitchell 2002; Savage 2010; Scott 1998; Stoler 2002, 2009). Particularly the colonial territories served as a site for European states to experiment with new ways of collecting information on the population. This relates to what James Scott has called the state's "project of legibility" (Scott 1998), which refers to the ways in which the state renders society more readable and thereby renders possible interventions in society. Scott for instance shows that the creation of surnames was one of the first crucial steps in making citizens officially legible for the state. The colonial territories of Western European states in this respect served as a site of experimentation for recording and documenting individual identities. Scott gives the example of a November day in 1849 in the Philippines, ruled by the Spanish, when people were instructed to take Hispanic surnames. All documents circulating in the colonial state would only be accepted with the use of the new official surnames, since only in that way would the surnames stick. Teachers were ordered to make sure their students only used the new surnames to address one another, or would face punishment. Up to today one can find traces of the *catalogo* created under Spanish rule since in certain areas each surname starts with the same initial. This bureaucratic work of enforcement in the colony was perceived by European states as quite successful and accelerated the introduction of surnames in European societies. It produced a legible people for amongst other things the purposes of taxes, property and inheritance.

These practices resonate strongly with today's postcolonial routinized administrating in local authorities in the Netherlands, where people are made legible for the state, for example as either 'autochthon' or 'allochthon', with a 'non-western background' or 'with a migration background'. The way in which those registered at for instance Dutch local authorities are questioned through migrant specific surveys for the production of

knowledge of those categories calls attention to the studies of the production of colonial knowledge by Ann Stoler (2017; 2009; 2002). She refers to the collection of statistical knowledge on the population of the East Indies as "moral measurements of social kinds" (Stoler 2002: xi), resulting in an assessing and knowing of racial memberships. Racial membership was based on cultural literacy and cultural competence since Dutch schools were only open to children who spoke fluent Dutch. "Legal access to European equivalence demanded a "complete suitability for European society" and a "feeling" of not "belonging" to a milieu that was Javanese" (Stoler 2002: 17). In her book *Along the Archival Grain* she for instance discusses the way in which The European Pauperism Commission of 1901 was put to the task of gaining knowledge on the living conditions of Europeans living in the colonial territories. The Commission however didn't collect knowledge on 'poverty' per se but "was designed to identify Europeans living in a style and at a level that was *not commensurate with how Europeans should live in a colonial situation*" (Stoler 2009: 162). Questions included in surveys assigned to 'poor whites' were: 'How many illegitimate children do you have?' 'How often do your children skip school?' 'And do you speak with them in Malay?' Yet Stoler describes how there were delays in providing the statistical data generated from such questions, caused by confusion, not the least because officials felt "uncomfortable asking questions of such a "touchy" nature" (Stoler 2009: 161). I am interested in the way in which Stoler's analysis of 'cultural competence', observations of particular survey questions and the uneasiness of officials doing the survey work resonate with today's epistemic practices of population statistics.

Let me now briefly introduce both my approach towards 'integration' and social imaginaries before I turn to the two focal points of the dissertation: narrative and affect.

The sticky notion of 'integration'

In recent decades, the concept of integration is at the same time a hotly debated *and* taken-for-granted notion in Western European nation-states. The approach to immigrants in Western European national politics has been a project of unceasing mutations. In countries such as Germany, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands a normative discourse and more specifically an idea of a stable and coherent national integration model has been present within the highly tense debates and transformations on the 'integration of immigrants' (Van Reekum et al. 2012). In France one supposedly speaks of the 'republican universalistic model', in Germany of an 'ethno-cultural model' and Great Britain and the Netherlands are famous for their 'multicultural model'.

In recent decades however the boundaries between national models of integration have become blurred (Bertossi 2007; Scholten 2011). This has resulted in a 'crisis of national models of integration' with the most popular slogan being 'the failure of multiculturalism', expressed by national leaders such as Cameron, Merkel and Sarkozy. In this alarming atmosphere, the public and political debates, policies and social scientific research have entered into what Schinkel calls a "culturist phase" of discourse (Schinkel 2017: 123). In this phase the lens through which integration is observed has moved from a focus on 'socio-economic integration' towards a strong focus on 'cultural integration': 'participation in society' is no longer restricted to the labor market and education, but also requires immigrants to join in the 'shared culture' of the 'host society'. More generally put, it concerns an emphasis on a 'tough policy' of integration as opposed to a departure from 'multiculturalism', which was blamed for its softness (Schinkel 2007; 2017).

According to Schinkel, the new approach in social science and policy concerned with immigrant integration is "multicultu*realism*", which is popular among those who blame 'multiculturalism' for contemporary 'problems' with immigrants. Especially the 'culture of immigrants' itself

becomes the 'problem' of 'integration'. In multiculturealism, 'national society' is articulated through the non-belonging group of 'immigrants' located in an imaginary space 'outside society'. Hence, multiculturealism functions as a mechanism of exclusion (Schinkel 2007; 2017). The 'cultural programming' and 'culturist phase' following from this is equivalent to racism, writes Schinkel: "Culture and race" are to be regarded "as programs along the unfolding of which society becomes imaginable as a medium of in- and exclusion" (2017: 116).

The reason for placing many quotation marks around the concepts in the above paragraph is to emphasize the lack of attention in policy, quantitative social scientific research and public debates on immigrant integration to the taken-for-granted character of these concepts. These concepts are embedded and function in a national discourse on immigrant integration, but this is scarcely debated as a topic in itself (Favell 2003; Schinkel 2007; Star 1999). Schinkel shows how in most scientific studies on 'integration', if a definition of 'integration' is given, it misses a strong theoretical underpinning. For example, he refers to the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) that describes 'integration' in its Annual Report of 2005 as: "Many definitions of 'integration' are possible, however in general one can say that integration refers to the degree of participation by *allochtonen* ['allochtones', SB] in the host society" (SCP 2005; In: Schinkel 2007 [my translation, SB]). 'Allochthones' are those categorized as of non-Dutch descent, placed in opposition to 'autochthones', those of Dutch descent. Often these kinds of definitions of integration depend on the measurement indicators, such as language knowledge, religious affiliation and participation, media use, closeness to contacts, employment, education degree et cetera. 'Integration' only serves as a connector or provides a link between these kinds of indicators and particular programmes of religion, culture, modernity, gender (amongst many others) (See Schinkel 2017: 26, 27). Those programmes serve to identify both sides of an "inside society/ outside society code" (Ibid: 27).

In my fieldwork I was confronted with various ways of defining 'integration'. This fieldwork, on which I will briefly elaborate later in this introduction and in more detail in the next chapter *Situating,* consisted amongst other things of ethnographic interviews with social scientists involved in quantitative work on immigrant integration and observations at conferences and events. The way in which some of my respondents, either in an interview or in public, expressed and often stumbled over the definition of 'integration' confirms the facilitating task of the concept:

> "Bad: thinking paedophilia is a good thing, being drunk on Friday, these kinds of things."
> "Good: doing good in school et cetera. You know what I mean."

> "I think that the argument is that if you have at least one Danish parent, you're very integrated into the Danish society."

> "Uuuhm, with flexibility. No one really knows what it means. When we talk about it we do it with hearts and minds."

> "Oh, it is definitely loaded, definitely loaded."

Those accounts show how 'integration' is overtly clear to some; as a connector of issues, or functioning as a link to descent and 'society'. In other accounts, social scientists related to the concept in more affective ways, when saying "When we talk about it we do it with hearts and minds" or chuckling that is it "loaded". In all cases the connector 'integration' provides a 'diagrammar' that divides between an imaginary 'inside' and 'outside' of society (cf Schinkel).

Schinkel's critique of immigrant integration is one way of unraveling (part of) the stickiness of 'integration' through which society is imagined. Likewise, Van Reekum et al. (2012) argue that the changes and contention

in the debates on integration take place in a context in which the "language of national [integration, SB] models" is spoken by policy makers and politicians, as well as by researchers, commentators and citizens. Consequently, they argue that this particular 'language' "turns the struggles over integration policy into sites of national imagination" (Van Reekum et al., 2012).

This dissertation analyzes the sticky notion of 'integration' by closely examining some of the practices through which it travels. This means that it does *not* analyze 'integration' in terms of discourse, models or its political use. It focuses on the production of national imaginaries throughout 'immigrant integration'. My research contributes to the aforementioned literature by turning an analysis of immigrant integration knowledge practices towards an approach through narrative and affect. Specifically, this involves a narration of perpetual arrival and discomforting ways of working in and with the stickiness of something called 'integration'. Moreover 'integration' as link or connector I claim to be a marker of dissociation.

Social imaginaries

Social imaginaries are kinds of pools in which images of social life circulate and are effective in providing an understanding of 'society'. According to Willem Schinkel "[S]ocial imagination is a key process to social life" (Schinkel 2017: 6). Social imaginaries operate at the level of everyday hermeneutics, on the one hand as a background of understanding, but on the other hand they also refer to institutionalized forms of understanding, identity and group boundaries, mediated by images. Imaginaries consist of representations in the form of definitions and pictures that claim to describe (parts of) 'society' (Schinkel, 2011).

The concept of social imagination has been constructed in accordance with the theoretical reflection on the development of modernity and the emergence of globalization (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai, 1996; Castoriadis,

1987; Gaonkar, 2002; Taylor 2004). Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities explains how in a globalizing world the imagination of social life is not limited to actual regional communities but goes beyond these boundaries. The nation becomes a socially constructed community and people perceive themselves to be part of that community (Anderson, 1991). In his analysis of the social imaginary, Arjun Appadurai develops five dimensions that he calls 'scapes', to emphasize social imaginaries as practices in everyday life. He calls social imagination a 'social force', which, especially when collective, allows for action (Appadurai, 1996). The social imaginary is also given a prominent place in Charles Taylor's historical analysis of Western modernity. He argues that the social imaginary is not just a set of ideas, but it is what enables the practices of society and allows for a wider grasp and background presence. He describes the social imaginary as:

> "(…) something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (Taylor, 2004, 23).

Taylor refers to the deeper underlying structures of the understanding of social life, which consist of a common understanding, shared by a large group and indefinite and unlimited (Taylor, 2004). Yet, Ann Stoler criticizes Taylor's definition of the social imaginary by saying that he quite unproblematically writes of a "common understanding" and "normal expectations". She argues that these attributions to the term were not "effortlessly and equally shared". That is, "how things ought to go" were not at all to be taken-for-granted in colonial knowledge production and its

imaginaries (Stoler 2009: 246). This is important to consider in relation to the uneven way in which the social imagination of society is produced through 'integration' today.

Schinkel writes "that "society" is not an entity that exists independently of its imagination. For a society to exist, to have effects, and to make a difference, it needs to be imagined. And as a consequence, the difference "society" makes and the effects it has are effects of the imagination" (Schinkel 2017: 6). He then rightly asks: What, however, is the substance of social imagination? Whereas Appadurai analyzes social imagination in the form of 'scapes', including migration, technology and media, and Taylor is to a certain degree specific in his analysis of the economy, the public sphere and self-governance, this research has attempted to take an even closer look into the relation between social imagination and *practices*. Within these practices, which take shape in many forms, substance is given to social imaginaries. One of the central questions that this research started with was: how is a social imaginary of society produced through the routinized practices of immigrant integration monitoring? More specifically: how is 'the immigrant' imagined as outside of this social imaginary? Central to my examination and analysis of the way in which society is imagined are thus the performative practices through which knowledge making of immigrant integration is done.

Social science in the making

The field of Science and Technology Studies (STS) provides a useful theoretical and empirical framework to study the practices of quantitative social scientific work and the imagination of society. STS focuses on practices, e.g. interpretations, translations and routines, with the aim of opening up black boxes by analyzing the production process as well as the product (Star, 1995). STS enters through the back door of 'science in the making', not at the stage of 'ready-made science' (Latour, 1987). Latour pays attention to the details of scientific practice by closely examining all

movements and controversies involved (Latour, 1987, 1999). In his study of scientific practices in the Amazon forest in Brazil, his description of how a 'lump of earth' is abstracted from the soil perfectly illustrates its transition towards an object of scientific study:

> "Consider this lump of earth. Grasped by René's right hand, it retains all the materiality of soil - "ashes to ashes, dust to dust." Yet as it is placed inside the cardboard cube in René's left hand, the earth becomes a sign, takes on a geometrical form, becomes the carrier of a numbered code, and will soon be defined by a color. (…)" (Latour, 1999, 49).

While it is challenging to compare a lump of earth from the forest in Brazil to a project on 'integration' and imagination, the resemblance is striking. The transition of a lump of earth becoming a sign, a numbered code and defined by a colour strongly resonates with the ways in which a social heterogeneity, i.e. 'lump of earth', is transformed into one homogenous category as opposed to many 'immigrant' categories. A practice transforming a multitude of people into – sometimes literally – numbered codes is the practice of classification. Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star give the following definition of classification:

> "A classification is a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world. A "classification system" is a set of boxes (metaphorical or literal) into which things can be put to then do some kind of work – bureaucratic or knowledge production (…)" (Bowker and Star, 1999, 10).

In Germany, for example, the Federal Statistical Office published a design on the classification of migration statuses in German society in which the population is first divided into two groups, 'Germans' and 'people

with a migration background', and second, the latter is then classified into categories from '2.1' up to '2.2.2.2.2.2' (Federal Statistical Office 'DESTATIS', Annual Report on Population and Employment, 2011). This classification raises the relevant questions of: How is category '2.2.2.2.2.2' made up? What, or who, do classifications up until numbers such as '2.2.2.2.2.2' visualize? And what remains invisible?

Whereas STS initially focused on how science is done, it has spread to many fields concerned with technologies and image production. For example, sociologist Kelly Joyce studied medical imaging technologies in which she analyzed all the elements – computers, values, decisions, time - involved in the production process of an MRI image. Disentangling all these elements shows how the scans are on the one hand highly trusted by both professionals and patients, though on the other hand they produce highly mediated representations of (parts of) the body (Joyce, 2005).

Although researching a completely different field, the detailed analysis of movements, technologies and decision-making processes are helpful in investigating what goes on in monitoring immigrant integration. In my research I pay attention to both the visible and invisible practices performed on 'coded objects', i.e. 'the immigrant' in its various classificatory modes. Moreover, I study the way in which the object is visualized, naturalized and seen amongst other things. By entering through the back door of 'science in the making' (Latour, 1987), the analysis of how it works in the social science of immigrant integration provides an understanding of how the social imagination of a national society is co-shaped.

Two foci in scrutinizing immigrant integration monitoring

Now that I have introduced the general concepts and the approach that is central to this dissertation, it is time to zoom in and get to the specifics of this study. My concern throughout the research has broadly been two-fold. First, I became interested in the way in which quantitative social scientific work in close connection with national governmental departments produces

statistical knowledge and also constructs a narrative of 'immigrants' and their 'integration'. Second, I was both disturbed and fascinated by feelings of discomfort along this research journey and hence I further examined the role of affect in relation to what is 'unspeakable' in monitoring work.

Both narrating and affect became central to my research through a multi-sited ethnography of monitoring immigrant integration. In the next chapter 2, *Situating*, I elaborate on the situatedness of my field of research and of my own research. However, to introduce my methods here and as briefly mentioned before, I conducted interviews with social scientific researchers of immigrant integration and visited conferences and events on 'integration' statistics in four West European countries, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and the UK. The aim of the interviews was to examine what is involved in monitoring immigrant integration; how concepts are defined, how classifications come about, how data is generated, how challenges are dealt with and how social scientists look at developments in monitoring. Consequently, my questions were very much focused on all the work that needs to be *done* to produce an image, a report, a survey sample or a list of classifications. I then analyzed the accounts that come from my fieldwork interviews with social scientific researchers of immigrant integration known as experts in the field. This means that I have not been present at the actual encounters they describe (except for open conferences and events) since these were in closed settings to which I had no access.

Most of my respondents were involved in both qualitative and quantitative social science research, however my focus was on the latter, namely on that which is involved in monitoring. The knowledge produced through monitoring is most closely tied to the state's efforts in population management. Some of the researchers were involved in negotiating ways of differentiating populations and/or sampling people from registries, while others work with the secondary data from the surveys, meaning that they work with categories set by others. I encountered quite some trouble in doing this research, in terms of access (on which I elaborate in the next

chapter), which transformed into a discomfort and anxiety that appeared both with the researchers in the monitoring field and between me and my interviewees in various forms along the way and became interestingly one of the prominent points of this study.

Before turning to this question of affect, I will now introduce the first focal point, that is, narrating immigrant integration. My background in literary studies and specifically postcolonial and diasporic literature directed me to an approach of interpreting monitoring practices as narrative, or, as a form of narrating. What kind of narrative is constructed through a statistical practice? How is this done specifically? How is a literary and narratological lens useful in analyzing the production of numbers relating to 'the integration of immigrants in society'?

Point of departure: Narrating

Literary arrival narratives[1]

Over the last few centuries many authors have dedicated their literary work to the movement of people around the globe. In Western countries, this manifested itself by the publications of novels of colonial adventurers (e.g. Conrad, Defoe, Melville), or narratives portrayed against the background of overseas colonies (e.g. Austen, Brontë). In the second part of the twentieth century narratives of the (formerly) colonized received attention, telling different accounts of the colonial experiences (e.g. Achebe, Djebar, Rhys). Up until the present, the movement of people has been a central focus in what is often called postcolonial or diasporic literature (e.g. Ben Jelloun, Morrison, Ngozi Adichie, Smith). In social scientific reports, often commissioned by the state, people are imagined as mobile through narratives that are reduced to numbers, percentages and summarizing texts. Such reports come about through statistical practices that, amongst other things,

[1] The first paragraph 'Literary and social scientific arrival narratives' was published in Boersma S. and Schinkel, W. (2018) "Imaginaries of postponed arrival: on seeing 'society' and its 'immigrants'." *Cultural Studies* 32(2), 308-325.

entail classification systems, indicators, surveys, questionnaires, databases, and ways of measuring, reporting and visualizing. These processes and objects establish a monitoring apparatus of 'immigrant integration' that contributes to the degree of participation in 'society' of people classified in one way or another as 'immigrants' vis-à-vis the 'native' population. The latter group is then considered, for instance by many academics and policy makers, to represent the framework of norms and standards of the national society. And yet, while the imagination of the 'migrant other' occurs through very different practices – literary and statistical – both literary works and monitoring reports construct particular arrival narratives, that is narratives of perpetual arrival (Boersma and Schinkel 2018).

The arrival narratives do not refer to the 'date' of arrival in the new country, but to the question 'how much has she or he really arrived?' (cf. Quayson 2013). According to literary theorist Ato Quayson, one central aspect of diasporic literature is the question 'Where are you from?'. He refers here to the literary oeuvres of Zadie Smith, Toni Morrison and Chinua Achebe, which involve narratives of a 'where-we-came-from' and 'how-we-got-here' variety (Quayson 2013: 151, 154). Through their novels the reader becomes familiar with the stories of families, tribes or a random collection of characters, which often take place in various locations and with strong connections to a fragmented history, culture and tradition. Quayson describes these particular (past) trajectories as a form of 'genealogical accounting' that 'involves questions of ancestry, ethnicity, tradition, and culture and provides a distinguishing past to the person or community.' For instance, Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth* consists in many ways of narratives of 'arrival'. In the novel, the Bowdens family migrated from Jamaica to Great Britain, the Iqbals came from India. The novel however is not centered on the 'date of their arrival' but narrates 'how much they have arrived', i.e. how the characters struggle through life in Great Britain in the second part of the twentieth century. It is a novel about home, culture, ethnicity, ancestry but also about love, marriage, conflict, or

how they love, talk, eat, pray, et cetera. Her novels are not only illustrative of the sense of arrival narratives but also much more nuanced and sensitive to the complexity of them than statistical narratives. Literary works are also performative in the construction of narratives, yet the local character and thus situatedness of the scenes relate in more sensitive ways to dominant imaginaries of contemporary societies.

Social scientific arrival narratives

Arrival narratives, as analyzed in literary theory, offer an as yet little explored way of interpreting the ways migrant populations are configured in government and social scientific practices of classification and quantification (Boersma and Schinkel 2018). In assessments of immigrant integration, the narrative structure is embedded in indicators that are measured and the classifications they entail. The latter can be perceived as the characters that emerge from the classification systems of the national population present in each nation-state. All have their own classificatory logic of naming the 'immigrant', and despite their specificities, these classificatory systems converge on this invention of special names for mobile others, that is, for 'Others' whose otherness is construed in large part by their ascribed 'mobility' or, their perpetual state of 'arriving'. For instance, in the Netherlands they are classified as 'ethnic groups' or 'non-Western migrants' and, at least up to and including 2018, as 'allochthones' (National Statistics, CBS). In the UK an 'ethnicity question' was introduced in the census of 1991 which organizes classifications of the population on the basis of a self-reporting technique, i.e. the respondent can tick a box (Office for National Statistics, ONS). And in Germany the classification system distinguishes between "people with and without a migration background", which differentiates the first in many different migration statuses, as visualized in the figure in chapter 3 *Visualizing* (Federal Statistics, De Statis). This results into characters named 'people with migration background without an experience with migration themselves', in numbers: '2.2.2.2.2.2.'

The narratives consist of events that are made into indicators for measurements, such as whether and to what extent the 'immigrant' works (labour-market indicator), learns (education indicator), reads newspapers or watches television, prays and spends time with particular people in his/her spare time (attachment and cultural indicator). Moreover, the social scientific narratives consist of time frames and often two particular places that are framed as the 'immigrant's homeland' and the 'immigrant's host country'.

Another important element of this narrative structure is the presence of another character that functions as a reference point, which is often referred to as 'natives' or 'autochthones'. This occurs as a neutral position, sometimes openly present but also often well hidden in the story. Then, we have a narrator, who according to literary theorist Mieke Bal is accountable for 'what is said', meaning the tone, form and aesthetic direction in which the narrative is written down and thus communicated. The narrator is also closely entangled with the focalizer, a medium that sees through the narrative on which I will elaborate in-depth in chapter 6 *Seeing*. The 'voice' that is the one 'who speaks' is the narrating agent, set in motion by and representing the author (the answer to the question "who writes?") (Bal, 2006: 13). The latter is authoritative in entrusting the narrative with the narrator, but it is still a separate literary agent. In the history of narrative theory distinguishing the author from the text has been a crucial development in what language and stories do without the author present (cf Barthes). This also opens up a space for analysis that goes beyond the single social scientist doing research and writing a report to how such documents 'come to life' through narration, focalization and visualization.

The particular configuration of the narratological elements of immigrant integration outlined above results in the narration of a form of distance, specifically a distance from the 'immigrant' characters and their 'homeland' vis-à-vis the 'native' population and their 'society'. This is imagined in the research outcomes as 'the society in which one should

arrive'. Therefore, the narratives always tell about the increased or decreased distances of the 'immigrants' towards the place of arrival. The distance thus configured opens up a path to be journeyed along, and this journey has 'arrival' as its perpetually deferred destination (Boersma and Schinkel 2018).

To illustrate this narrative logic in immigrant integration knowledge production briefly, since I will analyze in-depth this logic in chapters 4 and 6, let's have a look at the "Annual Report on Integration" of 2010 of the Institute for Social Research in the Netherlands, which is exemplary of Dutch quantitative accounts of immigrant integration. The title of the report pinpoints exactly why this study of narrativity and 'arrival' is fruitful: 'At home in the Netherlands? Trends of integration of non-western immigrants' (SCP 2010). Enfolded in this title is an idea of being at home in the Netherlands, but at the same time of not being at home (yet). The tone of the structure of narration is already set here. First, we learn that there is a space or thing called 'home'. Second, this 'home' is a place that one can 'integrate' in. Third, in this narrative the 'integration' into this 'home' is concerned exclusively with the population classified as 'non-western immigrants'. These points mark the structure of an 'arrival narrative' in immigrant integration reports, including an imagined home where certain 'characters', i.e. the 'non-western immigrants', have not (yet) arrived at. In line with Quayson it is important to realize that this kind of arrival narrative is not about an actual arrival but about the question: 'How much have 'non-western immigrants' arrived?' The chapters of the report are structured through this logic of narrating distance of certain groups towards what is described as "a range of areas in Dutch society" (SCP 2010: 11).

Narrating is about voice, a voice that speaks, a voice that chooses the aesthetic form in which the narrative is told, be it descriptive or argumentative (cf Culler, Bal, Genette). Narration by the social scientist, first of all, concerns the way the immigrant's integration is narrated.

However, the accounts of ways of narrating are narrations as well, that is, they too are stories of the professional work of immigrant integration. In my interviews the social scientists were asked to speak about their work and hence became (more) aware of the way in which they do their work, or in my terms, how they narrate immigrant integration. Literary theorist Johnathan Culler writes about 'self-conscious narration' that is:

> "when narrators discuss the fact that they are telling a story, hesitate about how to tell it, or even flaunt the fact that they can determine how the story will turn out. Self-conscious narration highlights the problem of narrative authority" (Culler 2011: 89).

In many ways this type of narrator described by Culler resonates with my observations of narrations by researchers in the interviews I conducted. On the one hand my interviewees were hesitant about how the narrative should be told but on the other hand then 'flaunted' over how the narrative should turn out. That is, a character of the arrival narrative called the 'third generation' is controversial and contested while in the same interview "the third generation's lag in school successes" is narrated unproblematically. This is an exemplary way of narrating the arrival narrative and the immigrant integration work on which I will elaborate in one of my chapters. In these kinds of situations often 'two voices speak at once' in the field and this problematizes the social scientists' narrative authority. This is instigated, I argue, in various ways by an affective structure wandering through the work practices of monitoring immigrant integration.

Hence the problem of the narrative voice and/or authority in immigrant integration will be examined through *articulations of affect*; that which pertains to what is difficult to speak about, or to the (partially) unspeakable (cf Stoler). This does not mean that I turn to a textual discursive analysis or that I attempt to grasp my interviewees' feelings about their work. I am interested in the way in which affect is a structural

presence, that is, *productive* in the practices of monitoring immigrant integration, and subsequently constructing a narrative of arrival in which some are imagined in society and others outside of it.

Point of departure: Affect

My interview questions and perspectives on observations were strongly interlinked with the small but important word 'how', since I worked with the central research question 'how is monitoring immigrant integration done to produce an imaginary of society?' My STS focus from the start of the research also emphasized this focus on visible and invisible performative practices. As said, the aim of my interviews was to get to know about all that is involved in monitoring: how concepts are defined, how classifications come about, what data are generated, how changes are implemented and how these are experienced, how my respondents look at the future of monitoring. Consequently, my questions were focused on things that need to be done to produce an image, a report, a survey sample or a list of classifications (cf Star). Surprisingly, getting to know all these things resulted in observations and experiences of forms of affect, specifically discomfort and anxiety. In other words, by questioning 'how things are done', discomfort and anxiety are rendered visible in the monitoring of immigrant integration.

But how is 'discomfort' or 'anxiety' visible? It was indeed not there to 'see' like the office space, the social scientist, computers or documents, so for quite a while a feeling of discomfort (also) haunted me throughout the fieldwork and stayed with me during the writing process, not quite sure how to grasp it and partly ignoring its presence. Yet the affective element was not just something present 'on the side' and to be distinguished from the assumed central practices of the monitoring work. The tangible forms of affect appeared as productive and as part of the ways of visualizing, narrating, questioning and seeing which are central to my analysis of how immigrant integration monitoring is done and imagines society. Hence I

realized that I needed to make the forms of affect explicit, not just in an epilogue, in footnotes or a section in the methodology chapter, but in the analyses within the chapters themselves. Namely, discomfort and anxiety 'wandered' through the encounters with social scientists and their work in interviews, conference visits and informal conversations, affects which never failed to touch me during fieldwork itself and in the writing process.

By 'wandering' I refer to the difficulty of grasping feelings of discomfort and anxiety. In other words, the emerging feelings that as a professional you preferably want to shake off, that bother the ways of doing, but are persistent in their presence *and* part and parcel of the work one carries out. Helen Verran put this into words for me when she writes:

> "It is easy to ignore and pass by these moments – part of the problem is their fleeting subtlety – yet it is possible to become acutely sensitized to them. Interruptions, small and large are what we, as theorists, must learn to value and use" (Verran 2001: 5).

Her chapter 'Disconcertment' is inspiring in its call to 'not explain away' moments of discomfort in fieldwork but to see these as a way of doing useful critique. Verran reflexively investigates her own feelings of disconcertment as an ethnographer when watching students and teachers during maths lessons in classrooms in Nigeria. Even more so, this appears when presenting some of her research observations to the teachers who started to chuckle. This resulted in interesting observations and analyses of living in different logics, or worlds for that matter, of numbering. In her analyses, Verran tries to 'keep the tensions'. This resonates with Donna Haraway's appeal of 'staying with the trouble' (Haraway 2016). I recognize the tension and troubles, and Verran's story, in the way that I attempted for a long time during my research, either 'in' the field or in my writing process, to go around the rather uncomfortable feelings I encountered. I tried to leave these out of the analyses, partly because of uneasiness, that

is the 'trouble' of 'staying with the trouble', and the hard to grasp 'thing' that affect is. Verran speaks in terms of 'fleeting', which I will express as wandering. Still, it was my aim to do justice to the material that I collected during my research of monitoring immigrant integration. This meant that I had to stay close and sensitize myself specifically to the moments in which discomfort and anxiety were tangible.

Affect then, as I observed it in the expertise of monitoring immigrant integration, is first of all not a fixed material thing to encounter in an office space or conference room but rather an atmospheric intensity, wandering, or as Verran thus writes, 'fleeting', through both researchers and their environment (cf Verran). Nevertheless, what I want to emphasize is that affect is constitutive and productive of and accountable for what comes into existence – an imagination of society – and in what form, e.g. reports and/or images of immigrant integration. It manifests itself mostly in the researchers, where I was able to detect forms of affect, grasp it partially, nonetheless it is not isolated in the social scientist's mind. In my understanding and observations affect is structural and therefore interwoven with the infrastructure in which the work takes place and constitutive of that infrastructure. It brings all the small and large performative moments of the work into being and is decisive of the way in which practices are carried out. I am mostly influenced in this by literary scholar Ann Cvetkovich's work on 'depression as a public feeling', in which she approaches affect, and also emotion and feelings, as points of departure for analysis and discussion (Cvetkovich 2012: 5). Her work is affiliated with a larger network, called the 'Public feelings project', launched in the aftermath of 9/11. The project, also known through one of its cells 'Feel Tank Chicago', takes up affect, emotions and feelings as objects of scholarly investigation, depathologizes negative feelings and focuses on how feelings, moods and sensibilities can be understood as sites of publicity and community formation (Ibid: 2, 3).

Cvetkovich' inspiring work on depression in academia as a cultural, social and political phenomenon is very helpful to get away from 'affect' first as assigned to and located in the subject, and second as de-politicizing the issues and practices at hand. Cvetkovich shows convincingly how depression is not a mental illness of the individual but is interwoven in the cultural, social and political life of academia. In a different yet also similar way I will analyze anxiety and discomfort as intricately interwoven with the cultural, social and political life of immigrant integration monitoring.

Discomfort and anxiety

During my writing process I alternately used discomfort and anxiety as forms of affect that manifested itself throughout the (accounts of the) work I examined. It is empirically helpful to distinguish between these two affective elements, discomfort and anxiety, in the following way. Discomfort often addresses the uncomfortable moments in doing the work, so the way in which researchers approach their method. In other words, when writing about the operational part of the work – making differentiations of the national population, producing averages, organizing a sample survey – affect manifests itself in the practices in ways that I feel as a discomfort about choices and routines. Discomfort then is about "*what epistemic habits they developed to know it*" (Stoler 2008: 350 [emphasis in original]) that produces for instance the ways in which – or even *if* – one makes, renames or questions a particular category.

Anxiety is not completely different from discomfort, yet it adds to the way in which the bureaucratic monitoring of people is normatively mediated. That is, together the two forms of affect are not 'just' and thus 'solely' concerned with social scientific quantitative method. I also observed anxiety in what my interviewees in intricate relationships with state officials *'imagine they can know*' (Ibid: 350). This relates in monitoring immigrant integration to the fixed assumption of 'the problem of integration' that is connected to so-called 'non-native' or 'allochthones' people and at the

same time disconnected from those classified as 'autochthones', 'natives' or 'majority population', (un)problematically named and renamed in all kinds of ways.

Together the two forms of affect are performative in the work of immigrant integration monitoring, to be precise, in the *racialized* forms of imagining society. This study then scrutinizes the performative affective structures in knowledge making of immigrant integration, thereby detecting racialization processes and ways in which 'race' is enacted. By doing so, I pay due attention to race as, in Gilroy's terms, "the brutal result of the raciological ordering of the world, not its cause" (Gilroy 2005: 39). I understand race as a result of structural racism and as Hall writes as a political and social construct rather than biological or 'natural'. Nevertheless, to nuance this sharp distinction I follow Hall when he writes that racism "claims to ground the social and cultural differences which legitimate racialized exclusion in genetic and biological differences: i.e. Nature" (Hall 2000: 222). Also Amade M'charek goes beyond a binary distinction of race as a biological fact or social construction, yet by explaining race as a relational object and stating that the boundary between the so-called biological and social is not stable but enacted in practices (M'charek 2013). In this dissertation it is not my aim to discuss and define race as either social or biological further but to scrutinize how race runs through performative practices of monitoring immigrant integration, particularly as a "shadowy and slippery object" (M'charek et al. 2014: 462). I will mostly demonstrate racialized ways and racialization techniques as present, often in absence, in the field of monitoring immigrant integration. M'charek (et al.) introduce the concept of 'race as an absent presence' as inviting us "to attend to things that are othered (silenced and excluded): such things do not fully go away, but might give rise to things that are (made) present" (Ibid.).

The intricate imbrication of forms of affect and race through performative practices that will be analyzed in this dissertation is greatly inspired by Ann Stoler's writings in which I was drawn to affective notions

of 'epistemic anxieties', the 'disquiet' in colonial knowledge production and the 'uneasiness' and 'discomforts' of what is supposed to circulate and what not. Especially in her book *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* Stoler touches upon affective elements that resonated strongly with what I experienced as an ethnographic researcher encountering the field of immigrant integration monitoring: an engagement with "uneasiness" and particularly "discomforts". The following passage parallels the affective structures that I was able to trace in my study of contemporary ways of monitoring immigrant integration:

> "Colonial governance entailed a constant assessing and recapping of what colonial agents could know and how they could know it. Central to all the chapters in this book, then, is an engagement with this disquiet: with colonialism's unevenly shared epistemic formations, the varying uneasiness and differential discomforts about what could be assumed to be communicable and circulated – or unrepeatable and not subject to the economy of official exchange" (Stoler 2009: 39).

"Disquiet", "uneasiness" and "discomforts" of what knowledge is to be produced and circulated and what is *not*, is part and parcel of the performative practices that are under scrutiny in this dissertation. It turned out that the 'lived epistemic space' in which social scientists operate in making state knowledge is not necessarily clear, it is a balancing act of what 'they can know and how they can know it' (In Stoler, referring to Daston and Gallison 2007: 35). Daston and Gallison have also called this "epistemological worries". While Stoler works with these affective elements between the realm of colonial knowledge production and the common sense, I remain in the realm of 'expert-knowledge' shared by the social sciences and the state. Yet bringing her engagement with the disquiet and epistemic anxieties to our historical present opens up certain logics of

current ways of knowledge production that are not, or not easily, spoken about yet very necessary. Hence, Stoler's most recent book *Duress* also brings to the forefront an important concept, but even more so from a day to day lived social reality, of *colonial aphasia* in West European societies, which she describes as:

> "a dismembering, a difficulty in speaking, a *difficulty in generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts to appropriate things*. Aphasia in its many forms describes a difficulty in retrieving both conceptual and lexical vocabularies and, most important, a difficulty in comprehending what is spoken" (Stoler 2017: 128).

The latter part of this description is my main aim in scrutinizing my observations of discomfort and anxiety: 'the difficulty of comprehending what is spoken' in disruptive moments of my fieldwork. Aphasia is an act of dismembering through language and can be recognized when language falls short: 'a difficulty in speaking, in generating a vocabulary and finding appropriate words'. However, colonial aphasia does not solely occur in or consist of a linguistic and discursive system, it is located in acts of blockage and loss, of 'active dissociation'.

In the parts of her work that inspire my writing, Stoler focuses mostly on the French context in which she argues that aphasia is able to highlight the relationship between French historical production, the so-called 'immigrant question' and the absent presence of colonial relations (Ibid: 157). Stoler develops this phenomenon as an alternative to the frequently used terms such as forgetting and amnesia, because "it is not a matter of ignorance or absence", that, according to her, colonial history is not forgotten:

> "it may be displaced, occluded from view or rendered inappropriate to pursue. It may be difficult to retrieve in a language that speaks to

> the disparate violence it engendered. But it is neither forgotten nor absent from contemporary life" (Ibid: 128).

She pursues aphasia as a 'political disorder' by asking how 'knowing is disabled' in political, scholarly and cognitive domains. Disabling knowledge includes, according to her redirection, the renaming and disregarding which take place in practices. This relates for instance to the ways in which in immigrant integration monitoring categories are contested and renamed constantly. In a different way, the marginalization of critical race studies by a focus on research *on* ethnic minorities can be put into this light of disabled knowledge due to aphasia (Essed and Nimako 2006). In this way, the aim of my dissertation chapters is first to trace disabling knowledge practices in the bureaucratic ways of monitoring people and second to connect particular 'registers' of colonial aphasia, for instance studies of race and racism, to immigrant integration monitoring.

Here I argue aphasia highlights the relationship between immigrant integration knowledge production and the absent presence of colonial history and race and racism. In the dissertation chapters I analyze acts of "*active dissociation"* and bring together, that is, *associate registers*, to further examine how affect, discomfort and anxiety are specifically performative in the work of immigrant integration monitoring, and thus how they produce a racialized imagination of society. My study of discomfort and anxiety in monitoring immigrant integration thus tracks some of the "manifold structures of a racial nomos – a legal, governmental and spatial order" (Gilroy 2005: 30).

Disconcerted articulations: stammering, slips of the tongue, double voices

One of my interviewees said during an interview: "So if your mother is from Bosnia and your father is from Turkey then your country of origin is Bosnia. They have to choose something. You can't come from two countries in the statistics, that's.. (laughs)." At this moment the respondent 'laughed

away' a statistical practice yet the laughter also shows anxiety with the way in which people will be represented. Moreover, the laughter draws attention to the way in which statistical method is constitutive of in this case a person with Bosnia as his or her country of origin. Yet the uncomfortable laughter addresses something else that matters in today's imagination: displaying 'Turkish' or 'Bosnian' people through statistics matters. Within immigrant integration outcomes one of the two is perceived as 'doing better' in terms of 'integration' than the other. And both are imagined as 'having not arrived yet' in society. The laughter thus refers not just to method but to the performative effects of such a statistical option or lack of option. And as this dissertation will show, this is just one of the performative effects of such a discomfort in social scientific method.

Sonja Jerak-Zuiderent analyzes what she calls "little bursts of laughter" that she found in the accounts of her interviewees about health indicators (Jerak-Zuiderent 2014). She traced disconcerting interruptions in her interview transcriptions that were often "too subtle, too fleeting to make sense of at first". She started to ask herself how to make sense of such moments of laughter. This resulted in analyses of laughter in the interview accounts, yet, showed how this was often fueled by fear at the same time. In a similar way, I found such subtle traces in my fieldwork material. Sometimes laughter was involved in such an articulation.

In line with Jerak-Zuiderent I also pause at disruptive moments in my interview accounts and at public events or conferences to place discomfort and anxiety center stage. I will do this in the light of *disconcerted articulations* since my concern in my fieldwork and the interview transcriptions and reports is with the 'difficulty in speaking' (cf Stoler). I will pay attention to three difficulties of speaking that emerged: *stammering, slips of the tongue* and *when two voices speak at once.* These three forms of disconcerted articulations do not work in the same way but overlap, especially the two voices that speak at the same time. Let me give brief examples of each form of disconcerted articulation. Stammering for instance I traced in expressions

in which my interviewees openly shared their frustration, confusion or embarrassment. One of my interviewees was stuck in talking of 'migrants' when speaking of those classified as 'third generation' and saying in the end: "(…) they… ggh… they don't want to be migrants." Slips of the tongue I traced in unguarded moments, when for instance the reference category was (non)accidently called "normal people". Another researcher spoke about "Moroccan crime" and felt the need to correct himself by turning this around and saying "crime by Moroccans". The latter is an anxious attempt of saying something 'less unspeakable' while not saying something different than just before. These were the subtle and fleeting moments that were hard to grasp in the moment but do touch upon the anxieties present in the monitoring of immigrant integration. They accentuate the difference that is made on both ends of the asymmetrical logic of monitoring immigrant integration. The brief examples of stammering and slips of the tongue are each part of a paradox in the work practice. Yet the third form of difficulty in speaking, that is speaking with two voices, or a double voice for that matter, will help to make sense of the previous two: the stumbling over words and the accidently blunt expressions by social scientific researchers in my interviews.

The 'two-faced Janus', a familiar concept in STS developed by Bruno Latour, is helpful to see how "the two faces of Janus speak at once while saying entirely different things (…)" (Latour 1987: 7). One of the faces, 'ready-made-science', knows and the other, 'science in the making', knows not yet according to Latour. In *Science in Action* Latour asks the question: "How do we account for the closing of the black boxes, because they do after all close up?" With this research question he follows closures of controversies in science. What is interesting in my analysis of two voices that speak at the same time is that Latour writes that the black box never really closes. He writes that "some little thing is always missing to close the black box once and for all" because "there is always a new controversy over how and why it closed" (Ibid: 13). This is why there always will be

two voices speaking at once. Yet, while I am interested in the idea that the black box of science cannot be closed, or for that matter opened completely (Paßmann and Boersma 2017), I distinguish my observations of disconcerted articulations by two voices that speak at the same time from the trajectories Latour observed in his studies of science. I argue that in the social scientific practices of immigrant integration it is not about one controversy following another. As I will claim, monitoring is built on uncomfortable paradoxes that need work to be kept in place. Instead of a dynamic of normal science turning into anomalies, which would make a discipline or scientific field rethink its most important assumptions (cf Kuhn), monitoring immigrant integration is situated in a kind of 'loop'. That is, the two voices speaking at once are involved in a balancing act, thereby referring to the reproduction of figuring 'immigrants' and grounding 'society'. Yet a reversal of this particular figure and ground is impossible. I attempt to partially find out what is at stake when stumbling over words, when language falls short or when bewildered in speaking with a double voice. What could and should be said yet cannot be said because it is at once unspeakable, not appropriate for exchange and circulation?

It was quite a challenge for me as a researcher to write about these hard to grasp moments, to find the 'appropriate words' to speak with Stoler's vocabulary, because it is about that which is supposedly minor, often hidden, subtly worked around, protected by a familiar framework of perception and of expertise, dominant images and thus partially ignored. This is precisely what I want to point at, unveil and 'figure' because it marks the persistent wandering of discomfort and anxiety in the practices of monitoring immigrant integration. I had to embrace that which I encountered as uncomfortable in my fieldwork. What I realized in encountering this difficulty in writing is that the situation that I observed consists of leaps that find remedies for the disconcerted articulations. In a way, like me, these social scientists also preferred not to 'stay with the trouble' and hence found all kinds of ways to take care of this, particularly

in the sense of using their own paradoxes. That is, by giving an account of the remedies social scientists put in place, which is what a large part of their work consists of, they are *not* accounting for the unspeakable moments in themselves. Hence these are silenced. I will try to attend to these disruptive moments and articulations. The practices observed as central to the social scientific work of immigrant integration, such as naturalization, forgetting, focalization and seeing, are instigated by the discomfort and anxiety yet they at the same time take care of the anxiety and discomfort of the unspeakable. This particular 'loop' of knowledge production of the Other, subsequently imagining society, I will examine further in the chapters that follow from here.

Outline of chapters

Situating turns to the way in which the research presented in this dissertation is situated, which gives an account of my research position and how the monitoring of immigrant integration became an object of research in a multi-sited ethnography. Donna Haraway's "situated knowledges" and question "how to see?" (Haraway 1991), literary and postcolonial studies and STS, are central to my position. The second part of the chapter elaborates on the trouble encountered in attempting to study a politically sensitive infrastructure shared by knowledge institutions and the state.

In chapter 3 *Visualizing*, I start with a focus on the images produced by immigrant integration monitoring. The analyses show how social scientific graphic images are not merely representations of social reality but performative in producing difference by ways of conceptualization, absent presences, spatial design and oscillation of categories. The images constitute a spatial ordering of difference-as-racialized distance towards a reference category representing 'society' that is neutralized in the background, often invisible. The logic of distance that will be demonstrated in the images of immigrant integration shows how 'society' as often silent but active benchmark is dissociated from that which is visualized as other.

In the next chapter, *Narrating*, the logic of distance is central when I turn to an analysis of the production of narratives of perpetual arrival through immigrant integration monitoring. My main focus is on the way in which the characters of the narrative, i.e. the 'immigrants' in their manifold variations, are enacted as journeying towards a place of arrival however their arrival is continually postponed. The work of narration is done through practices of negotiating, naturalization and forgetting over against a silent protagonist who is only sometimes explicitly remembered. Here again we find the reference category in the background of monitoring immigrant integration, occupying the place of arrival: that which is imagined as society. The stammering and double voices in accounts of social scientists show how discomfort and anxiety wander through the field. The forms of affect are productive in letting society as a place of arrival functioning as protagonist yet by not making it an object of scrutiny. Instead the narrative structure of arrival narratives of immigrant integration purifies society from 'others' and 'problems'.

Chapter 5 *Questioning* pursues the focus on narrative, specifically how the narrative plot is created in terms of place and time. In other words, the logics analyzed in the previous two chapters of distance and journeying come together in particular constructions of 'here' and 'there'. The chapter shows how a monitoring device, the survey-questionnaire, is performative in dissociating society from that which is other, in this case specifically what is positioned 'elsewhere'. At the same time the chapter demonstrates how this logic of questioning in the questionnaire is associated with the colonial present. While in colonial times the places were divided between Europe and the colonies, I argue that the imaginaries of a 'here' and 'there' constructed through the questionnaire mirror these places yet within Europe itself. Nevertheless, by persistently folding and enacting otherness into survey questions, the imagination of 'here' or society is actively disconnected from its colonial present.

Then in *Seeing,* chapter 6, the way of seeing in the field of monitoring immigrant integration is examined. I go back explicitly to Haraway's question of 'how to see?' that I introduced in *Situating* and relate this to narratological theory in which I follow Gerard Genette and Mieke Bal's question of 'Who sees?' in narratives. The first part of the chapter analyzes seeing in the reports and images of immigrant integration through the narratological notion of focalization. This is helpful in disentangling the presence of what I call a 'societal gaze' in immigrant integration monitoring, seemingly a gaze from nowhere that distributes a way of seeing claiming neutrality, objectivity and un-situatedness. Instead I analyze the societal gaze as a way of seeing that organizes the power of the unmarked category, the white reference category, that sees through race and projects forms of racialized difference. The second part of the chapter scrutinizes how the societal gaze is distributed as a way of seeing through the community of practice of immigrant integration and how discomfort and anxiety keep together the logics of their work practice. The disruptive moments in the work reproduce trouble yet also cope with the trouble at the same time.

Each of the chapters just outlined aim to account for the performative and discomforting ways quantitative knowledge production of immigrant integration is done. The chapters attend to the troubles of knowledge making through which persuasive racialized images and narratives of immigrant integration are enacted, and thus an imaginary of West European societies as dissociated from 'others' who are not good enough yet, not fitting in, on a distance from 'society'; that is, who are perpetually arriving.

2

SITUATING

Giving an account

"Feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges"
(Haraway 1991: 188)

Vision is emphasized in this dissertation in many ways; in visualization, images, in ways of seeing and through 'partial' lenses. Hence the way in which my research is situated and my general positionality I approach through ways of seeing. Donna Haraway's question 'How to see?' is central to both my own ways of knowledge production and that of my field of research. Only through the struggles over 'how to see' may one achieve 'rational objective accounts of the world' (Haraway 1991). My study follows Haraway's appeal in emphasizing all vision as embodied and reclaiming the use of the sensory system, in particular the eyes, literally and metaphorically. It questions and contests the possibility of infinite vision, she describes as "the god-trick" of science; "this eye fucks the world to make techno-monsters." (Ibid: 189). Instead, these kinds of techno-monsters – of which I argue the monitoring of immigrant integration is one – imagine the social world visually in highly specific and partial ways. As Haraway states:

> "The 'eyes' made available in modern technological sciences shatter any idea of passive vision; these prosthetic devices show us that

> all eyes, including our organic ones, are active perceptual systems, building in translations and specific *ways* of seeing, that is, ways of life. There is no unmediated photograph or camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines: there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds" (Ibid: 190).

Haraway's claim of specific ways of seeing in science and partial ways of organizing worlds has become a classical statement in standpoint theory and in the philosophy of science more generally. She does not reject objectivity at all when she states that "feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge" (Haraway 1988: 583). Hence it is such an appealing way of approaching the sciences and 'worlds' more generally, since it does take seriously the 'facts' and 'realities' produced through science. However the approach locates, and thus 'situates', these as not coming from nowhere or everywhere.

Haraway's work is an important addition to *and* critique of feminist projects such as Sandra Harding's appeal for a "successor science" which would provide 'more adequate' and 'better accounts' of the world. Haraway argues for "partial perspective that promises objective vision" and writes against the idea of 'innocent' positions (Haraway 1991: 190, 191). My ways of seeing in doing research as well as my positionality in the discipline of sociology are grounded in the works of Haraway, Harding, Dorothy L. Smith and Patricia Hill Collins, amongst other feminist sociologists and social scientists. Hill Collins claims in "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought" how the discipline of sociology benefits from what she calls the 'outsider within' position of Black feminist scholars:

> "As outsiders within, black feminist scholars may be one of many distinct groups of marginal intellectuals whose standpoints promise

> to enrich contemporary sociological discourse. Bringing this group – as well as others who share an outsider within status vis-à-vis sociology – into the center of analysis may reveal aspects of reality obscured by more orthodox approaches" (Hill Collins; in Harding 2004: 104).

Instead of becoming "an allegedly unbiased, objective social scientist" she shows how the 'outsider within' allows the researcher to bring along personal and cultural biographies functioning as significant sources of knowledge (Ibid: 122).

Standpoint theorist Dorothy L. Smith focuses in that respect on experiences and actualities of everyday life and is concerned with a sociology for women. She also emphasizes not to provide for one worldview or a single experience of women's oppression. Instead she aims to develop a method that "creates the space for an absent subject, and an absent experience that is to be filled with the presence and spoken experience of actual women speaking of and in the actualities of their everyday worlds" (Smith 1987: 106). Although the (mis)representation and oppression of women and other marginalized groups in (the production of) scientific knowledge drives feminist research projects, standpoint theory is more than dealing with 'women's issues', or, being involved in social and political issues. Rather standpoint theory (re)addresses what counts as knowledge, rationality and objectivity and what is considered 'good scientific method' (Harding 2004: 2).

In studying the specific partial ways of seeing in the monitoring of immigrant integration I first and foremost have to further scrutinize my own way of seeing, as far as that is possible. The starting-point of my research and of this dissertation eventually is this: the knowledge I provide you with - as the reader - is a mediated, located and a partial way of imagining a world. This also means that I do not pretend to be able to capture 'my lenses' in their fullness but only partially. There are always

blind spots in one's observations, encounters, and productions, for me as a researcher as much as for the researchers I observed and encountered in my study. Nevertheless, I state that this dissertation distinguishes between more and less violent lenses of imagining society (cf Schinkel, Foucault). Haraway's warning for the all-seeing eye, the "god-trick", that sees through one lens from everywhere and nowhere, informs my attempt to give an account of myself by claiming to see through multiple partial lenses. As Judith Butler states: "(…) I begin my story of myself only in the face of a "you" who asks me to give an account" (Butler 2005: 11). To give an account of oneself in this process is not just telling a story of myself, it is about developing and directing a narrative voice and authority to persuade an audience. At this point then, a narrative act of persuasion begins.

'The danger of a single story'

All of us need to take into account 'the danger of a single story' (cf Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie) in which one imagines worlds according to a definitive set of truthful facts. Novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie elaborates in her Ted-talk on her own experiences about the ways in which single stories about 'Africa' or 'Mexicans' come about. She makes a strong claim for rejecting single stories and thus realizing that there is never one single story.[2] This has been my focus in studying journalism, comparative literature and postcolonial theory and afterwards working as a journalist. Focusing on postcolonial literature means an approach through narratives, making narratives, often in the form of counter-narratives. Also in literature, the world is visually organized in specific and partial ways. 'Masterpieces' in literary history such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* were often not perceived as partial stories of life in respectively the Congo and Great Britain but as truthful representations. This is how Toni Morrison, again in a different context,

[2] https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story (accessed at 9/10/2017)

points at the black presence in the standardized literary imagination of the United States. She writes:

> "[the] canonical American literature is free of, uninformed, and unshaped by the four-hundred-year-old presence of, first, Africans and then African-Americans in the United States. It assumes that this presence – which shaped the body politic, the Constitution, and the entire history of the culture – has had no significant place or consequence in the origin and development of that culture's literature. Moreover, such knowledge assumes that the characteristics of our national literature emanate from a particular "Americanness" that is separate from and unaccountable to this presence. There seems to be a more or less tacit agreement among literary scholars that, because American literature has been clearly the preserve of white male views, genius, and power, those views, genius, and power are without relationship to and removed from the overwhelming presence of black people in the United States" (Morrison 1992: 4, 5).

Although written in the situated context of the United States this passage of Morrison resonates with the dominant white male views in national literatures in Europe, and beyond the realm of literature for that matter, views that are detached from a female, black or brown presence that exists only at the margins. Morrison warns us to be aware of the ways in which the imagination "sabotages itself, locks its own gates, pollutes its vision." (Morrison 1992: xi).

Jean Rhys' novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* was written in response to *Jane Eyre,* by rewriting the position of one of the presumably minor characters; that of the crazy and mad ex-wife Bertha Mason who lives in the basement of her former husband's estate in England. Rhys gives voice to Antoinette Cosway, a white creole woman born in the Carribean and traces her

transformation into Bertha Mason. Rhys writes both against the racist and sexist portrayals in Bronte's novel. She writes against the way in which a creole woman is turned into a monster and second how Bertha Mason functions painstakingly as a rejected wife in contrast to Jane Eyre (Introduction to Rhys 2001: ix). Noteworthy is that Jean Rhys apologized to Charlotte Bronte since "she liked and respected both Charlotte Bronte and *Jane Eyre*, but she felt the story was incomplete" (Ibid: vii). She 'wrote against' by narrating 'Bertha Mason's' life before she ended up in the basement of Mr. Rochester.

Chinua Achebe's novels are seen as a critical attempt to write against *Heart of Darkness*, and in his more theoretical work he focuses on the ways in which 'Africa' is represented in contrast to Europe: "*Heart of Darkness* projects the image of Africa as "the other world," the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality" (Achebe 1978). 'Africa' in Conrad's novel is thus portrayed in stereotypical ways as backward and beastly. Another strong example of this writing against or of rewriting is the literary publication of *The Meursault Investigation* (in Dutch *Moussa of de dood van een Arabier)* by Kamel Daoud in 2015, which is a response to Albert Camus' *The Stranger*. The novel zooms in on the Arab character who dies on the beach of Algiers at the start of Camus' book, whom is not worthy of a name, a story and does not appear again in the novel. Daoud's angry and literary magnificent novel gives 'the Arab' a voice, a story and thus a name: Moussa.

The counter-narrative novels show how literary 'classics' were not mere representations, i.e. single stories, but only partial stories of life in 'the Orient', the overseas territories or, with many of the stories, located closer to 'home' such as *Jane Eyre*, situated in Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. This is not to say that counter-narratives do provide the reader with a 'complete' story, inevitably they are also based on partial ways of seeing. Haraway also problematizes this point by stating

that 'seeing from below', that is from the standpoints of the subjugated, is not 'innocent':

> "To see from below is neither easily learned nor unproblematic, even if 'we' 'naturally' inhabit the great underground terrain of subjugated knowledges. The positionings of the subjugated are not exempt from critical re-examination, decoding, deconstruction, and interpretation; that is, from both semiological and hermeneutic modes of critical enquiry" (Haraway 1991: 191).

Haraway's claim is that 'seeing from below' is as much a mediated vision as techno-scientific visualizations, both are possibly 'god-tricks', seeing from everywhere and nowhere (Haraway 1991: 191). Nonetheless, the counter-narratives show other accounts than the ones we officially get to know, through educational curricula, dominant media channels, and through those in power.

Particularly the literary works of Assia Djebar and Toni Morrison have inspired my thinking in how relationships between self and other are constructed and defined, and how to perceive of the world beyond dominant frameworks, or for that matter 'single stories'. Their stories differentiate depictions of otherness instead of writing one supposedly 'complete' story of 'the subjugated other'. Hence, in the dissertation chapters I scrutinize how depictions of 'immigrant' others come about in relation to a 'self' representing society and how from this way of positioning a dominant narrative is shaped. Before touching upon the powerful strategies of Djebar and Morrison for writing, in terms of 'going beyond' and 'writing against', the larger framework of postcolonial theory deserves some attention. The logics of power, marginalization and ambivalence in postcolonial theory have strong resonances with my research on immigrant integration monitoring. As with every academic discipline, my thinking and thus seeing are informed by 'classics' of postcolonial studies and literature;

Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. This does marginalize other scholarly voices, often from outside the Anglo- and Francophone centres of theory. Nevertheless, the 'classic' voices I encountered have been and are a strong influence on how I speak (or stammer for that matter), think and see.

Gayatri Spivak has inspired me with her plea for the 'subaltern who cannot speak!', in which she complicates thinking of the 'subaltern subject' from a 'self' perspective. She refers to "a person without lines of social mobility" whom 'we', as referring to the hegemonic West and Western scholarship mostly, cannot relate to, whose voices are not only marginalized but are just not there, or, cannot be heard or read (Spivak 1988). Moreover, she is concerned with the suffering of subaltern women specifically, and bringing gender to the forefront of doing postcolonial critique. The ambiguity of stereotypical representation of the Other and the positionalities of the colonizer versus colonized by Bhabha have helped me think beyond mere violent binaries of colonial power structures and discourse. As Bhabha states: "(…) colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible. It resembles a form of narrative whereby the productivity and circulation of subjects and signs are bound in a reformed and recognizable totality (Bhabha 1994: 70, 71). Colonial discourse involves an oscillation between recognition and disavowal of the colonized, between that which is made other yet also familiar. Related yet even more to the point, and resonating with 'perpetual arrival' that is central in this dissertation, is Bhabha's chapter 'On Mimicry and Man' in which he states, by referring to Samuel Weber, that:

> "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.* Which is to say that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an

> *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference" (Ibid: 86).

The mechanism of mimicry, of producing 'slippage and excess', as Bhabha points at, informs my way of looking at how people get displayed through monitoring practices; highly visible to be recognizable, yet always at a distance from society.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* is a critical work on the ways in which the imaginaries of 'the Orient' were constructed for a European audience. Although it has been criticized particularly for reinforcing the division of 'the Orient' versus 'the West', it does question the way in which we perceive of the West/East distinction and the perception of 'the East' *by* 'the West' particularly. How to translate Said's analysis to today's ways of knowledge production of 'Other' and 'Eastern' *in* 'the West'? How has the imaginary of something 'other', 'exotic' and 'far away', relocated within West European societies themselves, yet kept outside by all means, been produced?

The act of imagination: literature's potential

Literature, thereby referring to literary works, has always been most central to my thinking and imagination of the relationship of (colonial) power, (female) subjectivities and silencing. As Jacques Derrida states about literature:

> "The 'economy' of literature *sometimes* seems to me more powerful than that of other types of discourse: such as, for example, historical or philosophical discourse. *Sometimes:* It depends on the singularities and contexts. Literature would be potentially more potent" (Derrida 1992: 43).

Literary authors Toni Morrison and Assia Djebar have convinced me of literary works' potential for understanding, or more so feeling, what

otherness, silencing, and femininity are about in specific political, historical and social contexts. Morrison and Djebar have developed elegant ways of restoring, recreating and reinventing particular encounters between people in particular places throughout their literary works.

Djebar unveils the stories of silenced Algerian women in both their intimate life as well as through their (post-)war-time experiences. She rewrites and accounts for the undocumented voices and experiences of the war of colonization and decolonization of Algeria. In one part of her novel *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade,* Djebar rewrites the historical account of the Ouled Riah tribesmen who did not surrender to the French in the war of colonization and withdrew to caves. The caves were set on fire by the French army. Djebar reconstructs the horrific night by writing the story on the basis of witness reports by French soldiers, which were marginalized in the official historical military accounts of the war. She uses for instance a private letter of a soldier to his family in which he expresses the atrocities he has become a part of:

> "What pen could do justice to this scene? To see, in the middle of the night, by moonlight, a body of French soldiers, busy keeping that hellfire alight! To hear the muffled groans of men, women, children, beasts, and the cracking of burnt rocks as they crumbled, and the continual gunfire!" (Djebar 1993: 71).

In placing the letter of the soldier into the spotlight of the narrative, Djebar gives a different account, yet also stresses the absence of the voices, besides the "muffled groans", in the burning caves. She also rearranges what is perceived of as more or less 'official' narratives and knowledge of such atrocities in the past, which are still affecting the present.

Djebar is strongly situated in her own literary writings and encounters the difficulties of rewriting 'veiled' accounts openly. In her prologue of *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* she writes about her own position

as author of other voices: "Today, how do I, as water dowser, craft words out of so many tones of voice still suspended in the silences of yesterday's seraglio? Words of the veiled body, language that in turn has taken the veil for so long a time" (Djebar 1999: 1). In the stories she writes in the novel, the characters also struggle to express what has been 'unspeakable' and thus unheard for such a long time. The encounter between 'Leila', an ex-resistance fighter of the Algerian War of Independence, and 'Sarah' who was involved in the war but imprisoned as an adolescent, shows the disruption in conversations between women about their experiences in the war. Sarah weeps when Leila speaks up about her memories: "[…] be quiet my darling, don't talk anymore! … Words, what good are words?" Leila answers: "[…] I've got to speak, Sarah! They are ashamed of me. I've dried up, I'm the shadow of my former self" (Djebar 1999: 45).

Leila refers to her participation in the war in contrast to her restricted female positioning afterwards. She wants to speak up about her traumatic experiences. Only a few pages later in another scene it is Sarah urging women to talk:

> "For Arabic women I see only one single way to unblock everything: talk, talk without stopping, about yesterday and today, talk among themselves, in all women's quarters, the traditional ones as well as those in the housing projects. Talk among ourselves and look. Look outside, look outside the walls and the prisons! … The Woman as look and the Woman as voice, […] (Djebar 1999: 50).

This appeal of Sarah is inspiring and powerful in the specific context of veiled female bodies in Algeria, and the harem communities (which comes with many different stories and experiences), however it also speaks to the larger argument of feminism, standpoint and thus 'Woman as voice'. Moreover the emphasis in Djebar's novels on how stories of 'yesterday'

relate to 'today' and are disrupted, yet present but 'unspeakable', is also at the centre of this dissertation.

Another great inspiration is American novelist Toni Morrison, who (re)writes, restores and accounts for, as she said, "proceedings too terrible to relate". About her motivation to start writing literary fiction in the 1960's she said:

> "Most of what was being published by black men were very powerful, aggressive, revolutionary fiction or non-fiction. And also they had a very positive, racially uplifting, rhetoric to go with it. […] Wait a minute, they are going to skip over something, and no one is going to remember that it wasn't always beautiful, you know."[3]

Morrison's work is situated in the racialized historical and political contexts of the United States. In her novel *A Mercy* she reimagines the early history of the nation in which she contests the view of slavery and blackness as always having belonged together. The novel tells a story of the people living at Jacob Vaark's farm, including Jacob himself, shortly after the actual arrival in the continent that only later became the United States of America. In an interview Morrison explains that in her novel she wanted to imagine a time "before slavery and black became married":

> "The period before there was a United States, before there was even an idea of America, the name of a continent, when everybody was scrambling, the Portuguese, Spaniards, the Brits, the French and it was fluid. And there was nothing going on that couldn't possibly change. So, I was looking for a time *before* slavery and black became married. Before racism became established. Because slavery was the most common experience of people."[4]

[3] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8Zgu2hrs2k accessed 19-01-2018.
[4] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q5D5PLI7kvc&feature=related accessed 16-02-2017

The novel imagines a historical situation in which slavery could still happen to any person, likewise anyone could be paid for their labor. This is expressed for instance in advertisements through which Vaark found and bought Lina, a native American, from the Presbyterians and who from then on works and lives at his farm:

> "A likely woman who has had smallpox and measles. … A likely Negro about 9 years. … Girl or woman that is handy in the kitchen sensible, speaks good English, complexion between yellow and black. … Five years time of a white woman that understands Country work, (…) Wanted a servant able to drive a carriage, white or black … (…) Healthy Deutsch woman for rent. (…)" (Morrison 2008: 50).

Not only blacks were listed, but a variety of people appear in the advertisements, though colour seems already to be a common way of characterizing people. Slavery was still a shared experience of people and only later the relationship between blackness and slavery was established through institutional organization and legislation. The historical circumstances under which particular kinds of legislation became established, and black started to be perceived of as a race directly related to slavery, frame the personal stories of the novel, for instance when Vaark passes a certain area on his way to a wealthy plantation owner, which makes him nervous about his own position "even with the relative safety of his skin (…)". Namely, the chaos of the "people's war" against the gentry that took place in this territory was settled by new laws that meant the following:

> "By eliminating manumission, gatherings, travel and bearing arms for black people only; by granting license to any white to kill any black for any reason; by compensating owners for a slave's maiming or death, they separated and protected all whites from all

> others forever. (…). In Jacob Vaark's view, these were lawless laws encouraging cruelty in exchange for common cause, if not common virtue" (Morrison 2008: 8, 9).

Such a scene in the novel shows how classifying people was something that was done through for instance juridical work, that the 'kind' of people was not something that was just 'out there' from what is perceived as a beginning (which it was not, because 'America' was inhabited upon arrival by European explorers). Moreover, the characters in the novel experience different kinds of 'arrival' to the continent due to classification work. Vaark becomes the typical white male character who has 'arrived' most. Although he fails to succeed in the new world in the end, the other characters, female and/or of a different colour than white, have 'arrived' to some degree in relation to Vaark's arrival and are dependent upon him. In other words, Vaark is made into one of the 'standard kind of people' through the organized and institutionalized privilege of white people. Habits, behaviour and languages amongst other things perceived as non-white are made distant from what becomes 'America'.

In her literary works Morrison gives voice to all characters as equally as possible, so as not to (re)create another 'single' story. Hence it is always difficult to grasp who narrates the story in a particular scene or chapter. Nevertheless, a single taken-for-granted voice is absent and all characters get to occupy the narrative spotlight in her novels. In her novel *Paradise* for instance a fictitious black town called Ruby is inhabited by two communities, the town members living in Ruby and a group of women living in the 'Convent' at the edge of the town. The eight chapters are named after the women of the Convent. As in *A Mercy,* each chapter adds various perspectives to the events of the narrative and again, it is not always easy to grasp who narrates the story. In Morrison's essay called "Home", which appeared shortly before the publication of *Paradise* in 1998, Morrison describes how her novels experiment with being 'specific',

that is, 'situated' without being 'specified', or 'racialized', in the context of her writing. The question she works with she describes as: "How to be both free and situated; how to convert a racist house into a race-specific yet nonracist home?" (Morrison 1998 In: Lubiano (ed) 1998) In *Paradise* Morrison created a town in which race is present, since it is historically situated during the shift from the Civil Rights era to the post-Civil Rights era, yet it withholds the racial markers of the group of women living in the convent. Race is overshadowed by other events in the lives of the characters such as marriage, miscarriages or the loss of sons in the Vietnam war amongst other things. Morrison states that it is not necessary to know this small piece of information, race, in order to dislike the character or feel empathy for the character's actions in the past. At the same time her novels account for the way in which race and racism, of which racism came first according to Morrison, have been brutally constructing power relations and subsequently the marginalization of non-white people in the United States.

Both authors' writing strategies resonate strongly with Haraway's claim of being situated, since the examples from the novels of Morrison and Djebar present us with ways of 'specific' writing, which is described by the postcolonial theorist Peter Hallward:

> "The specific (…) implies a situation, a past, an intelligibility constrained by inherited conditions. The specific is the space of interests in relation to other interests, the space of the historical as such, forever ongoing, forever incomplete, the space where 'we make our own history, but not in circumstance of our own choosing'" (Hallward 2001: 5).

Hallward positioned both Morrison and Djebar as having a "firmly specific orientation", without pursuing this argument further. Instead in his book *Absolutely postcolonial, writing between the specific and the singular,* he

focuses on critically analyzing four of what he calls 'singular' postcolonial writers, among them Édouard Glissant and Mohammed Dib, described as those who let go of external frames of reference and move into a liberating transcendental condition (Hallward 2001). As such, I felt invited to examine Toni Morrison's novels *A Mercy* and *Beloved* as forms of 'specific writing' in my bachelor thesis in Literary Studies. It shows how Morrison's novels are located in a specific context and inevitably affected by painful memories of the past, however the way of giving voice to the characters of the stories does not specify them by their race and past.

Hallward in the quote above emphasizes the role of 'history' in specific modes of writing. By reading and studying the novels of Morrison and Djebar intensively, I view 'history' as something we make and live with today, not as a linear sequence of events with temporary consequences but as a layered package, which is reproduced in day-to-day activities. Djebar shows how voices from the past are connected to the present but are also disrupted, voices that have difficulty speaking about experiences. Morrison's characters throughout all her novels are affected in their daily lives by the memory of slavery and decades of black racism in the United States. In my view their ways of restoring and rewriting 'history' relates to the STS notion of 'topological time' as proposed by Michel Serres through the wonderful example of the handkerchief:

> "If you take a handkerchief and spread it out in order to iron it, you can see in it certain fixed distances and proximities. If you sketch a circle in one area, you can mark out nearby points and measure far off distances. Then take the same handkerchief and crumple it, by putting it in your pocket. Two distant points are suddenly close, even superimposed. If, further, you tear it in certain places, two points that were close become very distant. The science of nearness and rifts is called topology (…)" (Serres and Latour, 1995: 60).

'The handkerchief' consists of various times and places that can be crumpled or pulled apart, in which suddenly some points come close(r) or more distant in present day actualities. Anthropologist Amade M'charek has showed in her study of a particular DNA sequence in genetics how an object folds history, specifically a history of race, and how the object carries it along, making and remaking that history in the present moment (M'charek 2014). 'Historical accounts' are thus accounts of the present, always referring to an actuality (cf Foucault), and not accounts of something we left behind in the past so that we can speak and write innocently about today. With becoming familiar with Haraway's feminist objectivity, i.e. situated knowledges, throughout my PhD I see parallel ways of understanding my (ways of doing) research, first of all through the notion of the specific, as dealing with relations, (historical) constraints[5] in concrete situations, and through the notion of the 'situated', which refers to a seeing that always occurs partially, from specific locations and situations.

Seeing (de)construction

My background in the humanities gave me a strong deconstructivist perspective on the world. My fascination and hence the aim of my studies was the rewriting and/or writing against official historical accounts of (post) colonial contexts, dismantling Western and hence white hegemony in the world and looking beyond the nation-state, for instance in the vein of Reda Bensmaïa's work *The Experimental Nation* (2009). I still think this is very important academic work, since this way of seeing and analyzing the world consists amongst other things of noticing accounts that are out there but which became invisible and difficult to shed light on within a dominant Western hegemonic framework. At the same time I recognize much in what Haraway describes as ending up with a "self-induced multiple personality

[5] 'Constraints' here I do not necessarily understand in terms of what Hallward calls "inherited conditions", but rather more broadly as political, social and historical arrangements. Jane Hiddleston has critiqued this point of Hallward by describing Assia Djebar's characters in relation to history and politics, yet "fleeting" and "provisional", so not to become fixed or reduced by it (Hiddleston 2004: 373).

disorder" when she describes her search for a strong tool of deconstructing 'objective scientific accounts':

> "I, and others, started out wanting a strong tool for deconstructing the truth claims of hostile science by showing the radical historical specificity, and so contestability, of *every* layer of the onion of scientific and technological constructions, and we end up with a kind of epistemological electro-shock therapy, which far from ushering us into the high stakes tables of the game of contesting public truths, lays us out on the table with self-induced multiple personality disorder. We wanted a way to go beyond showing bias in science (that proved too easy anyhow), and beyond separating the good scientific sheep from the bad goats of bias and misuse" (Ibid 1991: 186).

In shifting to the social sciences for this PhD *and* shifting to researching not literature but quantitative social scientific work, the above was a helpful passage to realize that I was not going to perceive of the world any longer with 'just' a deconstructivist lens. I was not going to address bias in the social science of monitoring immigrant integration (that is, in terms of the 'bias' of the individual social scientist), and even more so I would not be deciphering 'the good' from 'the bad'.

Haraway's philosophy of seeing is closely connected to the useful lens of Science and Technology Studies (STS), which enables a different kind of study of science in practice. But before getting further into the specifics of this lens, I admit that this 'shift of seeing' was not without hesitation. In asking myself the question of 'how to see?' at the start of my research, which suddenly situated me as a (former) journalist holding a Literary Studies MA in the discipline of sociology, it felt as if I had to make an involuntary shift in seeing. Namely I had to take seriously the dominant official accounts, discourses and classifications of the monitoring

institutions and networks that were to be at the centre of this research. It felt as if I had to take a step 'back' in turning to these dominant official accounts, discourses and classification systems. Up until then I had refused to perceive people born and raised in the Netherlands as 'Moroccan-Dutch' or 'Turkish youngsters' or of myself as 'native' for that matter. Now I can see that this was quite naïve in the sense that people are 'made' into real entities throughout these kinds of classifications, effectuating strongly the social imagination of society. This includes myself as 'autochthon' while being born and residing as a white person in the Netherlands. Having this rather invisible unquestioned position also made it easier to refuse to see the existence of categories such as 'Moroccan- or Turkish-Dutch', while not embodying this experience in any way.

At the same time, my view and experience were challenged when writing stories about a Moluccan community in the Netherlands as a journalist. I attempted to rewrite intimate historical accounts of Moluccan families, because their 'officially' known historical account is displayed in such a deterministic way (without going into the specifics once again…) while so many other narratives exist. Yet only in the margins, or within the communities. In this interviewing and writing process I encountered wonderful people identifying as 'Moluccan', which I no longer dared to resist. They showed me how such a 'thing' as Moluccan becomes tangible through playing music, cooking food and telling stories amongst so many other things.[6] Nevertheless this 'kind of Moluccan' is made up through everyday activities in different ways in different locations and inevitably different from the 'one group' made up through surveys for the monitoring of immigrant integration.

The aim of this research then was not to 'work with them' or 'write about them' as truthful determined individuals or groups out there but

[6] I am still thankful to Jeftha Pattikawa and his family and community in Vaassen who made me 'see' in yet another way. The stories were published with the title 'Onder de klok van Vaassen' (Translation: 'Below the bells of Vaassen') in the summer of 2012 at the website of the VPRO, a Dutch television network.

to examine how the narrative accounts of 'them', and 'us' for that matter, come about through professional work on a daily basis. Only by taking seriously these processes was I able to study the monitoring practices of immigrant integration, in which fortunately, my way of seeing, of 'looking beyond' and 'writing against', was something to take along in this research project. The question 'How to see?' not only enables me to situate myself but is also the object of research central to my dissertation; the scientific and state monitoring of immigrant integration.

The way in which the monitoring of immigrant integration is situated will unfold throughout the chapters of the dissertation, however in the sections that follow in this chapter I aim to elaborate on how I perceive of the monitoring as an "infrastructure", a relational field throughout its organized practices that are often taken-for-granted and rather invisible. Nevertheless, my struggles for access to the socio-technical arrangements of monitoring immigrant integration (at the Netherlands Institute for Social Scientific Research in the Netherlands specifically), and experiences of discomfort during my multi-sited ethnography, challenge both the taken-for-grantedness and invisibility of the work. This intervened in my ways of seeing during this research. Hence, these struggles for access and experiences of discomfort are worth paying attention to because they address the situatedness of both my field and my presence in it.

Studying infrastructure, or infrastructural inversions

Inevitably I have investigated the field of monitoring immigrant integration partially, as it is impossible to study something like a 'complete field' with a beginning and an endpoint and clear-cut contours. Especially in doing STS research with an actor network approach the actual walls of an institution's building are not to be ignored – symbolically and in their materiality – however the institution is not limited to the building and what happens inside it, but is part of a larger *infrastructure* that goes far beyond these walls. Subsequently in speaking of my 'field' of research I do not refer to

a field with strong boundaries but to an infrastructural set up in which people, things, technologies, interactions and struggles come together and also potentially split again. The studies of Susan Leigh Star and Geoffrey C. Bowker explain "infrastructure" as a relational concept that becomes real in relation to organized practices (Bowker and Star 1999). Certain properties assigned to infrastructure by Bowker and Star, such as 'communities of practice' and 'embeddedness', are part and parcel of the monitoring apparatus of immigrant integration. I perceived of the people working at my sites of research as 'members of a community of practice', meaning that they are familiar with the technological and organizational arrangements of their work, while at the same time I was the stranger amongst them who was learning about the self-evident parts of their work and its environment. I felt and observed quite some discomfort in the field, which is part of an infrastructure of monitoring immigrant integration that is sunk into and thus embedded in the structural and technological arrangements of monitoring that put society on display in a particular way.

In an attempt to unfreeze some of the properties of infrastructure Star points at making visible the master narrative-in-the-making, that is dismantling the 'single voice' of an infrastructure. "Listening for the master narrative and identifying it as such means identifying first with that which has been made other, or unnamed (…)" (Star 1999: 385). In the master-narrative of monitoring immigrant integration that 'which has been made other' and that which is 'unnamed' turned out to refer to different things. Namely identifying with the one who is made other, i.e. those classified as immigrant, is split from that which needs to be preserved; the unnamed, i.e. the reference category representing society. The latter is paradoxically a silent but single voice of the master narrative of monitoring immigrant integration. In Star's work my literary and narratological focus and STS studies come together, which supports a study of infrastructure and (master)narratives together.

Another methodological departure point that is elaborated on by Bowker and Star and has been very helpful in my research of monitoring immigrant integration is the *gestalt-switch*. This mechanism, developed in psychology, is well-known by the popular images of the old/young women, duck/rabbit and 'the Vase'. When one of the figures becomes visible to the eye, the other tends to disappear in the background, and vice-versa. In looking at these kinds of images one experiences an oscillation between one and the other. Bowker has translated the gestalt-switch to what he calls an "infrastructural inversion", which he describes as:

> "This inversion is a struggle against the tendency of infrastructure to disappear (except when breaking down). It means learning to look closely at technologies and arrangements that, by design and by habit, tend to fade into the woodwork (sometimes literally!). Infrastructural inversion means recognizing the depths of interdependence of technical networks and standards, on the one hand, and the real work of politics and knowledge production on the other" (Bowker 1994, quoted in Bowker and Star 1999: 34).

In this respect, Star and Strauss wrote about 'visible and invisible work' (Star and Strauss 1999) and Marilyn Strathern works with 'figure and ground' and the 'figure-ground reversal' in her article "On Space and Depth" (Strathern 2002). I will elaborate on the latter in-depth in the next chapter *Visualizing*. In their book on scientific visual representations Gross and Harmon also refer to the gestalt-switch and 'figure-ground reversal' by describing it as a combination of "data-elements" foregrounded in a "superstructure" that serves as the background (Gross and Harmon 2014). All the above-mentioned studies make central the idea that by seeing one thing something else fades away in the background. This switching mode or oscillation has informed my way of seeing my object of research. That is, how through performative and discomforting ways the monitoring of

immigrant integration makes 'immigrants' highly visible against a reference category that silently and supposedly neutrally orders the way in which society is imagined.

Desire for 'seeing it all'

'Being there… and there… and there!' is the phrase of Hannerz's reflections on doing a multi-site ethnography (Hannerz 2003), which turned out to be more ambiguous than expected at the start of my research. It sounds quite simple in terms of choosing a few sites where the work of monitoring takes place and next going there with an ethnographic approach, namely observing and participating in the everyday activities and struggles. Nevertheless, in studying such a 'thing' as monitoring the sites were not just there to pick and choose, and also an ethnographic approach was not something to copy and paste from a social science methods book.

The production of knowledge about 'immigrants' and thus 'society' is distributed through and located at sites of various kinds. My focus was on the infrastructure of the monitoring work, hence 'multiple sites' consisted of websites, databases, online documents, social scientific conferences, universities, academic networks, e-mail conversations, scholarly articles, et cetera. Thus my research site became not just the clearly demarcated institutions (the institution as perceived within four walls) that monitor immigrant integration alone, but the academic social scientific field of immigrant integration, consisting of many sites in various forms.

Nevertheless, before coming to this broader understanding of a multi-sited study and my concrete choices in this I cannot ignore my initial focus on doing ethnography at one big institution (yes, that imagined place within four walls). I was drawn to the traditional and almost romantic idea of ethnography, meaning to get immersed completely in the work and minds of the people often in one place. Emerson et al. describe the ethnographer as: "committed to going out and getting close to the activities and everyday experiences of other people. 'Getting close' minimally requires physical

and social proximity to the daily rounds of people's lives and activities (…)" (Emerson et al 2011: 2). I was definitely not able to see physically the 'daily rounds', which appeared to be far more complicated for studying monitoring. Namely, the work is much more scattered between actors and in its spatial and temporal dimensions. Still, despite my approach to knowledge as something that is not produced within 'the institution', but rather comes into existence and is distributed through many (non) human actors, I was persuaded by the idea of spending a particular amount of time, say three months full-time, at such a place.

In my enthusiasm for doing this type of ethnography I sent a request letter to conduct my fieldwork at the Netherlands Institute for Social Scientific Research, or 'SCP'. The SCP is in charge of producing most of the annual reports on 'immigrant integration' in the Netherlands that feed into forms of population management by the state. My request appeared paradoxically to be the end and the start of my ethnographic fieldwork, which took drastically different turns than I anticipated. First of all, I was rejected at the SCP. This was 'the end'. However in the next section I elaborate on the way in which I was denied access, because what made me insecure and even more so 'disconcerted' (cf Verran) as a starting (and rejected) ethnographic researcher ultimately became a central focus of this dissertation. I encountered a discomfort in the ways of working and speaking that addresses a larger issue than just the operational social scientific ways of knowledge production. Namely, the encounter touched upon disconcerted ways of making difference in a population, which I will argue is embedded in 'new' ways of defining racial coordinates in society (cf Stoler). Although I was aware of the 'political' positioning of the social scientific research of immigrant integration at SCP specifically, I underestimated the difficulty in speaking about (making) differences in national population(s) on the basis of relatively 'neutral' concepts like 'origin' and 'descent' and 'third generation'. The rejection appeared to be a start in an (auto)ethnography of monitoring immigrant integration.

Politically sensitive infrastructure: an illegitimate research object

In the spring and summer of 2013, I was in a process of gaining access for ethnographic fieldwork at the Netherlands Institute for Social Scientific Research and was confronted with a rejection. Only a little later I realized that my fieldwork started right there in seeking access, the rejection and the research journey taken from that point on. My experiences in the encounters with the institute are in themselves interesting ethnographic observations. First, the encounter with a different social scientific paradigm was quite unsuccessful in the sense of being able to speak to one another. Nonetheless, the 'unspeakabilities' relate to discomforting ways of monitoring a national population. It meant that my request was touching upon the politically sensitive character of the social scientific agenda of population research. Specifically, the production of facts on the population, done by an institution such as SCP, is often commissioned by the state or has the purpose of informing the state about the population. This means that I was not 'just' gaining access to observe a social scientific practice but also a state practice.

The SCP's the main argument to reject an ethnographic researcher was however phrased in terms of "practical objections" of limited space, time and supervision. At one of the moments of correspondence in the late summer of 2013 there was no room for internships at the institution and this is where they categorized my request. This was problematic in itself, because an internship at the institution is something completely different from an ethnographic PhD research project *of* the work of the institution. Also, it was stated that there would be no time to organize supervision of an ethnographic researcher. In response I emphasized that supervision of a PhD project researching the SCP as a site did not need to take place from within the institution. A bit more feedback on the content of my research request was that the argument of my research project was not in line with their research projects and therefore would not contribute to the institution. According to the SCP the research was solely for the

dissertation and therefore very limited in what it would have to offer to them. In one of the e-mails it was said that "Your research does not relate to the research themes of SCP and therefore is not of value to the SCP" (from an e-mail dated September 10th 2013). All of the above arguments followed after one meeting at the SCP in which I was allowed to explain the research to the head of the department of 'minority research'. It took several months and e-mails back and forth to be given an opportunity for this meeting at the end of the summer 2013. I formulated the following research question and goal on a hand-out for the meeting:

Research question: *How are images of national society produced through the monitoring of immigrant integration?*
Goal: *The practices of monitoring immigrant integration at SCP will be part of analyses of other monitoring institutions to gain insight in the way in which these institutions monitor and visualize modern society.*

My main interest in doing ethnography at SCP was to see *how* monitoring of immigrant integration is done, i.e. a focus on the production process of images of immigrant integration, since all facts in (social) science are produced and therefore mediated throughout the process that brings them into being (cf Joyce, Latour, Law, Strathern). In the larger ERC-project titled *Monitoring Modernity*, of which my PhD research was part, this was done in a variety of monitoring institutions ranging from climate to finance and migration (See Schinkel 2016; Bier and Schinkel 2017; Van Reekum and Schinkel 2017). Each research project examined the way in which the social is visualized in monitoring practices. The monitoring infrastructures contribute to forms of social imagination of society and were in this research project appointed as objects of scrutiny themselves.

I focused initially on the images displaying the outcomes of immigrant integration measurements, and subsequently how such visualizations portray society. In the meeting at SCP the head of the department kept

emphasizing how "boring" the work in which he is involved and he could not imagine what there would be for me to see. The research, he said, is done year after year based on the same categorizations and indicators that are determined for all those years including the years to come. He admitted that this might be a "weakness", yet this is what the research is based on. He added that the work at SCP is standardized. I felt uncomfortable with the way he downgraded his work, work which needs to be done to display the quite powerful images of difference – and deviance – that feed into the politics of immigrant integration. At this starting point of my research I could not locate my disconcertment; it was perhaps both with being a complete stranger to his professional work and with the contrastive way he spoke in terms of 'boring' set against such visible and powerful images of particular parts of the population. Only in the later stages of writing up this dissertation could I see how 'boringness' was spoken about as a way to not attend to the politically sensitive ways of doing difference. Where I tried to open up this 'Pandora's box' of doing difference within the population of a national society, he worked his way beyond it by downgrading what there was to see in monitoring immigrant integration. In our conversation he took a leap to avoid getting into a discussion on the discomforting consequences of difference making. And I also avoided that discussion, since pointing at the discomfort was not getting me closer to observing the actual practices of monitoring at that early stage.

My postcolonial background gave me a strong sensitivity to violent ways of difference making but, as said before, this ethnographic research with an STS approach gave me the opportunity to take seriously the work through which difference making is done, to decipher where it is located, through what techniques and methods difference is made visible, and the political structures of which the professional social scientific work is part of.

While providing what, in my view, was a very clear hand-out during the meeting with research question and sub questions etcetera, the response

to the meeting was still that, and I quote, "it was not clear what kind of research question you try to answer and how research at SCP can contribute to that". I was confronted with a friction between different paradigms of research, which is the positivist social scientific paradigm of the SCP that contrasts to ways of situated knowledge production that is key to an ethnographic study. Although we all call ourselves 'sociologists' we are situated in different "communities of practice", not having membership of both communities (with reference to Bowker and Star). I was confronted with the problem of making clear why the 'boring work' would be interesting for me, as it is for many ethnographers studying scientific work. However, I felt that making a reference to the extremely interesting work of, for instance, Susan Leigh Star, initiator of 'The Society of People Interested in Boring Things', was not an option in such a setting. In methodological approach it is not a secret that ethnography and quantitative monitoring differ very much, and also in seeing the world. In this specific case it is SCP's attempt to produce 'neutral facts' of the 'integration of immigrants in society' versus me as the ethnographer who would like to know how these facts become facts and how they gain their so-called neutrality. In other words, how we come to think of 'immigrants' and hence of 'society'.

As already noted in the introduction, one specificity of the practice of monitoring immigrant integration to be taken into account is the 'state-relatedness', or rather, 'state-situatedness' of the SCP, and for that matter of other sites of monitoring immigrant integration. The arguments given in terms of 'supervision', 'limited room' and 'there is not much to see' to deny my request for doing an ethnography of their professional work left me disappointed yet more importantly with a feeling of discomfort. Although the arguments are quite straight-forward and practical I felt that with my request I touched upon some part of the work that remained unspoken. As just mentioned the production of facts on the population is often commissioned by the state or aimed at informing the state about the population. So the infrastructure of social scientific research of the

institution coincides with the demographic infrastructure of the state. My research of how 'scientific work' is done then also becomes research of state practices. Social scientific work is involved in the politics of populations and co-constitutive of the ways in which populations are perceived. Researching populations is therefore politically sensitive work and kept as invisible as possible.

Already in the quite challenging early stages of my research the gestalt-switch was helpful in seeing what was actually at stake; the politically sensitive infrastructure of population research is left behind closed doors by depoliticizing arguments and setting my research approach aside as illegitimate. After the rejection of doing an ethnography of specifically the Department of 'Minority Research' of the SCP in the Netherlands, I felt disconcerted yet not completely desperate. Still there were other options of researching this site with an STS and ethnographic approach. Open for research were for instance the documents and visualizations that are produced, the conferences that were attended by researchers of the institution, the fieldwork reports of the institution that describe and show how their surveys have been conducted including the questionnaire forms amongst other things. It broadened my view of my field of research, led me back to work on a multi-sited ethnography that connects to my approach of how knowledge is produced and how it circulates. And much later in the research process I realized how all the awkward and uncomfortable moments were an '(auto)ethnography' of routinely unfinished work of monitoring immigrant integration. By this I refer to the wandering discomfort, sometimes through seemingly neutral and at other times quite sticky (un) named things such as 'origin', 'ethnicity', 'stigmatization', or 'racialization'. The discomfort wanders also implicitly and explicitly through the chapters of this dissertation, projecting and locating the greater societal anxieties (of which this dissertation is not an exception!) of today's racialized ways of difference making, by means of dissociating from issues such as race and racism and the postcolonial present.

"Two guys and a calculator": a research itinerary

The idea that there is 'not too much to see' behind the scenes of monitoring immigrant integration proved persistent when I tried, once again, to get a little closer to the day-to-day work, when a researcher answered me by writing in an e-mail: "Our operation has been described as 2 guys and a calculator. There's not too much to observe." It was striking to observe how few people work 'behind the scenes' of a major survey of immigrant integration monitoring or a network which sends policy briefs to the government. For instance, a major household survey is managed by two people who work with a director of the institute and one or two cooperating institutions. Another renowned knowledge institution on migration which informs think tanks, policy makers and other researchers consists of a team of five members, of which, to put it in my respondent's words, "3.5 are academics". Paradoxically a continuous flow of academic articles, conference presentations and papers, and policy reports of immigrant integration appear. Meanwhile the monitoring machines of immigrant integration in various other West European countries have also produced a substantial amount of work over the years and contributed to a dominant imaginary of society.

In my fieldwork of knowledge production on immigrant integration I have conducted 21 ethnographic interviews and about the same number of semi-formal conversations (e.g. during a walk to the metro-station or during lunch at my department's kitchen), cross-cutting the field of immigrant integration research across four different West European countries: the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The people that I spoke with almost all worked at social scientific institutions, university departments and participated in academic networks. Except for SCP, I will not further specify the details of my interviewees and their exact locations since I guaranteed their anonymity.

The interviews and conversations became the main source of information for my analysis in this dissertation, however I see my

interviewees as one actor amongst many other things that I gained 'access' to, such as visual and technical reports, survey questionnaires, databases, conferences, offices and work environments. I met my interviewees most of the time in their offices which looked somewhat like the typical 'Professor office': modest, located in an old building with bookcases around the desk, in the corner or by the window. Books but especially long rows of policy reports on migration and immigrant integration. Also, on the floor large piles of reports and other things on paper. Bags in the corner, cards and an old drawing of a famous government building on the wall. Many of the people I spoke with were lucky having what we can call today a 'traditional' office space. The younger and perhaps more unfortunate ones I met in 'kantoortuinen', that is open-plan offices or hallways. Besides these offices, general conference rooms with the well-known PowerPoint set-up or social office meeting rooms were the scenery of most of my fieldwork visits.

My work is at a far distance from the methodological nationalists' taking for granted of national boundaries and the ways they contribute to state projects. Wimmer and Glick Schiller write that:

> "Methodological nationalism is the naturalization of the nation-state by the social sciences. Scholars who share this intellectual orientation assume that countries are the natural units for comparative studies, equate society with the nation-state, and conflate national interests with the purposes of social science" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003: 576).

In contrast, my research is an examination of this methodological approach, the reinforcement of boundaries and the ways in which both gain plausibility. In following the ways in which the field is constituted and organized I was however confronted with 'national' in all kinds of ways through national classification systems, national conceptions and models of 'integration', national discourse and national policies of 'integration'.

This dissertation is not an attempt to summarize or attend to all these dimensions, in contrast it stays far away from such an attempt. Nevertheless, the institutions on which I focused are nation-based and working within the frame of the nation-state. The academic networks consist of researchers from different countries but often they have a nation-state specific focus. When a study focuses on measurements of immigrant integration in more than one nation-state, it is still a comparative study that emphasizes the existing boundaries and differences between the various nation-states. So, many things I encountered at my research sites were so-called nation-state specific, yet the ways in which the social scientific work on immigrant integration monitoring is done consists of similar processes, logics and most importantly shared feelings of discomfort. How I 'see it' then is that I have examined parts of a social scientific and state infrastructure in different localities, which makes it a context-dependent study, yet I decided to focus on the discomforting logics in each locality that are part and parcel of the professional ways in which monitoring immigrant integration is done. A short outline of how I and my research 'travelled' will follow now (cf Bier).

I started my research at SCP in the Netherlands and I have already shared some of my experiences in terms of gaining access, which became my first fieldwork observations of how monitoring immigrant integration is done. In the meantime, the first article "Imagining society. Logics of visualization in images of immigrant integration" (Boersma and Schinkel 2015) was written on the basis of the images publicly available on websites and in the publication of reports (see also the chapter *Visualizing* in this dissertation). In this article we focused on the official classification systems in the Netherlands and Germany, which helped me to make a choice to conduct interviews at a few sites concerned with immigrant integration in Germany. Without the aim of making a comparative study between the two countries, the different contexts of how and when the concept of 'integration' emerges in both policy and the social sciences was very different. The classification system, the historical trajectory and the 'late'

coming to terms with the concept of 'integration' in Germany made an interestingly contrastive case to the situation in the Netherlands. Also, the ways of measuring appeared to be of a complete different order, yet the ways of imagining society on the basis of difference strikingly similar.

During two short trips to Germany I was able to speak with five researchers at three different institutions: one in charge of a major household survey; an institute for social scientific research working in close collaboration with the government; and an institute producing local knowledge. During one of the visits to Germany I attended and observed a major conference on migration and 'integration' related issues. At these kinds of 'events' I had informal conversations with researchers.

A fieldwork visit to an institute for social scientific research in Denmark followed. This institution is in its aim and activities comparable to the SCP in the Netherlands. They are involved in commissioned work for the government, i.e. informing and advising policy makers on 'integration' related issues. I gained a lot of insight about the monitoring and commissioned work through the conversations, but due to the fact that most of their work which was interesting for me is written and communicated in Danish I was not able to elaborate my research at this site.

Between my fieldwork trips I continued research activities in the Netherlands. I interviewed several researchers and professors at Dutch universities, followed a major survey project on a particular group of migrants in the Netherlands, and sat with a colleague a few times to observe the interface of a database and the opportunities it enables to measure immigrant integration. All this time I was still in contact with the SCP that had rejected me, asking them to reconsider whether I would be allowed to conduct some interviews, which was my new approach. It took many e-mails, checked e-mails and actual encounters with researchers before I got permission to conduct an interview. And after even more e-mails to conduct one more interview. In these interviews I gained insight into

their vision on monitoring 'ethnic minorities' and the ways to go about this in conducting a survey. Furthermore, I visited UK fieldwork sites of monitoring immigrant integration. During my first visit I participated in a course on a relatively recently launched household survey including a 'minority boost'. The course focused on how to prepare and use the data in the software program Stata. The second trip was very satisfying in the sense that I was able to set up interviews at the most prominent sites conducting research on 'integration' in one way or another.

All of the sites I visited on this fieldwork journey, physically or digitally, informed my ways of writing the chapters of this dissertation. Along this journey, I was accompanied by a feeling of discomfort, which resulted in paying due attention to what is figured and what is grounded in the monitoring of immigrant integration, and how this both emerges from and reproduces 'difficulties in speaking' of a society imagined through others.

On peeling an onion

In this PhD research I have peeled some layers of the onion (with reference to Susan Leigh Star) of the monitoring of immigrant integration, without knowing exactly at what point the tears in my eyes blinded me to be able to see more of it. How much of the 'practices', which I view as crucial in an STS research project or approach, was I able to capture by doing ethnographic interviews in combination with document analysis and participant-observations? In front of you is a partial study of the monitoring of immigrant integration and it is up to you the reader to be persuaded by this story, one out of many, nonetheless one that tries to persuade towards a narration and thinking of a less violent place that we might call 'our society'. Throughout my research process I tried 'to see' through multiple lenses to study practices of monitoring immigrant integration. I learned that seeing comes in many forms. Without having 'full access' or 'seeing it all', the dispersed practices of my field of research were to a certain extent

traceable and observable. What do we actually mean by 'seeing it all'? Following Donna Haraway's feminist objectivity I argue that we 'see it all' when – and I paraphrase her – we acknowledge our location as limited and knowledge as situated; and when we do not strive for transcendence and the splitting of subject and object. She then writes beautifully: "In this way we might become answerable for what we learn how to see" (Haraway 1991: 583).

3

VISUALIZING

Constructing imaginaries of difference-as-racialized distance

I would like to invite you to consider a visual graph (figure 1) produced by Statistics Netherlands (CBS) and published in the "Annual Report on Integration" of 2012:

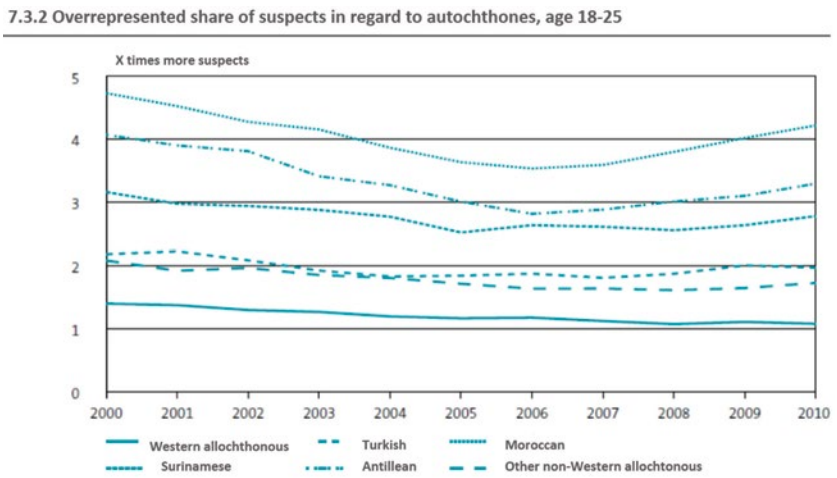


Figure 1. Source: CBS Netherlands, *Jaarrapport Integratie 2012,* p. 185.

What does this graph show? The differently designed lines of the graph attempt to visually represent and illustrate the degree to which various subpopulations are overrepresented in the crime suspect figures compared to the 'autochthonous' population in the Netherlands. Are those lines of the graph demonstrating a problem in 'Dutch society', i.e.

an overrepresentation of crime suspects, differentiated by their ethnic background, when compared with autochthones? And are the lines thus showing us who are responsible for that problem? Is this then a plausible representation of a social reality?

These questions are often without hesitation answered with 'yes' because such figures are perceived as 'evidence-based', derived from research showing truthful images of reality 'out there'. Figure 1 is a typical example of how the results of population measurements are visualized through social scientific practices at monitoring institutions and in social scientific networks. In other words, the visualization in such a graph, or in other instances in tables or charts, is part of the work of measuring immigrant integration. This means that such graphic images aim to show to what degree various subpopulations, classified in the visuals in various ways such as 'immigrants', 'allochthones' or to 'country of birth (of parents)' or 'ethnic background', are 'integrated in society'. Yet, as I will elaborate on in-depth in this chapter, the 'problem' we see represented in figure 1 is not a 'problem *of* society' but one that is imagined through specific ways of visualization as residing *outside* of 'society' (Boersma and Schinkel 2015; Schinkel 2013). I will argue that the graphic images constructed on the basis of immigrant integration statistics help to give visual shape to container-like conceptions of 'society' vis-à-vis minority populations that have been measured to reside 'at a distance from society'. In this chapter, I thus look at the ways immigrant integration is done through visual images.[7]

Within the monitoring institutions and networks involved in crafting such images, statistical software programmes provide the visualizations of graphs, tables and charts, depending on researchers' choices of what to measure and in what combination. When a statistically significant difference becomes visible during this process of measuring, it might be

[7] This chapter is based on an article published in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space written with my supervisor Willem Schinkel [Boersma, S., & Schinkel, W. (2015). Imagining society: Logics of visualization in images of immigrant integration. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 33(6), 1043-1062.]

used as a visual – in the form of a graph, table or chart – *supporting* the results of the measurements on a specific subject/indicator in a report. Statistical significance is thereby translated to visual significance.

These graphs and tables are also used to *explain* the accompanying textual results of the report. Michael Lynch has stated that visual displays in scientific texts are not just illustrations but also enable ways of analyzing and perceiving the object of study and therefore can be seen as irreplaceable documents in scientific work (Lynch, 1985). In other words, those images of immigrant integration that are expressly *visual* are an intricate part of the work of doing immigrant integration in integration monitoring. Sometimes a researcher decides to collect a list of numbers or significant measurement results in an excel sheet that are then outsourced to a design bureau which is able to provide for more sophisticated visualizations. The results obviously will not differ from a standard graph or table produced through the software programme, but the out-sourced graphic might provide a clearer or more convincing figure. Subsequently how and what is visualized is not necessarily an object that exists prior to its visualization. Hence visualizing is not just illustrative but constitutive of the ways in which immigrant integration is done, i.e. of the ways in which the graph or table become an object with a certain coherence and durability, and which can travel from one sphere (e.g., social science) to another (e.g., policy discussions or documents).

Visualizations, I argue, ask for a more critical analysis than just going along with them as representations of reality. Therefore, I propose a different set of questions in relation to figure 1 from the more obvious ones formulated above that relate to the *production* of visual differences and thereby distance in such a graph: How are the different groups visually separated from one another and at the same time lumped together in one group? How is the autochthonous group often visually absent? How do visualizing practices of monitoring immigrant integration reproduce dominant images of 'society'? And how do they exclude 'immigrant groups'

from society? These questions will be addressed in the following sections by not looking at the graphs, tables and charts as *representations* of the 'immigrants' 'integration' but by taking the figures as objects of analysis, and by noting how their visual constitution affects the object they purport to represent. This has become a familiar approach towards scientific visualizations in Science and Technology Studies (cf Burri and Dumit; Knorr-Cetina; Latour and Woolgar; Lynch). It has also become a generally accepted view towards images in visual studies (Elkins 1999; Mitchell 2005): images are not mere representations of reality, they enact realities and they 'do' certain things. One can, for instance, ask what images or pictures 'want' (Mitchell 2005), and more specifically, one can ask how making some object is co-constituted by producing visual images of it. By doing this, the perhaps rather boring graphic visualizations appear to be 'active' or 'being alive', following visual theorist W.J.T. Mitchell who said about images: "It's not just a question of their producing "imitations of life" (as the saying goes), but that the imitations seem to take on "lives of their own"" (Mitchell 2005: 2).

By exploring the 'life' of immigrant integration images one can no longer perceive of the graphs as ordinary and objectively truthful representations of immigrants, so-called integration. I will elaborate on such ideas and their practical consequences for my analysis in the following section of this chapter, where I argue for approaching these graphic figures as 'images' which are not that different from artistic images. Next I analyze some exemplary images of immigrant integration to show how the images are 'lively' sites – in a spatial sense – where differences of populations crystalize and gain legitimacy. Subsequently I argue that the images of immigrant integration are performative in embodying the distance that they represent, and persuasive in the effects they bring into being, that of hierarchies of difference and otherness.

Art and 'nonart' images

In addition to the graph displayed at the start of this chapter I now invite you to consider three artworks of respectively Eugene Delacroix, Claude Manet and Edward Long. The paintings all in their own way represent women in different places in the nineteenth century. Their work has been and remains influential especially in the Western imagination of faraway so-called exotic places and/or 'the Other'. That is, the paintings show difference, through gender, colour and location. However my focus is on the way in which the art is constitutive and performative of difference making.

Figure 2. Eugène Delacroix, 1834, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment.*

In 1834 Eugène Delacroix finished his famous painting titled *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (figure 2). What we see in the painting is a gathering of three women chatting while sitting on pillows on the floor

and one woman standing on the right side of the painting. The scene takes place in what has become known as a typical oriental style decorated room. The women in the painting are partly unveiled and parts of their bodies are uncovered, therefore the work reveals a social event in Algiers that remained mostly invisible for outsiders. "For the first time, he [Delacroix, SB] penetrates in a world that is off-limits, that of the Algerian women", literary author Assia Djebar writes in her similarly titled novel *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (Djebar 1980: 133). As an exception, Delacroix was permitted to paint such a gathering – the curtains were temporarily opened for him. The painting was first displayed at the Paris Salon in 1834, and afterwards it became a famous work of art in Europe. At the same time it became a visual object through which people in Europe were gaining access to the 'Orient Other' and more specifically to 'Other women'. In other words, representing women in artworks this way has been effective in constructing the European imaginary of the (Oriental) Other as being different (Said 2003).

In the painting through which 'Other women' are imagined, another logic of difference making is enacted. The lighter looking women sitting on pillows are served by a black woman who is standing, almost 'passing by', in the painting. Although the women sitting are displayed in a closed off and constrained daily setting, at a distance from the outside and social life inhabited by Algerian men, the figure of the black woman does not take part in the gathering of the women. She is made different by representing her in a stereotypical way, namely as the standing and serving black figure. Stuart Hall observed this stereotypical figure in more recent representations in cinema by distinguishing five main "black types", one of these called "Mammies" or the prototypical house-servants (Hall 1997: 251). In Delacroix's painting both the positioning, standing vis-à-vis sitting, and the skin-colour of the women enact difference in the painting. Hence the painting is not just representing the figures, it is constitutive of 'orient others' and of the difference between them.

In the artwork *Olympia* (figure 3) by painter Edouard Manet we also find the stereotypical figure of 'the black servant'. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the painting became known through a controversy, although not in relation to the stereotypical representation of the standing black servant. The turmoil surrounded the figure of the nude white woman posing who was recognized as *Venus* in Titian's painting, the classical beauty in art, but painted in this particular position naked and named by Manet 'Olympia', a common name for prostitutes at the time. In *Olympia* Manet challenged traditional features of art history and artistic expression in contemporary 'modern' time (Belting 2001).

Figure 3. Edouard Manet, 1863, *Olympia.*

The public of the Paris Salon in the second half of the nineteenth century but also well-established art history literature of later times has focused predominantly on Manet's provocative way of painting the posing white woman. The presence of the figure of the black woman in the painting is largely ignored. Belting for instance does not discuss her presence in his book *The Invisible Masterpiece* but solely makes a descriptive reference on

the side: "(…), with the dark-skinned servant-girl bringing in the flowers that announce his arrival [referring to a man arriving at the scene painted, SB], (…)" (Belting 2001: 170). For Belting, the presence of a black woman, again in the role of the black servant is not doing much more than what she is supposed to do: 'bring the flowers' and 'announce his arrival'. Art historian Fred Kleiner discusses public perceptions and critics at the time *Olympia* was exhibited and states that by including a black maid, the painting was perceived as "evoking moral depravity, inferiority and animalistic sexuality" (Kleiner 2016: 636). A critical reflection or analysis of this racist and sexist perception of the artwork at the time also remains absent by Kleiner, in terms of how the painting by Manet *does* difference. Namely, what the painting does is to perform difference in relation to class as well as to race. Like in Delacroix's *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* the positioning and colours of the women's bodies are crucial in making this difference.

A third and last example of art images is Edwin Long's work *The Babylonian Marriage Market* of 1882 (figure 4), which constitutes a differentiation of women who are arranged by colour, or, by degrees of being 'Other':

Figure 4. Edwin Long, 1882, *The Babylonian Marriage Market.*

Stuart Hall writes about the arrangement of the women in Long's painting as follows:

> "Not only does the image produce a certain way of knowing the Orient – as the mysterious, exotic and eroticized Orient'; but also, the women who are being 'sold' into marriage are arranged, right to left, in ascending order of 'whiteness'. The final figure approximates most closely to the western ideal, the norm; her clear complexion accentuated by the light reflected on her face from a mirror" (Hall 1997: 260).

First, Hall's observation of the women points to the way in which difference is made, on the basis of their spatial positioning. Second, what Hall describes as 'the norm' or 'the western ideal' is often invisible but crucial in the difference that is made through paintings. What this particular painting of Long is constituting is a spatial ordering of racialized difference towards the norm, which is the 'western ideal of whiteness'. This spatial ordering in art images I will point at and analyze in non-art images of immigrant integration.

Although artworks such as the paintings by Delacroix, Manet and Long are only a small minority of all visual forms of expression, they have been taken most seriously in visual studies with regard to their expressiveness and possibilities for interpretation (Elkins 1999). Often when I started to explain my study of 'images of immigrant integration' throughout this research process to people, most tended to think of art, or photographic media images, not about graphs and tables. Visual theorist Elkins has turned the idea of images which refer automatically to artistic images upside down. He pays attention to the many other forms of image that often seem less expressive and compelling, calling these "nonart images" (Ibid: ix). The bar chart in figure 5 is an example of such a nonart image, which is usually characterized by its visual inexpressiveness, lack

of eloquence and complexity. Elkins argues that this is not the case and that these "nonart images" deserve equal treatment alongside art images (Ibid: ix). The bar chart in figure 5 is, at least in one immediate sense, a completely different visual object in comparison to the paintings by Delacroix, Manet or Long. And yet I will argue that in important ways, it may not be that different.

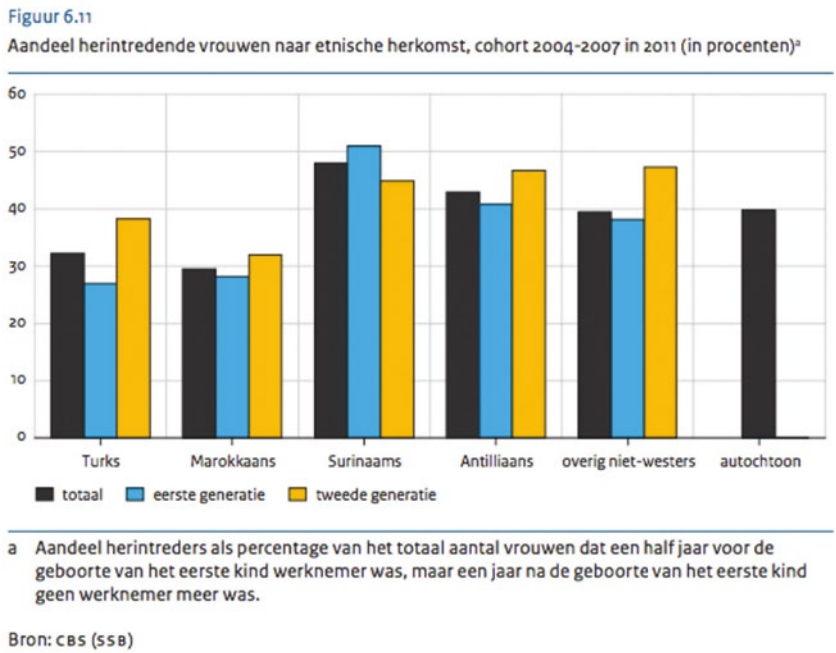


Figure 5. Source: SCP, *Jaarrapport Integratie 2013*: 161.

This bar chart example is perceived in social scientific practices and (policy) discourse on immigrant integration as a representation of the percentage of women, classified by ethnic background and whether first- or second generation, who reintegrate into the labour market after giving birth to their first child. Again, like figure 1, this visual chart is the result of measuring immigrant integration in which women specified by 'ethnic background' are compared to an 'autochthonous' population who

are presented in the last bar on the right side of this chart. I argue that, like the artworks I previously discussed, this contemporary graphic way of visualizing in charts, graphs and tables through measurement practices is constitutive of the Other, more specifically, in this case, of 'Other women'.

Currently however the practice of visualization, specifically the spatial ordering of 'Other women', is done through population research and governing within Europe instead of in the faraway 'exotic' European territories of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, through these kinds of graphic images women classified in specific groups are still visually positioned at a distance from what is 'Europe' or, by implication, 'normal'. My interest in these kinds of graphic visualizations is in how ways of spatialization in the images are effective in constructing imaginaries of difference-as-racialized distance. Fabian has argued how, in anthropological discourse, temporalized notions of lag turn difference into distance (Fabian 2014: 16). Such transformations, I argue, are augmented by the use of images that embody distance in a spatial sense.

In *The Domain of Images*, Elkins discusses the work of historians of science who have treated nonart images such as tables, graphs and drawings seriously by not analyzing the representative features but their active role in the process of scientific work (e.g. Daston and Gallison). In Science and Technology Studies, scientific images have received a lot of attention in this way. Especially in the pioneering years of empirical science studies, which often consisted of laboratory studies, visualization was a key focus of work. Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar studied laboratory work and drew attention to the way in which images are made through the scientific process (Latour and Woolgar 1979). Michael Lynch analyzed in detail how visuals from biology and neuroscience play an important role in the 'rendering practices' of scientific work (Lynch 1985). Throughout the process, images are the objects resulting from what Latour and Woolgar called "inscriptions". An inscription, for them, constitutes:

> "(…) any item of apparatus or particular configuration of such items which can transform a material substance into a figure or diagram which is directly usable by one of the members of the office space" (Latour and Woolgar 1979: 51).

Various ways of visualizing – in figures, diagrams, tables, photographs - enable the ways in which scientists can convincingly argue for their findings (Latour 1990). Furthermore, Karin Knorr-Cetina and Klaus Amann analyze in the scientific field of molecular genetics how visual objects are constructed through conversational routines that shape the (visual) 'data' and the montage process of presenting 'evidence' through images (Amann and Knorr-Cetina 1988). It leads to the "fixation of evidence" in scientific work: "Evidence is the aesthetically enhanced, carefully composed rendering of flexible visual objects that, through the meandering interrogatory processes of image analyzing talk, have been "embedded" and entrenched in procedural reconstructions, local experiences and in the landscape of the data display" (Amann and Knorr-Cetina: 163, 164).

STS studies such as the ones briefly described above have shown how images are crucial objects throughout scientific processes, not merely as *representing* the results of research but as *active in shaping* these results. Therefore, as is also argued by scholars in visual studies (Elkins, Mitchell) and in for instance geography (Edney, Cosgrove, Winichakul), it has become possible to say that such scientific images have performative effects. In visual anthropology, Liza Bakewell extends Austin's idea of words doing something, i.e. the performativity of language, to images (Bakewell 1998). She proposes to address the activity of images as 'image acts', referring to what linguistic theorist John Searle called 'speech acts', i.e. the performative utterances of speech. So, images are also performative in their own way or, in other words, 'do' all kind of things, and the question now becomes: what do visualizations of immigrant otherness 'do' precisely? I take up the images as objects of analysis in the next section of this chapter.

Distance making in images of immigrant integration: a logic of distance

What is typical of figures 1 and 5 above, and the other graphic images I analyze below, is that they contribute to a highly visual mode of thinking of subpopulations. These consist of separate, bounded chunks made up of (immigrant) subpopulations, and can be considered as set apart from the native core of 'society'. I am specifically interested in how the images resulting from the monitoring of immigrant integration carve out a space for 'society' through the imagination of the relative *distance* from that space of the immigrant categories. Immigrant integration images may for instance visually express such distance by means of the spatial design, or by depicting numerical rank orders. The imagination of distance from 'society' or from some other reference category that appears as 'neutral' (examples are 'native Germans' or 'autochthonous Dutch') often necessitates the incorporation of some measure of society itself into images of integration. Thus, society may for instance be represented in the form of 'autochthones', which then functions as a reference category. Through the classification of immigrants in contrast to the reference category, I take 'immigrant integration' to be a marker of racialized distance. The relative spacing of alterity categories (i.e. 'ethnic categories' or 'people with migration background') vis-à-vis some reference category (i.e., 'society', or a 'native' or 'autochthonous' population) recurs in the spatial design and conceptualization of these images.

In the next section I analyze four variations in the visual logic of distance: conceptualization; the 'presence in absence' of the reference category; the specific display of elements and the relative horizontal and vertical relations in the spatial design; and the oscillation of categories and normalization. The specific cases chosen for analysis are context-dependent (cf. Flyvbjerg 2006), located and produced by a particular institution within the context of a specific nation-state, but are however illustrative of image production in the larger infrastructure of immigrant integration.

A detailed analysis of only a few cases allows me to demonstrate the visual logics within these images and subsequently how immigrant integration is a marker of racialized distance towards society. In the concluding part of the analysis I then show how images of 'immigrant' populations are performative in finding acceptance for certain norms of belonging and hierarchies of difference, consequently constructing imaginaries of difference-as-racialized distance as a way of imagining society.

Conceptualization: 2.2.2.2.2.2

Classifications involve the creation of what Zerubavel has called 'islands of meaning'. These are carved out of reality by the twin processes of 'lumping' and 'splitting', with the effect that reality, which is continuous, "we experience it as discrete chunks" (Zerubavel 1996: 421). A similar definition is given by Bowker and Star, who describe classification as "a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world. A 'classification system' is a set of boxes (metaphorical or literal) into which things can be put to then do some kind of work – bureaucratic or knowledge production" (Bowker and Star 1999: 10). The design in figure 6, published by Destatis in an annual report of 2011 on population and employment, is a spatial conceptual ordering of migration statuses in German society that constitutes a figurative expression of such a classification. The total population of Germany is split into two categories, people *without* (1) and *with* (2) a migration background. The conceptualizations are arranged by a sequence of digits from '1', described as 'people without a migration background', to '2.2.2.2.2.2', conceptualized as 'Germans without migration experience but of whom both or one of the parents has migrated to Germany or was born in Germany as a foreigner'. Location '1' in the design represents the part of the German population 'without migration background', representing 'society', and is not further specified. '1' functions as the neutral and unmarked reference category, which remains constant against the variable conceptualizations, which follow after '1'

within the design. Location '2' in the design is conceptualized as 'people with migration background', that is the marked category from which an internal differentiation of conceptualizations occurs up to 2.2.2.2.2.2.

Übersicht: *In den Tabellen verwendete* Ausprägungen des detaillierten Migrationsstatus

Bevölkerung insgesamt
1 Deutsche ohne Migrationshintergrund
2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im weiteren Sinn insgesamt
2.1 darunter: Migrationshintergrund nicht durchgehend bestimmbar
2.2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinn insgesamt
nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ‚ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.1 Personen mit eigener Migrationserfahrung (Zugewanderte) insgesamt
nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ‚ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.1.1 Ausländer
nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.1.2 Deutsche
nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ‚ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.1.2.1 (Spät-)Aussiedler
nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.1.2.2 Eingebürgerte
nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.2 Personen ohne eigene Migrationserfahrung (nicht Zugewanderte) insgesamt
nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ‚ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.2.1 Ausländer (2. und 3. Generation)
nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.2.2 Deutsche
nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ‚ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.2.2.1 Eingebürgerte
nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer
2.2.2.2.2 Deutsche mit mindestens einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil
2.2.2.2.2.1 mit beidseitigem Migrationshintergrund
2.2.2.2.2.2 mit einseitigem Migrationshintergrund

Figure 6. 'Used forms of detailed migration statuses'. Source: Destatis (2011: 7).[8]

Each of the conceptualizations can be perceived as a separate space that expresses a relative distance from the top of the design, location '1', i.e. the 'societal space'. In this way, a variety of distances becomes visible in the design. For instance, the category 2.2.2 conceptualized as 'people without actual migration experience' is located on a relative distance from the 'societal space'. The variety of distances do not only occur along the sequence of conceptualizations from top to bottom, the internal differentiation by indentations also participates in this logic of distance-making. Each indentation produces a new conceptualization that occupies a space further away from '1', the neutrally perceived space representing 'society'. In this

[8] The relevant features of figure 6 are translated in the text; figures 7, 8 and 10 in Dutch are translated, the original versions can be found in the appendix; figure 9 is translated below the figure itself; figure 11 has been directly translated in the text.

way, the conceptualization of migration statuses in this spatial design operates as a marker of a variety of distances from 'society'. It thereby gives a highly spatial expression to the twin processes of *lumping* and *splitting* that characterize classifications (Zerubavel 1996). The classifications present in integration images are carved out of a national population and lumped together in groups, in which emphasis is put on similarities over differences within the groups. Parallel to this lumping process, splitting between groups occurs, which stresses the differences between groups over the similarities. The latter entails an increase of distance between the separate groups shaped out of the national population. Analogous to the way Zerubavel discusses the parting of what he calls 'discrete chunks' of 'acquaintances' and 'strangers', figure 2 illustrates the classification of the reference category as familiar in contrast to the immigrants as categories of alterity.

'Presence in absence' of the reference category

Processes of lumping and splitting a national population and in particular the neutral character of the reference category become more revealing in the light of the Gestalt principle *figure-ground* or the *figure-ground reversal* (Gross and Harmon 2014; Strathern 2002). Gross and Harmon argue that in perceiving visual representations we see the components of the image as shaped against a seemingly shapeless background (Gross and Harmon 2014: 38). Perception of a scientific table or graph occurs between a "superstructure", that are the axis, and "data-elements", the bars or lines. The principle of figure-ground allows for the foregrounding of certain bars over against the axis (Gross and Harmon 2014: 58). Strathern's study of the workings of figure and ground in images helps to focus on the uneven relationship of fore- and background. Strathern describes 'ground' as "a continuum of characteristics as the background to any singular or specific one", which she calls 'figure'. According to her, the ground obtains the value of an 'unmarked category' that is imagined as the 'natural world'. In

contrast, the figure is the specific characteristic that is visualized against the background (Strathern 2002: 89). This is what happens in figure 7, where the x-axis of the bar chart (published in the 2011 Annual Report on Integration in the Netherlands by the SCP) shows a classification of four ethnic groups, disaggregated from the overarching category 'non-western migrants', which is referred to in the text accompanying the chart. The category of 'non-western migrants' itself is carved out of the national population and lumped together, in which the similarities attributed to 'ethnic groups' surpass their differences. After this initial lumping and splitting, which has occurred in a sense 'prior to' the image, the 'non-western migrants' category is split into separate ethnic groups, which emphasizes the differences between the groups over the similarities that initially set them apart from a reference category that thus appears in the image by not directly making an appearance.

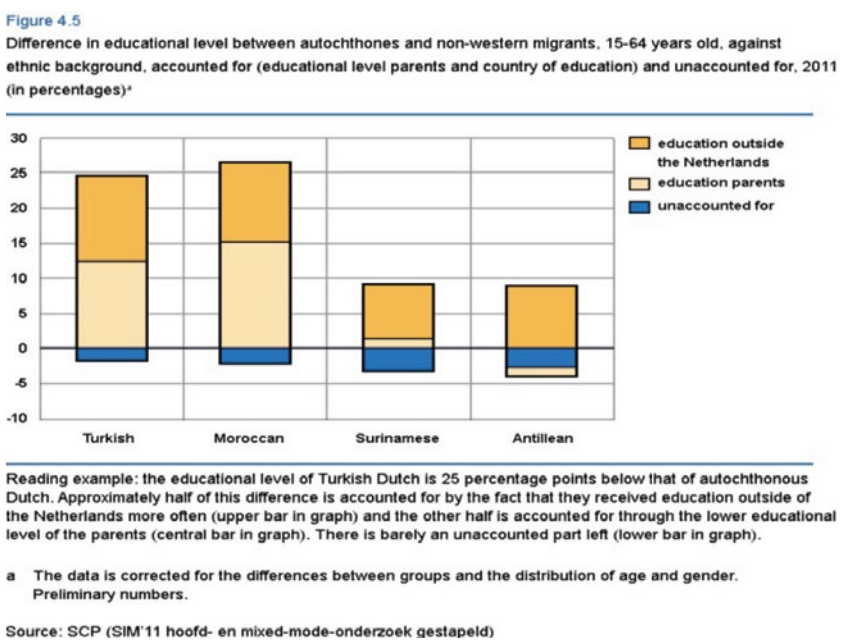


Figure 7. Source: SCP (2011: 85).

The y-axis shows certain educational percentage points, which relate back to what is supposedly absent in the visualization: the indicator for the reference category. Only indirectly does it become clear, through the text accompanying the chart, that the y-axis represents both indicators, i.e., the average educational level of 'society', and the reference category attached to this, which in this case is conceptualized in the text surrounding the image as 'autochthones'. These are given the value '0', which is the reference value for all 'ethnic groups' and as such conveys the neutrality they represent in the image. These elements of the image, 'present by their absence' (cf M'charek), produce a space separate from the elements literally visualized in the graph. In the image, the highest bar representing the ethnic category 'Moroccans' is furthest from the reference category, i.e. 'society'. Compared to 'autochthonous society' which is a degree of zero educational deviation, the bars show the '*negative* difference in educational level by non-western migrants in the age of 15–64'.

The y-axis therefore shows that the differences among these categories are not at stake in the visualization, but the difference from each of these categories to the reference or standard, which is not literally visible in the image. By being 'present in absence' the autochthones function as a reference category that silently orders the logic of distance making in the image. This way of visualizing autochthones as reference category entails part of how race is configured (cf M'charek 2014) through monitoring immigrant integration.

Positioning the reference category in figure 7 outside the image emphasizes the 'natural', 'neutral' and 'unmarked' character of this category. As such, its absence is conspicuous and plays an important role in the image. As Strathern states: "The (general) frame is already within the (particular) picture" (Strathern 2002: 92). The educational level of 'autochthones' is the frame or 'ground' against which the specific characteristics of the educational levels of ethnic categories are portrayed. Gross and Harmon (2014) call this the 'superstructure' of the image.

Nevertheless, the 'absence' of the reference category initiates the reversal of ground and figure (cf. Strathern 2002). To understand the figures, i.e. the bars representing the educational level of ethnic categories, the relation to their ground needs to be understood. In the image, the ground is absent from the actual visualization and needs to be discovered through the accompanying text. Yet in the realization of this understanding, the ground appears as figure. However, it is located at the zero point of the x-axis, which grounds the logic of distance. The appearance of the reference category in this specific location of the bar chart emphasizes the distance of the bars representing the 'immigrants' vis-à-vis the zero point of the x-axis, i.e. 'society'. By specifically visualizing those lumped together as the white autochthonous population as the 'zero point' and making highly visible against this benchmark those 'with ethnic backgrounds', the image can be perceived as a space of expression of racialized distances and consequently immigrant integration as a marker of racialized distance.

Furthermore, in figure 7 slippages (Star and Lampland 2009) occur within the interplay between text and image. The 'unexplained part' of the so-called migrant's educational level is visualized in the blue bars along the negative y-axis and is dismissed in the formulation as a minor element. However, following the logic of the image, the specific location of this unexplained part in the bar chart challenges the distance between reference category and ethnic categories. The reference category, given the value '0' remains constant in its appearance at the zero point of the x-axis. What appears in the positive y-axis, i.e., the *negative* difference in educational level, would, conversely, be a *positive* difference in educational level on the negative y-axis. The location of this 'unexplained part', although minor, renders visible a decrease in distance between the ethnic groups and 'society'. However, a Gestalt switch of figure becoming ground is actively averted. Moreover, the part that remains *unexplained* seems to be the part that fits in 'society', however this fitting part cannot be explained. Such anomalies in the image denote the slippages between a standard and its

realization in the image (Star and Lampland 2009). They require a *textual* work of normalization, which compensates for this slippage in the *visual* logic of the image. The interplay between text and image remains effective in creating and sustaining a space of 'society' of which the immigrant categories are not (yet) part.

Spatial design of images

The line chart in figure 8 (also published by SCP in the 2011 Annual Report on Integration) shows a specific design for the reference category autochthones: a dotted line. This line is set off against four colored lines representing ethnic categories. Here, the dotted line can be seen to operate as a marker of distance first, in its specific location in the graph and second, its appearance as designed differently from the other lines.

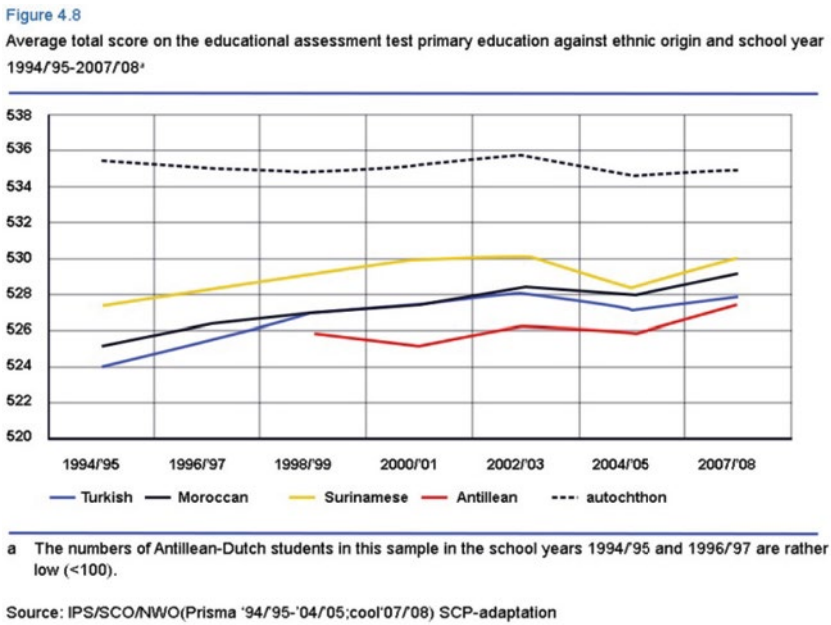


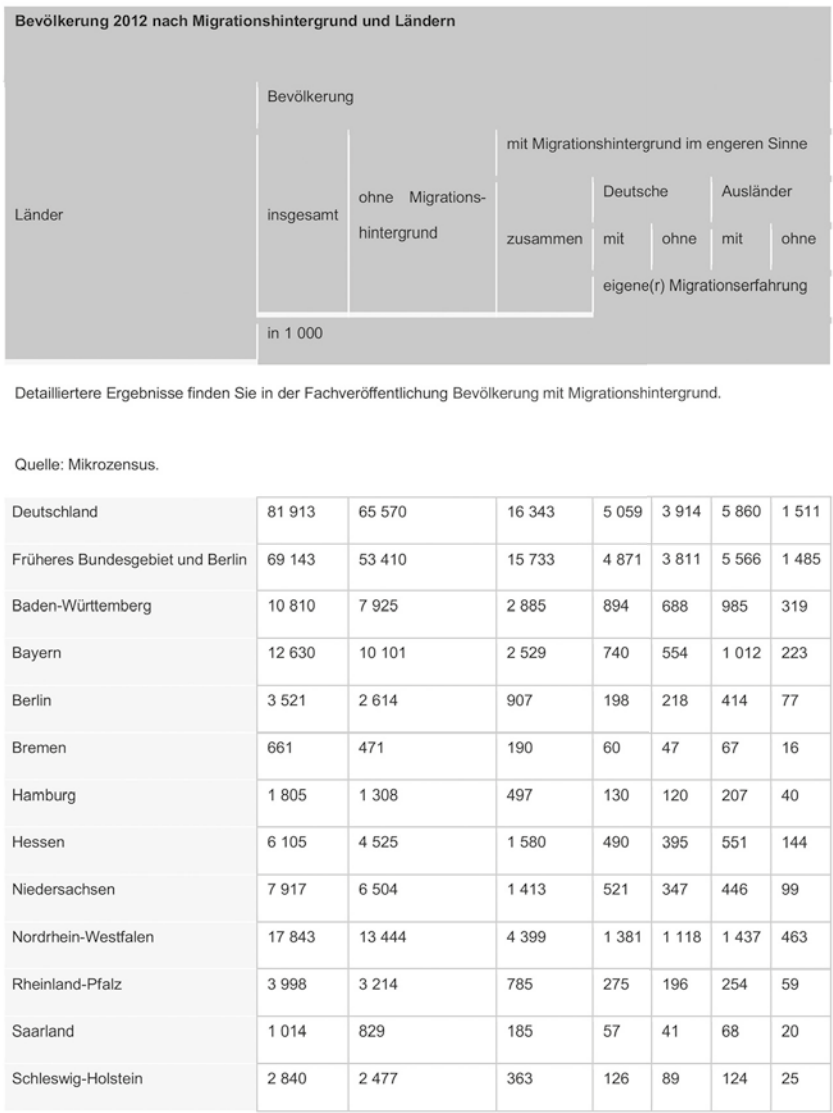
Figure 8. Source: SCP (2011: 91).

The empty space in the chart between the colored lines and the dotted line visualizes a distance. This distance is actually an ensemble of distances that are specified by category, in which the yellow line (representing Surinamese) is closest to, and the red line (representing Antilleans) is furthest from the reference category, representing a societal space, floating far above and apart from these lines. The various ethnic groups in a sense appear as relative distances, whereas the former, though of course relative as well, appears much more 'absolute', which is a visual effect of spacing predicated upon the scale and selection of the y-axis. The neutrality of the reference category becomes visible here in its visual unattainability, hovering so far above the other lines as it does. Whereas the neutrality of a reference category often functions as ground in the sense of the familiar background or frame surrounding an image, the specific type of design may also allow the neutral category to appear in the figure, such as in figure 8. However, its relative location within the image as a whole clearly marks a visual logic of distance.

Furthermore, in figure 8, distance is also created through a slippage in the interplay between text and image. The categories realized in the chart are split from the Dutch national population as 'Turks', 'Moroccans', 'Surinamese', 'Antillean' and 'autochthones'. In the text one of the categories is referred to as 'Antillean-Dutch', but the chart represents these second-generation immigrants – classified as 'often born in the Netherlands, with migrant parents' – as purely 'Antillean', 'Surinamese', 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish'. By omitting the part of the categorization that corresponds or rather overlaps with the reference category and that would pollute its boundedness, the logic of racialized distance is accentuated through the visualization.

Very often, the use of horizontality and verticality and the relative spacings on these dimensions operate as visual markers of difference. In 2012, the German Federal Statistical Office, Destatis, published a table of

the German census divided over regions, specifying categories of migration background (figure 9).



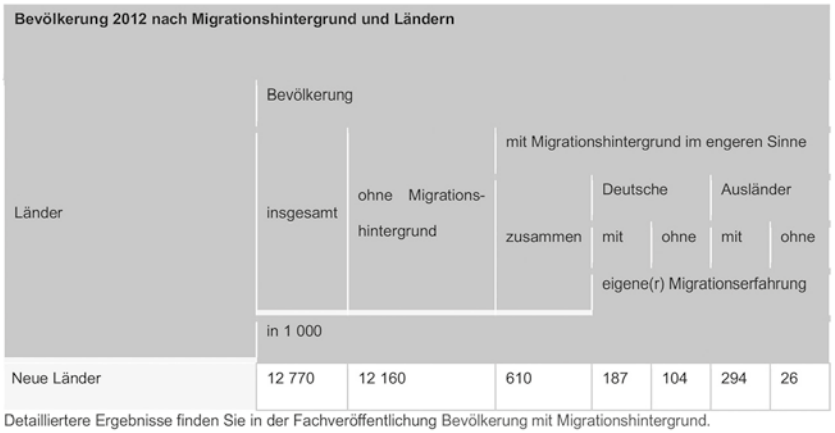
Bevölkerung nach Migrationshintergrund

Bevölkerung 2012 nach Migrationshintergrund und Ländern

Länder	Bevölkerung						
	insgesamt	ohne Migrationshintergrund	mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinne				
			zusammen	Deutsche		Ausländer	
				mit	ohne	mit	ohne
				eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung			
	in 1 000						
Deutschland	81 913	65 570	16 343	5 059	3 914	5 860	1 511
Früheres Bundesgebiet und Berlin	69 143	53 410	15 733	4 871	3 811	5 566	1 485
Baden-Württemberg	10 810	7 925	2 885	894	688	985	319
Bayern	12 630	10 101	2 529	740	554	1 012	223
Berlin	3 521	2 614	907	198	218	414	77
Bremen	661	471	190	60	47	67	16
Hamburg	1 805	1 308	497	130	120	207	40
Hessen	6 105	4 525	1 580	490	395	551	144
Niedersachsen	7 917	6 504	1 413	521	347	446	99
Nordrhein-Westfalen	17 843	13 444	4 399	1 381	1 118	1 437	463
Rheinland-Pfalz	3 998	3 214	785	275	196	254	59
Saarland	1 014	829	185	57	41	68	20
Schleswig-Holstein	2 840	2 477	363	126	89	124	25

Detailliertere Ergebnisse finden Sie in der Fachveröffentlichung Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund.

Quelle: Mikrozensus.



Bevölkerung 2012 nach Migrationshintergrund und Ländern

Länder	Bevölkerung						
	insgesamt	ohne Migrationshintergrund	mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinne				
			zusammen	Deutsche		Ausländer	
				mit eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung	ohne eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung	mit eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung	ohne eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung
	in 1 000						
Neue Länder	12 770	12 160	610	187	104	294	26

Detailliertere Ergebnisse finden Sie in der Fachveröffentlichung Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund.

Quelle: Mikrozensus.

Figure 9. Source: https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund/Tabellen/MigrationshintergrundLaender.html (09/03/2015)

Translation: Bevölkerung nach Migrationshintergrund: *Population by migration background*
Bevölkerung 2012 nach Migrationshintergrund und Ländern: *Population 2012 by migration background and states*
Länder: states insgesamt: *overall total*
ohne Migrationshintergrund: *without migration background*
Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinne: *Population by migration background in a strict sense*
Zusammen: *together*
Deutsche mit/ohne eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung: *German with/without personal migration experience*
Ausländer mit/ohne eigene(r) Migrationserfahrung: *Foreigner with/without personal migration experience*

The table visualizes a classification in which first, the total population (first column) is split into 'population *without* a migration background' (second column) and 'population *with* a migration background' (columns three to seven). This division creates separate spaces, the first referring to the 'native' German population, i.e. the 'familiar' and reference category

representing 'society', the second to people in Germany with a background in another country, i.e. the 'strangers' and categories of alterity. Within the latter space, internal differentiation occurs in the image from left to right, which results in the visualization of columns three to seven. Here, the categorization of 'people *with* migration background' is extended into four separate categories:

1) 'Germans with migration experience'
2) 'Germans without migration experience'
3) 'Foreigners with migration experience'
4) 'Foreigners without migration experience'

Through this internal differentiation in the table from left to right, a variety of distances from the 'societal space' are visualized. The specific locations of these categorizations along the horizontal line in the image stress certain degrees of distance between the categories of alterity from the column of the reference category. For instance, the column furthest to the right, representing 'people with a citizenship status of 'foreigner', however without actual 'migration experience', shows a relative distance from the neutral reference category. In this way the horizontal spatial lining from left to right in the table operates as a marker of a variety of distances to 'society'.

The vertical lines of the table participate in the visual logic of distance as well. Whereas the horizontal lines represent the borders between different regions, the vertical lines can be perceived as borders between different groups present in the national population. Especially, the vertical line between the column of the reference category and the columns of the categories of alterity stress the logic of distance between on the left side the 'societal space' and on the right side the categories of alterity. These 'borders' make the classifications as homogenous entities plausible. This

homogenization by columns expresses separate spaces, as well as population differences and thereby racialized distances.

Oscillation of categories and normalization

A concluding example of variations in the logic of distance in images of immigrant integration focuses on category problems. Category problems occur in figure 10, a table published by SCP in the 2005 Annual Report concerning the 'spare time contacts by ethnic groups in the age of 15-65'. The classification rendered visible in the table consists of ten 'discrete chunks': nine represented as ethnic categories and one category for the autochthonous population. Three options of spare time contacts are measured: 'more with members of own group', 'equal amount with both' and 'more with autochthones'. What is problematized in and through this visualization is having most contacts with members of one's 'own ethnic group' and the relative lack of contacts with the reference group ('autochthones'). This problematization entails an ensemble of distances between the categories of alterity and the reference category representing 'society'. Each of the ethnic categories is measured according to the social contact task to which they are assigned, however a slippage occurs in the locations of numbers measured for the category of autochthones.

Ethnic signature of spare time contacts by ethnic group, ages 15-65, 2003 and 2004/2005 (in percentages)

	More with members of own group	Equal amount with both	More with autochthones
Turks	64	26	9
Moroccans	51	34	16
Surinamese	35	43	32
Antilleans	35	32	33
(former) Yugoslavs	30	38	32
Iraqi's	42	32	26
Afghans	34	37	29
Iranians	24	37	39
Somalians	50	32	18
autochthones (a)	3	12	85

(a) Category 'more with members of own group' means, in case of autochthones: more with allochthonous groups

Figure 10. Source: SCP (2005: 111).

In the table, the category autochthones explicitly refers to an accompanying footnote text, where it is explained that at this point in the table the readings change: 'more with members of own group' is replaced by 'more with allochthonous groups'. The paradox of representing distance from society whilst including a reference category of society itself resulted in a figure-ground reversal. However, the slippage of categories is averted by the change of reading, i.e. by switching perspectives (Star and Lampland, 2009).

Without switching, the neutral reference category that functions as background would suddenly appear as one of the specific elements of figure in the image (figure 11). In that case, the logic of distance would

come to be applied to the reference category as well, which would cause an oscillation between the 'familiar' reference category and the categories of alterity.

Ethnic signature of spare time contacts by ethnic group, ages 15-65, 2003 and 2004/2005 (in percentages)

	More with members of own group
Turks	64
Moroccans	51
Surinamese	35
Antilleans	35
(former) Yugoslavs	30
Iraqi's	42
Afghans	34
Iranians	24
Somalians	50
autochthones	***85***

Figure 11. Source: SCP (2005: 111), our adaptation.

The reference category then becomes visible as the one whose members spend most time with members of their own group in contrast to the ethnic categories who in comparison spend more time with members of other groups. This would mean that the autochthones are furthest from the 'societal space', which they themselves represent. As noted, precisely this 'contact with the own group' is problematized in the context of 'integration in the national society'. Switching perspective, i.e., averting a figure-ground reversal, normalizes this slippage of categories. That is, when the reference category is likely to be incorporated into the figure of the image, thereby

losing its visual ordering role, it is shifted to the background, in this case explicitly by way of an exception clause.

Conclusion: Performative images of immigrant integration

I have shown how the non-art images – tables, graphs and charts – produced by immigrant integration research play a crucial role in imagining national society (cf Anderson 1991) by means of making and translating population differences into racialized distances, in a spatial sense. I analyzed in detail how the internal spatial orders of the images *embody* what they represent, distance. Hence one mode of performativity present in the images of immigrant integration is the *performativity of embodiment*. This means that the images depict what they embody, or more precisely, that the images *translate social distance into visual distance.* In other words, the social distance between groups that is statistically calculated finds expression in the graphic separation of columns in tables, of lines in graphs and of bars in charts, where column, line and bar stand for discrete chunks of 'immigrant groups' of different sizes, each at a relative distance from the native norm. And due to the latter presence, often in absence, visualizing distance in images of immigrant integration is a racialized way of displaying difference-as-distance.

For instance, in figure 7 I analyzed how the bars representing 'non-western migrants' by 'ethnic background' are visually positioned against the zero point of the chart, where the reference category autochthones orders and grounds the logic of distance while itself being visually absent from the chart. In figure 8, in contrast, the reference category does appear but not as background but as 'figure' in the image, however its relative location within the image clearly marks visual distance. In figure 8 the specific design of the reference category is also expressed as a dotted line which visually embodies distance from the coloured lines representing the ethnic categories. Moreover, the image embodies distance through the space between the dotted line and coloured lines. Taking graphic representation

of space (cf. Lefebvre 1991) seriously enables us to recognize how such visualizations facilitate the role of immigrant groups as a constitutive part outside of the native norm, which derives some of its solidity from the fact that images can embody distance.

The differences between populations that are produced by the statistical images become viable objects of problem definitions, discourse, policy briefs and presentations and eventually policy interventions. The reality of these population objects is strengthened by the images because of the strong visual embodiment of distance occurring in the images. The images are intricately tied up with discourse and text, while the talk, such as "lagging behind" and "having a way to go", and the discourse on the "place" of minorities "in" society is strongly spatial. Furthermore, the embodiment of distance in the images does drive another performative effect which relates to the persuasive character of the images. Being used in both discourse and policy-making practices and decisions, the images are effective in the acceptance and credibility of text and hence we can find a *performativity of persuasion* in the images.

Performativity of persuasion highlights a related but slightly different effect that issues from images. It entails the effectiveness of images in finding acceptance for observations as realities. They render the realities referenced in text more plausible, credible, and hence more real in terms of the acceptance of realities by readers of texts and viewers of the accompanying images. By being persuasive, such images therefore reiterate and help sustain norms of belonging and hierarchies of difference and otherness. For instance, in figure 6 the performativity of persuasion that is at work means that it is hard *not* to think of Germany's population as a population of 'native' Germans and a variety of *different* populations relatively at distances from the native population. Another example of persuasion in the images is the visual 'unattainability' of the reference category hovering far above the other lines representing ethnic categories in figure 8. The positioning of the line, and also the choice of the line itself, persuades the

viewer to accept the statistically calculated difference and thereby visual distance. I argue that in both cases the figurative shape of the image itself does most of this work.

In figure 8 the choice of naming categories differently in the image, i.e. 'Antilleans', compared to their naming in the accompanying text, i.e. 'Dutch-Antilleans' also shows how the images make a reality of distance more real. Moreover, in this way the image is persuasive in sustaining hierarchies of otherness. And at other times the persuasive effect in the image is strongly manipulated, such as in figure 10 where the possible performative effect of the reversal of ground into figure is averted, thereby switching back the reference category as ground and foregrounding those classified in ethnic groups at a distance.

Performativity in general, and here specifically the performativity of persuasion, does not necessarily go in one direction that is from image to text. As analyzed for instance in figure 7 the image requires a textual work of normalization to come to understand the reference point of the chart and to compensate for a slippage in the visual logic of the image. The work of normalization and compensation is done by the text in relation to the image. Thus, while images performatively enhance text, text can do the same for images. It is often in the interplay of images and text that performativity plays out. Performativity is often considered as prescriptive (Callon 2007), and here, prescription involves the visual "scripting" of populations as consisting of bounded, discrete subpopulations. What the images help to constitute and fix is a social field of populations as an object of both discourse and (policy) intervention. When such (sub)populations become acted upon by policy measures, they get articulated in various ways, and they for instance solidify by responding, by resisting, and thus becoming, in what Foucault (1990) called the "tactical polyvalence" of discourse, more "real" than they were.

In analyzing how images are having 'lives of their own' (cf Mitchell), thus being performative in particular ways to construct imaginaries of

difference-as-racialized distance, I also pointed to the discomforting ways of 'making them work' in that way. That is, I located a few times discomfort in ways of visualizing. For instance, by referring to the 'unexplained part' when a positive difference towards the reference category was measured (figure 7). Yet the possibility of figure, 'the immigrants', becoming (part of) ground, 'society', was actively averted. Such a slippage occurs in a discomforting paradoxical logic of 'immigrants' supposedly 'fitting into society', which then cannot be explained. Moreover, the way of referring to 'Antillean-Dutch' as 'Antillean' in the image (figure 8) accentuates difference as racialized distance, thereby not polluting the boundaries of the autochthonous Dutch population by visualizing overlap.

In a different way 'overlap' threatens to occur in the table about the amount of spare time spent with contacts of one's own or other groups. Now the reversal of the autochthonous category into figure was at stake yet averted by way of 'changing the reading'. All of this is done to keep in place the way in which figure and ground are divided to render society plausible; on the basis of difference, that is, like in the art images on the basis of racialized difference. The images constitute a spatial ordering of racialized difference-as-distance towards a norm that is neutralized in the background, often invisible. Following Said the images of monitoring immigrant integration are effective today in constructing the European imaginary of the other, as being different and on a distance from what is called autochthones or 'without migration background' who function as reference category for what is imagined as 'society. Even more so, it constructs the imaginary of European societies by projecting others as not good enough yet, not fitting in, that is, at a distance from it. The chapters that follow from here all aim to account for the performative *and* discomforting ways quantitative knowledge production of immigrant integration is done and thus how we end up with such persuasive racialized images of immigrant integration. While in this chapter I examined how images of immigrant integration are performative in producing difference-

as-racialized distance, in the following chapter I scrutinize the way in which those made highly visible in such images are enacted and are specifically producing 'characters of perpetual arrival'. To do so, literary theory, narratology and STS turn out as a fruitful way of studying the making up of people (Hacking 2007) through immigrant integration monitoring.

4

NARRATING

Making up 'immigrants' as perpetually arriving towards society[9]

In his famous book *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson states that literature and the novel were nineteenth century mechanisms of imagination central in producing national imaginaries and with that communities. The emergence of mass-printed media through novels and newspapers in the late eighteenth century shaped the circulation of narratives amongst readers in many different places, creating a community that, without actually knowing or meeting one another, started to share knowledge and ideas. This produced national imaginaries amongst 'new' community members (Anderson 2006). As claimed by Mike Savage, the sample survey of the social sciences is also a mechanism producing national imaginaries since "[it] brings with it new possibilities for imagining the nation" (Savage 2010: 211). However the sample survey does not rely any longer on narrative according to him:

> "(…) rather than relying on narrative, it deploys the scientific language of sampling error, units of stratification, and confidence levels. The survey mobilizes a rational statistical account of the nation in which the truth of the nation is guaranteed not by storytelling but through the protocols of science itself" (Ibid: 189).

[9] This chapter is based on an article that is currently under review titled "Narrating society: Enacting 'immigrant' characters through negotiating, naturalization and forgetting."

Although Savage analyzes the impact of the social sciences on accounts of the nation in a helpful way, I aim to show how social scientific work is still dependent on narrative, hence producing statistical yet narrative accounts of the nation. Hence literary theory and novels in particular are a source of inspiration to examine monitoring immigrant integration through a literary lens. As introduced at the start of the dissertation, the literary concept of *arrival narratives* is helpful in analyzing the question 'how much has someone really arrived?' (Quayson 2013) in relation to a social scientific practice. To briefly repeat, the monitoring of immigrant integration is not first and foremost concerned with the actual 'date' of arrival in the host country, but with a processual form of arriving that only takes place after the actual arrival. Or, when there is no actual arrival at all, that is, a concern with those who are born in the host county but still considered in one way or another as having to arrive. The part of the population classified as '(descendants of) immigrants' is made mobile in a very specific way, namely in relation to an imaginary place of arrival; this is where a 'native' population already resides, also known as 'society'.

The classified population can be perceived as the 'characters' of the narrative. The 'place of arrival' is by no means where the movement of people comes to a halt, in contrast, characteristic for the place of arrival is a "restlessness and an ever urging onwards" that is inherent to modernity. Willem Schinkel says in this respect that modernity is about participating in circulation and those who slow down, resist or block circulation are 'not up to speed' and thus become the objects of problematization by the state (Schinkel 2016). What immigrant integration research does is monitoring those subjectivities that slow-down circulation, who are not equally adjusted to circulation, and report this in numerical facts to the state. This appears as the 'plot' of the narrative. The social scientific practice narrates them as 'lagging' behind, meaning always behind of modern times (Fabian 2014). In *Time and the Other*, Fabian refers to the way in which 'non-modern' or 'non-western' cultures and civilizations are assigned to different registers of

time. Thus, the narratives that are produced show an increased or decreased speed towards society. Consider for instance the image below, published in a report from 2015 with the title: "The Integration of the Second Generation in Germany. Results of the TIES Survey on the Descendants of Turkish and Yugoslavian Immigrants". The image is specifically part of a chapter including 'ethnic and cultural orientation' and exemplary for the way in which arrival narratives are visualized in the field:

Table 6.6 **Religious orientation and identification with Germany by second-generation group (in %)**

	2nd generation	Identification with Germany				
		Strong	Moderate	Weak	Not at all	Total N
Religious Muslims	Turks	41.5	32.0	22.0	4.5	337
	Yugoslavs	54.1	18.9	21.6	5.4	37
Religious Christians	Yugoslavs	77.2	18.4	2.6	1.8	114

Source: TIES Survey Germany

Figure 1. Source: IMISCOE Research, Sürig and Wilmes 2015: 145.

Firstly, to make sense of an image like the one displayed above, one inevitably constructs a narrative by identifying the 'characters', that is those who perform the story, disentangling the 'plot', or, that what is at stake in the story and imagining a space where the characters and the events are located in particular ways. Accordingly, the characters of the narrative are the categories displayed in the image: 'second generation', 'Turks' and 'Yugoslavs' and 'Religious Muslims' and 'Religious Christians'. The plot of the narrative then can be disentangled as the degree to which the people in these categories of different combinations are attached to Germany or commit themselves to a 'German identity'. The latter represents the societal space. The way in which it was narrated in the report was as follows:

> "When correlating religiousness with commitment to a 'German' identity, the second-generation Muslims state lesser degrees of attachment than the second-generation Christians, as can be seen in table 6.6. In fact, roughly one quarter of the devout second-generation Muslims feel only weak ties or no attachment at all to Germany. This is probably to be expected, considering that the German majority society is generally defined by its Judaeo- Christian history and tradition" (Ibid: 144).

The narration in the passage from the report is based on distance; namely, narration of characters occurs in terms of 'lesser degrees', 'weak ties' and 'no attachment at all' with respect to the societal space of Germany. The characters called 'Muslim Turks' and 'Muslim or Christian Yugoslavs', despite one 'doing better' in terms of attachment to Germany than the other, are caught up in a perpetual state of arriving. Also important to notice is that the control group, i.e. "German-born interviewees without a migration background" (Ibid: 13), is given dispensation from appearing in the image since they are supposed to coincide with what is the 'German identity' and 'Germany', quite explicitly and specifically narrated here as "the *German majority society* is generally defined by its Judaeo-Christian history and tradition" [my emphasis, SB]. Those without migration background, the "German majority society", are narrated as inevitably already in society, that is, 'occupying society'. This reflects Sara Ahmed's powerful phrasing of "how some bodies become understood as the rightful occupants of certain spaces" (Ahmed 2012: 2). Although often disappearing from images and passages in reports, the 'native bodies' representing the reference category are present in absence in narrating and visualizing logics of immigrant integration.

The example just described, I argue, is the way in which narratives of arrival are displayed; the narratives always talk about the increased or decreased distances of the 'immigrants' towards the place of arrival. The

place of arrival is thus narrated in this specific example as 'German identity' and 'Germany'. The distance created opens up a path to be journeyed along, and this journey has 'arrival' as its perpetually deferred destination (Boersma and Schinkel 2018).

In this chapter I will turn specifically to the people journeying that path, i.e. the characters of the narrative, who are put centre stage in these kinds of reports and images produced through the monitoring of immigrant integration. This relates closely to Michel Foucault's "constitution of subjects" and what Ian Hacking famously called "making up of people" through social scientific research, which he also analyses as "moving targets" (Foucault 1980; Hacking 2007). While Hacking's study focused mainly on the relationship of the sciences with "the targets themselves", my way of examining the making up of people is through the entanglement of social scientific and state practices which also 'moves targets'. In other words, I argue that there is not solely a relationship for the making up of people between science practices and the people, i.e. the targets, with whom the particular scientific field is concerned. I argue that targets are also moved by the intricate relationships between (science) institutions and government. The hybrid formed by these actors in immigrant integration monitoring is accountable for the making up of 'those who have not yet arrived' set against 'those arrived'. I study the practices that, as Evelyn Ruppert stated, "do not simply reveal subjects as already formed and unchanging but produce them and the particular capacities and agencies required for the technology to operate." (Ruppert 2011: 220). Hence I turn to the process in monitoring that not only names, but *makes up* 'Muslim Turks', 'Muslim or Christian Yugoslavs', 'non-western migrants', 'people with migration background' and the many other variations circulating. Subsequently I show how this making up of 'others' automatically naturalizes a dispensation for the so-called 'native' part of the population. At the same time the latter lingers (un)comfortably in the background of the knowledge making practices

since they represent the protagonist of the narrative of perpetual arrival: society.

Making up 'immigrant' characters: negotiating, naturalization and forgetting

In this chapter I will analyze the ways in which differentiations of the population are 'socially negotiated' (Bowker and Star 1999; Smart et al 2008) in the socio-political and socio-technical arrangements of the monitoring of immigrant integration. The specific actors in negotiations are often the social sciences and the state, which negotiate the ways of classifying a national population on the basis of, amongst other things, 'background' and 'origin'. These are classifications I understand as never having settled, always in processes of becoming, hence renegotiated over and over again. In many cases the knowledge production of the 'immigrant' population is commissioned by the state or is aimed at informing the state about the population. Also, data on the population are often in the hands of (semi-) state institutions. In other words, the infrastructure of social scientific research on populations coincides with the infrastructure of the state's population politics.

The details of this "dynamic networking" between immigrant/minorities scholarship and public policy in the Netherlands is what Essed and Nimako (as referred to earlier) show in much detail in their study of the 'Dutch minority research industry' (Essed and Nimako 2006). This hybrid shaped by the social sciences and state departments and institutions is co-constitutive of the ways in which the population is differentiated through practices of naturalization and forgetting. I will analyze how the objects of research, i.e. those classified as 'immigrant' in one way or another, are naturalized which is inevitably entangled with the practice of forgetting. With a focus on the practice of classification, Bowker and Star describe naturalization as "stripping away the contingencies of an object's creation and its situated nature. A naturalized object has lost its anthropological

strangeness" (Bowker and Star 1999: 299). First of all, the naturalization process in immigrant integration monitoring has emerged through a deep familiarity of the community of practice with the object of research, i.e. 'those who are classified as still to arrive', or the 'immigrant other'. Second, the objects of research are stripped from their contingent and historical circumstances through which they emerged. At the same time a so-called 'native' or 'autochthonous' population is given dispensation (Schinkel 2007; 2017). Although merely absent and forgotten, it functions in the background as reference category.

For Bowker and Star 'forgetting' also refers to the social scientific object, the 'immigrant other', that is constituted by forgetting all kinds of things that are actually also involved in the object, it is "desituated", and pinpointed to solely 'migration', 'origin' or 'background'. In immigrant integration monitoring the consequence of forgetting is that the situation of the 'immigrant other' as being different and specifically being at a distance in terms of a 'lag' is perceived of as normal. Paradoxically this 'normal' status of being different and 'lagging' is made into an exception all the time according to Fatima El-Tayeb. She observes an "active process of forgetting" in which a non-white presence always seems to happen for the first time (El-Tayeb 2011: xxiv). While each incident is given a "spectacular character" it does not become part of Europe's collective memory and is therefore decontextualized and rendered meaningless at the same time. El-Tayeb analyzes this kind of forgetting as a 'colour-blind Europe' in which the presence of coloured people is thus forgotten by approaching and representing those of colour every time as an exception. Moreover, as explained in the introduction, Ann Stoler 'replaces' forgetting (and amnesia) critically by the concept of aphasia; as a difficulty in speaking, a 'dismembering', but certainly not forgotten or absent (Stoler 2016: 128). This I also argue restores partially the historically situated nature of the objects of research – the 'immigrant other' – and those who are not made up as objects of scrutiny: the population representing 'society'.

The ways of differentiating 'immigrants' for the monitoring of immigrant integration, i.e. how the objects of research are negotiated, appeared both in my interviews with social scientists as well as at conferences and events that I visited. In various ways the challenges of doing differentiation of the population 'right' were at stake and always under scrutiny by the professionals in the field of quantitative immigrant integration research; in meetings with policy-makers, organizing a survey sample and/or finding acceptance for the official classification lists and definitions, amongst other things. The narrative accounts by my respondents in my interviews were therefore mediated by a discomfort about the lumping and splitting of a national population. I introduce and highlight negotiating, naturalization and forgetting as practices of making up people that however function only through and together with discomfort. That is a discomfort of *making people other* vis-à-vis *making people normal* or in postcolonial terms, making 'self'. The feelings of discomfort are thus part and parcel of the practices, which means that discomfort performs negotiating, naturalization and forgetting in the way in which they are operative and productive. Paradoxically, the practices also occur as ways of taking care of disruptive moments. In the interviews the researchers, including me as the interviewer, were encountering trouble when speaking about making differentiations on the basis of a 'migration background', 'ethnicity' or 'origin', followed by disconcerted articulations.

In the paragraphs that follow in this chapter I will analyze accounts of social scientists whose job it is to craft characters for immigrant integration monitoring in one way or another. First, I analyze how categories of immigrant integration are enacted and contested at a public event on 'integration'. Then, the making up of people through bureaucratic socio-technical arrangements of the social scientific work, specifically through possible sampling techniques, gets attention. Next, I analyze a social scientist's account of a meeting with state officials and the ways in which (de) differentiation of the national population is negotiated. The disconcerted

articulations in the research field that I try to attend to emerge rather explicitly when arriving at the boundaries of 'acceptable' differentiation. This I illustrate in one of the narrative accounts of an interviewee on writing a report about the so-called 'third generation'. Last but not least I pay attention to – or 'remember' – the up until then supposedly forgotten 'native population'. Also in writing this chapter I have to actively 'switch' to figure for what so easily remains in its comfortable position of ground; the 'native population' representing society. Subsequently, the analyses demonstrate how in each account practices of negotiating, naturalization and forgetting compose a narrative in which some characters are enacted as rightful occupants of society and others as problems, perpetually arriving towards society.

Crafting characters: (de)naturalization and forgetting

At public events on the topic of 'integration' the enactments of the characters of perpetual arrival and the narrations of distance from the societal space are ultimately expressed and displayed. I visited such an event in London where a network of organizations and institutions came together to celebrate a new initiative on 'integration' and discuss its current status. In an invitation e-mail that I received a short time before the actual event took place it showed what or who is involved in the field of 'integration' research, and this included for instance the Home Office, the London School of Economics (LSE), the British Red Cross, the Welsh Refugee Council, the British Sikh Council UK and the Migration Museum amongst others.

At this event specifically the abbreviation 'BME' was used without further explanation and I was lucky that the man from the Home Office next to me whispered its exact meaning. Of course, I felt somewhat embarrassed by not remembering this while researching the field, however the ways in which it was self-evidently used also told me that it was a category completely naturalized in the infrastructure of immigrant integration in

Great Britain. And that I was (still) a stranger in the field. The so-called "BME-category", that is the 'Black and Minority Ethnicity category', was contested and hence denaturalized by one of the speakers. The speaker at the event argued that the 'BME-category' only says that "you're not white" and that "putting everyone in one box should really not be done." This anxiety with the 'BME-category' was replaced by an almost celebratory attitude towards the seventeen categories of ethnic minorities as listed by ONS, the Official National Statistics agency:

> "Homogenizing experiences makes it harder to understand what takes place. What are you doing instead? We have seventeen extremely good categories provided by the ONS, who tell us clear and exactly what a Black Caribbean is, what a Pakistani is, et cetera. Stop pushing people in binary categories" (From a speaker at the event on 'integration', spring 2015).

The created dichotomy of 'BME' positioned against what is referred to as the 'white majority' is denaturalized in the last sentence. Nonetheless, differentiation takes place on the side of the 'ethnic minorities' either through homogenizing them by creating one category, referred to as 'BME', or by enacting a field of differentiation consisting of seventeen categories, also used in the census by the ONS. The speaker gives authority to the ONS by saying "who tell us clear and exactly what a Black Caribbean is, what a Pakistani is, et cetera". Hence it shows how the entanglement of researchers and the ONS are constitutive of the field of differentiation.

Moreover, the articulation by the speaker of 'what a Black Caribbean *is*, what a Pakistani *is*' produces characters who are naturalized and essentialized by their journey towards the place of arrival, society. In one of my interviews in the UK, at another moment than the event, a researcher acknowledges how "people become bound, have these bounded identities that are seen as fixed and essentialized. The essence of human

beings is reduced to my ethnicity or my migration status". In other words, the 'objects of research' are stripped of all other contingent, historical elements that make them up, thus decontextualized and forgotten. This I argue leads to an enactment of people at a distance from society due to their 'ethnicity' or 'migration background'. In a way, the 'celebration' of seventeen categories answers to the anxiety of the reductive character of the 'BME-category', nevertheless it makes up seventeen characters of perpetual arrival again reduced to their 'ethnicity' and 'migration background'.

Despite signs of denaturalization of the 'BME-category' at the event by contesting it and replacing it by seventeen categories, it is still reproduced in the monitoring field and thus a sticky presence once it has been naturalized in a community of practice. For instance, in a major household survey in the UK it was used and questioned in an evaluation report: "However we did not explore with BME panel members whether survey findings should be tailored to specific BME groups (i.e. to Pakistanis or Black Caribbean's). Further investigation in this area is needed."[10] As a consequence, both processes of naturalization and attempts of denaturalization make up the particular category of 'BME'. At the event in London I was struck by the contestation, not only about one category or 'binary categories', but also how the contestation results in the enactment and acceptance in a community of practice of seventeen categories for narration in contrast to one category – the 'white majority' – that is supposedly forgotten. In the next section I attend to the making up of immigrant categories through socio-technical arrangements of immigrant integration monitoring, specifically to the possible sampling techniques for the enactments of 'characters of perpetual arrival'.

[10] https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/research/publications/working-paper/under-standing-society/2015-04.pdf, 13/11/2017.

Negotiating 'migrant sampling' methods

Sampling is a technique at the core of the social scientific monitoring of immigrant integration. Various studies show how people, populations or 'groups' are made up through the way in which censuses and surveys are conducted (Anderson 2006; Law 2009; Nobles 2000; Ruppert 2009). In "Seeing like a Survey" John Law explores the performativity of social scientific method and claims that methodological techniques do not only describe reality but method also enacts realities into being. The findings of the Eurobarometer, which is the focus of his study, "are alive and well, but in highly specific places" (Law 2009: 250). Studies of censuses and surveys show how people are shaped historically by hierarchized, ethnicized and racialized ways of population formation. For instance Evelyn Ruppert notes how the census in Canada made up an ethnically and racially differentiated population (Ruppert 2009). The history of racial categorization in the US Census is examined by Melissa Nobles and shows how it shaped a shifting racial discourse, racial thinking and contributed directly to the formation of racial ideas (Nobles 2000). Furthermore, Anderson claims the census is part of the nexus 'census-map-museum' which are institutions that "shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry" (Anderson 2006: 164). This resonates strongly with the way in which "institutions" such as the census or surveys serve the state in co-shaping dominant imaginaries of population, bounded territory and legitimated origins. Hence, social science methods are both of, and help to constitute, the social world (Law et al 2011).

One of my interviews is remarkable in terms of explaining ways of survey sampling and thus how social scientific method enacts people and their worlds. For a major household survey in Germany, one of my interviewees conducts a 'migrant sub-sample' for which it turned out there were many ways to go about sampling techniques. At the same time most of the sampling options she mentioned were blocked because of bumpy

relationships between the research institute(s) and the fragmented field of governmental departments containing the necessary data. Moreover, since we talked about sampling options for a 'migrant specific survey', the exemption from sampling in the case of the population 'without migration background' was not discussed, yet, my interviewee and I practiced 'forgetting' right there in the interview itself. This shows how my research does not just study the practices of other researchers 'from above' but is inevitably participating and situated partially in the work, in practices of naturalization and forgetting here specifically. On that note, consider the possible yet often impossible ways of sampling 'people with migration background', explained by my interviewee:

> "So they [the municipalities, SB] have this information, but you get them only by personal information so you have to pay 5 euros per person to get this information of place of birth. Then you could, also with computer technique, maybe generate from the place of birth the real country. And then of course you have something like a migration background you know, but it is so expensive, yeah, who would pay this?"

> "If you want to draw also a sample of people with migration background you have to do several things, like one thing; to buy the information of the place of birth or you let run over all Germans a third method. This method assigns to a certain name: the possible migration background like some names: the Turkish sounding names. There is a high possibility that they are children of Turkish immigrants and so on. But this is also expensive."

> I: "And then there was 'ein Zufall', that a person from […] was also interested in drawing a sample of immigrants. And uhm I don't know, he was working here and we have a good name, so he came

> to us with his ideas, or with his wish that he is also interested in drawing an immigrant sample like us. So, we decided to put our money together. He had access to a certain registry, from the federal employment agency, which has also its limits, but also nice tools. We decided in weighing benefits and losses so to use this one registry as, to use it as our sample frame."
>
> Q: "So that's how it goes, there is one person that…"
>
> I: "Yeah, because we are in cooperation with him, we are able to use this data. If you are not in cooperation with anyone who is working there you're not able to use this data" (From an interview with a social scientist, autumn 2013).

These passages show us that 'people with migration background' are not 'just there', not in the world and thus also not in the registries. They are made up (or not) through the hybrid of the social scientific research institutes and governmental registry departments and agencies. Negotiation work goes into the making up of 'people with migration background' in terms of costs, networks and differentiation. It depends on these issues whether and how 'people with migration background' are produced or not. For the organization of the 'migrant sub-sample' as a specific unit of the larger household questionnaire, my interviewee suggests three ways in which sampling could take place. In other words, the making up of the characters of the arrival narrative can be performed by various techniques of sampling. First, she considers 'place of birth' and 'real country', i.e. 'country of birth', as crucial references to a person 'with a migration background'. The same is the case in the second technique she addresses, selecting based on 'surnames'. Both are perceived as useful ways to shape 'migration background'. With the help of 'computer techniques', i.e. data generating software, it would be possible to 'run over all Germans', as she

says in explaining the second option, and select those names that 'sound' like 'Turkish' for instance, which are then made up in relation to 'migration'. By naturalizing the relationships between 'migration background' and 'the real country' or 'Turkish sounding names' people are enacted on a distance from 'being German' or 'Germany' and therefore as if still arriving in society. In the second method of using surnames, not only those who actually migrated but also descendants of those who migrated are rendered mobile, in a deferred state of arrival. That these surnames are part and parcel of German and for that matter European societies is erased by what El-Tayeb calls an active process of forgetting (El-Tayeb 2011: xxiv). At the same time these surnames are rendered visible as 'exceptions' and different in this case from German society through such a technique.

Nevertheless, in the specific passages above, it is through the particular entanglement of the social scientific institute with the municipalities that 'people with migration background' are not made up by these sampling techniques. Due to the high costs demanded for the data at governmental registry departments, narratives of perpetual arrival on the basis of characters assigned by their 'surnames', or 'place or country of birth', are not narrated. The enactment of characters for the narration of perpetual arrival throughout this migrant subsample was based on 'ein Zufall', a coincidence, my interviewee says. The cooperation of her team (of three people) at the social scientific institute with an expert of another state body, that is a federal employment agency, enables the use of the 'migrant-sample frame' on the basis of an employment registry that has information on 'entry status' in the German labour market. Depending on the time frame in which a person entered the labour market an opportunity is provided to say that someone has a migration background. This is then checked when conducting the interviews. Making up characters occurs on the basis of networking, that is knowing the right person at the right institute at the right time. This 'Zufall' is the basis of the way in which the 'migrant sub-sample' enacts characters with the opportunity of narrating

them in the light of perpetual arrival. The sampling techniques for the monitoring immigrant integration make up relationships that are not natural, however the socio-technical arrangements stir the naturalization process of narrating people 'with a migration background'. In the next section I will analyze how negotiating, naturalization and forgetting is at work in specifically an account of a meeting between representatives of a social scientific institution and governmental department negotiating differentiation of the national population in Germany.

Negotiating (de)differentiation of 'people with migration background'

In one of my interviews a social scientist told me about the meetings that he as a representative of a social scientific institute has with policy-makers of a ministry to conduct research and publish the outcomes in reports on immigrant integration. These are the kinds of meetings between social scientific and state officials in which the categories that will be investigated are decided upon, thus, where and when (part of the) performative moments of category making take place. My interviewee described the meeting with policy-makers to me as a negotiating process about degrees of differentiation within the population. I observed a slightly irritated and nervous social scientist talking about the way in which the negotiations about conducting research take place with the ministry. At the same time he expressed a strong sense of certainty about his way of doing social scientific research and what he was able to provide. Namely he stated that he wants "to know everything":

> "(…) the scientists just want to get to know everything that is going on. So the scientist always wants to know everything, preferably also the origins of the grandparents, just to be able to control for all that is possibly relevant. Science has its own dynamic" (From an interview with a social scientist, autumn 2013).

In commissioned work for the German government social scientists have to "adjust to the criteria" of the policy-makers as my interviewee said in the production of official publications. In such a report he is allowed to make differentiations of the population classified as "with a migration background" only up to a certain extent. Consider the following quotes by him:

> "In Germany there is a strong tendency to say that people who have German nationality are Germans and that there should be no differentiation be made any longer. This is how it was already quite a discussion to push through the differentiation of migration background. So at the moment it is certainly a step ahead [for the policy-makers, SB] to now say: let's also differentiate within the group of people with a migration background on the basis of their country of descent."

> "Sometimes there are policy makers who say 'well, it is ok to differentiate on the basis of country of birth within the first generation'. They allow it within the first generation. I am not sure if we pushed it through here [browses through report]. I suppose, we were able to make another differentiation, that was the most we got out of it, the differentiation between EU… Ah, this is where you can see this perfectly, what I try to tell you. A statistical example. These are the people without migration background, this is the second generation without the differentiation EU/non-EU and the first generation from an EU country and not from an EU country" (Ibid).

The first quote expresses the typical (de)naturalization process that is at the core of immigrant integration monitoring. The social scientist narrates a 'natural' situation in which people who belong are denaturalized, that is

constituted as characters who are still arriving, which is then imagined as the 'natural' situation of these people. I put 'natural' between quotation marks, which it always makes sense to do, but here specifically because this logic still excludes those residing in Germany without German nationality, so-called 'foreigners'. This leads to a second point of the use of 'natural' since I do not refer to the governing technique of 'naturalization' in taking up national citizenship.

This analysis is positioned in terms of acquiring so-called 'moral citizenship' (cf Schinkel & Van Houdt 2010) when asking 'how much have you arrived?' in society and/or the nation. On purpose I briefly step into a different register here, that of literature, to illustrate the process of naturalization which is different yet uncomfortably resonates with what is at stake here. This process of naturalization is narrated in Toni Morrison's novel *A Mercy* when a 'natural' situation of slavery as belonging to anyone denaturalizes by assigning slavery to a particular colour, black, subsequently followed by a naturalization of slavery and black "as being married" as expressed by Morrison, that is not natural. This (de)naturalization process is for instance expressed in the novel in advertisements through which the character Jacob Vaark found and bought 'Lina', a native American, from the Presbyterians and who from then on works and lives at his farm:

> "A likely woman who has had small pox and measles. … A likely Negro about 9 years. … Girl or woman that is handy in the kitchen sensible, speaks good English, complexion between yellow and black. … Five years time of a white woman that understands Country work, (…) Wanted a servant able to drive a carriage, white or black … (…) Healthy Deutsch woman for rent (…)" (Morrison 2008: 50).

As can be noticed not only blacks were listed but a variety of people appear in the advertisements, though colour seems to be a common way

to characterize people, including the colour 'white'. Yet slavery at this time was still a shared experience for people and only later did the relationship between blackness and slavery become established through institutional organization and legislation.

Going back to the passage from the interview above, my interviewee narrates a 'natural' situation by saying that "people who have German nationality are Germans". What follows is a denaturalizing process of assigning the trope of "migration background" to a section of the Germans with German nationality. At this point, what I call the 'primary classification' between people without migration background and people with migration background is enacted, specifically 'Germans' and 'Germans with migration background'. Next he expresses how the primary classification is naturalized because he shifts in negotiating, from the making of primary, to the making of secondary classifications. The secondary classifications refer to the differentiation "within the groups of people with a migration background" as stated in the first quote. This is when forgetting becomes part of the naturalization process, when the primary classification is taken-for-granted and further negotiating work of (de)differentiation only occurs on one side of the created dichotomy: "people with a migration background".

There was discomfort around the differentiation of a primary classification, yet, the shift towards one side of the differentiation overcomes the uncomfortable reluctance for the moment. This is when the object of research is isolated and stripped from its surroundings. The category of "people without migration background", often referred to as 'Germans', fades away in the background. 'Germans', those "without migration background", are not part of the negotiating work of differentiation any longer and thus 'forgotten' in the routinized practices of classification. 'Forgotten' is placed between quotation marks here because the category "Germans" does function in the background as a reference category and thus as that which represents 'society', i.e. the place of arrival. Here I argue

that the practices of negotiating, naturalization and forgetting enacted the first set of characters of the arrival narrative.

During the interview my interviewee shows how the outcomes of such negotiations are displayed and published in a graph. Through negotiating, in his terms of 'push through' and 'the most we got out of it', the hybrid of the social sciences and the state has produced specifically people that belong to the "first generation differentiated on the basis of country of birth" and the "first generation from an EU country and not from an EU country". At the same time the category of "second generation" is constituted without differentiation to a background in an EU- or non-EU country. The practice of dedifferentiation is as productive as differentiation itself in enacting precisely the categories, i.e. characters, as mentioned by the social scientist; that is by not making up "people with migration background by country of descent" or the category of "second generation by EU- or non-EU country". It shows how people are enacted in a particular way and not enacted in another. Still, by negatively mentioning 'characters that will not be made up' as options for arrival narratives, I argue a 'kind of people' that we supposedly do not see, who are forgotten for the moment, but 'who are out there', is enacted. That is, through the decision of not specifying for instance the category of 'second generation' to country of descent, it does reinforce the imagination of 'country of descent' as belonging to the category of 'second generation'. By speaking about those who should not become a character in the arrival narrative, a category of those 'out there arriving but invisible' is made up. This makes 'not-to-be characters' distant from what 'German' of 'Germany' supposedly is and hence in a mode of arriving towards the societal space nevertheless.

This process of making up categories relates to Evelyn Ruppert's notion of 'becoming population', that is, 'not yet population', for they are not identified as part of the whole, since a differentiation of the 'second generation' was not taken up in the socio-technical arrangements of monitoring (Ruppert 2009). In Ruppert's study of the Canadian census

the Aboriginal people were problematically left out of the census, not being able to join the 'making up of Canadian people'. In my analysis above, either being in or excluded from socio-technical arrangements and thus the making up of population through monitoring immigrant integration, means the 'first generation' and 'second generation immigrants' are contributing to the project of 'making up German people' ('German' could also be Dutch, British, Danish et cetera). Nevertheless 'becoming population' in this specific practice is not to become a part of the whole, since 'being population' consists of forming a part outside of the whole, that is 'outside of society' (cf Schinkel). Namely, the project of 'the German people' occupying the societal space is made up constantly by enacting and narrating those who are still travelling to that space.

The passage from my fieldwork interview above shows how the social sciences and the state are not separate actors negotiating population but are together constitutive of people in a mode of arriving. They form a hybrid in sharing an agreement on the primary classification, that is enacting a character with and without migration background, subsequently forgetting one side of the created dichotomy; 'the Germans'. They also set the boundaries of what is acceptable in terms of differentiating something like 'migration background'. Through articulations such as "certainly a step ahead", "they allow for", "that is the most we got out of it" the practice of negotiating reveals some of the disruptions. These articulations refer to what my interviewee explained as "the tendency in Germany not to differentiate the German population". He elaborated on this by saying:

> "That is one of the ongoing discussion points: to what degree should you differentiate people with a German nationality, so who are Germans, in statistics? In the Netherlands for instance this is not a discussion at all, like in the case of allochthones and that they already speak of a third generation. That will never ever be accepted here" (From an interview with a social scientist, autumn 2013).

At this point he addresses how the hybrid relationship of the social sciences and the state in different national contexts is about the degree of stretching the 'naming of others' and at what point difference and thus distance-making is allowed or becomes problematic. This boundary work I argue is in itself a process of racialization in terms of marking racial differences by other names (cf Stoler). That is, the epistemic consideration in differentiating 'ethnicity', 'migration background' and/or 'origin' is precisely where racialization inevitably occurs in work practices. To clarify this further, a few things are at stake here, namely, what my interviewee 'imagines he can know' and the 'epistemic habits that are developed to know it' (Stoler 2008: 350). This he touched upon in the interview when saying:

> "Well, of course for them [policy-makers, SB] it is about that they want to get to know; where are the problems? So I say that if you put all migrants together, well yes, then an average appears that doesn't differ that much from people without a migration background. But this includes high-educated migrants from other EU countries and low-educated migrant from outside the EU. If you add these together you might think that the problem of integration does not exist, if you differentiate than you might be able to see that one is doing even better than Germans and the other clearly worse" (Ibid).

My interviewee outlines the well-developed epistemic habits of his quantitative social scientific method; first of all defining the problem a priori – in agreement with the policy-makers – which is in immigrant integration research always directed towards subjects, making them into objects of research, consequently into 'immigrant others'. Second the lumping and splitting of objects of research and the measurement of averages, based on an a priori fixed assumption of particular 'immigrant groups out there' *and* a taken-for-granted distance from the 'people without

a migration background'. In distorting the previously described logic 'the problem of integration' does not become visible, that is, what the social scientist thinks he can know, he cannot know, subsequently his 'customer', i.e. the state, can also not know. This raises an epistemic discomfort for my interviewee because it is up to him, or rather his 'scientific method', to make visible the 'problem of integration'. In other words, the method is performative in narrating the 'problem of integration' or not, depending on the making up of a particular set of racialized characters. And although my interviewee seems quite convinced of his method representing reality 'as it is', it is specifically the process of racialization present in that specific method through which an epistemic anxiety emerges:

> "Well, this was something, we wanted, yes, what is it that we wanted? Of course, the position of the scientist is always ambiguous because on the one hand as a social scientist you want to know everything, so you just want to differentiate between different groups of origins, to ethnic groups. On the other hand I am also sceptic about ethnic statistics because it re-establishes and reproduces ethnic demarcations and it produces prejudices. Nevertheless if you do that, what happens? Then of course the results will say that Turks are far worse off than Vietnamese so to say (…)" (Ibid).

A double voice is articulating how the social sciences 'want to know everything' vis-à-vis a discomfort of 're-establishing and reproducing ethnic boundaries and producing prejudices'. However the expressed anxiety of producing ethnic boundaries and biases is not solely a feeling of my interviewee, it wanders through the negotiating practice of differentiating a national population. The last two sentences of the passage above are about being uncomfortably stuck in a so-called 'easy-to-think narrative' (cf Stoler), 'the Turks' being worse off than 'the Vietnamese', which is not quite that easy because it is an uncomfortable racialized narrative. The negotiating

process of (de)differentiating as analyzed above consists of a discomfort and anxiety instigating the processes of naturalization and forgetting in the making up of others, specifically where boundaries of making up people are drawn and thus how people – 'immigrant' characters' – turn out.

Negotiating 'young migrants'

Up until now, I have touched upon a few awkward situations of how characters of perpetual arrival are enacted: in the conceptualization of 2.2.2.2.2.2 in the previous chapter *Visualizing*; as people with 'Turkish sounding surnames'; and as 'BME' which "just says that you're not white". I hope by now I have persuaded you as a reader already to become suspicious, rethink and look differently at such categories, or, people assumed to be 'out there'. Although it is difficult to write about 'intensity of discomforts' I experienced a growing discomfort when the making up of younger generations for the monitoring of immigrant integration was addressed in my interviews and at public events. At the same time the narrative that is so easily imagined keeps on being reproduced, including 'third generation kind of migrants'. I therefore move to an account from my fieldwork about the negotiation of "young migrants" which addresses a specific boundary about classifying the youngest generations born and raised in Europe, in this case German society. Nonetheless they are put in the spotlight of immigrant integration.

My interviewee and I sat down in a small meeting room on the fifth floor of a School of Economics, which has become a more affordable place for the institute to accommodate itself than the city centre. Piles of reports and rows of ring binders decorated the room. She puts her book on measurements of immigrant integration that she wrote as a social scientist on the table next to the reports that also appeared during one of my interviews earlier that week. She browsed through the reports, sighs and says not to be updated about the content of it. During the interview the materials are left untouched by her since she focuses currently on different

ways of doing research on immigrant populations by using ethnographic and qualitative methods. She prefers her current methodological approach over the monitoring work to research 'integration'. I observed this in more of my interviews: a kind of 'fatigue' about monitoring as a method to research something like 'integration'. The ways in which this was expressed varied from highlighting their preference for ethnographic research, arguing for the combination of monitoring with qualitative research or blaming dominant research agendas. Still, since the social scientist in front of me authored a book on measurements, I hope to hear more about the current state of monitoring immigrant integration in Germany. Despite her 'move away' from monitoring, I do ask her if she can tell me about new developments since her book. She responds by referring to a recent discussion centered around the question of "who is an immigrant?" In her more recent work this turns out to be a main concern because she was asked to contribute to a publication on the "third generation", which left her quite uncomfortable. Consider the first part of the passage from the interview about this situation:

> "Well, there have been discussion on who is an immigrant? Ok, now we have the definition of migration background; these are all persons that came, that are born abroad of non-German nationality that came after 1950 to Germany. Or persons that have parents from the former category or even those persons with one mother or father who immigrated as a uhm non-German. But some time ago I was asked to contribute an article about the third generation. And there was for a while, there was a discussion what about the third generation. Should we consider a third generation in monitoring, integration monitoring?" (From an interview with a social scientist, fall 2013).

In the passage my interviewee addresses a concern relating to two discussions, one around a general question of 'who is an immigrant' and the other specifically within that discussion concerning the so-called 'third generation'. The discussions can be understood as controversies of categorization in the field, or rather as a narrative within a narrative. The characters made up for the larger narrative frame, that is those within the 'definition of migration background', are both naturalized and contested in her account. By saying "(…) or even those persons with one mother or father who immigrated as a uhm non-German (…)" two faces of Janus become visible in her account. In her expression of "even those" my interviewee seems to hesitate about the logic of the definition, that is the logic of narration: here specifically how persons with one migrated parent are made into characters of migration. The stammering of "uhm" before "non-German" causes an oscillation of the definition logic that she tries to explain, resulting in speaking with two voices.

For my interviewee, the way out of this difficulty of speaking is by turning to, for her, a more obviously contested category. This category or 'character-to-be or not to be' and its narrative naturalizes the larger narrative framework of characters 'with migration background'. That is, the persons categorized within the described 'definition of migration background' are naturalized and expected to be taken-for-granted as being 'immigrants', that is characters of the arrival narrative of immigrant integration. While discomfort marks the situation of explaining the definition, remedy is found by taking a leap to the so-called 'third generation' for integration monitoring, enabling a naturalization and a forgetting of the more general question of 'who is an immigrant'. The passage of the interview continues with a focus on the trouble with the so-called 'third generation':

> "In the research field but also in politics. And, well, but there is a reluctance of speaking of the third generation. In Germany we have such a cruel experience with segregating persons, so and

> actually nobody really wants it. Also it sometimes would be helpful, especially for social scientists to know who is segregated of which reasons" (Ibid).

In the follow-up of the passage from the interview two voices speak at once in the account of my interviewee; one voice utters a historically situated concern of "segregating persons" while the other states that it is 'helpful' for social scientists "to know who is segregated". The trouble for the social sciences is that the methods of getting to know 'who is segregated' reinforce segregation at the same time. My interviewee oscillates in her account between crafting characters for research 'to know' and contesting it because she senses how doing this resonates with ways of segregation. The anxiety wandering within these resonances brings history to the forefront and produces such a controversy of a category. What she points to as a 'cruel experience' of the past speaks to the current practices which are difficult to speak about. Moreover, it is 'hard work' to detach, dissociate the relations of the past experiences to possible ways of segregating persons by introducing a category of 'third generation'. At the same time, while it is particularly difficult to speak of the atrocities of World War II in the German context, my interviewee does mention it here. Whether articulated explicitly or implicitly, dissociation from past experiences in terms of aphasia means that it is not forgotten and neither absent from contemporary life. The past experience wanders through the knowledge production field and results in my interviewee's reluctance to speak of, and even more so, contribute to work about a so-called 'third generation'. Although a 'third generation' is already made up throughout the controversy of it, in her account she explicitly prefers to take distance from the category of third generation. Still the oscillation in crafting characters does not allow her to step outside of the logic of speaking with two voices:

> "But actually I am also not in favour of a third generation, because any persons at some point must have the chance not to be anymore a migrant. Often I have a lot to do with young migrants.. young migrants they were born in Germany, they grew up in Germany, they think German, they.. ghh.. they don't want to be migrants. I can understand it" (Ibid).

The stammering of "they.. ghh.. (…)" locates a disruption in speaking further. On the one hand she argues clearly against the use of 'migrant' in relation to young people but in the next sentence paradoxically stammers about "young migrants" understanding that "they don't want to be migrants". On first sight it might appear as a familiar phrasing, however it is very awkward at the same time due to naming 'them' who don't want to be 'migrants' the 'migrants'. The articulation of two voices continues, yet taking a slightly different form, throughout her account. Her articulation of 'young migrants' still creates characters of a narrative of perpetual arrival. The discomfort of building yet another character for monitoring and thus narrating an arrival narrative is already done within the larger narrative frame of postponed arrival. However on the basis of the place of arrival, i.e. their attachment to Germany, by 'being born, grown up and thinking German', they do not have to become a character. Even more so, the stammering of "they.. ghh.." concluding in "they don't want to be migrants" marks an anxiety of sameness and difference. This marks the point where anxiety is located, that is, where racialized difference is enacted: the oscillation between the two voices is about the idea that 'they' are similar to 'German' but not quite yet: there might still be some part of the road to travel to 'really arrive'. The discomforting articulation here works both ways: for the sameness as well as for the difference argument, since the particular ideas of sameness (being all 'German') and difference ('third generation migrants') are problematic. Here my interviewee is stuck

between what 'German' then exactly is, and the narration of "them" as "young migrants".

Surprisingly at this point of the interview she switches, marking a leap away from the discomfort with the category, from an account of concerns and doubts towards the making of a 'third generation' in a typical arrival narrative of monitoring immigrant integration. The narrative that is so easy to imagine and adopt; how a 'third generation' is narrated in terms of 'school successes':

> "I: For example, if you take school, you will find that persons from third generation are still less successful at schools…
>
> B: Is it measured, the third generation? In a sense I think you know who these groups are or not?
>
> I*:* Well, I only can report what's going on in (…). At (…), they got a category of non-German family language. So..
>
> B: Ah, that's a way to know about that group..
> I*:* Yeah, ok. But also you have the diplomat children together with the children from the Lebanese refugees children. It's all mixed together. You can learn anything about this uhm problem. Actually if we want to know anything about a certain group at a certain point, we usually have to see ourselves where we get the data. There is no centralized data gathering" (Ibid).

My questions show me as taken by surprise by her move towards a typical example of a postponed arrival narrative. My interviewee's specific concern about contributing to research on – and thus the making of – the category of the 'third generation' and the introduction of the category in general did not make me realize earlier that it was already part of monitoring practices.

Nonetheless her empathy to and articulations of 'young migrants' as a group gave some of it away perhaps. Also, my question shows how I was persuaded to go along with her narration by asking about 'the third generation' and 'that group'. Even more so, the socio-technical arrangement of monitoring immigrant integration that consists of a category of 'non-German family language' is organized in a way to bring into being a category of the 'third generation'. Namely it can nevertheless be put together through sampling from the data available about language. This results in a typical example of a naturalized narrative, 'easy to think' for a social scientist looking 'at integration' of 'young migrants'; in this case, making visible how far the 'third generation' is on a distance from being successful in school, that is from an educational place of arrival.

Nonetheless, another difficulty of speaking occurs in the 'easy to think narrative' of immigrant integration of the 'third generation's school successes' when stammering about "this uhm problem". Also, in this articulation she attends to the epistemic anxiety of what a researcher of 'integration' thinks (s)he can know and the ways to get to know it. That is, after accepting the character of a 'third generation' for the moment, her concern shifts to method, that is to the ways in which the data are put together to 'rightly' narrate 'the third generation'. She is confronted with the same problem as the social scientist in my previous analysis who was also convinced that by differentiating further 'there is more to see'. At the same time the stammering in terms of an "uhm problem" signals an epistemic anxiety of narrating racialized difference in the educational outcomes of so-called third generation migrants, which is persistently sticking to her account. Yet, I claim again that this is not 'just my interviewee's account' but a shared discomfort and anxiety wandering throughout the field, emerging in disruptive articulations of racialized difference making such as the one above but as much in the socio-technical arrangement of a 'category of non-German family language' for instance, which renders visible "young migrants".

Remembering the protagonist: the 'native' population

What happens automatically in monitoring immigrant integration, and also in taking the practices of monitoring as object of research when looking at the paragraphs ahead in this chapter, is a focus on 'immigrant' characters who are made up and put in the spotlight of the narrative. Yet, I argue that they are not the protagonist of the postponed arrival narrative produced throughout monitoring immigrant integration. Hence, I turn attention around to the reference category of monitoring immigrant integration, away from, for example, the enactments of 'BME' or 'the seventeen categories', 'people with migration background' or 'the third generation', that is, the characters of perpetual arrival. The 'White British', 'people without migration background' or 'autochthones' for that matter are supposedly forgotten but occupying the societal space as the protagonist of the arrival narrative I claim. That is, in the analysis of for instance the 'BME-category' at the event in London, the 'white majority population' is not discussed or contested and consequently part of the primary classification is forgotten. In discussing sampling techniques for a 'migrant specific survey', the 'native German' population is also left out of the conversation between the researcher and me. In meetings of social scientists and state officials the primary classification is taken-for-granted, hence also 'people without migration background' are forgotten. Nonetheless, in these last paragraphs I scrutinize further how this 'forgotten character' is still *remembered*.

In the previous passages from my fieldwork interviews the reference category is reproduced in absence and it is at all times located at the societal space. In the narrative constituted, the characters occupying 'society' are functioning as the benchmark for all of those travelling towards 'society'. Forgetting is thus a practice enabling a narrating logic, in which the protagonist is supposedly in the background of the narrative, yet, certainly not absent or forgotten. In many of my interviews, the reference category as protagonist is remembered however this remembering occurs in very particular ways. First, the inhabitants of the societal space are remembered

only in relation to those enacted as 'other'. One of the social scientists I interviewed said for instance: "(…) so we can say what the minorities are thinking and saying and how they participate we can say in much detail, but we can say a lot less about the majority and how they relate to the minorities." On the one hand the 'majority' part of monitoring immigrant integration is denaturalized by remembering that there is 'not so much to say about them'. On the other hand, the dichotomy of 'majority' and 'minority' is reproduced in this quote of one of my interviewees and hence again naturalized. Also, the focus on 'how the majority population relates to minorities' reinforces naturalization by remembering the protagonist of the narrative only in relation to the narration of those enacted as 'other'. Second, those at the place of arrival, i.e. 'society', are remembered as "normal people" when in another fieldwork interview my interviewee suddenly remembers "the majority" in her explanation about what kind of questions are included in the survey-questionnaire for those sampled as "immigrants" in one way or another. Consider the passage in which this occurs:

> "(…) in the first place as we are not able to include everything what's interesting, the focus was in 2013 the way [meaning ways of migration or movement, SB], and the way in the sense that have they come several times to Germany and maybe moved back and come again, until they really stayed, or decided to stay in Germany. Or have they arrived over a third country to Germany? Like this, yeah? And the entry status, because on their entry status depends their rights, you know, nationality, citizenship, experience with discrimination that are special topics. *Of course also normal people*, the majority maybe get in certain ways discriminated but especially for immigrants it might be more important" (From an interview with a social scientist, fall 2013 [my emphasis, SB]).

Suddenly in the last sentence the majority is remembered by my interviewee and hence becomes visible. She naturalizes the situation by speaking of "normal people". The indicator of discrimination may also speak to "normal people, the majority" but not as much as to the "immigrants" she states. Yet, in speaking about "normal people" in contrast to "immigrants" she accentuates a particular difference, that is a difference in which "immigrants" are enacted as abnormal, or as 'the problem'. In other words, discrimination as a problem belongs to 'others'. To clarify this point, Philomena Essed states in her writings specifically on the discourse of discrimination how it does not tell who is discriminated against and thus 'who has a problem', but even more so how it makes up those who are discriminated against as the problem (Essed 1996). The passage from my fieldwork interview shows that what should be avoided at all times is the enactment of "normal people" as sharing experiences of discrimination for instance with those considered 'abnormal', thus with those 'who are considered as the problem' (Dubois 2008 [1903]). Subsequently, both the characters of perpetual arrival and discrimination are actively worked out from the societal space. By remembering but accentuating "the majority" as "normal people" the logic that 'immigrants' are naturalized in relation to discrimination is reinforced, therefore not only having a problem with discrimination but made up as the problem of discrimination. Remembering appears as slightly uncomfortable, yet, it is easily taken care of. As long as the naturalized relationship of 'immigrants' and 'discrimination' is reproduced in this way the 'immigrant other' is narrated as journeying towards the societal space perpetually. The ways of remembering the protagonist of the arrival narrative, solely in relation to 'the other' or accentuated as radically different and thus distant from them, 'the problem', keeps social scientists and thus also state actors in the loop of enacting population by narrating them as either journeying towards or inhabiting society.

Conclusion: Narrating 'society' through racial formations

To conclude, consider the following narrative of perpetual arrival about participating in Christmas celebrations in the UK. This passage is published on the website of the UK-based *Integration Hub* and resulted from its own calculations. The interactive online hub "explores ethnic integration" and presents data and research done on the topic.

> "The celebration of Christmas for many has lost its Christian roots in line with Britain's advancing secularisation. Nevertheless, it retains its central place in the calendar of British festivals. Thus, the extent to which ethnic minorities, both foreign and UK born, are participating is an important indicator of integration (note that predominantly Christian ethnic minority groups will be much more inclined to participate). EMBES contains questions on how people celebrated Christmas if at all. Nearly two-thirds of Indians send Christmas cards compared to 24 per cent of Bangladeshis and 46 per cent of Pakistanis. Just 2 per cent of Bangladeshis put up Christmas trees. There are very few differences between British born and foreign born non-white ethnic minorities when it comes to Christmas."[11]

To put it bluntly, if one doesn't put up a Christmas tree in the UK at the end of December you are seen and narrated as still on your way towards (participating in) British society. The celebration of Christmas, by putting up Christmas trees and sending Christmas cards, is perceived as "an important indicator of integration", thus, as a marker that tells if one has arrived in Britain's societal space or not. In such a small narrative of perpetual arrival the way in which here specifically 'Indians', 'Pakistanis' and 'Bangladeshis' are enacted and narrated as forever arriving, on the basis that some of them do but larger parts do not celebrate Christmas according

[11] http://www.integrationhub.net/module/attitudes-and-identity/ (accessed 23/02/2018)

to this survey, shows how those not celebrating Christmas are made into 'problems of integration'.

All of this is done in relation to a protagonist, that is, the present absence of a 'white majority population' occupying the societal space where celebrating Christmas is reproduced as the norm. The way in which people are enacted and narrated in the eternal state of arrival, always placed 'outside of society' or 'outside Europe' in contrast to norms (El-Tayeb 2011; Schinkel 2017) is where processes of racialization in West European nation-states take place today. I argue that the practices of making up 'immigrant' characters – negotiating, naturalization, forgetting *and* remembering – are performative acts of racial formations.

In this chapter I analyzed the making of difference by names such as 'migration background', 'Turkish sounding surnames', 'third generation' and 'BME'. The work, as accounted for by the social scientists in my interviews, involves ways of 'marking difference by other names', as Ann Stoler describes the racial formations. She states that "[racial formations] demand that we ask who and what are made into "problems", how certain narratives are made "easy to think," and what "common sense" such formations have fostered and continue to serve" (Stoler 2016: 135). The making of racialized differentiations of 'immigrant others' in the national population is, as the accounts of my fieldwork show, not done without any presence of discomfort and anxiety. In effect, these forms of affect are part and parcel of the practices of making differentiations. In other words, the practices are only possible to be performed with feelings of discomfort, relating mostly to the methodological considerations, that together with feelings of anxiety locate but even more so perform racialization in day-to-day practice.

The practice of enacting characters of perpetual arrival is a sticky attempt to solve a 'problem', the so-called 'problem of integration', which paradoxically makes up the characters as problems. By making difference

through practices of negotiating, naturalization and forgetting, set against an almost invisible reference category in the background that is only sometimes remembered, an easy-to-think narrative of 'society' is produced and reproduced: the 'immigrant others' continually postponed arrival in 'society'. The societal space is as much an enactment in the practice of immigrant integration monitoring as the characters in or outside this space. However, 'society', the narrative's place of arrival, is not scrutinized throughout monitoring but purified from 'others' and 'problems'. Therefore, in conclusion to this chapter I state that it is in the enactment of 'immigrant others', i.e. the characters of perpetual arrival, that some are narrated as rightful occupants of European societies and others are not.

5

QUESTIONING

Creating a 'here-and-there' through survey-questionnaires

> "(…) you look very exotic. Where are you from, if you don't mind me asking?' 'Will7d Millat simultaneously. 'Yes, yes, of course but where *originally?'* '*Oh,'* said Millat putting on what he called a *bud-bud-ding-ding* accent. 'You are meaning where from am I *originally.'* Joyce looked confused. 'Yes, *originally.'* 'Whitechapel,' said Millat, pulling out a fag. 'Via the Royal London Hospital and the 207 bus.' All the Chalfens milling through the kitchen, Marcus, Josh, Benjamin, Jack, exploded into laughter. Joyce obediently followed suit. 'Chill out, man,' said Millat, suspicious. 'It wasn't that fucking funny'" (Smith 2001: 319).

In Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth*, characters Irie and Millat are asked where they are from *originally* at 'the Chalfens', an exemplary white British middle-class family. The teenagers spend their late afternoons at the family's home after an incident in school. The head master decided this to be "really educational" for both of them. In his answer to the question of Joyce Chalfen, the mother, Millat stresses that he is from 'here', that is, born in the UK and living in the UK. Or, even more so, in the specific locales of Whitechapel and then Willesden. The characters Millat and Irie represent in *White Teeth* the relatively young part of the population who are as Fatima El-Tayeb writes "defined as inherently "non-European" because of racialized cultural difference linked to a non-European origin (an origin

that, as in the case of Roma and Sinti, might lie centuries in the past)" (El-Tayeb 2011: xv). One of the main problematics of these youngsters, El-Tayeb concludes in her book *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*, is how their everyday experience of identity formation evolves around the question of 'where are you from?'. This means an endless repetition of the question of origin and of "being constantly defined as foreign to everything one is most familiar with" (Ibid: 167). This creates a tension between on the one hand the obvious answer for the person in question: 'I am from here!', such as with Smith's character Millat, and on the other hand the reason for asking, which is based on an assumed idea of Joyce that 'he is from somewhere else'.

The tension described through the novel and El-Tayeb's work resonates strongly with the way in which Toni Morrison writes about the house/home metaphor in her essay "Home". She questions in her essay: "How to be both free and situated: how to convert a racist house into a race-specific yet nonracist home" (Morrison, in Lubiano 1998: 5). Morrison states how 'the other' is located in a "racialized house" but never really allowed to build a "home". Although Morrison writes specifically about the US context, it is worth applying her metaphor to European societies and how some inhabitants cannot unproblematically make these societies their 'home'. Moreover, the house/home metaphor relates directly to knowledge making practices in Western Europe: for example a report published by the social science institute SCP is titled: "At home in the Netherlands? Trends of integration of non-western immigrants", which makes conclusions such as: "All in all, there is a considerable group of young non-Western migrants for whom the future does not look bright" (SCP 2010: 12).

In this chapter the question 'Where are you from?' and consequently the construction of social imaginaries of 'home(s)' is central. My focus is not like that of El-Tayeb, on the effects of identity formation on the basis of this question, but on the way in which a measurement instrument of immigrant integration monitoring, the survey-questionnaire, is accountable

for producing such an imaginary of origin and otherness. In other words, I aim to trace the ways in which the persistent dominant imaginary of West European societies as white persists through survey work's reproduction of identities relating to 'elsewhere'.

Therefore, I once more zoom in on the narratological tool of the plot, specifically the plot of the arrival narrative, and how it creates place and time. To repeat briefly, *the events* that make up the plot are named 'indicators' in the monitoring of immigrant integration, generally referred to as socio-economic and socio-cultural indicators. These indicators concern ways of learning, praying, eating, socializing, being coloured, and feeling at home or not, amongst many other things. Specifically, the plot is always about the increased or decreased distance from the place of arrival. The journeying to and from the place of arrival involves 'places' and 'time', which are crucial in shaping the plot.

The literary plot seems to be more flexible than the statistical one when literary theorist and structuralist Jonathan Culler writes: "But plot itself is already a shaping of events. A plot can make a wedding the happy ending of the story or the beginning of a story – or can make it a turn in the middle" (Culler 2011: 86). In reference to the quote from *White Teeth* above for instance, resistance is expressed to the question 'where are you from?'. The arrival narrative is a travel story in which characters are 'on route' from one place to another, meaning that the characters can be pushed back from the place of arrival, when decreasing in certain 'events', to a location they already passed before. Or speeding ahead, when increasing in certain 'events', but never really getting there. Concretely this occurs in the narrative of religion for instance when the importance of religion in the lives of those characterized as 'second generation immigrants' is growing, or the other way around, declining. The first pushes them back from the place of arrival, the latter brings them closer. When religion is expressed as important, it is thus tied to a place 'elsewhere', not to the 'host society'. Even in the case of a 'happy ending', that is when one of the characters

'arrives' in one of the events, still another event will be monitored in which the character has still some part of the road to travel. For instance, when a character has arrived in terms of having a good job but marries someone of his or her own 'ethnic background', (s)he still has not arrived. In the logic of the arrival narrative 'immigrants', social sciences and the state are entangled in an optimistic desire to transform everyone into an 'arrival'. However, the desire for sameness is paradoxically built on the making of difference. Just unimaginable – (but is it?) – is a narration of a plot that starts at the place of arrival: in what is imagined as society.

This is unimaginable because of the reproduction in monitoring immigrant integration of what Zafer Şenocak has called the *'then-and-there'* and the *'here-and-now'* (Şenocak 2000). Fatima El-Tayeb refers to Şenocak's observation of the strong focus in migration studies on the return to the homeland. All activity in the 'here-and-now' is perceived as taking place within a nostalgia for the 'then-and-there', even (grand-)children are caught up in this identification with a home that they often barely know (El-Tayeb, 2011: 51). The logics of questioning in the questionnaire create these opposites, I claim, by rendering visible particularly a 'there', which coincides with a particular 'other' temporality. The 'here-and-now' are made up as standards of the questionnaire. Consequently the 'measures of identification', ranging from food preferences to social contacts to watching television, seem not to contribute to the current living conditions of those made up as 'other' in the place called society that they are born and reside in. The respondents of the survey only relate in a negative way by *not (yet)* having modern views, *not (yet)* being secular, *not (yet)* having interethnic contacts or marriages, et cetera. These 'events' relate to a different *place*, referred to as the country of birth or descent, and *time,* namely as previously mentioned the "time of the Other". In other words, spatially the questions imagine a 'there' distinguished from 'here' and temporally it imagines a 'then' distinguished from what happens 'now'.

In the analysis that follows I will disentangle the events of the plot that are spatially folded in the questions by analysing the questionnaire as a performative device. The analysis concerns the folds that keep together supposedly neutral questions on 'events' such as 'origin', 'language', 'contacts', 'food' and 'skin colour'. The particular enactment of imaginaries of 'here' and 'there' feeds into a political anxiety with younger generations of different descent. But first, to begin unpacking the questionnaire as a neutral object, I turn to an example of the way in which a survey-questionnaire was questioned by the expert field in a recent controversy. It shows the problematics of '(mis)understanding questions' as opposed to a more productive way of scrutinizing what the questions fold and thus enact.

On questioning a questionnaire

The publication of a research report with the title "Nederlandse Moslim-jongere-n en de Arabische herfst" (translated as "Dutch Muslim youth and the Arabic spring") led to a controversy when the results said that a 'big majority of specifically 'Turkish-Dutch youngsters', over 80 percent, has sympathies towards Islamic State (IS).' The research was conducted and published by the Institute for Multicultural Issues Forum and the research agency Motivaction. The controversy focused on what was perceived as the astonishing result of 80 percent of Dutch Muslim youth being sympathetic to IS. However surprisingly the response was not only, as usual, projected on the youngsters taking part in the survey but also focused on the way in which the research was done. In particular the representativeness of the sample and the questions in the questionnaire survey were contested.

The Dutch Minister of Social Affairs and Employment (Asscher at the time) said in a response to the results: "Het [onderzoek] leverde niet de resultaten op die ik voor ogen had", translated as: "The research results were not as I desired." This was broadcast in a documentary by Argos in 2014 with the title 'De gewenste resultaten' (translated as 'The

desired results')[12] and expressed the focus on the research as well as what, or more likely 'who', was investigated. The documentary focused on the questions used in the questionnaire. Most of the voices involved in the controversy were just not accepting the 'fact' – the '80 percent' – resulting from the research: 'something might have gone wrong' was a shared view by government officials, experts from various academic disciplines and media reporting on the report (learning this from the documentary). The documentary shows interviews with academics from disciplines such as Islamic studies and criminology on the way in which this particular survey asked questions. Mostly they criticized the leading nature of the questions and the possible misinterpretation of them by respondents. For instance, the following question in the form of a statement is discussed:

> 'Ik vind het goed dat er steun is van Nederlandse moslims voor groepen zoals IS (voorheen ISIS/ISIL)' translated as: 'I am of the opinion that it is all right if Dutch Muslims support groups such as IS (previously ISIS/ISIL)'

In response to this statement in the questionnaire one of the academic experts interviewed in the documentary claims that 'it is unclear if the respondent has understood sympathizing with IS or with the ground forces against the regime of Assad'. He thus refers to a contextually situated element – IS and the battle against the regime of Assad – that can be understood in multiple ways. Questioning how the questions can be understood in different ways by respondents is a plausible criticism, one can argue. Conducting questionnaires is anyway 'fallible', as the director of Motivaction states in the documentary. He says: "Generally we did a

[12] The title of the documentary refers amongst other things to the response of the Minister who 'expected other results', which shows again the hybrid of state and social science work, since he supposedly already knew what to expect from the research. Also, besides the point here but a noteworthy detail, it was the Minister who pushed the publication of the report in November 2014, whereas from the documentary it is clear that the director of Motivaction was against the report's publication.

good job in conducting the questionnaire, though at some point we could have done better." So conducting questionnaires can be done in 'better' or 'worse' ways. What is problematic, however, is that when these 'suggestive' and/or 'multi-interpretable' questions are reformulated and thus expected to be understood by the respondents, the research and the questionnaire survey are perceived again as scientifically 'valid' and 'neutral'. Yet, I am interested in undoing the questionnaire as a supposedly neutral object.

Questionnaires of social scientific research are not often questioned in this way in a documentary on television or on any other platform. Most of the time results of monitoring immigrant integration, such as the ones coming out of the practices that are examined in this dissertation, are reported without questions in terms of method. Surveys are a taken-for-granted and accepted way of knowledge production of mostly numerical facts. Within the research field this is less the case; social scientists are challenged by issues of method. Nevertheless, at the point of publication they are ready to account for – speaking with the 'ready-made-science' voice of Janus – the way in which the survey was put together and how it is therefore showing facts, that is the degree to which 'immigrants' have 'integrated into society' or not. The aforementioned controversy about the survey questions in a questionnaire was remarkable, however the way in which these questions are critically examined fails to address more general problems with the object of the questionnaire in immigrant integration monitoring.

So how is questioning done? I argue that every question, *despite its formulation*, is informed by societal standards and hence can be contested in the logic that it deploys. Also, the aim of the questions is to feed into the politics of immigrant integration. By formulating questions to those classified as Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youngsters in relation to IS adds up to the on-going narration of them as 'more or less integrated in society'. At the same time, this logic conveniently disconnects something like IS from what in this case is imagined as Dutch society. In other words,

the monitoring makes up troubling issues as problems of particular groups who are – as showed in my chapter *Narrating* – already constantly made up as outside of the societal space. In this way, all kinds of things such as socializing, language skills, eating and praying can be set aside with those who have/are made up as the problem already. So, what is *not* problematized or contested in the controversy of the research addressed above are the folds that keep together spatial and temporal constructions in questions that consequently produce a narrative of perpetual arrival. I am interested in how the questions are 'keeping the folds' (cf M'charek) of the plot of the arrival narrative.

Unfolding the survey-questionnaire as performative device

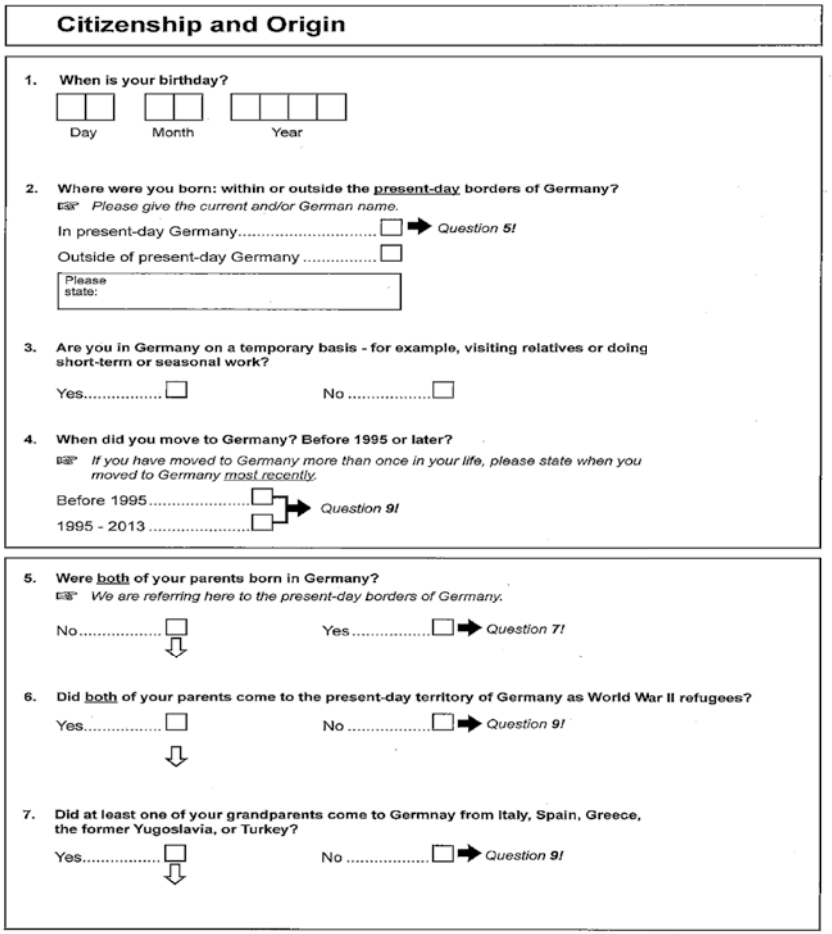
> "The questions that researchers ask and the publicity that their research get, that is very little, are *totally insignificant* compared with all the other things that are happening to ethnic minorities. So I suspect that my questionnaires and my not very well publicized books are much less influential in creating ethnic boundaries than are some of the things the government does, like sending around in ethnic minority areas mobile posters with 'if you are an illegal immigrant, go home'. That seems to be much more inflammatory and much more likely to entrench ethnic divisions than a *really rather inconsequential voluntary question*. So again, I am puzzled about the motivations that people who raise these issues, they never do the research to actually show that asking these questions does do anything, it's just an assertion, which could be researched" (From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2015 [emphases by me, SB]).

In various studies of Science and Technology the 'devices' of scientific method are analyzed as not merely neutral tools of transmitting 'stuff', 'information' or 'knowledge' but as actively participating in producing highly mediated

representations of the object of scrutiny (cf Joyce, Latour and Woolgar, Law, Strathern). In immigrant integration monitoring I claim that the questionnaire is one of the devices that produces mediated representations of 'immigrants', subsequently legitimizing the problematization by the immigrant integration researchers of the 'integration of immigrants in national society'. Although in terms of "influence" the migrant survey questions are quite something different from the "mobile posters" put up by the government according to the above interviewee, I contest the argument that questionnaire questions are "totally insignificant" and "rather inconsequential".

As the chapters of this dissertation show, the state and social scientific research are not separate actors in producing 'ethnic groups', which they aim to describe and manage. Instead their hybrid relationship brings forth a biopolitical way of thinking and doing (Foucault 2008). My interviewee expressed discomfort about the way in which his work might influence the making of "ethnic boundaries", thereby acknowledging his contribution to particular ways of doing this. He tries to get around his discomfort by taking distance from the way in which, according to him, the government treats 'ethnic minorities' and as such "entrenches ethnic divisions". While in this part of the interview my interviewee attempted to draw very clear boundaries between his kind of work, social scientific research, and state work, he precisely participates in state vocabulary and thought in respect to 'population'. Moreover, in one of my other interviews he was called "one of the authoritative voices" in advising state officials at government briefings on 'integration'. He also appeared in this way at other sites of my research. Therefore, the passage is exemplary and just a tip of the iceberg of the intricate entanglement of one and the same demographic infrastructural set-up, sharing in the production of what I claim to be a racialized imaginary of society in which those assigned to an ethnic group are imagined as other, from an assumed elsewhere and hence to be rendered visible for the state. In the analysis that follows I aim to show how asking

survey questions actually does do something, specifically, how they are part of a technique of racialization. First of all, consider figure 1, which is the first page of a questionnaire conducted specifically for respondents selected through a migrant sample[13]:



Citizenship and Origin

1. **When is your birthday?**
   Day Month Year

2. **Where were you born: within or outside the present-day borders of Germany?**
   ☞ *Please give the current and/or German name.*
   In present-day Germany ☐ ➡ *Question 5!*
   Outside of present-day Germany ☐
   Please state:

3. **Are you in Germany on a temporary basis - for example, visiting relatives or doing short-term or seasonal work?**
   Yes ☐ No ☐

4. **When did you move to Germany? Before 1995 or later?**
   ☞ *If you have moved to Germany more than once in your life, please state when you moved to Germany most recently.*
   Before 1995 ☐ ➡ *Question 9!*
   1995 - 2013 ☐

5. **Were both of your parents born in Germany?**
   ☞ *We are referring here to the present-day borders of Germany.*
   No ☐ ⇩ Yes ☐ ➡ *Question 7!*

6. **Did both of your parents come to the present-day territory of Germany as World War II refugees?**
   Yes ☐ ⇩ No ☐ ➡ *Question 9!*

7. **Did at least one of your grandparents come to Germnay from Italy, Spain, Greece, the former Yugoslavia, or Turkey?**
   Yes ☐ ⇩ No ☐ ➡ *Question 9!*

Figure 1. (From: "New Design Person Biography Questionnaire", 2013).

[13] Figure 1 and 2 are pages from English versions of the questionnaires, which are translated from German to English by the institute conducting the survey. Both are officially used in survey work.

This page is part of a document that results in a definite shape, unchangeable when it travels to the next phase of the research process, hence usable by those with membership of the community of practice (cf Bowker and Star). Here, the 'Citizenship and Origin' cluster is the start of a long list of questions, numerically ordered and divided over a range of thematic clusters. Depending on the answers given the respondents follow a certain routing, therefore skipping certain questions while expected to answer others. Designing such a questionnaire involves much work; formulating short and clear questions, offering the opportunity of limited but clear answers, achieving an ordering logic for the questions and deciding on a routing on the basis of each answer: some respondents need to specify or add information while others can skip the next question(s). This work, considered as normal practice of gathering data on the 'immigrant population', results in a page as displayed in figure 1: a few one-sentence long questions are placed within the contours of a square, the questions are bold and enumerated and below each question different ways of possible answers are formulated and boxes for answers are provided. The arrows function to make the routing work and some questions have a symbol of a hand pointing a finger to a clarification of the question above.

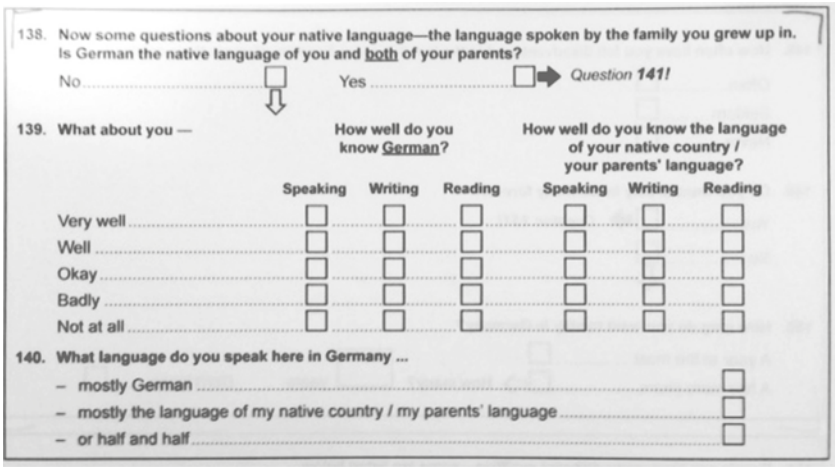
Looking more closely upon the content of the questions, the first page of the questionnaire aims at splitting and lumping the respondents in various groups, that is again where a particular enactment of the categories takes place. Moreover, the categories are made up through particular questions of for instance 'inside or outside of present-day Germany', 'before or after 1995' and whether 'your parents are born in Germany or not'. The questions are explicitly making up different places and time frames. In this way questions 'do' something, that is, the questions fold spatial and temporal elements of the events that make up the plot of the arrival narrative. Hence I perceive of the questionnaire as an "inscription device", which Latour and Woolgar described as:

> "By contrast, a number of other items of apparatus, which we shall call "inscription" devices transform pieces of matter into written documents. More exactly, an inscription device is any item of apparatus or particular configuration of such items which can transform a material substance into a figure or diagram which is directly usable by one of the members of the office space" (Latour and Woolgar 1979: 51).

Latour and Woolgar distinguish between a section A and B in scientific work, in which the 'inscription device' transforms 'material substance' from section B to the 'desk work' of section A. I argue that the questionnaire either functions in multiple ways through sections 'A and B' or brings 'A and B' altogether. In other words, the questionnaire as object functions as 'material substance' and 'written document' by circulating in institutional and social life, for instance conducted by the social scientist and filled out by the respondent. At the same time, it is an inscription device by being transformative in its routing and filtering of questions and answers. The questionnaire is made to function by itself, and therefore to be used by different members of the community of practice, on the basis of a certain routing through the use of filters, as one of my respondents described the organization of the document. In one of my interviews concerned with the question of how a new 'migrant survey' comes about, my interviewee said at a certain moment: "I only want to check if it is uhm after filter…" and started to browse the thick pile of paper on her desk. Finally, she says: "Mmm, yeah it is only for immigrants."

A filter is therefore used as a tool that makes visible certain things, i.e. 'the immigrant', and allows for other things to be rendered invisible, i.e. those without 'migration' status in one way or another. Filtering is thus also a way of enacting categories, i.e. a moment in the research process where the crafting of characters for the arrival narrative takes place. Consider for instance figure 2 in which the filter as a performative tool of the

questionnaire carves out the characters for the arrival narrative, followed by a description of such a filter in one of my interviews:



138. Now some questions about your native language—the language spoken by the family you grew up in. Is German the native language of you and both of your parents?

No ☐ ⇩ Yes ☐ ➡ *Question 141!*

139. What about you —

	How well do you know German?			How well do you know the language of your native country / your parents' language?		
	Speaking	Writing	Reading	Speaking	Writing	Reading
Very well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Okay	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Badly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Not at all	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

140. What language do you speak here in Germany ...

– mostly German ☐
– mostly the language of my native country / my parents' language ☐
– or half and half ☐

Figure 2. (From: "Standard Person Questionnaire" 2013).

> "So in the normal person questionnaire we have here, we have the first filter about language, if you and your parents speak German as native language or not, and then there are questions about how good are you in German, in the language of the country of origin and then there is a filter even smaller for people that are first or second generation, (…)" (From an interview with a social scientist, fall 2013).

The questions displayed in the image and described by the researcher are supposedly formulated as questions about language and assigned to the particular groups named. I argue however that the 'filter' makes up first of all people with German as their native language and people without German as native language. The logic produced here is that if you and both your parents speak German as a native language you can skip the next few questions. That is, you do not need to be rendered visible. 'After

the filter' for that matter, the distinction between 'German' [as language] and 'the language of your native country/your parents' language' is made, that is, the language of 'here'/the 'host society' and the language of 'there'/ the 'country of origin'. At this point, besides making up different people by creating different routes of questions, place is created by the questions about language by the reference to 'native country'. Filtering constructs both people and place, and particularly the 'immigrant-character' and its place of origin are rendered visible. Both are crucial elements to build the plot of arrival, narrating specifically the 'event' of speaking language(s). As long as one speaks a different language from the language of the place of arrival, here German, the person is narrated as still journeying towards the place of arrival.

This particular example of a survey-questionnaire shows how different routings and thus extra questions are constructed specifically for people 'with a migration background' while the questionnaire is assigned to 'everyone', also those classified as without migration background. Often the respondent's country of birth and the parents' country of birth are ways to direct respondents towards the particular 'migrant' questions. However, a question on language like the above example is another way to make a migrant-specific routing in the questionnaire, again then specified to 'country' and 'parents'. There are also many surveys conducted by the research field that are migrant-specific from the start, using a 'migrant-specific' sample, in which often an 'autochthonous group' functions as a control group. Next, I will analyze the way in which a questionnaire is a performative device by focusing on questionnaires and the way in which these were conducted throughout my fieldwork.

Unfolding the plot of 'there' versus 'here'

The survey questions of a questionnaire are responsible for constructing particular places for the narration of the plot of the arrival narrative of immigrant integration monitoring. To see how the survey questionnaire

creates a 'here-and-there', I attempt to unfold questions about 'ethnic identity' by looking at some pages of the 'ethnic identity sub-sample module' in wave 5 of the "Understanding Society" survey in the UK. 'Ethnic identity' is made measurable on the basis of indicators – the 'events' of the plot – and subsequently narrated in the light of being more or less 'integrated into society'. The indicators of 'ethnic identification' are shaped by a series of questions included in the module of the household survey about the respondent's and the family's countries of birth, language, religion, closeness to contacts, skin colour and food. Thus, the topics of the questions are turned into a set of indicators that allow for measurement of 'ethnic identification', since this is not directly countable said one of my interviewees. My interviewee, an economist and sociologist in Denmark, explained how the survey questions are crucial in his work of making something like 'ethnic identification' measurable and thus countable:

> "From a quantitative perspective, I have talked to many sociologists and anthropologists from here and 'how do you actually put numbers on that?' (…) Well, this is a thing that you do as an economist or quantitative sociologist, to try to put numbers on everything you can. To try to measure" (From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2014).

He follows up on the way in which the measurement of 'identity' involves 'direct' and 'indirect' questions in the questionnaire:

> "So for instance you have a direct way of measuring identity, which is asking a person 'do you feel attached to your home country'? And to what extent? And the same about the new country. So this is one way I do, also just replicating what is done before. (…)" (Ibid).

The direct questions are related to place by my respondent, to the "home country" and the "new country". He accounts for his use of these particular questions by referring to the routinized presence of these questions in questionnaire surveys from previous studies . He then explains how through place in questioning and measuring 'identity', 'integration' becomes part of the narration:

> "So you see that some people they feel attached to both the country of origin and Denmark. That's what we could call, some other sociologists before, Barry for instance, called integration, they are integrated because they are both attached to their home country but also to their new country or culture" (Ibid).

Here 'integration' functions as a connector to "their home country" and/or "their new country". He also names "culture" as being intricately tied to one and/or the other country. In accounting for his approach to 'integration' he refers to sociological literature and how the author conceptualizes 'integration' in a satisfactory way according to him:

> "when you use this concept, you can be actually everywhere in the space, so you can be very integrated attached to both places, you can be on the other line; attached to the new country and not the home country or vice versa" (Ibid).

The concept of 'integration' is thus related in various ways to the presence of place in the survey questions. No matter where the respondent who fills out the questionnaire ends up "in the space" or "on the line", she or he is narrated in terms of moving in between 'there' and 'here'. Besides the direct questions, 'ethnic identity' can be measured through what my interviewee calls "imposed" questions, "because it is more indirect". He explains the indirect questions in the following way:

> "(…) it is also important to see whether, if we ask people in a more indirect way what they answer. And for instance, one way to do that is to look at the language they speak at home, so whether they speak Danish or not at all. Yeah because of the use of the language. And there is a way to look at that is also to look at the media, where are the media, where from are the media that you mostly look at for instance. Do you only look at the channels from your home country or do you also look at Danish channels" (Ibid).

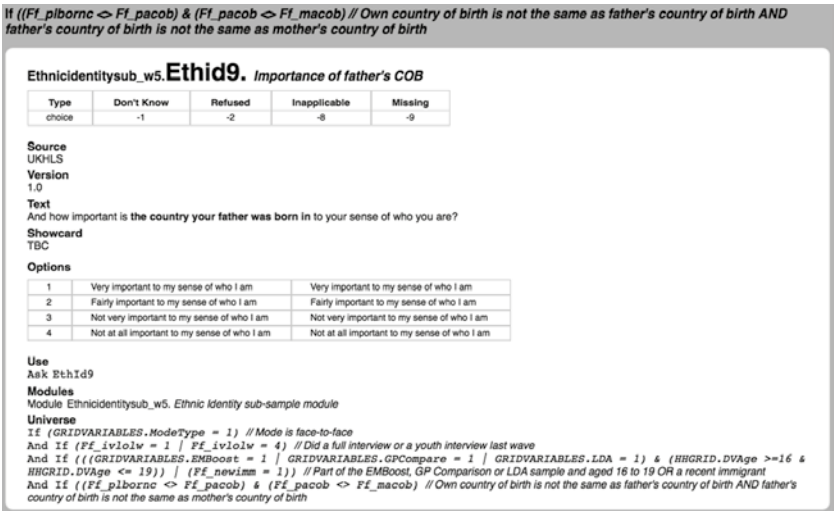
In the so-called indirect questions of 'language' and 'media' in the questionnaire, as referred to by my interviewee, place is also included as "home country" and "Danish channels", referring to Denmark. For the quantitative researcher the particular configuration of survey questions is crucial in measuring 'ethnic identification' which subsequently shapes 'indicators of integration'. If we look at specific questions of an 'ethnic identity sub-sample module' which appear in a questionnaire, this further specifies and unfolds how place is created. A logic of questioning is performative in the narration of perpetual arrival of the survey respondents.

Unfolding "COB": 'Country of Birth'

'Country of birth' in the ethnicity module called "COB" is a rather vague and at the same time taken-for-granted entity in survey questions. It seems to refer merely to a different country where a family member was born. However how is "COB" created throughout the questions and subsequently performative in narrating the plot of the immigrant's arrival narrative? What does it mean when the respondent answers to the survey question 'very proud' or 'not very proud' of the "COB" of the mother or father, or of the city or region of the respondent's own place of residence? In addition, the country of birth of (grand-)father and/or (grand-)mother is related to the 'events' that make up the plot such as 'closeness' to contacts and 'food' and more indirectly to 'language', 'religion' and 'skin colour'.

Hence not only family members but also these events become part of the way in which a logic of place is constituted by the survey questions.

I will show in the following analysis how the logic of questioning in the questionnaire survey constructs the opposites of a 'there' versus 'here' in the plot of the arrival narrative. First of all, figure 3 shows how a question appears in the questionnaire:



If *((Ff_plbornc <> Ff_pacob) & (Ff_pacob <> Ff_macob) // Own country of birth is not the same as father's country of birth AND father's country of birth is not the same as mother's country of birth*

Ethnicidentitysub_w5.**Ethid9.** *Importance of father's COB*

Type	Don't Know	Refused	Inapplicable	Missing
choice	-1	-2	-8	-9

Source
UKHLS
Version
1.0
Text
And how important is **the country your father was born in** to your sense of who you are?
Showcard
TBC
Options

1	Very important to my sense of who I am	Very important to my sense of who I am
2	Fairly important to my sense of who I am	Fairly important to my sense of who I am
3	Not very important to my sense of who I am	Not very important to my sense of who I am
4	Not at all important to my sense of who I am	Not at all important to my sense of who I am

Use
`Ask EthId9`
Modules
Module Ethnicidentitysub_w5. *Ethnic Identity sub-sample module*
Universe
`If (GRIDVARIABLES.ModeType = 1) // Mode is face-to-face`
`And If (Ff_ivlolw = 1 | Ff_ivlolw = 4) // Did a full interview or a youth interview last wave`
`And If (((GRIDVARIABLES.EMBoost = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.GPCompare = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.LDA = 1) & (HHGRID.DVAge >=16 & HHGRID.DVAge <= 19)) | (Ff_newimm = 1)) // Part of the EMBoost, GP Comparison or LDA sample and aged 16 to 19 OR a recent immigrant`
`And If ((Ff_plbornc <> Ff_pacob) & (Ff_pacob <> Ff_macob) // Own country of birth is not the same as father's country of birth AND father's country of birth is not the same as mother's country of birth`

Figure 3. (From 'Understanding Society' questionnaire, wave 5; 'ethnic identity sub-sample module').

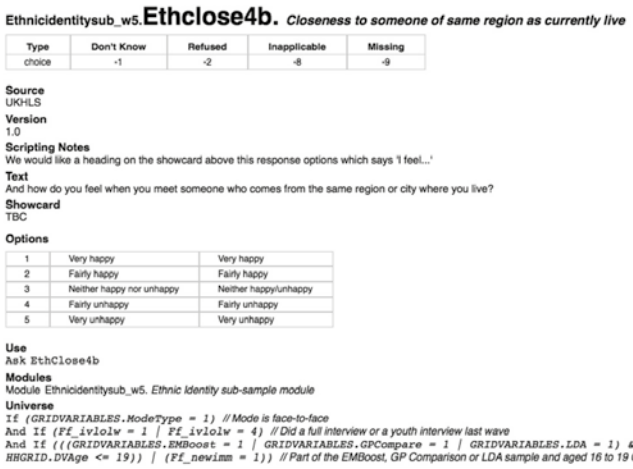
The ethnicity module consists partly of questions about family members however these questions are only about family members *in relation to* their country of birth, abbreviated to "COB" as is displayed in figure 3 above. The respondent has four options to answer from *'Very important to the sense of who I am'* to *'Not at all important to the sense of who I am'*. Only when the country differs from the country of birth of the respondent does the question need to be answered. As can be observed in the answer options, the interest is not in family members but in the way in which the respondent identifies with the country of birth of his or her father, mother, grandfather

and grandmother, how this says something about 'the sense of who you are'. Place, called "COB" here, is constituted through such questions. The imagination of place is intensified by asking the respondent to express the relationship through feelings of importance, but also in terms of 'pride'. Namely, the questions are repeated to distinguish between importance and pride, by also asking: '*Do you feel proud of the country where your mother was born?'* And: '*Do you feel proud of the country where your father's father was born?'* Here, the response options are 'yes', 'no' and 'neither yes or no'. Clearly a relation, either positive or negative, is established to "COB", which is not just there but constructed and imagined throughout these questions.

On first sight, one might argue that not much is going on with this way of questioning, however, how these questions are 'keeping the folds' of a particular logic occurs when looking at two other questions included in this set of questions I selected above. That is: *'And how important is the region or city where you live to your sense of who you are?'*, *'And how important is the region or city where you grew up to your sense of who you are?'* and '*Do you feel proud of the region or city you live in?'* By centering the questions on place, a differentiating logic can be observed: all the time the questions are formulated primarily in relation to the region or city where the respondent grew up or lives, followed by questions related to the country of birth of the (grand-)parents. This way of formulating a set of questions constructs a 'there' from 'here' (Şenocak 2000). It enables measurement of the respondent's 'pride' of the city or region where he was born or lives, which is in society 'here', in contrast to an imagined place, called "father's COB" out there. This allows for a narration of increased or decreased distance of the respondent in terms of 'pride', to one place and/or the other, specifically rendering visible the distance from 'here', or the place of arrival, when expressing pride of what is imagined as 'there'.

Unfolding questions of 'closeness', food, skin colour

The questions about 'closeness to contacts' and 'food choices' also explicitly follow the logic of questioning "COB" and thus constructing 'here' and 'there'. The following questions in figures 4 and 5 ask the respondent about his or her feelings of 'closeness' to people, and again in relation to places:



Ethnicidentitysub_w5.**Ethclose4b.** ***Closeness to someone of same region as currently live***

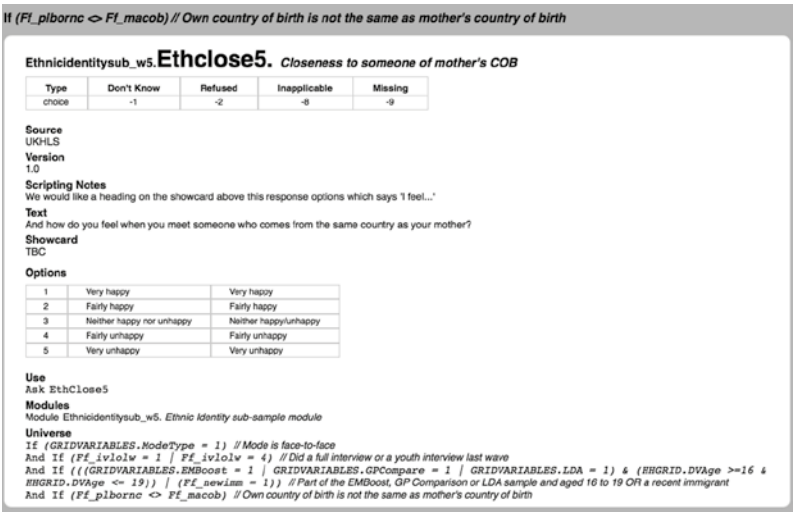
Type	Don't Know	Refused	Inapplicable	Missing
choice	-1	-2	-8	-9

Source
UKHLS
Version
1.0
Scripting Notes
We would like a heading on the showcard above this response options which says 'I feel...'
Text
And how do you feel when you meet someone who comes from the same region or city where you live?
Showcard
TBC
Options

1	Very happy	Very happy
2	Fairly happy	Fairly happy
3	Neither happy nor unhappy	Neither happy/unhappy
4	Fairly unhappy	Fairly unhappy
5	Very unhappy	Very unhappy

Use
`Ask EthClose4b`
Modules
Module Ethnicidentitysub_w5. *Ethnic Identity sub-sample module*
Universe
`If (GRIDVARIABLES.ModeType = 1)` *// Mode is face-to-face*
`And If (Ff_ivlolw = 1 | Ff_ivlolw = 4)` *// Did a full interview or a youth interview last wave*
`And If (((GRIDVARIABLES.EMBoost = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.GPCompare = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.LDA = 1) & (HHGRID.DVAge >=16 & HHGRID.DVAge <= 19)) | (Ff_newimm = 1))` *// Part of the EMBoost, GP Comparison or LDA sample and aged 16 to 19 OR a recent immigrant*

Figure 4. (Ibid.)



`If (Ff_plbornc <> Ff_macob)` *// Own country of birth is not the same as mother's country of birth*

Ethnicidentitysub_w5.**Ethclose5.** ***Closeness to someone of mother's COB***

Type	Don't Know	Refused	Inapplicable	Missing
choice	-1	-2	-8	-9

Source
UKHLS
Version
1.0
Scripting Notes
We would like a heading on the showcard above this response options which says 'I feel...'
Text
And how do you feel when you meet someone who comes from the same country as your mother?
Showcard
TBC
Options

1	Very happy	Very happy
2	Fairly happy	Fairly happy
3	Neither happy nor unhappy	Neither happy/unhappy
4	Fairly unhappy	Fairly unhappy
5	Very unhappy	Very unhappy

Use
`Ask EthClose5`
Modules
Module Ethnicidentitysub_w5. *Ethnic Identity sub-sample module*
Universe
`If (GRIDVARIABLES.ModeType = 1)` *// Mode is face-to-face*
`And If (Ff_ivlolw = 1 | Ff_ivlolw = 4)` *// Did a full interview or a youth interview last wave*
`And If (((GRIDVARIABLES.EMBoost = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.GPCompare = 1 | GRIDVARIABLES.LDA = 1) & (HHGRID.DVAge >=16 & HHGRID.DVAge <= 19)) | (Ff_newimm = 1))` *// Part of the EMBoost, GP Comparison or LDA sample and aged 16 to 19 OR a recent immigrant*
`And If (Ff_plbornc <> Ff_macob)` *// Own country of birth is not the same as mother's country of birth*

Figure 5. (Ibid.)

The respondents are asked to answer in terms of feelings again, this time how they feel about people they meet. In the questionnaire more specifications of closeness to people in relation to places are made by asking for instance: '*And how do you feel when you meet someone who comes from the same region or city as you were brought up in?'* What I observe in these questions is a differentiating logic that produces a difference between feelings towards people from 'here' and 'there': those coming from the same country or living in the same region in contrast to those coming from the country of for instance the respondent's mother. On the basis of such questions feelings to one and to the other are counted to narrate the respondent's attachment to place, that is to specifically two places: society 'here' versus another country 'there'. This results for instance in a narration and visualization such as in my chapter *Visualizing* in which the image distinguishes between 'having more contacts with member of own group', 'more with autochthones' and 'equally much with both'. Consequently, those having contacts with 'members of own ethnic group' are narrated as not yet arrived while those who are in contact 'equally much with both' are closer to arrival, yet also still not there. Especially when questions are asked in terms of feelings to people-of-places, this provides for narrations of the respondent's attachment to 'society' in terms of loyalty. Moreover, the questions make the respondent "foreign to that which he or she is most familiar with' (cf El-Tayeb), that is, the place in which one is born and/or resides in is no longer 'home'. Hence the questions reinforce distance from society upon the respondent. In terms of survey questions 'doing something' instead of merely describing or representing, this locates where and how a technique of racialization on the basis of origin is performed.

In the questions about food the same logic can be observed when one of the questions is tied to the place in which the respondent was born and resides, representing the 'typical food' of, in this case British society, while the other 'type of food' is linked to the imagined place "COB" of (grand-) parents:

'Please look at this card and tell me how often do you eat the food that is typical of the country where you were born?'

'Using the same card, how often do you eat the food that is typical of the country where your mother was born?'

The questions on types of food are also displayed in the questionnaire like in the figures above. The logic of questioning, by constructing and imagining two places, i.e. 'here' and 'there', provides for a narration of eating food from 'there' as other from the food standards of British society. Eating 'other' food will on the basis of this logic never be imagined as part of the place where the respondent is born and/or resides in, namely of how British society is imagined.

In the 'ethnic identification module' events of the plot of the arrival narrative such as language, religion and skin colour are more implicitly linked to place. Nevertheless, they are as much part of the imaginary of 'elsewhere'. Namely when speaking a language different from English, practicing a religion or having a different skin colour from an assigned 'majority population' representing society's whiteness, all of these are assigned to the imagined place 'there'. The logic of questioning works slightly different for these kinds of 'events'. For instance, consider the questions in the module on skin colour:

'And how important is the colour of your skin to your sense of who you are?'

'How do you feel when you meet someone who has the same skin colour as you?'

In the case of questions on skin colour no contrasting question is formulated such as in the logic analyzed above, which would look something like: 'And

how do you feel when you meet someone who has a different skin colour to the sense of who you are?' Hence there is no logic that distinguishes skin colours in relation to imagined places. Still, I argue, by including questions on 'skin colour' *only* in the 'ethnic identity sub-sample' the issue of skin colour is imagined outside of 'here' or 'society'. Namely, the category 'White British' representing the 'majority' in the UK, is exempted from questions on the colour of their skin. Although 'White British' is listed as an 'ethnic group' in monitoring in the UK, they are assigned as the majority population, functioning as a benchmark in the background representing a society that is thus white. What is allowed to be measured and visualized through an 'ethnic identity sub-sample' is that which is different from whiteness. In this way feelings in relation to 'the colour of your skin' and to 'someone who has the same skin colour' are part of a racialized imaginary that is not 'here' but 'there', outside what is imagined as 'society'.

One of my interviews is helpful to elaborate more explicitly on (re) establishing whiteness through survey questions, which is definitely not only linked to questions on skin colour. 'Whiteness' is a racialized and ethnicized positioning, yet, often unacknowledged and considered normal and unproblematic (Wekker 2016: 2). For example, this is the way one of my interviewees accounted for the fact that "Danes" are exempted from particular questions:

> "Q: Yeah, and this survey was only for immigrants? Not for native Danes?
>
> I: Yeah, it was actually. There were about 500 Danes. So I mean those questions won't apply to them, maybe the religious question actually, I guess.. (…) Uhm, but then the attachment, I do feel attached with Denmark but I don't have any country to compare it with. Or where are your contacts from… uhm… Also the language

> question could be asked but then also the Danish…(…)" (From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2014)

My interviewee says "those questions won't apply to them" but also hesitates. The way in which he stammers "uhm" in between the sentences shows his discomfort with attempting to give an account of the way in which "Danes" are also taking part in the questionnaire survey. He then moves towards what he calls "majority norms" that are representing Denmark:

> "(…) if you look at it from more public debate position, there's been a lot of debate and discussion that it's very bad that immigrants feel attached to their home country, that they keep their own traditions and norms, burka in Denmark and France, or whatever it could be, religious traditions.. Some debate about how it matters for their integration or assimilation in Denmark for instance. So I wanted to share more from some more empirical light and consider another aspect that could be, and this is not my own word and it may sound strong, but this modernization or the fact, how open are you to norms? And are those, and my question is, so with those norms be more important than ethnic identity as such? Because if I am an employer or if I am a worker I don't really care if my colleagues are attached to their own customs that they want to celebrate, a day which is not a holiday here in Denmark but maybe if I am a homosexual or if I am divorced or my children are 18 and I let them you know go out with their friends and they do whatever they want in the weekend and I don't blame them for that. I want them to understand as well. (…) This would be more the majority norms or the dimensions, the social norms that are maybe more important than being attached to Denmark" (Ibid).

This interview extract shows how my interviewee tries to relate to a "public debate" by providing an "empirical light" on what he refers to as "majority norms". His survey work looks solely at the way those classified as migrants for the specific migrant sample are embracing those "majority norms". At the same time, the passage shows how 'modern time' through "modernization" is set as a standard in the background of doing research, and thus also for conducting a questionnaire survey. Yet, in doing so he establishes and accepts a set of norms for quantitative measurement that subsequently feed into imagining a 'here', that is, a predominantly white Danish society.

To conclude, what is thus made visible by the particular configuration of supposedly neutral questions in the questionnaire survey is a racialized imaginary of 'there' as opposed to 'here', projecting again 'immigrants' or 'ethnic minorities' outside of the realm of what is imagined as society. This spatial imaginary produced by a measurement device of monitoring immigrant integration shapes a narrative in which arrival is always perpetual. This also means that although the plot seems to consist of a lot of 'change' or 'mobility' of those 'arriving', contrastively the performative effects of such a device are of those *waiting*, not mobile at all but stuck in their assigned positions of deferred arrival.

Conclusion: Dissociating 'society' from its colonial present

The previous analysis has shown how in different variations, imaginaries of 'elsewhere' are constructed by the questions of a migrant questionnaire survey. Producing multiple variations of 'theres in contrast to 'here' in relation to particular younger generations in European societies feeds into an anxious politics in parts of the population. The 'new generations' are made into the *objects of problematization* (Schinkel 2013: 3) in social scientific research whose successes and failures towards western societal norms need to be rendered visible for governing purposes. Schinkel reveals a "genealogization of integration" in which new generations, although not

migrated themselves, are seen in the light of 'integration' (Ibid: 15). The classification of 'second and third generation' on the basis of the origin of the (grand) parents facilitates the production of a 'mirror image' of society, in other words, a continuation of identifying what or who is *not* society. Consequently 'integration' is not about making visible the difference between well and less well integrated people, Schinkel argues, but between "those for whom 'integration' is an issue and for whom it is not" (Ibid: 14,15).

Likewise, the central question addressed in this chapter 'where are you from?' is assigned to some, on the basis of an origin that is defined as different, and clearly not to others: those supposedly always having been settled 'in society' (cf Van Reekum and Schinkel 2017). The latter do not need to be rendered visible, therefore, they are not questioned by the same survey questions. This reveals a technique of racialization through the problematization of for instance 'second and third generation immigrants' opposed to rendering invisible 'those already settled'.

Social scientific research projects producing imaginaries of younger generations 'out there' are often commissioned by the state. States seem to be obsessed by knowing about these parts of the population; how they are participating culturally and economically, whom they have contacts with, how religion plays a role in their lives, what they do in their leisure time. This obsession can be perceived as an anxiety of wanting to know and making visible young generation(s) with in a way 'non-European origins'. This anxiety resonates strongly with the way in which Ann Stoler describes the obsession of colonial officials in the East Indies with those of 'mixed blood', classified as "*Inlandsche Kinderen*", when she writes: "(…) kings and governor generals, regional officers, and social engineers of all sorts were obsessed with their welfare, their homes, morals, speech, rearing, and resentments – and, most importantly, their vengeful and potentially subversive inclinations" (Stoler 2009: 6).

Those classified as second generation today are asked about a range of similar topics and what is highlighted in relation to these topics is the origin of the parents. In the following quote Stoler shows the colonial state's anxiety of children of so-called 'subordinated descent' mirroring the way in which the adults of this category were thought of:

> "When colonial social reformers conceived scrupulously planned utopias made of small-scale farmers drawn from the mixed blood orphanages, their minute descriptions of those children's inclinations mirrored visions of what they conceived adults to be and what they feared improperly schooled children might become. Such projections, in turn, made more real the visceral fear of the resentments such subjects in the making were thought to harbor. Plans to school the young for state loyalty and humble aspirations underscored their lack of both" (Ibid: 21).

Stoler describes the projections that were made of what might become of the children if they were not educated well, for instance those from 'mixed blood' orphanages. The plans for educating them in specifically *state loyalty* and *humble aspirations* indeed said something about what they did *not* have.

We find anxious projections similar to those Stoler describes in contemporary (recommendations for) school programmes, for instance in the way in which "compulsory Dutch history lessons" were advocated during the heat of 'failed multiculturalism' debates (Essed and Nimako 2006: 305). Or in scholarly recommendations for school programmes formulated in terms of ethnicity, about for instance 'sexual health' (Krebbekx et al. 2017). For example, a study by Hollander and Frouws of 2011 recommends educating girls from Antillean and Surinamese backgrounds in the Netherlands about "the not sheer positive sides of becoming a young mother" (quoted in Krebbekx et al. 2017: 13). These short examples show how the colonial is of the present, that is, how colonial

structures and current knowledge practices are entangled. Nevertheless, it is through the construction of racialized imaginaries of 'here' and 'there' by the monitoring devices analyzed here that what is imagined as society is dissociated from such issues. On the basis of the imaginary of 'elsewhere' and thus origin, in which again, like in Stoler's study, the (grand)parents play a crucial role, those classified as 'second' and 'third generation' are placed on a racialized distance, and it is precisely this distance around which anxiety emerges. Nonetheless, those in charge of producing knowledge and governing population are oscillating between an anxiety of younger generations classified to 'non-European descent' and an anxiety with sustaining the persistent dominant ways of imagining West European societies as white. For the latter, survey instruments such as the 'migrant-sample' questionnaire are vital.

6

SEEING

Seeing with a dominant societal gaze

> "In comparison, the female section of P.K.'s was a deathly thing. Here, the impossible desire for straightness and 'movement' fought daily with the stubborn determination of the curved African follicle; here ammonia, hot combs, clips, pins and simple fire had all been enlisted in the war and were doing their damnedest to beat each curly hair into submission. (…) Is it straight? Jackie, is it straight? The boys arched their heads round the partition wall, Irie looked up from her magazine. There was little to say. They all came out with straight or straight enough. But they also came out dead. Dry. Splintered. Stiff. All the spring gone. Like the hair of a cadaver as the moisture seeps away. Jackie or Denise, knowing full well that curved African follicle will, in the end, follow its genetic instructions, put a philosophic slant on the bad news. 'It as straight as it ever going to be. Three weeks if you lucky'" (Smith 2000: 275, 276).

In the barbershop scene of Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth* the characters 'Irie', 'Jackie', 'Denise' and 'the boys' are looking at themselves in the mirrors and looking at one another. They are consequently both the ones who see and are seen at the same time. In narratological terms one speaks of *focalization* when deciphering the ways of seeing that are going on in literary texts. Scholars of narratology are thus not only interested in ways

of narrating but also in ways of seeing that are distributed throughout a story. In the example of Zadie Smith's novel focalization is assigned to the characters - Irie, Jackie, Denise and the boys – that are the ones looking at the person asking for attention. Here focalization is internal and coincides with the characters, who are appointed the *focalizers*. The person asking to be looked at is the *focalized* character. However, while sitting in front of a mirror, looking at herself, this person focalizes her own situation as well. In other parts of the passage the focalization has shifted to another level, that is, from internal to *external focalization*. At a further remove from the characters, though not the narrator, we observe another level of focalization, in which the characters, but also place and event, become the objects of a gaze. This gaze I argue is a frame that is *seen through* (cf Mitchell), in this specific part of the novel a frame of seeing that projects so-called 'Jamaican Afro hair' against the Western beauty norm of straightened hair.

This particular depiction of 'kinds of hair' leads to controversy in regard to the search engine Google for example, which demonstrated this most bluntly when displaying images of mostly straightened blond hair when searching for 'professional hair for work', in contrast to images of so-called 'Afro' hair which (still) appear when searching for 'unprofessional hair for work' (accessed: 06–03–2018). In other words, the ways of seeing enact a particular norm, gendered and racialized, by distancing what is not corresponding to this norm, specifically female black and curly hair. Dutch filmmaker Bibi Fadlala has also translated this way of seeing 'Afro hair' into a short documentary called 'Dat haar!' (translated as 'That hair!') in which she follows the struggles of 12 year old Kaylee, who is adopted from Lesotho by Dutch parents. She is the only one with African textured hair in her hometown in the Netherlands. I am interested in the particular gaze that makes her 'kind of hair' other while at the same time perceiving the hair of her classmates as the standard hair in Dutch society.

The various examples above resonate strongly with the way visual theorist W.J.T. Mitchell argues that race is "something we *see through,* like

a frame, a window, a screen, or a lens, rather than something we *look at*. It is a repertoire of cognitive and conceptual filters through which forms of human otherness are mediated." (Mitchell 2012: xii). Narratives of perpetual arrival in monitoring of immigrant integration concern the imagination of making a life in a society with a specific and thus situated framework of racialized standards, conventions and traditions that is *seen through*. Seeing occurs in the narratives of perpetual arrival for instance in the quote of the Netherlands Institute of Social Scientific Research:

> "Generally speaking, developments are moving rather slowly but surely in the right direction. An example is the increasing number of non-Western migrants entering higher education and the related general rise in the educational level of non-Western groups. More and more members of non-Western groups have a command of the Dutch language and speak Dutch with their partner and children. (…)" (SCP 2010: 11).

A movement in a 'right direction' is observed and certain characters, the 'non-Western migrants', are seen as increasing their language skills and joining higher education. The question is: Who sees? To disentangle this, I specifically draw here on narratological theories of Mieke Bal (2009; 2006; 1981) and Gérard Genette (1983; 1972), in which the question 'Who sees?' is central.[14] In the second part of the chapter I attend to STS concepts of seeing, specifically Goodwin's (1994) practices of coding and highlighting as perceptually ordering fields of expertise. I then claim that anxiety and discomfort are part and parcel of the practices that organize how a societal gaze sees 'immigrants' and hence legitimates society as a

[14] The first part of this chapter is based on an article published in Cultural Studies [Sanne Boersma & Willem Schinkel (2017) Imaginaries of postponed arrival: on seeing 'society' and its 'immigrants', Cultural Studies, 32:2, 308-325].

"permanently unmarked space of 'integration'", as Schinkel states (2017: 73).

It is important to stress that 'Who' in the question of 'Who sees?' should not be interpreted literally as a 'person who sees' but as a literary agent (understood here as a narratological concept) that does not see from one point of view but distributes a way of seeing across the narratives constructed. Genette proposes the term focalization to get away from the purely visual connotations in 'point of view' and 'vision' when questioning 'who sees' in narratives, in order to introduce it as a narratological notion (Genette 1983: 86). Bal and Genette elaborate on focalization by distinguishing it from narration and the narrator, the one 'who speaks', or the agent that verbalizes vision in the narrative. Instead they theorize and trace the one 'who sees' in narratives, that is the focalizer. Focalization occurs on many character levels in a narrative. The following three basic sentences are for instance used by Bal to illustrate how focalization occurs in text:

> "e Mary participates in the rally.
> f I saw that Mary participated in the rally.
> g Michelle saw that Mary participated in the rally"
>
> (Bal 2009: 160).

In f and g we observe 'character focalizers' of the focalized character Mary: in (f) the focalizer is the character 'I' and in (g) the focalizer is the character 'Michelle'. In (e) it is not clear who the perceiving agent is, and here the focalization remains implicit. The perceiving agent is external to the sentence and Bal accordingly speaks of an external focalizer.

In these sentences various levels of focalization can be distinguished. However, as I analyse in more detail below, all forms of focalization in a narrative ultimately occur within the all-embracing vision of the external focalizer (Bal 2009: 160, 161). In other words, both internal 'character-

focalization' and external focalization are distributed through specific frames of seeing present in the narratives constructed. These frames of seeing sometimes use the characters of the narrative, such as 'Irie' and 'the boys' in *White Teeth*, at other times the frames are external, projecting a difference between 'Afro hair' and the standard of straightened hair. But to emphasize again, all focalization occurring in narratives falls within one all-encompassing vision, that of an external focalizer. The latter notion helps to elucidate how is seen through race like a frame (cf Mitchell) and particularly how whiteness is performed through ways of seeing in monitoring immigrant integration. As stated in the previous chapter I follow Gloria Wekker's observation of whiteness as not being seen as an ethnic positioning at all: "It is seen as *gewoon* (ordinary), as nothingness" (Wekker 2016: 59). In what follows, I critically elaborate on various forms of focalization by examining how focalization occurs in immigrant integration narratives.

Who sees? Focalization in assessments of immigrant integration

The summary of the SCP Report of 2010 describes how various so-called 'trends in integration' are being 'tracked', 'observed' and 'seen', such as 'positive trends can be observed' and 'improvement can also be seen…' The question that emerges is: who is doing this work of observing and seeing in such a report? A seemingly obvious answer to this is: the immigrant integration researcher who has done the research and wrote the report. However, I believe a closer look is warranted in order to understand that the production of these kinds of reports is actively interwoven with a way of seeing that is, in itself, performed through narrating. As stated in the introduction of the dissertation, according to Bal the narrator can be perceived as the agent who is entrusted with the narrative by the author. The narrator is responsible for what is said in the text, classifies the text as descriptive or argumentative and assesses the ideological and aesthetic direction of the narrative (Bal 2006). Therefore, in my analysis I appoint

the researcher as the narrator of the report, this is the agent who 'speaks' and chooses the way in which the content of the narrative takes shape. To examine the one who 'sees' in a narrative I thus have to explore the role of the focalizer.

The focalizer is the agent who sees and is assigned by the narrator to function midway between him or herself and the character. "The reader sees him [the character] through the medium of an agent other than the character, an agent that sees and, seeing, causes to be seen." (Bal 2006: 13). The 'characters' of the narrative are seen and interpreted by the reader of the text. However, this visibility of the characters is set in motion through another medium that is not the character, nor the narrator, but the focalizer who influences how the reader sees the characters. In line with the logic of visualizing and narrating in immigrant integration assessments, focalization occurs on the basis of *racialized distance making*. Focalization in the report can be identified through the narration in terms of 'increase', 'the extent to which', 'position', 'progress', 'compared to'. There are focalized objects in the narrative of immigrant integration: the characters called 'non-Western immigrants'. These focalized objects are seen at a distance from the character called 'native' or 'autochthonous' population. For example:

> "Migrants of Moroccan origin show the most positive trend; compared with 12 years ago the percentage of this group who say that they often have contact with the native Dutch has risen slightly. In the period studied, they caught up with migrants of Turkish origin – the group who have the fewest contacts with the native Dutch" (SCP 2010: 237).

The narrator is the one who decides to speak of a 'positive trend' however the question remains: from which angle is the situation looked at to narrate this as a 'positive trend'? This 'positive trend' for the category of Moroccan migrants is seen in relation to 'the native Dutch', which assigns 'the native

Dutch' as occupying the reference point. The character of 'the native Dutch' can therefore be appointed the character focalizer. Although there is no literal narration of the character focalizer 'seeing' the focalized objects, it does occupy the point from which the distance is 'tracked' and subsequently 'observed'. This is the point from which the focalized objects are seen and thus focalization takes place. The character focalizer often occurs within the narrative text in terms of 'host society', 'native population', 'native Dutch citizens'. Nevertheless, in many parts of the report these terms are only present in absence. For example, in the next quote from the report:

> "(…) On the other hand, young non-Western migrants face considerable problems; they much more often grow up in single-parent households, exhibit more problem behavior and have greater (physical and mental) health problems. To this can be added the fact that school dropout is much more common among non-Western migrants. They are also strongly overrepresented in the crime figures, especially boys of Moroccan and Antillean origin. All in all, there is a considerable group of young non-Western migrants for whom the future does not look bright" (SCP 2010: 12).

Completely absent from this quote is to who or what these negative differences are compared. The narration leaves out what I identified as the character focalizer, the 'native population'. This category is such a taken-for-granted benchmark in social scientific reasoning that the narrator allows it to fade away in the background of the narrative. Here the focalization falls back upon the external focalizer, which doesn't necessarily need the character focalizer to continue its racialized way of seeing in the narrative. Also when the character focalizer is present, focalization takes place *through* the character focalizer from an angle external to the actual narrative text. Bal has described external focalization as the 'all-encompassing vision', no matter what kind of narration – first or third person – is at stake. In

general, when the narrative turns to a first person narration, the focalizing shifts to the character focalizer though within the limits of the external focalizer's vision. Bal describes this as follows:

> "When EF [external focalizer, SB] seems to 'yield' focalization to a CF [character focalizer, SB], what is really happening is that vision of the CF is being given within the all-encompassing vision of the EF. In fact, the latter always keeps the focalization in which the focalization of a CF may be embedded as object" (Bal 2009: 161).

Bal states that all focalization remains within the vision of the external focalizer. Hence the external focalizer can only reflect the other character's vision as far as it can grasp the understanding of the other. In some cases, external focalization in the immigrant integration report does 'see' through the focalized characters. In one of the examples from the report, it appears as if the focalized characters of 'migrants of Moroccan origin' get some authority to "show" and "say" but this takes place only through the particular vision that is embodied by the external focalizer:

> "Migrants of Moroccan origin **show** the most positive trend; compared with 12 years ago the percentage of this group who **say** that they often have contact with the native Dutch has risen slightly" (SCP 2010: 237 [emphasis added, SB]).

The external focalizer encompasses all focalization taking place within the narrative of perpetual arrival. Both external focalizer and character focalizer are crucial for the narrative of the 'immigrant's integration'. Focalization is not limited to textual narratives and can be analyzed in visual narratives as well, such as film, art and images (Bal 2009: 165). The graphic images (figure 1) effectively illustrate focalization at work through immigrant integration accounts. Here, as in the analysis in the chapter

Visualizing, what I have identified as the character focalizer – the so-called 'autochthones' or 'native Dutch' – is often absent from the images but can nevertheless be perceived as the central character of the image, who is authoritative in telling and showing. It is often located at the zero-point of the graph, which becomes the angle from which is seen. Here, at the zero-point of the image, the character of 'autochthones' is understood as 'neutral' and 'unmarked' (Haraway 1988; Strathern 2002).

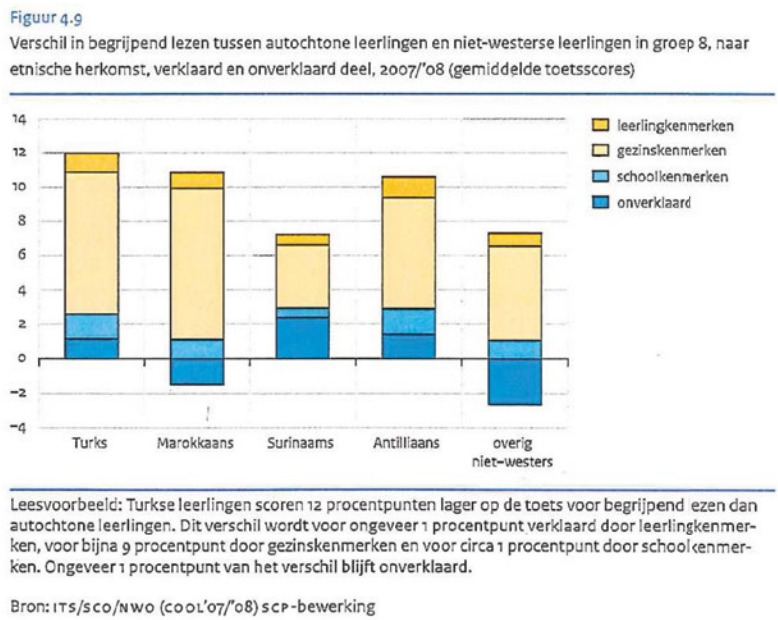


Figure 1. Source: SCP 2011: 95.

Note: Translation of text in figure 1:
Difference in reading comprehension between autochthonous pupils and non-western pupils in 8th grade, by ethnic origin, accounted for and unaccounted for, 2007/'08 (average test scores)
Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antillean, other non-western
Pupil characteristics, family characteristics, school characteristics, unaccounted for
Reading example: Turkish pupils score 12 percentage points below the autochthonous pupils. Approximately 1 percentage point of this difference is accounted for by pupil characteristics, almost 9 percentage point by family characteristics and about 1 percentage point by school characteristics. Approximately 1 percentage point is unaccounted for.

For instance, in figure 1 the 'autochthonous pupils' representing society are absent from the image but present as the zero level of educational deviation. The deviation of the 'non-western pupils' from 'autochthones' shows their distance from arrival in society. This shows clearly how 'autochthonous pupils' coincide with a societal standard for the level of education. The 'non-western pupils' are the ones seen, the focalized, by the character focalizer who sees the 'autochthones pupils'. This character focalizer thus performs the work of racialized seeing by being present in absence from the images.

The god-trick: a dominant societal gaze

In the social scientific way of seeing immigrant integration the focalized character, that is, 'non-Western migrants', is foregrounded, while the character focalizer serves as a reference point and fades away in the background of the narrative and coincides with the external focalizer. Subsequently, the way the elements of a story are represented provides information about the specific elements that coincide with the focalized objects. However, the way in which the objects are presented say at least as much about the external focalizer. Bal writes about fiction that it does not really matter if the [focalized] object really exists, it is part of a 'fictitious fabula'. In her examples from literature she shows how the stories say more about how the event or object is experienced and interpreted by the character focalizer than they give information on the event and/or object itself (Bal 2009: 156). Following this argument, I argue that the view of the focalizer in accounts of immigrant integration is much more about what the imagination of immigrant integration is than the actual imagined attainment of that 'integration'. Or in other words, it is more about the way in which the situation or object – the 'immigrant's integration' – is seen than about all things involved in the object. Hence, the entire setup, with all its governmental repercussions, of a 'society' juxtaposed against 'immigrants' imagined in a mode of perpetual arriving, revolves around the ordering

work of an external focalizer enabling all focalization, i.e. all racialized 'seeing' of immigrants by non-immigrants, and all self-perceptions of the groups thus designated. This external focalizer in immigrant integration assessments can be abstractly considered as a dominant *societal gaze*. This gaze is not to be confused with a gaze of the scientist or the way the scientist puts together the narrative but a seeing agent functioning in the arrival narrative of immigrant integration. It should also not be understood as one 'position' of seeing but as a performative practice that distributes a way of seeing, or ways of seeing, in the process enacting a set of norms and discursive possibilities (Butler 1993). The societal gaze is similar to Donna Haraway's 'god-trick' and 'gaze from nowhere', that is:

> "(…) the gaze that mythically inscribes all the marked bodies, that makes the unmarked category claim the power to see and not to be seen, to represent while escaping representation" (Haraway 1991: 188).

The societal gaze in assessments of immigrant integration organizes the power of the unmarked category that sees and represents while it avoids representation itself. And yet, in claiming neutrality, objectivity, and an un-situatedness 'from nowhere', it both emanates from and enacts particular norms that dominate the scene of arrival. And yet this scene cannot access itself, imagine itself, without the obscenity of the arriving other that is narratively stages. Calculating and describing what is not part of the norm or who is not living up to certain standards, i.e. 'who has not arrived yet', shapes what appears in the immigrant integration reports as the 'domains', 'areas' and 'indicators' of what is imagined as society. Seeing through, or with, the societal gaze continually projects forms of raced difference, since immigrant others are the exclusive object of this problematizing vision, through the constitution of socio-economic and socio-cultural indicators of 'integration' informed by societal norms.

In the previous paragraphs I have disentangled how focalization resulting in a dominant societal gaze is active in the narratives produced in published reports and how this is *not* a neutral gaze or a 'God's eye view'. It is a gaze that 'sees through race' and 'mediates forms of human otherness', like Mitchell said. With the help of narratological theory and literature I actively dissociated from the societal gaze to gain knowledge on this particular way of seeing in immigrant integration reports. Next, the question that emerges is: How is this way of seeing in the reports produced? In other words: How is the perceptual field of monitoring immigrant integration organized in a way that a dominant societal gaze orders all seeing in the narratives of the report?

Facing Janus: Anxious ways of coding and highlighting

From the assessments in documents I move to the practices of social scientists and state officials through which a dominant societal gaze is structuring and organizing an anxious perceptual field. The practices entail forms of affect, specifically an anxiety and discomfort about that which is *not* seen, that largely disappears from the assessments published in reports yet structure the perceptual field of quantitative immigrant integration research. Goodwin writes about the organization of perceptual fields through "coding schemes" in terms of the "professional lens". This lens is built and contested through three practices: 'coding, highlighting and producing and articulating material representations' (Goodwin 1994: 606). My interest is in examining further the practices of the professional lens in immigrant integration monitoring, since these entail a profession consisting of perceptual and cognitive operations with consequences. I understand Goodwin's practice of coding as referring to classification practices, such as differentiating between 'migrant groups' and 'majority populations'. Highlighting then marks the categories created by coding in 'some fashion'. That is, the way in which 'the migrants' are figured and 'the

majority category' allowed to fade into the background. A coding scheme consists of an interplay of both coding and highlighting practices.

In Goodwin's terms, although the professional is engaged in cognitive work (s)he is part of a larger system of perception. He argues that coding schemes do not occur and are not situated in 'an isolated Cartesian mind' of the professional but are part of a system that is mediated by bureaucratic documents. In this way one can speak of a 'distributed cognition' organized through writing practices (Ibid: 609, in reference to Smith 1990: 121-122). This resonates with focalization in which the one who sees, the external focalizer appointed as the societal gaze, is not the view of the monitoring expert, not coming from one angle, but is distributed throughout the work practice. The societal gaze sees 'with' the reference category, which means that it cannot be seen at the same time. Therefore, it is quite uncomfortable when it does come up or is addressed or questioned in interviews or at conferences. These disruptive moments signal discomfort in method and an anxiety over something that exceeds methodological choices. That is, the societal gaze only functions by highlighting those who "are a little darker" as an interviewee referred to the measured groups, that is through projections of raced forms of difference.

Yet, pinpointing others – be it through 'origin', 'ethnicity', 'those who are darker' – as the objects and thus cause of problems (i.e. crime, school dropout, teenage pregnancies) is raising anxieties that are unspeakable since they have racial and colonial connotations. Still, as another interviewee said: "We should not pretend as if ethnicity does not matter". I argue that often two voices speak at the same time, or that, more to the point in this chapter, 'two faces see' (cf Latour). The societal gaze organizes the perceptual field in a way that it can only see asymmetrically: figuring 'immigrants' and grounding 'native populations' representing society.

In what follows, I analyze accounts from my fieldwork observations and interviews, to reveal more about the organization of the perceptual field, on the basis of the societal gaze and thus specifically what we (possibly)

cannot see. I will argue that seeing with a dominant societal gaze, that is supposedly 'from nowhere', 'neutral' and 'objective', is a seeing produced by situated and anxious practices of coding and highlighting. To start the analysis of the practices that organize the societal gaze I paradoxically have to resist the persuasion of the societal gaze itself by starting to look at the way in which the 'immigrants' are seen. Also, after looking closely upon and analyzing the positionalities of the focalizer and focalized, the reversal of figure and ground is not an automatic one. It needs work. So, I specifically want to show how coding and highlighting of a white reference category in monitoring immigrant integration is done, that is, how whiteness is performed and distributed in monitoring by its frame of seeing. This means that I attend to moments in my fieldwork in which the reference category that should not be seen, since it coincides with the societal gaze, became partly and often unpleasantly visible. I am interested in the discomfort emerging in such moments and the ways in which it was dealt with. As said, I attend to this through the moments in which it appeared difficult to speak. Inevitably the focalized, the 'immigrants' who are looked at, are part of these analyses since in the logic reproduced, the societal gaze and reference category cannot be staged without the projection of what or who is different from it.

Seen/Unseen: "autochthones"

At a conference about migration and integration in the Netherlands I observed the ordering of the societal gaze for seeing 'immigrants' and how society as an unmarked and thus unseen space was made plausible. The conference took place at the Ministry of Security and Justice because integration-related issues are located there these days. In the early morning of the conference day, it is the Director General of Foreign Affairs who welcomes all the participants in the highly-secured building of the Ministry. He addresses his concern for the imagination of how immigrants are perceived today by 'the ordinary man in the street' in the Netherlands.

With reference to the television programme "Rot maar op naar je eigen land", which I decently translate as "Just move back to your own country", he calls for a nuanced view of 'the man in the street'. From his own experience at meetings in local townhouses he argues that the approach towards immigrants is too skeptical in such programmes. He then follows up by saying to the participants of the conference that "we have to approach it rationally". Therefore, his general appeal for the conference day is, and I quote: "We all are rational types and let us be led by this in the workshop discussions today." By saying this he implicitly warns not to be persuaded by public perceptions and perhaps even worse, 'feelings' that might slip into discussions of immigration and integration in the workshops. He expects the participants as 'members of the community of expertise' to function purely rationally towards the stories that they tell and discuss during such a conference. With the appeal to rationality the participants of the conference were sent off to the workshops.

I joined a session with the title "Integration: Can immigrants integrate?", in which I observed the organization of the perceptual field in immigrant integration. The session showed the way in which the objects of scrutiny are seen *with* the societal gaze, i.e. the autochthones category and how this demands a seeing of 'non-western immigrants'. The presentation in which this became apparent started with a short statement by the presenter saying: "I am a sociologist and economist so I focus quantitatively." At the time of the conference the presenter was employed as a policy advisor. What followed in his presentation was a sequence of tables on what he described as the 'two dimensions of integration': "socio-economic" and "ethnic-cultural", with the general aim he said of 'immigrants acquiring an equal position to autochthones'. At some point in the middle of his story someone from the audience asked a question, namely: "What is the position of autochthones?" Interestingly, someone from the audience tried 'to see' the reference category. The policy advisor responded with: "The position of autochthones? That is about averages."

While some surprised looking faces and whispering occurred in the room, he moved on to the slides with tables in which the distance of 'non-western immigrants' towards 'autochthones' was made visible. A contradictory statement followed shortly after when he said: "These images do not say much because the tables only show averages." It is important according to him to differentiate further between various 'non-western groups'. He emphasizes twice: "An average does not tell you anything" and "Averages say little to nothing." This strongly contrasts with the way in which he just before referred to 'autochthones' generally as "about averages", expressing a clear and fixed answer that is expected to be taken-for-granted.

The way in which the presenter spoke with two voices about averages, in which one is accepted and the other disqualified, signals a slippage in the work. Yet is it a slippage? The logic is precisely this: the autochthones' average is accepted since it should not be seen. So 'averages say little or nothing' is not considered untrue since it also applies in the case of 'autochthones'. Hence the average as 'saying little' when concerning 'non-western groups' is disqualified because it should be seen in detail. Although the policy advisor looked somewhat annoyed by the question on the position of the autochthones category, it was easy for him to set it aside and focus on what in his way of seeing is at stake, that is to pursue his seeing through the societal gaze. He might thus *look at* the 'integration of non-western groups', but he nonetheless sees, as Mitchell stated, *through* race as a lens (Mitchel 2012). Seeing occurs from the average of autochthones, that is, it shows how the autochthones category is legitimized and accepted as 'seen with' but not seen at the same time. The mumbling by part of the audience in contrast expressed a discomfort with the position of 'the autochthones' and with the way in which the policy advisor brushes over the question with his short and to be taken-for-granted answer. The discomforting moment however is silenced quite easily in the setting of a presentation and, second, by a discomfort and anxiety for the presenter which exceeds that of the audience.

The setting in this case, in the form of a presentation at a conference, puts the presenter in the role of speaking with the face of 'ready-made science', as is the case with the reports analyzed in the previous section of this chapter. Sticking with the societal gaze, that is, the logic of seeing with the reference category projecting onto 'non-western groups', gives the presenter the opportunity to proceed. In other words, his presentation is perceptually ordered through the reference category that sees (character focalizer) and the 'non-western groups' that are seen (the focalized). Nonetheless, an interruption in the logic of seeing appears through the audience's question which brings up 'the autochthones' , yet it paradoxically sustains the logic. The locations of the forms of affect both with the policy advisor and with the audience are not fixed and one could in other settings of the work appear with the other. That is, discomfort and anxiety in not seeing 'autochthones' or seeing 'non-western groups' is distributed throughout the work of seeing with the societal gaze.

The yardstick: "whites"

Whereas in the Dutch monitoring field the average of the reference category is produced separately from the groups against which the reference category is positioned, in various other national contexts of monitoring immigrant integration different ways of producing averages are observed. For instance, in the UK, the national average often does not exclude 'ethnic minorities', meaning that when there is monitoring of an 'ethnic minority' against the average of the national population, the ethnic minority in question is included in the reference category. Also, the 'White British majority' is often called 'ethnic majority'. Yet these aims of seeing population groups more symmetrically in measuring 'integration' end up producing a similar logic of seeing minorities through an established and invisible white reference category. In an e-mail conversation resulting from an event on 'integration' a social scientist explained to me how to perceive the composition of the reference category in the UK:

> "The measurements are all done against the UK-wide standard. So if the average education level is 13 years in the UK, then if minorities are at 10 they will be seen as less 'integrated' than if at 13. Note that this standard has not been constructed on the basis of any one group. *But* since White British are 80 percent they will influence the UK mean on education, income, crime, etc." [my emphasis, SB].

First and foremost, the social scientist wants to emphasize that the 'UK-wide standard' does not represent one group. However he speaks with two voices at the same time, which can be located in his use of the word "but". Namely, after "but" he says that '80 percent is White British' and so the average of the national population mostly represents them. Seeing 'minorities' thus occurs through the average representing mostly 'White British' and subsequently minorities can be "seen as less integrated". If the standard really was not based on one group, all people of the national average then should be seen in the light of 'integration'. Nonetheless, the societal gaze orders who is seen and who is not seen, respectively the 'minorities' and 'White British'.

In what follows the social scientist also explains the variation of reference categories by arguing for "national average" and "the total population average" – of which '80 percent is White British' – and at the same time gives examples in which 'Pakistani' are compared to what is called in the UK 'ethnic majority', i.e. 'White British':

> "Sometimes minorities are compared to the ethnic majority explicitly, *but* usually to the national average. On residential segregation, this is also usually to the national average *but* sometimes the indices such as index of dissimilarity are constructed by comparing two groups, ie. Pakistani-White British index of dissimilarity. Generally, though, the ID [index of dissimilarity, SB] for Pakistani would be done

> against the total population average. I.e. how many Pakistanis need to move to distribute them the same as the national population" [my emphasis, SB].

Again "but" signals the social scientist's two voices in speaking about the organization of averages and thus who is seen with the societal gaze. Finally, "Pakistanis need to move" because they are seen in relation to a reference category that is, although constituted in various ways, dominated by a 'white majority population'. In the end, he concludes by saying that "whites" are not the "yardstick" but acknowledges that the average against which 'ethnic minorities' are projected reflects 'the majority' indirectly:

> "So I would not say whites are used as the yardstick, *but* rather that because they are the majority the total population average reflects them indirectly" [my emphasis, SB].

The analysis of both the conference presentation and the e-mail conversation show how 'autochthones' or 'whites' are inevitably positioned as the standard category and that projections of immigrants or minorities take place against this particular benchmark. The context and practice of constituting averages of the population for 'integration' research differ for example between the UK and the Netherlands, and these difference of course matter in the way in which numbers are produced. Nevertheless, I argue that the organization of the perceptual field of monitoring immigrant integration follows the same logic. The ways of coding primarily allow for a differentiation between 'whites' or 'autochthones' and 'minorities' or 'non-western immigrants', amongst other ways of denoting 'natives' versus 'others'. Thus highlighting is immediately part of coding and vice versa. I focus then specifically on the highlighting that occurs asymmetrically on both sides of the primary classification, in which the asymmetry lies in the

homogeneity of the so-called 'native' group and the differentiation between those assigned as others.

At the conference event with which I started this section, the average of the category 'non-Western groups' is "saying little to nothing" and therefore needs to be highlighted in 'some fashion' to be able 'to see them properly'. In contrast, the average of autochthones refers to a homogenous entity functioning as the reference category. It also 'says little to nothing' but that is not questioned because they should not be seen. This way of 'not seeing' a homogenous reference category is a way of performing whiteness through monitoring since the white category is taken-for-granted and thus considered as normal. Although explicitly less taken-for-granted, in the second fieldwork note concerning averages in the UK, 'whites' or 'White British, whether in the total population average, national average or singled out as the 'ethnic majority', functions as a reference group against a highlighting of 'minorities' in different ways, such as 'Pakistani'.

Part of the practices and thus constitution of the logic of seeing is the messiness of two voices that speak at the same time. Yet, it is precisely anxiety bringing forth both voices which is forming a paradox. The discomfort and anxiety together are not just about choices in method but related, for instance, to the effects of how and what there is to see at such a conference. This requires a lot of work to be capable of hiding the paradoxes. This also touches upon 'the ordinary man in the street' as the Director General of Foreign Affairs spoke about in his appeal for rationality at the start of the conference day. As he said, his concern was about the way in which 'the ordinary man in the street' is imagined, not so much 'immigrants'. Paradoxically while 'the man in the street' is made largely invisible in the work and consequently at a conference of immigration and integration, the key concern is, as the Director thus rightly though anxiously stated with his example, about 'the man in the street' and his (sic) preservation. This way of preserving is where whiteness is distributed in practice, that is, how 'the man in the street' remains *gewoon* (ordinary) and unproblematic (cf

Wekker), hence invisible. Discomfort and anxiety in practices of seeing are exceeding scientific notions of 'rationality' and 'averages', they extend to imaginations of 'immigrants' specifically vis-à-vis those 'ordinary men in the street'. The latter represent 'society' and are rendered plausible through the projections of others.

In my fieldwork interviews, the affective anxious structure of immigrant integration monitoring appears, yet in a different way, since my interviewees speak 'behind the scenes' and in a one-to-one conversation. This opens up a space for discussing in more detail the challenges of the work. For instance, as I will analyze in my next fieldwork account, the interview setting invites fantasization about what could be seen differently when going against the dominant logic of the societal gaze. Nonetheless, it shows the dominance of the existing logic of seeing at the same time.

"You don't ask Germans if they feel German"

Consider the following part of an interview with a social scientist about a major household survey, commenting on the way in which the survey questions are asked, specifically focusing on 'feeling German' and how this is asked to 'migrants' and not to those in the category of 'Germans':

> "(…) we have in the [survey, SB] for example questions about: how do you feel? Do you feel German? This is something which is not asked to Germans by the way, which I really uhm... schade finde [laughs, SB]. Because this should be asked to everybody. And then we will see that migrants might even feel more German than Germans themselves. (…)"
>
> Q: That is something that is not visible now, because that question is not asked to the Germans?

> I: Yes, and it is not uhm… this is something which is… I think if we ask in a year for example, or in two years if we ask the questions about Europeans, feeling European or something or how do you feel with Europe. And then it would be possible to try again to put the question 'Do you feel German' to the whole population.
>
> Q: You would prefer that?
>
> I: "Of course. It is important, because I think it's uhm, you cannot… you know the question of identity is something which is, or how researchers are saying 'the ethnicities [are] always the other', you know, it is not yourself. If you are from the majority you are not ethnic, which is a totally wrong perception anyway. Or you are not particular, you do not belong to the particular community or something. So that, in this way of thinking, is reflecting the way in which our questions are asked. You don't ask Germans if they feel German" (From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2014).

My interviewee shows how decision-making over 'what questions are asked to whom' in the migrant subsample of the questionnaire survey are performative in what will be made visible and hence what there is to 'see'. At the same time she says: "this should be asked to everybody" and "maybe in two years we can ask it to the whole population". Hence the passage also shows performative acts of leaving out questions to a certain group and thus of what is not seen. In the passage a moment of laughter occurs when she addresses the survey question of 'feeling German', which is not asked to those categorized as German. The little burst of laughter expresses a discomfort with the ways in which choices of survey questions for 'migrants' are made, yet, also says something larger of what is thus not rendered visible: 'Germans'. Within the coding logic of 'migrants' versus 'Germans', however, my interviewee fantasizes about what there possibly

is to see when asking 'Germans' the same question. That is, as she states: "migrants might even feel *more* German than Germans" [emphasis added, SB]. This would however be perceived as a slippage in the dominant logic of seeing, that is, an oscillation of the reference category like in the example of the measure of 'contacts' in the chapter *Visualizing*. In that specific case, the results showed that those in the category autochthones have most contacts with their own group, which would mean they would be seen as the ones 'least integrated' compared to the other groups. This was reversed by an exception, to make the dominant logic of visualizing 'immigrants' as on a distance from society (and autochthones 'in society') work again. Not asking the question of feeling German to 'Germans' prevents such an outcome which would have to be manipulated to work again as a benchmark for society. Fantasizing however beyond the dominant logic of seeing causes disruptive moments in the work practice, which is expressed in the last part of the passage above when stammering "ethnicities [are] always the other" and "the majority" is "not ethnic". Although my interviewee voices this as a "totally wrong perception", another voice confirms that "it reflects the way in which our questions are asked." It shows once again how she is situated in a web of discomfort, unable to step outside its logic.

My interviewee is one of the few people in charge of making the migrant specific subsample in the survey, reinforcing the formulation of questions directed only at people in the subsample. She therefore concludes with what is part of constituting the easy-to-think narrative of perpetual arrival: "You don't ask Germans if they feel German". Nonetheless, the disruptive moments in speaking – through laughter, stammering and double voice – show how with a societal gaze particular questions happen not to be asked to some, that is 'the majority', but to others, or, 'the ethnicities'. At this point, again, whiteness is performed by way of seeing since 'the majority is not ethnic'. It is through the societal gaze that 'Germans' and 'feeling German' coincide to see 'migrants', or, those who are not yet in the place where you can, or ought to, feel 'German'.

In what follows I will go against the persuasive force of the societal gaze once again by demonstrating another way in which the reference category is encountered. It shows paradoxically how 'the majority population' is recognized as a 'black box' in immigrant integration monitoring, but how it is also actively displaced as an object to be seen to sustain its power in the perceptual ordering of the field.

The black box of "the majority population"

In one of my interviews a social scientist literally spoke of "the majority population" as a "black-box". I was thrilled to hear her using this term that relates to my analytic vocabulary (cf Knorr-Cetina, Latour, Star) but this reaction was also a bit too quick as I saw through the interview itself that we understood and used the concept in different ways. Still, or even precisely therefore, it is an interesting passage to see how 'the problem of the majority population', in my analytical terms as 'not seen but seen with', is addressed from within the field as a so-called black box. In this particular interview we spoke amongst other things about a major household survey and the way in which survey samples and questions are conducted. My interviewee said in the interview at a certain point:

> I: "I think the area where we haven't got it so right is the sort of black box, if you like, of the majority population. Partly because we don't ask, there was some specialized questions including around identity that we only ask of minorities in the small subsample of the (…) population so they potentially have less power than the majority population. Partly because I don't think we can capture the context in which people respond unless we know what the majority population is thinking and doing because we didn't ask them in so much detail. For example, about their attitudes towards other groups, even about discrimination. Even quite basic questions, which are not ideal but at least you can ask relatively simple."

Q: "So that is not balanced out?"

I: "Yeah exactly, so we can say what the minorities are thinking and saying and how they participate we can say in much detail but we can say a lot less about the majority and how they relate to the minorities. And that seems a very important issue. I have made some suggestions, this is really a bit of the puzzle that we do need to understand"

(From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2015).

According to my interviewee "the majority population" is a "sort of black box" because particular questions, such as about identity, are not asked of what is considered the majority population. Again, like in the previous example of 'Germans feeling German', the questions are directed only at the subsample of 'minorities'. The social scientist also says that "the context" is difficult to grasp since there is not a lot known of 'the majority population', referring to the questions that are not asked of them. The arguments about the invisible so-called majority category, the 'context'-related argument and the realization of a lack of detail about 'the majority', will supposedly open the 'black box' towards a more symmetrical way of seeing the categories for monitoring. Although the passage consists of the strong and taken-for-granted binary opposition of 'majority' and 'minorities', the considerations of my interviewee do point at the problems of not figuring the reference category. But then in her examples of how to 'better see' this category it becomes clear that if 'the majority' is to be known – that is to be seen – it is to see "their attitudes towards other groups", thus, "how they relate to the minorities". Also 'the context' is to be known, or seen, to better see 'the minorities' within this context. The quite explicit considerations about the majority category as 'black box' are still about seeing the 'other groups'. Hence the majority category is used again as seeing through, that is, the so-called majority population functions as character focalizer for 'society'

encompassing all vision. The black box is only seen in relation to seeing (more of) the minority categories.

This is also the case when social scientists and state officials speak about 'integration as a two-sided process' in which they acknowledge the presence of, for instance in the Dutch case, 'autochthones' as participating in integration issues. Yet, when 'the majority population' or 'autochthones' become visible the societal gaze redirects what is in the spotlight immediately. Another interviewee said about including 'autochthones' in 'integration' research:

> "Look, if I am right, both sides appear in research but sometimes the emphasis differs. We focus elaborately on the view of the population in regard to migrants. Discrimination is an important focus. This is how we emphasize the autochthonous side. In terms of a parallel society we perhaps look more toward the allochthones, the side of the migrants, gets more attention" (From an interview with a social scientist, winter 2015).

The logic of seeing with a societal gaze in which 'society' and 'autochthones' coincide is evident in this quote when the difference of 'other groups' is spoken about in terms of a "parallel society". This is explicitly demonstrating how the societal gaze of immigrant integration monitoring looks at those under the umbrella of 'allochthones' as forming their own society outside of the society from which they are observed. Also, 'autochthones' are only emphasized in how they act towards 'migrants'. 'Opening the black box' or 'seeing integration as a two-sided process' does not entail a more symmetrical way of monitoring 'integration' of all members in society. When in practices 'Janus' (cf Latour) tries to see both focalizer and focalized slippages in speaking occur, the slippages are in fact inevitably part of the work. The societal gaze uses the reference category as an ordering power that comes to the forefront in unexpected and paradoxical ways, as showed

in the fieldwork accounts, however it is actively displaced, and thus made to disappear, to sustain the logic of seeing. The societal gaze keeps social scientists in a loop of operating in between anxious paradoxes, thereby reproducing forms of raced difference.

"(…) they are a little darker, but you know.."

As is made clear in this chapter, the societal gaze sees others, 'immigrants' and in narratological terms the focalized, through race as a frame. I have been motivated by Mieke Bal's passage about the seeing of an object that is telling more about the one who sees the object than who or what is seen. Hence the emphasis in this chapter was on scrutinizing that which sees: the societal gaze with the help of the neutral reference category. In the ways of coding and highlighting in immigrant integration monitoring paradoxes are found that the field cannot do, or specifically cannot see, without. A lot of work is done to avert a possible reversal of ground, the reference category and thus society, into figure.

In the assessments of immigrant integration in the reports such as those analyzed in the first part of the chapter, 'seeing the other' seems a quite straightforward practice, projecting the other in degrees of difference-as-racialized distance towards the societal space. Unsurprisingly, two voices also speak at once in accounts of monitoring experts in relation to seeing the other. Again, this becomes most apparent when the 'third generation' is addressed in one of my interviews. Consider the following typical account of one of my interviewees about seeing younger generations through social scientific measuring:

> "I think it is important to be able track people and see if there is progression. I think it is important to look at second generation immigrants for instance at the labour market because they are really facing challenges and other challenges than the other group. So it is important to know what is happening there and what is it that it is

> more likely to get integrated into the labour market or socially. And then I think it is important and interesting to know if there are still problems for the children of descendants. Whether it is a problem that we call them third generation immigrants, of course it could be, because it is stigmatizing, because for instance they have never been to Turkey, they don't speak Turkish because their parents grew up in Denmark and they went to Danish schools, *they are a bit darker but you know*" (From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2014 [My emphasis, SB]).

The first sentences of this passage show again the typical way in which immigrant integration is seen in accounts through the use of 'tracking people', 'seeing progression' and 'looking at second generation'. Also, the way of speaking about all kinds of "problems" is relating back to the way in which people are made up as 'the problem' when a linkage of issues, people and 'integration' takes place. My interest however in terms of seeing is with the slip of the tongue at the end of the passage, which expresses a usually rather unspeakable racist mark in immigrant integration monitoring. My interviewee ends his explanation of calling some people 'third generation immigrants' with the words "they are a bit darker but you know." He is forced to say this to make sure that the other can still be seen. That is, in the sentence ahead of the slip of the tongue he makes an effort of moving 'them' away from what is Turkey to a grounding of 'them' in Denmark, that is, *in* the imaginary of society. However, this time the reversal of figure into ground is averted by the slip of the tongue. Namely, according to the logic it is still important to keep sight of those considered other. The articulation of "darker" is used to see a difference, that is a racial difference that makes up 'third generation immigrants' and places them on a distance from what is Denmark and who or what is Danish.

What is looked over quickly – but is fully part of the difficulty of speaking – are the very last words of the sentence, "but you know",

which is a reference to what my interviewee just said – "darker" – and how that is actually unspeakable and not up for circulation. At this point my interviewee was uncomfortably forced to utter this to keep up with the logic of seeing in the monitoring field. Certainly, by literally saying "darker", a boundary is crossed according to him, meaning that something is not up for circulation is exchanged, i.e. the hierarchizing of people on the basis of colour and positioning them as non-white. However, the making of raced difference is not only to be recognized in references to colour, it is as much present in notions such as 'origin' and 'Danish', which are just as much racial coordinates (cf Stoler) of the professional work. That is not to say that 'origin' is similar to 'colour', since the historical trajectories and situatedness of these as either abstract notions and/or lived embodied experiences are radically different in many ways. Yet all these notions are captured and racialized through the societal gaze in monitoring immigrant integration, asymmetrically ordering the way to perceive of population. I have tried to touch upon the disruptive moments, by ways of stammering, slips of the tongue and paradoxical ways of speaking, when race is a lens projecting multiple variations of 'immigrants', who are considered non-white as opposed to 'majority natives', who are (re)establishing society's whiteness.

Conclusion: Seeing 'society' through a work of discomforting paradoxes

The societal gaze of predominantly seeing 'migrants', 'non-western groups' or 'minorities' persuades the field, me and perhaps you as a reader to follow the logic of seeing in monitoring immigrant integration. Still in observing and making visible the affective structure in the practices in the accounts of my interviewees, I show how the practices of seeing are built through a set of discomforting paradoxes which emerge through two voices speaking at the same time: "You don't ask Germans if they are feeling German" vs "this should be asked to everybody"; "Whites are no yardstick" vs "they

are the majority, the total population average reflects them indirectly". It is the discomfort between not wanting to put forward for instance 'Whites' as a benchmark and concluding in the end that they are, since they reflect 'the majority'; or in attempting to both see 'Germans' but not asking particular questions to 'Germans'. These two examples show how seeing is organized and distributed through affective practices, i.e. coding benchmarks and highlighting a selection of survey questions. In other words, seeing is organized through a societal *and* anxious gaze that sees through the reference category, which is then impossible to be seen. The community of practice, including amongst others sociologists, economists and policy-advisors, is continuously busy with coding and highlighting to displace and thus make invisible the ways in which the reference category emerges (un)expectedly. This work, which is a *work of dissociation*, helps the professional community to deal with the trouble encountered in the work, yet, inevitably also reproduces the same trouble over and over again. I will elaborate on the specifics of dissociating in monitoring immigrant integration in my concluding chapter.

Speaking with two voices occurs on both sides of the 'self' and 'other' distinction. As analyzed in this chapter, seeing with the societal gaze is dependent upon the reference category as 'yardstick'; without attempts of differentiation; without asking particular questions; and if questioned, only in relation to the other, the so-called minorities. The societal gaze then also sees and thus makes visible the other, but only up to a certain degree, that is, making the other to the degree that it is not, at least not 'directly', associated with racial hierarchizing of people (according to the logic). The way of seeing in monitoring immigrant integration is organized and completely dependent upon the existing two voices that speak at the same time on both sides. This is how a technique of racialization and particularly whiteness is silently performed and distributed through the way of seeing in immigrant integration monitoring. In both cases of seeing 'immigrants' and in not seeing a 'white majority' the paradoxes should be

sustained, yet worked out of sight, otherwise the logic breaks down. If the logic of seeing breaks down, all participants of the immigrant integration imaginary would become racially visible, including 'whites' who are not considered as having a racialized or ethnicized positioning. Society could not be imagined any longer in the way it is done through the routinized ways of monitoring.

Nonetheless, in analyzing ways of coding and highlighting in my fieldwork accounts, the paradoxes that construe the stability of 'society' became visible. While the disruptive moments observed in the accounts about the work of monitoring show discomfort and possibly slippage or error, the discomforting interruptions are precisely that which keep in place the logic of what should be seen. The two faces productive of coding and highlighting are thus particular practices in the monitoring of immigrant integration that keep together and make invisible the paradoxes. Seeing with a dominant societal gaze in this way contributes to what Schinkel has stated as "the fixation of the primordial object of social science itself: 'society'." (Schinkel 2017: 69). Through this chapter I tried to touch upon the particular practices of ordering a perceptual field of monitoring immigrant integration that also orders this fixation of 'society'. Focalization, coding and highlighting have performative effects of imagining white European societies plausible.

7

DISSOCIATING

(Dis)abling ways of knowledge production

In this dissertation I analyzed a work of dissociation by investigating the performative practices and effects of immigrant integration monitoring: the making of difference-as-racialized distance in images, the narration of perpetual arrival of 'immigrant' characters compared to those already in society, an imagination of 'there' on the basis of constantly questioning 'where are you from?', and the active presence of a societal gaze through which seeing is distributed in the professional field of monitoring immigrant integration. Moreover, I analyzed difficulties in speaking that emerged from the inevitable paradoxes that make up the logics of the practices in monitoring immigrant integration. Although it was my aim to do an ethnography, and I felt that during the research I was held back and unable to do such ethnography, in the end this dissertation has resulted in a multi-sited ethnographic study of the unfinished performative work in immigrant integration monitoring. In other words, through difficulties in speaking, forms of affect demonstrated much of what is going on 'between the walls' of social scientific monitoring of immigrant integration.

A work of active dissociation is, as Ann Stoler states, about dismembering, occluding and displacing, and translating this to STS vocabulary it resonates with forgetting and making invisible. Yet, in Stoler's work, as in STS studies, 'forgetting' means that nothing is really forgotten (Stoler 2016). These are all part of active processes to disconnect and stay distant from discomforting narratives of the historical present. Dissociating

is part of Stoler's central notion of colonial aphasia, though I prefer to work with the verb dissociating since it resonates with the performative practices analysed in the chapters of this dissertation.

Dissociating as practiced by the expert community of monitoring immigrant integration is instigated by the discomfort and anxiety that produces paradoxes sustaining the logics at work. In my fieldwork I focused on forms of affect that play a role in keeping the positions of figure, 'immigrants', and ground, 'society', in place. I stumbled upon a kind of professional work that does a lot of work to avert a reversal of figure and ground, that is, by pushing the reference category, i.e. society, out of sight and placing 'immigrants' in the spotlight. This results in paradoxes analyzed through the observations of speaking with a double voice, moments of stammering and slips of the tongue. The difficulties in speaking are showing the trouble encountered in the work as the way of coping with the trouble. The paradoxes sustain the epistemic habits developed to know and what the community of practice imagines they can know about the 'immigrant's integration in society'. Moreover, in this way they enact and sustain a racialized imaginary of society.

Hence, the imaginary produced by monitoring immigrant integration involves a dissociating that is about displacing 'immigrants' at a distance from 'society' while making them very visible in contrast to the displacing of autochthones or 'natives' who remain invisible. The way in which dissociating was analyzed in the chapters as operative is within this logic of (in)visibility and distancing. For instance, in *Visualizing* the performativity of the images by ways of distance making was analysed; the 'immigrants' are in a variety of ways always visualized in tables and graphs at a distance from the benchmark or zero point of the image, which is where the 'natives' represent society. In *Narrating* the making of 'immigrant' characters was central, that is, it showed those who are still arriving were enacted in contrast to the supposedly rightful occupants of society, through differentiating and narrating practices. In *Questioning*, through the measurement instrument

of the questionnaire a 'there' is constantly made up that dissociates those who are 'not from here', often based on the immigrants' (grand)parents' background from what is imagined as society. In *Seeing* the societal gaze is ordering a seeing in which 'immigrants' are the ones seen, again on a distance from society, while the unmarked category of the 'natives' is seeing and can therefore not be seen at the same time.

Dissociating is thus a practice operating in distinct ways when it concerns knowledge production of immigrant integration and society: by making visible 'immigrants' yet at a distance from society and by making invisible the reference category that is representing and occupying society. Moreover, dissociating as practice in monitoring immigrant integration is to move away 'society' from others, problems, migration, colonial legacy et cetera.

Connecting to registers of racism and colonialism

More broadly speaking this specific work of dissociation is each time a dissociation of ways of knowledge production from postcolonial and race and racism registers. In other words, the knowledge produced on 'immigrants' and thus 'society' is disconnected from the postcolonial present and day-to-day forms of structural racism. Stoler's work aims at obstructing "ways of knowing that disable linkages to imperial practice and that often go by other names" (Ibid: 10). She writes about occlusion meaning that which is closed off, creates blockage, hides and occurs in different sources, spatially and temporally. For instance, she writes on France's racial register and how its colonial history is absent from national history. The politics of aphasia, in which occlusion, dissociating and dismembering come together, also resonate in the racist image of 'Black Pete', now a Dutch national icon. She studies various 'sites' of colonial aphasia, that is, analysing dissociations when asking in these instances: "how is it that such a history can be rendered irretrievable, made available, and again displaced" (Ibid: 12). Gloria Wekker, in her recently published

book *White Innocence,* also writes of 'dissociating' when addressing the way in which gender and race/ethnicity are "dissociated" in the academy specifically, yet, also in the dominant thought of governmental, media and other discourses in the Netherlands (Wekker 2016: 69).

In a different way Wekker said in a talk that by bringing together elements in research of what is perceived as unusual one might be able to see different things. She emphasized how for instance the former Dutch colonial territories are always scrutinized separately from one another, while one can learn more, or differently, when bringing these together doing research. Amade M'charek does something similar in her research on the so-called 'migration crisis' in the Mediterranean, by not only scrutinizing the political, bureaucratic or technological registers, but by putting central waste as an "object of evidence" and material form which "mediates between various entities and worlds that tend to be kept apart, such as the living and the dead migrants, Europe and its others, care and surveillance" (M'charek: 127). Their work reveals different infrastructures at work that enable linkages to race, racialization and colonialism in knowledge making. My aim in this dissertation also has been to bring registers that are mostly considered as radically different together. Specifically, the ways in which 'immigrants' and 'integration' in European societies are dissociated from registers of race and colonialism. However, the fields of migration and immigrant integration eventually serve as registers to again make invisible and neutralize what is perceived of as society. In other words, that which is imagined as 'society' is dissociated from the previously mentioned registers.

While analysing a work of dissociation, this dissertation has therefore become a *work of association*, which was difficult, and in which I also stammered and thus experienced a difficulty in speaking, in finding voice. Race, Lentin writes, is "so easy to shrug off and overwrite", nonetheless it is the "signifier par excellence" of how the West imagines itself against its racialized opposite (Lentin 2008: 490). Saying that this is about race, that it is racism or speaking of postcolonial practices is complicated in

many ways, and this dissertation has scrutinized and showed partially why it is difficult. It showed how practices are entangled with anxious ways of dissociating particularly 'society' from such notions, processes and registers. Affect plays a crucial role in the work of dissociating. Discomfort and anxiety are part and parcel of the social scientific and state monitoring that constructs a narrative of perpetual arrival, that is, the way in which 'society' and its 'immigrants' are imagined. Both forms of affect are thus productive of this particular imagination. Nonetheless, the forms of affect can also be seen as opportunities for tracing associations between registers, which are thus uncomfortable to approach, to open up and to speak fluently about. In the moments during my fieldwork when it appeared difficult to speak further, when stammering occurred or two voices spoke at the same time, I as a researcher with a so-called 'performative affective postcolonial gaze' was able to see or even more feel that something there was going on.

Art, literature, narratology and STS have been helpful lenses in elucidating the performative logics at work in different stages of monitoring immigrant integration work and in associating quantitative research of immigrant integration to race and postcolonial registers. The analyses of the performativity of images and measurement instruments as performative devices demonstrated the production of an imagination of racialized distance and imaginaries of 'here' versus 'there'. Pausing at the discomforting ways of differentiating a national population revealed the ways in which the population is differentiated through racial formations. And identifying who is not seen but is organizing all the seeing unmasked the protagonist of the perpetual arrival narrative of immigrant integration: a white majority population representing 'society'.

Often the disruptive moments are the locations of where to start a work of association, that is, to bring apparently disconnected registers together. It was partially my choice and partially due to my discomfort that I did not ask direct or literal questions on race and racism in my fieldwork interviews and encounters. Sara Ahmed said that it took her time

to write about race and that it did not come up in her interviews, not in her questions or by her interviewees (Ahmed 2012). I recognized this way of doing research: race and racism was not openly expressed or discussed throughout the research, yet I traced race as "absent presence" (M'charek et al 2014) through forms of affect that instigate the way in which knowledge of immigrant integration is produced. If I had put race on the table from the first moment of my research, for example 'I would like to speak with you about race and racism in your day to day profession', I would not have been able to make this particular analysis of difficulties in speaking, the work of dissociating and colonial aphasia. My multi-disciplinary lens of literary studies, postcolonial studies and STS addressed difference making, race and racism and the colonial present through affects that are part and parcel of the work, that is, of discomforting ways of doing monitoring immigrant integration.

Paul Gilroy expresses without hesitation that in Europe we are taken 'hostage' by the figure of the immigrant: "The figure of the immigrant is part of the very intellectual mechanism that holds us – as postcolonial Europeans, black and white, indeterminate and unclassifiable – hostage" (Gilroy 2005: 149). This results in a convenient position for the host, who can be excused because 'migrancy' is something that 'immigrants' are to blame for (cf Gilroy). Likewise 'integration into society' is a responsibility and thus so-called 'problem' of 'immigrants'. From this dissertation we learn how quantitative social scientific knowledge production of 'the immigrant' is done in such a way that experts – social scientists and government officials – remain within the borders of an unspoken, or unspeakable, but shared agreement of for instance what 'non-racial' differentiation of the population is. The discomforting ways concerned with method were more important than purely scientific choices when lumping and splitting people with a 'migration background', 'origin' or 'non-German surname', amongst other ways. As long as figure and ground are kept in place and thus the practice of dissociating throughout the social scientific work continues

there is no room for really starting to remember, connect and associate with racial and colonial registers of contemporary Europe. In other words, an alternative social imaginary of society is unimaginable. While race is definitely continuing "to hold us in its grip", as Lentin states (Lentin 2008: 490), how is it then that the political and academic lexicons and agendas are persistently dissociating from it?

The impasse of monitoring immigrant integration: 'waiting for Godot'

By warning about 'not getting stuck half way', one of my interviewees touched precisely upon the situation for professionally monitoring immigrant integration: "We should still call it this [assimilation, SB] and not get stuck half way, through a vague notion of integration, which is alike to assimilation." With the notion of 'integration' and its logics the monitoring of immigrant integration has 'got stuck'. In other words, I argue that the quantitative social scientific field is situated in an *impasse*. "Impasse", according to Lauren Berlant, "designates a time of dithering from which someone or some situation cannot move forward" (Berlant 2011: 4), and it "suggests a temporary housing" which leads to a different sense of impasse which is "impassivity" (Ibid: 5). She extends her description of impasse and impassivity to a way of living on in times of ongoing crisis and loss. In relation to monitoring immigrant integration, the researchers, state-officials as well as those captured as 'immigrants', or, while quite unevenly, 'autochthonous' for that matter, live on in 'the hope of arrival'. This hope I argue is exactly where the crisis is located.

Researchers conduct research with the best intentions yet at the same time the hope of arrival is lived with a persistent discomfort and anxiety. The paradoxes in which the affective structure results are located in an impasse, in which nothing really moves forward; everyone is 'waiting for Godot' (cf Beckett 1953). This means that those doing the routinized work of monitoring immigrant integration, as much as, although unevenly

divided, those classified either as 'immigrants' or as 'natives', are awaiting an announcement of actual arrival from someone or somewhere, which will never come. Supposedly there is a lot of moving and expectation, particularly in the imagination of the 'immigrants' moving closer towards 'society'. But the reference category at the 'place of arrival' is also imagined mobile since its mobility consists of a certain standard circulation in which all of those not arrived yet need to participate, precisely in that amount of speed. All this imagined mobility, for both those journeying towards society and those who are 'already there', is not at all a moving forward in terms of 'belonging', 'living together' or 'inclusivity'. The question therefore is: in what way do people have to 'move forward', how do they escape from the modern imaginary of growth and speed towards a 'better future' when thinking in terms of 'belonging to society' or an 'inclusive society'? I argue thus that while a lot of mobility is imagined, the doing of monitoring immigrant integration is situated in an impasse, that it, it is stuck in its own discomforting paradoxes. As a consequence, particularly those captured as 'immigrants' in one way or another are forever waiting to become part of 'society'.

Part of the impasse are the discomforting ways of the social scientific routine work, which exceeds questions of method. The way in which the field is caught up in a normative language of 'immigrants' and an optimistic striving for sameness while its main task is producing racialized difference results in paradoxes from which one cannot escape. Think again of the way in which one of my interviewees was stammering about "younger migrants" and "how they don't want to be migrants" in which she was completely stuck in speaking in terms of 'immigrants'. In this fieldwork case my interviewee also attempted to equal 'them', 'young migrants', to 'Germans', yet this was impossible because of her practice of making difference on the basis of their grandparents' origin. In another fieldwork moment this was expressed through the slip of the tongue that "they are a bit darker (…)". This brings forth observations of difficulties of speaking, which are

uncomfortable yet also familiar to the community of practice. In many of my fieldwork moments, if not all, the social scientists were attentive to the ways in which they displayed difference, which appeared sometimes as the stigmatization or segregation faced by immigrants, or stereotypical and racialized difference, yet they were reproducing this difference at the same time. Thus, in the impasse, displaying others means producing others. However, each disruptive moment in my fieldwork consisted of anxious boundary work in which one cannot cross the self-defined boundary of where racialization starts, according to the community. The epistemic habits developed to know and what the community of practice imagines they can know is inevitably entangled into processes of racialization.

Nevertheless, the attempts at limiting the options for differentiation are not lessening the racialized ways of doing so to the same degree. The same logic counts for explicitly speaking of the darker skin colour of those classified as third generation. It is not to say that speaking instead of ethnicity is a 'lesser' form of making racialized difference. I argue that it is precisely in those less explicit forms, that is as absent presence, that processes of racialization get room to exist in the way in which society is dominantly imagined today. As analysed above, the paradoxes occur at both sides of the sharp distinction of 'immigrants' vis-à-vis a reference category. In the latter case it is concerned mostly with keeping out of sight the reference category. This benchmark 'society', appearing and disappearing all the time in all kinds of ways, is precisely the protagonist of a racialization technique which makes racialized others and sustains whiteness as the way in which West European societies are imagined. The paradoxes in the monitoring work result in a holding together of representations of difference by names other than race against an invisible white reference category representing *and* occupying society.

Waiting in the hope of arrival

The performative effects of the discomfort which is productive of the ways of speaking, the paradoxes and logics in practices of monitoring immigrant integration, are a form of "cruel optimism", a powerful notion by Lauren Berlant.[15] It may help to clarify further how the difficulties of speaking are completely part of the work and situated in an impasse of (state) knowledge production. Cruel optimism, for Berlant, is a relation that 'exists when something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing' (Berlant 2011: 1). The deviousness of the mode of 'arriving' in Western European problematizations of immigrant integration lies in the optimism inherent in the idea of 'arriving'. Arriving suggests a sense of 'almost there' that hints at a unidirectional movement towards a desired destiny. But the cruelty in this relation emerges from the extended nature of the arriving. Arriving is perpetual. Despite its optimistic connotations, the best one can achieve when seen as 'immigrant' is being 'well integrated', which is still a part of the obscene of the scene in which 'integration' is not an issue of seeing, of discourse, and of statistical assessment at all (Schinkel 2017).

'Optimism,' Berlant elucidates, 'is cruel when the object/scene that ignites a sense of possibility actually makes it impossible to attain the expansive transformation for which a person or a people risks striving' (Berlant 2011: 2). Cruel optimism, for Berlant, extends to political projects, which is what the governing vision of 'immigrant integration' in the end amounts to. It is endemic to projects of 'adjustment', which, in the form of 'assimilation', are exactly what the monitoring work of immigrant integration turns out to revolve around. In other words, the project of a hope of arrival, however anxious, is covering this ultimate goal of assimilation and adjustment to the societal norm, and has become the permanent framework in which quantitative knowledge on immigrants and

[15] This paragraph is based on the concluding paragraph of an article published in Cultural Studies [Sanne Boersma & Willem Schinkel (2017) Imaginaries of postponed arrival: on seeing 'society' and its 'immigrants', Cultural Studies, 32:2, 308-325].

their descendants is reproduced. The societal gaze in immigrant integration monitoring, analysed in chapter 6, sustains a fantasy of arrival of the other, and of 'always having settled' for the self. If cruel optimism, according to Berlant, 'is the condition of maintaining an attachment to a significantly problematic object' (Berlant 2011: 24), then those who can, by means of a delegated dominance, unproblematically attach to, identify with, and see through the societal gaze, are also entangled in a relation of cruel optimism as well, however asymmetric the cruelty of this optimism ultimately is. That is, the cruelty, and the optimism, though unevenly divided, run both ways here.

Optimism is what drives the shaping of relations between 'society' and its 'immigrants', and what codes 'integration' as a political project with the best intentions. It represents, after all, a joined effort at getting people to arrive, at bringing them in, allowing them to come closer, to forge bonds, or in liberal jargon, to 'include'. But this entails an a priori seeing of a lack of bond, a lack of closeness, of inclusion, and of presence even. It testifies to a desire to imagine a 'society' and the relations it names purely along the lines of sameness instead of difference. Difference is coded as distance, as still arriving, as covering a distance along which difference is shed. That 'immigrants' that are 'here' but, nonetheless, still need to arrive, that the other is still not quite 'here' even if she or he stands in front of the self, constitutes an optimistically coded cruelty in which arriving becomes the medium of an attachment that can only ever perpetuate the distance it inaugurates. And so, arriving becomes waiting in an extended present that reproduces optimism, and that keeps on conveying the best intentions of arriving and of facilitating this announced arrival of the other, through a hospitality invested with power.

The different practices and discomforting ways that I have analysed in the chapters enact the imagination of deferred arrival, but they do so in the explicit hope of contributing to 'integration'. The best intentions of 'integrating immigrants' here reproduce a distance to be travelled, an

arriving to be completed yet eternally deferred. My argument, and critique, is thus that there is not necessarily a 'better' or more 'neutral' way of seeing immigrants when the larger frame of imagination pits 'society' in contrast to 'immigrants in need of integration'. This asymmetrical logic is situated in an impasse, in which a moving back and forth to the place of arrival as displayed in statistical reports and images suggests an optimistic hope of having all immigrants arrived in society in the end. The optimism once again issues from the social imaginary of 'society' as a domain in which one can 'be' without 'belonging', but which one can get to belong to, and become a 'member of society', once measured deviations from norms disappear. Nevertheless, the cruelty derives from the deferral implied in this imagination. By measuring deviations from norms, and by measuring them solely among 'migrant groups', difference keeps on being reproduced and attributed to those groups. And with the reproduction of difference comes the reproduction of their deferral, their not-yet being 'here', even though they are 'here', as objects of policy, management, problematization and, significantly, visualization in research.

Those captured, or captive, by the category of 'the immigrant' are in one way or another condemned to this societal *myth of arrival*. And it reproduces, at the same time, a *myth of primordial settlement* of 'natives'. This myth of primordial settlement is why 'integration', as 'adjustment to society', can be asymmetrically applied, observed and calculated. Those unproblematically seen as 'members of society' have always been 'here'. They do not become visible as arriving but are assumed to have descended from those who were 'original arrivers', i.e., those considered the mythical settlers of the nation (Van Reekum and Schinkel 2017).

Associating with the trouble

What is to be done about the impasse of continually producing the narrative of perpetual arrival in immigrant integration knowledge making? How can the rather convenient yet uncomfortable affective logic of cruel optimism

be permeated? How can it be acknowledged that the 'hope of arrival' is actually a myth? In Derrida's terms, how can we not exorcize the ghost or spectre that is the figure of radical alterity one encounters, but learn to live *with* it? (Derrida 1994 xxviii, quoted in Bunz et al 2017).

In following Gilroy I first of all say that we need to let go in social scientific knowledge production of "the fascination with the figure of the migrant" (Gilroy 2005: 149). In general this figure should become part of Europe's history which would help to stop seeing black and brown Europeans as migrants (cf Gilroy). The focus in knowledge production should therefore not be on 'migrancy' or for that matter 'diversity' but on studies of race and racism and the (post)colonial present. Through the logic of immigrant integration monitoring, 'society' is exempted from racism or of rethinking its colonial past and how it is still a historical present. As Gilroy writes, migrancy opens the doors to explanations of "immigrants as the authors of their own misfortune" and means that "the hostility and violence of the hosts against immigrants can then be excused." This is exactly what knowledge production of migration, immigrants, ethnic minorities et cetera serves at this point: the problematization of immigrants and migration as a problem 'outside of society' (Schinkel 2017).

Hence, I argue for a shift in social science studies of 'migration' and 'integration' to studies of (structural) race and racism, and for these studies to become part of the imagination of associations. As Essed and Nimako state in their study of the so-called 'Dutch minority research industry', this "research is largely *about* ethnic minorities", and studies of race and racism have been "more or less silenced" (Essed and Nimako 2006: 285, 286). This dissertation aimed to shed empirical light and contribute to knowledge on the way in which quantitative knowledge production is *about* immigrants and their descendants, and how it dissociates from studies of race and racism, mostly ignored by social scientific and governmental actors. It discussed, in Wekker's terms, the "toxic substructures upholding the worlds of policy making and academic knowledge production" (Wekker

2016: 51). Although functioning by discomforting paradoxes, the way of producing knowledge 'about others' is taken-for-granted and supported by quantitative social scientific method and the way of governing people, that is through a *politics* of large numbers (Desrosières 2002). One of my interviewees said about the logic of numbers:

> "Well, it's interesting what numbers, statistics kind of do and resonate with policy makers. There is a glamour of percentages. So if you say 60 percent of Bangladeshi women blablabla is much more believable than if you say I did some ethnographic research among Bangladeshi women and found that they have multiple access of identification…
>
> Q: Why is that? What do you think?
>
> I don't know, I think that's what counts as knowledge, so statistical knowledge counts as knowledge, truth, evidence, qualitative research don't for policy makers. Even if policy makers as the rest of us have no understanding of whether or not statistics (… [unclear recording, SB]) people don't really ask questions about how robust a sample is or not. They just trust the percentage"(From an interview with a social scientist, spring 2015).

As long as the politics of large numbers prevails, my interviewee will be doing a lot of monitoring work, and subsequently the field will remain in its impasse. He admitted that research agendas and funding are directing his research: "if I could do whatever I wanted probably a lot of the projects I work on I definitely wouldn't (…) and so probably everything to do eventually with measuring and monitoring of integration I almost definitely wouldn't work on." The research he conducts has everything to

do with, in his words "the good and bad luck of which funding proposals are successful."

What is needed I argue is a transformation in what counts as knowledge. That is, the dominant ways of knowledge production should be turned upside down; the situated ethnography of Bangladeshi women, to take the example from my interviewee, should be taken seriously to know about associations in contrast to the generalized statement of "60 percent of Bangladeshi women (…)." Namely, this would mean conducting studies not *about* ethnic minority women but *of* the raciological ordering in which the women are situated throughout history. This would open up the opportunity in research projects to direct attention to race as, to repeat in Gilroy's terms, "the brutal result of the raciological ordering of the world, not its cause." An ethnographic study can track the "manifold structures of a racial nomos – a legal, governmental and spatial order" (Gilroy 2005: 39). In this way, knowledge will be produced on the ways in which people are affected by race instead of problematizing 'the people's race'. As a qualitative researcher and ethnographer, one scrutinizes the way in which structures of racial differentiation affect particular people in particular places. It means a focus on infrastructures and affective practices through which race travels. Not all stammers have to be overcome or can be overcome but let us pause and pay due attention to those stammers and double voices, that is in following Haraway, by associating with the trouble.

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Summary

"What are you doing here?" was asked by many of my fellow participants in a language and integration course in Berlin in 2011. The participants were absolutely astonished by my participation in this course. While I often lacked German language skills more than the participants, I was perceived as the person out of place on this course. My idea of coming to Berlin after graduation to learn German and 'just see what happens' was put in a completely different and actually embarrassing light. Here I was, in the middle of a room full of people uncertain about their long-term residency permits for Germany if they did not pass the test, confronted with my extremely privileged position in contrast to that of the other participants; a highly-educated white 26-year-old, born in the Netherlands to parents who were born in the Netherlands as well. This meant by the way that I was exempted from any obligatory test from the start.

This situation from my personal memory was one of the many occasions in which I became aware of my privileged position as a white person born in Europe. My experience in the language and integration course in Berlin showed me in a very concrete way how much I was part of what is perceived as their story, or rather, 'the immigrant story' and thus the imagination of Western European societies. I embodied that which they, the participants of the integration course, had to live up to. Namely, I am part of what, at that moment in Berlin, did and still does represent that kind of Europe, which is imagined by a variety of actors. For once, I was in the spotlight in that classroom in Berlin while my fellow participants faded into the background. Usually it is imagined the other way around, that is, those

assigned as immigrants are highly visible, often seen as exceptional and displayed as problems, while white – so-called autochthonous or native – people are rendered invisible and perceived of as normal.

These persistent roles played in West European societies, in which one is put in the spotlight and the other in the shadow, is at the heart of this dissertation. I transformed these encounters in Berlin (amongst many others) into a lens for observing the production process of the monitoring of immigrant integration. Monitoring immigrant integration consists of quantitative measurements of people classified in one way or another as 'immigrant'. The aim of such measurements is to show if and how 'immigrants' are 'integrated' in 'society'. This dissertation shows how such statistical knowledge production that is intricately tied to population management by the state enacts a **racialized imaginary of society**. Through two focal points, **narrating and affect**, it analyses a work of dissociation by investigating the performative practices and effects of immigrant integration monitoring.

Situating

The research in this dissertation is a multi-sited ethnography of monitoring practices at various institutions and academic networks in four West European countries: the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The chapter following the introduction called *Situating* gives an account of my research position, the way in which the research in this dissertation is situated and how the monitoring of immigrant integration became an object of research in a multi-sited (auto)ethnography. The first part presents how literary and postcolonial studies, STS and Donna Haraway's "situated knowledges" and question "How to see?" (Haraway 1991) are central to my research position. The second part of the chapter elaborates on the trouble encountered in attempting to study a politically sensitive infrastructure shared by knowledge institutions and the state.

Specifically, it analyses the rejection of doing ethnographic research within the SCP, the Institute for Social Scientific Research in the Netherlands.

This resulted in one of the focal points in the dissertation, that is **affect**: the awkward and uncomfortable moments in my research encounters and observations became an (auto)ethnography of routinely unfinished work of immigrant integration. Two forms of affect, **discomfort and anxiety**, are analysed as performative in practices of immigrant integration monitoring This is traced in interviews with monitoring experts and observations at academic and state-initiated conferences in which difficulties in speaking emerged from the inevitable paradoxes that make up the logics of monitoring immigrant integration. The community of practice does a lot of work to avert a reversal of **figure and ground**, specifically, by pushing the reference category representing society out of sight and placing 'immigrants' in the spotlight. This results in paradoxes analysed through the observations of speaking with a **double voice**, moments of **stammering** and **slips of the tongue**.

Four chapters follow that show and claim the making of difference-as-racialized distance in images of immigrant integration (chapter 3), the narration of perpetual arrival of 'immigrant' characters compared to those already in society (chapter 4), an imagination of 'there' on the basis of constantly questioning 'where are you from?' (chapter 5), and the active presence of a societal gaze through which seeing is distributed in the professional field of monitoring immigrant integration (chapter 6).

Visualizing

Chapter 3, *Visualizing*, starts with a focus on the images produced by immigrant integration monitoring. First of all, while a graph or bar chart produced in immigrant integration monitoring may look completely different form an artwork of for example Eugène Delacroix, it may not be *that* different. The chapter approaches the graphic social scientific images with equal treatment alongside artistic images. The analyses then

show how social scientific graphic images are not merely representations of social reality but performative in producing difference, that is racialized difference. The production of racialized difference is done through a logic of distance making in the images.

First of all, the chapter analyses how this is done by ways of conceptualization, for instance arranged from '1', described as 'people without migration background' to '2.2.2.2.2.2', conceptualized as 'Germans without migration experience but of whom both or one of the parents has migrated to Germany or was born in Germany as foreigner'. Second, it analyses the absent presence of the autochthones as reference category that orders the logic of what is presented in the image. The third case analysed is called spatial design in which the particular design, in colour, form or location, in the images produces a visual logic of racialized distance. The last case deals with an oscillation of categories in which a slippage of categories, and the normalization of this slippage, are analysed.

On the basis of the analyses of the images two modes of performativity are found: a performativity of embodiment in which the images depict what they embody, that is, how the images translate social distance into visual distance. From this a performativity of persuasion is traced that makes the images plausible and acceptable. In other words, with these kinds of images it is hard *not* to think of for instance Germany's population of 'native' Germans and a variety of *different* populations relatively at distances from the native population. The images constitute a spatial ordering of **difference-as-racialized distance** towards a reference category representing 'society' that is neutralized in the background, often invisible. The logic of distance presented in the images shows how 'society' as an often silent but active benchmark is dissociated from that which (or whom) is visualized as other.

Narrating

In the next chapter, *Narrating*, the production of narratives of perpetual arrival through immigrant integration monitoring is central. Hence it examines monitoring through a literary lens. Specifically, literary theorist Ato Quayson's concept of **arrival narratives** was an inspiration and helpful in analyzing the following question: "How much has someone really arrived?" (Quayson 2013). The chapter analyses how the monitoring of immigrant integration is concerned with a processual form of arriving that only takes place after actual arrival. Or, when there is no actual arrival at all because often descendants of those who migrated and are born in the so-called host country are still considered as having to arrive. Therefore, the focus in the chapter is on the way in which the characters of the narrative, i.e. the 'immigrants' in their manifold variations, are enacted as journeying towards a place of arrival while their arrival is continually postponed. It turns to the process in monitoring that not only names but *makes up* 'Muslim-Turks', 'non-western migrants' or 'people with migration background' and the many other variations circulating.

The work of narration is done through practices of **negotiating, naturalization** and **forgetting** against a silent protagonist who is only sometimes explicitly **remembered**. The three practices are analyzed through accounts of social scientists whose job it is to craft characters for immigrant integration monitoring in one way or another. This is done through and together with discomfort, that is, a discomfort of making people other vis-à-vis making people normal or in postcolonial terms, making 'self'. The feelings of discomfort perform negotiating, naturalization and forgetting in the way in which they are operative and productive. Paradoxically, the practices also occur as ways of taking care of the same disruptive moments.

The first case analyzed is how categories are enacted and contested at a public event on 'integration'. Second, the making up of people through the bureaucratic socio-technical arrangements of the social scientific work, specifically through possible sampling techniques, gets attention. Next, a

social scientist's account of a meeting with state officials, and the ways in which (de)differentiation of the national population is negotiated, is analyzed. The disconcerted articulations in the research field emerge rather explicitly when arriving at the boundaries of 'acceptable' differentiation. This is illustrated in one of the narrative accounts of an interviewee on writing a report about the so-called 'third generation'. Last but not least, the up until then supposedly forgotten 'native population' is remembered.

Subsequently, the analyses demonstrate how, through these highlighted practices, some characters are enacted as rightful occupants of society and others as problems, perpetually arriving towards society. The forms of affect are productive in letting society as a place of arrival functioning as a protagonist but not making it an object of scrutiny. Hence the chapter claims that the enactment of 'immigrant others', i.e. the characters of perpetual arrival, purifies society from 'others' and 'problems'.

Questioning

Questioning pursues the focus on narrative, specifically how the narrative plot is created in terms of place and time. The logics analyzed in the previous two chapters of distance and journeying come together in particular constructions of **'here' and 'there'**. The chapter begins with a quote from Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth* that illustrates how a relatively young part of British society, in this case, is confronted with the question **"Where are you from?"**:

> "(…) you look very exotic. Where are you from, if you don't mind me asking?' 'Willesden,' said Irie and Millat simultaneously. 'Yes, yes, of course but where *originally*?' 'Oh,' said Millat putting on what he called a *bud-bud-ding-ding* accent. 'You are meaning where from am I *originally*.' Joyce looked confused. 'Yes, *originally*.' 'Whitechapel,' said Millat, pulling out a fag. 'Via the Royal London Hospital and the 207 bus.' All the Chalfens milling through the kitchen, Marcus,

> Josh, Benjamin, Jack, exploded into laughter. Joyce obediently followed suit. 'Chill out, man,' said Millat, suspicious. 'It wasn't that fucking funny'" (Smith 2001: 319).

In this passage from the novel, character Millat is asked where he is from *originally.* In his answer to the question from Joyce Chalfen, Millat stresses that he is from 'here', that is, born in the UK and living in the UK. Or, even more so, in the specific locales of Whitechapel and then Willesden. Nevertheless, his character represents a relatively young generation in European societies who are asked this question 'Where are you from?' constantly.

The chapter then turns to the ways in which a measurement instrument, the survey-questionnaire, is productive of and accountable for an imaginary of origin and otherness. The analyses show how a survey instrument is performative in dissociating society from that which is other, in this case specifically who is positioned 'elsewhere'. This occurs in supposedly neutral routings in questionnaire forms and survey questions on issues such as 'origin', 'language', 'contacts', 'food' and 'skin colour'. The analyses demonstrate that when respondents express either attachment, proudness or familiarity to something related to a place or origin, a distance is reinforced in relation to the place in which one is born and/or resides in, that is, society. The survey questions 'do something' instead of merely describing or representing; they perform a technique of racialization on the basis of place.

Moreover, the particular enactment of imaginaries of 'here' and 'there' by a monitoring device feeds into a political anxiety with younger generations of different descent. The chapter demonstrates how the logic of questioning in the survey-questionnaire is associated with the **colonial present**. First of all, social scientific surveys are often commissioned by a state obsessed by knowing about young generation(s) with in a way 'non-European origins', which resonates strongly to the way in which colonial

officials were anxious knowing about those classified as "*Inlandsche Kinderen"* in the East-Indies (Stoler 2009). Second, while in colonial times the places were divided between Europe and the colonies, the imaginaries of a 'here' and 'there' constructed through the questionnaire mirror these places yet within Europe itself.

Nevertheless, the chapter concludes that by persistently folding and enacting otherness into survey questions, the imagination of 'here', i.e. society, is actively dissociated from its colonial present.

Seeing

In *Seeing*, chapter 6, the way of seeing in the field of monitoring immigrant integration is examined. The first part of the chapter analyses seeing in the reports and images of immigrant integration through the narratological notion of **focalization**. Focalization occurs on the level of the characters as well as external to a narrative, which turns out to be helpful in disentangling the presence of a **societal gaze** in immigrant integration monitoring. The societal gaze is seemingly a gaze from nowhere, which distributes a way of seeing that claims neutrality, objectivity and un-situatedness. However the societal gaze is analysed as a way of seeing that organizes the power of the unmarked category, that is the **white reference category**. This category representing society sees through race and projects forms of racialized difference.

The second part of the chapter then scrutinizes how the societal gaze is distributed as a way of seeing through the community of practice of immigrant integration and how discomfort and anxiety keep together the logics of their work practice. Seeing occurs through discomforting paradoxes, which emerge when two voices speak at the same time in accounts of interviews, for instance: "You don't ask Germans if they are feeling German" versus "this should be asked to everybody" and: "Whites are no yardstick" versus "they are the majority, the total population average reflects them indirectly". The discomfort is performed between not wanting

to put forward for instance 'Whites' as a benchmark and concluding in the end that they are, since they reflect 'the majority'. Or in attempting to see 'Germans' but not asking particular questions from 'Germans'. The analyses show how seeing is organized and distributed through affective practices, that is here specifically **coding** benchmarks and **highlighting** a selection of survey questions.

Seeing is organized through a societal and anxious gaze that sees through the reference category, which is then impossible to be seen. The community of practice, including amongst other sociologists, economists and policy-advisors, is continuously busy with coding and highlighting to displace and thus make invisible the ways in which the reference category emerges (un)expectedly. This work helps the professional community to deal with the **trouble** encountered in the work, yet, inevitably also reproduces the same trouble over and over again. Hence, the chapter demonstrates how the way of seeing in immigrant integration monitoring is a **technique of racialization** through which particularly **whiteness** is silently performed. Moreover, the particular practices ordering the perceptual field order a fixation of society.

Dissociating

The conclusion states that monitoring immigrant integration is a **work of dissociation** in which 'society' is moved away and purified from 'others' who are not good enough yet, not fitting in, at a distance, that is, those who are perpetually arriving. The professional field does a lot of dissociating work to avert a reversal of figure and ground, that is, by pushing the reference category representing society out of sight and placing 'immigrants' in the spotlight. Dissociating is derived from Ann Stoler who states that active dissociation is about dismembering, occluding and displacing (Stoler 2016).

More broadly speaking the dissertation concludes that this specific work of dissociation is each time a dissociation of the ways of knowledge

production from postcolonial and race and racism registers. The knowledge produced on 'immigrants' and thus 'society' is disconnected from the postcolonial present and day-to-day forms of structural racism. The dissertation became a **work of association** by demonstrating how, through and with affect, associations between registers can be traced, which are uncomfortable to approach, to open up and to speak fluently about. Race and racism were traced as "absent presence" (M'charek et al. 2014). Tracing the difficulties in speaking and analysing the performativity of affect demonstrated much of what is going on 'between the walls' of social scientific monitoring of immigrant integration.

Although there is supposedly a lot of moving and expectation in immigrant integration monitoring, particularly in the imagination of the 'immigrants' moving closer towards 'society', nothing really moves; everyone is '**waiting for Godot**' (Beckett 1953). All this imagined mobility, for both those journeying towards society and those who are 'already there', is not at all a moving forward in terms of 'belonging', 'living together' or 'inclusivity'. The logics of immigrant integration monitoring are located in an **impasse**, a way of living on in a time of crisis and loss, according to Lauren Berlant. The researchers, state officials as well as those captured as 'immigrants', or, while quite unevenly, 'autochthonous' for that matter, live on in a **hope of arrival**. This hope is exactly where the crisis is located. Researchers conduct research with the best intentions yet at the same time the hope of arrival is lived with a persistent discomfort and anxiety.

This results in a form of **cruel optimism** (Berlant 2011), in which arriving suggests a sense of 'almost there' that hints at an undirectional movement towards a desired destiny. But the cruelty in this relation emerges from the extended nature of the arriving. Arriving is perpetual. Cruel optimism extends to political projects, which is what the governing vision of 'immigrant integration' in the end amounts to. It is endemic to projects of 'adjustment', which, in the form of 'assimilation', are exactly what the monitoring work of immigrant integration turns out to revolve

around. In other words, the project of a hope of arrival, however anxious, is covering this ultimate goal of assimilation and adjustment to the societal norm, and has become the permanent framework in which quantitative knowledge on immigrants and their descendants is reproduced.

The last pages of the dissertation stress a different way of knowledge production in migration and immigrant integration studies. First, the figure of the migrant deserves serious attention in what or who is reproduced throughout academic studies. By an obsession with this figure, 'society' is exempted from issues such as 'integration', migration, racism and its colonial present. Second, it stresses a change in research projects that should not be *about* others, which problematizes certain people, but *of* raciological orderings in the world. In this way, knowledge could be produced on the ways in which people are affected by race instead of problematizing a so-called 'people's race'. This, third, would include a transformation of what counts as knowledge today, which is strongly dominated by a politics of numbers.

As a qualitative researcher and ethnographer, I/one scrutinizes the way in which structures of racial differentiation affect particular people in particular places. It means a focus on infrastructures and affective practices through which race travels. Not all stammers have to be overcome or can be overcome but let us pause and pay due attention to those stammers and double voices, that is in following Haraway, by **associating with the trouble**.

Samenvatting

> "Wat doe jij hier?" vroegen mijn mede-cursisten van een Duitse taal- en integratie cursus in Berlijn in 2011. De cursisten waren nogal verbaasd over mijn deelname aan de betreffende cursus. Ook al was het met mijn kennis van de Duitse taal nog slechter gesteld dan met die van hen, *ik* was degene die niet in deze cursus thuishoorde volgens hen. Mijn plan om na het afstuderen naar Berlijn te vertrekken en 'gewoon' te zien wat er zou gebeuren, werd in een ander en enigszins beschamend licht gezet. Hier was ik dan in een klaslokaal vol mensen die onzeker waren over hun vaste verblijfvergunning in Duitsland, mochten zij niet slagen voor de toetsing. Ik werd geconfronteerd met mijn geprivilegieerde positie ten opzichte van mijn mede-cursisten; een 26-jarige hoogopgeleide witte vrouw, geboren in Nederland bij ouders die ook in Nederland zijn geboren. Dit betekende trouwens ook dat ik al aan het begin van de cursus werd vrijgesteld van de verplichte toetsing.

Deze persoonlijke herinnering behoort tot een van de vele momenten waarin ik me bewust werd van mijn geprivilegieerde positie als een wit persoon geboren in Europa. Mijn ervaring in de Duitse taal- en integratie cursus in Berlijn liet mij op een hele concrete manier zien hoe zeer ik onderdeel ben van hun verhaal, oftewel, 'het immigranten verhaal' en daarmee de verbeelding van West-Europese samenlevingen. Ik belichaamde waar zij, de cursisten van de integratiecursus, aan moeten voldoen. Ik ben namelijk onderdeel van datgene wat op dat moment in Berlijn en tot op de dag van vandaag Europa representeert, verbeeldt door allerlei verschillende spelers. Dit keer werd ik in de schijnwerper gezet terwijl mijn mede-cursisten naar de achtergrond verdwenen. In de hedendaagse verbeelding van de

samenleving is het vaak andersom. Meestal zijn zij, die als immigrant worden aangewezen, heel zichtbaar, vaak gezien als een uitzondering en neergezet als een probleem. Dit terwijl witte, zogenaamde autochtonen of oorspronkelijke bewoners, onzichtbaar worden gemaakt en worden beschouwd als normaal.

Deze volhardende rollen in West-Europese samenlevingen waarbij de één in de schijnwerper wordt geplaatst en de ander in de schaduw, staan centraal in deze dissertatie. Ik heb de ontmoetingen in de cursus in Berlijn (en vele soortgelijke andere situaties) gebruikt als een lens om het productieproces van de monitoring van integratie te observeren en analyseren. De monitoring van integratie bestaat uit kwantitatieve metingen van mensen die op de een of andere manier geclassificeerd worden als 'immigrant'. Het doel van dergelijke metingen is om te laten zien of en hoe 'immigranten' zijn 'geïntegreerd' in 'de samenleving'. De dissertatie laat zien hoe deze statistische kennisproductie, dat sterk verbonden is met het managen van de bevolking door middel van integratiebeleid door de staat, een **geracialiseerde verbeelding van de samenleving** ten uitvoering brengt. Met een focus op **verhalen en affect**, wordt een praktijk van dissociatie geanalyseerd door het onderzoeken van performatieve praktijken en effecten van integratie monitoring.

Situeren

Het onderzoek in deze dissertatie is een etnografie van monitoringspraktijken bij verschillende instituten en academische netwerken in vier West-Europese landen: Nederland, Duitsland, Denemarken en het Verenigd Koninkrijk. Het hoofdstuk dat volgt na de introductie, *Situeren* genaamd, geeft een verantwoording van mijn positie als onderzoeker, de manier waarop het onderzoek van deze dissertatie is gesitueerd en hoe de monitoring van integratie van immigranten een object van studie werd in een etnografie. Het eerste deel van het hoofdstuk presenteert hoe literatuur- en postkoloniale studies, Science and Technology Studies (STS)

en Donna Haraway's gesitueerde kennis en vraag 'Hoe te zien?' (Haraway 1991) centraal staan in mijn positie als onderzoeker. Het tweede deel is een uitwerking van de lastige situaties die ik tegenkwam in mijn pogingen om een politiek gevoelige infrastructuur gedeeld door kennisinstituten en de staat te mogen onderzoeken. Specifiek analyseert dit deel de afwijzing door het Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) voor het uitvoeren van een etnografisch onderzoek naar de werkpraktijk van het SCP.

Dit resulteerde in één van de focus punten in deze dissertatie, **affect**: de ongemakkelijke en oncomfortabele ontmoetingen en observaties in mijn onderzoek werden een (auto)etnografie van het onaffe geroutineerde werk in integratiemonitoring. Twee vormen van affect, **ongemak en spanning**, zijn geanalyseerd als performatief in de praktijken van integratie monitoring, oftewel, affect 'doet' iets. Dit wordt opgemerkt in interviews met monitoringsexperts en in observaties bij academische- en door de staat geïnitieerde conferenties waar moeilijkheden in het spreken ontstonden vanuit de onvermijdelijke paradoxen die de logica van integratie monitoring vormgeven. De professionele gemeenschap verzet een hoop werk om een omkering van **voor- en achtergrond** te vermijden, specifiek, door de referentiecategorie die de samenleving representeert uit zicht te plaatsen en 'immigranten' in de schijnwerper. Dit resulteert in een analyse van geobserveerde paradoxen die gebeuren in het spreken met een **dubbele stem**, momenten van **stamelen** en **versprekingen**.

Vier hoofdstukken volgen die het volgende laten zien en claimen: het maken van verschil-als-geracialiseerde afstand in beelden van 'de integratie van immigranten' (hoofdstuk 3), het narratief van het eeuwigdurend arriveren van zogenaamde immigrantenkarakters in vergelijking tot zij die zich al in de samenleving zouden bevinden (hoofdstuk 4), een verbeelding van 'daar' op basis van de steeds terugkerende vraag 'Waar kom je vandaan?' (hoofdstuk 5), en de actieve aanwezigheid van een blik van de samenleving. Door deze blik wordt een manier van zien in het professionele veld van integratie monitoring gedistribueerd (hoofdstuk 6).

Visualiseren

Hoofdstuk 3, *Visualiseren*, focust op de beelden die in de monitoring van integratie van immigranten worden geproduceerd. Ten eerste, een grafiek of tabel geproduceerd in integratiemonitoring lijkt wellicht van een geheel andere orde dan een kunstwerk, terwijl ze eigenlijk niet zoveel van elkaar verschillen. Het hoofdstuk benadert de sociaalwetenschappelijke grafieken dan ook gelijk aan de wijze waarop aandacht aan artistieke beelden wordt besteed. De analyses laten dan zien hoe de sociaalwetenschappelijke grafieken en tabellen niet zomaar representaties van de werkelijkheid zijn maar performatief in het produceren van verschil, een zogenaamd raciaal verschil. De productie van raciaal verschil wordt gedaan door een logica van het maken van afstand in de beelden.

Ten eerste, het hoofdstuk analyseert hoe dit gedaan wordt via conceptualiseringen, bijvoorbeeld geordend van '1', beschreven als 'mensen zonder migratieachtergrond' tot '2.2.2.2.2.2', geconceptualiseerd als 'Duitsers zonder migratie ervaring maar van wie beide of een van de ouders naar Duitsland is gemigreerd of is geboren in Duitsland als vreemdeling'. Ten tweede wordt de afwezige aanwezigheid van de autochtonen als referentiecategorie geanalyseerd, die de logica van wat er in het beeld wordt gepresenteerd ordent. Het derde beeld dat wordt geanalyseerd heet ruimtelijk design waarbij het specifieke design – in kleur, vorm of locatie – in de beelden een visuele logica van geracialiseerde afstand produceert. De laatste analyse behandelt een schommeling van de categorieën in beelden, waarbij de normalisatie van ontglippende categorieën wordt geanalyseerd.

Op basis van de analyses van de beelden zijn twee vormen van performativiteit gevonden: een performaviteit van belichaming waarbij de beelden uitbeelden wat ze belichamen, oftewel, hoe in de beelden sociale afstand wordt vertaald naar visuele afstand. Van hieruit wordt een performativiteit van verleiding afgeleid, namelijk hoe de beelden aannemelijk worden en geaccepteerd. In andere woorden, met dit soort beelden is het erg lastig om *niet* over bijvoorbeeld de bevolking in Duitsland

na te denken als 'oorspronkelijke' Duitsers en een verscheidenheid aan *verschillende* bevolkingen op een relatieve afstand van die zogenaamde oorspronkelijke bevolking. De beelden vormen een ruimtelijk ordening van **'difference-as-racialized distance'** oftewel verschil-als-geracialiseerde afstand ten opzichte van een referentiecategorie die 'de samenleving' representeert. Deze samenleving is meestal neutraal aanwezig op de achtergrond en vaak onzichtbaar. De logica van afstand zoals in de beelden wordt gepresenteerd laat zien hoe 'de samenleving' vaak als een stille maar zeer actieve norm wordt losgemaakt van wat (of wie) wordt gevisualiseerd als ander.

Vertellen

In het volgende hoofdstuk, *Vertellen,* staat de productie van narratieven van een eeuwigdurende aankomst door integratiemonitoring centraal. Monitoring wordt door een literaire lens onderzocht. Specifiek, het concept van literair theoreticus Ato Quayson over **verhalen van aankomst** was een inspiratie en behulpzaam bij het analyseren van de vraag: "In hoeverre is iemand echt aangekomen?" (Quayson 2013). Het hoofdstuk analyseert hoe monitoring van integratie zich bezighoudt met een procesmatige vorm van aankomen die alleen plaatsvindt na het daadwerkelijke aankomen. Of, wanneer er geen sprake is van aankomst, omdat nakomelingen van hen die gemigreerd zijn en zijn geboren in het zogenaamde gastland vaak nog steeds beschouwd worden als zijnde nog niet aangekomen. Daarom ligt de focus in het hoofdstuk op de manier waarop personages in het verhaal, de 'immigranten' in hun vele verschijningen, worden uitgebeeld als reizend naar een plek van aankomst terwijl hun aankomst voortdurend wordt uitgesteld. Het hoofdstuk richt zich op het proces in het monitoren dat niet alleen termen als 'Moslim-Turks', 'niet-westerse migrant' of 'mensen met een migratieachtergrond' en de vele andere varianten die rondgaan benoemt maar ook vormgeeft.

Het werk van vertellen wordt gedaan door praktijken van **onder-handeling, naturalisatie** en **vergeten** tegenover een stille protagonist die alleen soms expliciet wordt **herinnerd**. De drie praktijken worden geanalyseerd in de toelichtingen van sociale wetenschappers die de taak hebben om de personages vorm te geven voor integratiemonitoring. Dit wordt gedaan door en met ongemak, dat wil zeggen, het ongemak in het anders maken van mensen ten opzichte van het normaal maken, of in postkoloniale termen 'eigen' maken. De gevoelens van ongemak voeren onderhandeling, naturalisatie en het vergeten uit op een manier waarop het affectieve operatief en productief is. Paradoxaal genoeg zijn deze praktijken ook een manier om met dezelfde ontwrichtende momenten om te gaan.

Ten eerste wordt geanalyseerd hoe categorieën worden uitgevoerd en betwist bij een publiek event over 'integratie'. Het tweede aandachtspunt is het vormgeven van mensen door de bureaucratische socio-technische regelingen van het sociaalwetenschappelijk werk, specifiek door mogelijke steekproeftechnieken. Vervolgens wordt het verslag van een sociaal wetenschapper geanalyseerd over een meeting met overheidsfunctionarissen en de manieren waarop over de (de)differentiatie van de nationale populatie wordt onderhandeld. De verwarrende articulaties in het onderzoeksveld komen tamelijk expliciet tot stand wanneer de grenzen van het 'acceptabele' differentiëren bereikt worden. Dit wordt geïllustreerd in een verslag van één van de geïnterviewde personen over het schrijven van een rapport over de zogenaamde 'derde generatie'. Tenslotte wordt de tot dan toe vermoedelijk vergeten 'oorspronkelijke populatie' in de voorgaande analyses herinnerd.

Vervolgens tonen de analyses aan hoe, door de belichte praktijken, sommige personages worden weergegeven als rechtmatige bezetters van de samenleving en anderen als probleem, voortdurend arriverend in de richting van de samenleving. De vormen van affect zijn productief in het laten functioneren van de samenleving als een hoofdrolspeler, maar door deze samenleving als plek van aankomst geen object van onderzoek te maken. Vandaar dat het hoofdstuk beweert dat het maken van 'immigranten',

oftewel de personages van eeuwigdurende aankomst, de samenleving zuivert van 'anderen' en 'problemen'.

Bevragen

Bevragen vervolgt de focus op het narratief, met in het bijzonder hoe het narratieve plot wordt gecreëerd in termen van plaats en tijd. De geanalyseerde logica van afstand en reizen in de vorige twee hoofdstukken komen samen in specifieke constructies van '**here**' **en** '**there**' ('hier' en 'daar'). Het hoofdstuk begint met een quote van Zadie Smith's roman *Witte Tanden* dat illustreert hoe een relatief jong deel van, in dit geval Britse, samenleving wordt geconfronteerd met de vraag "**Waar kom je vandaan?**":

> "(…) 'Jullie zien er heel exotisch uit. Waar komen jullie vandaan, als ik vragen mag?'
> 'Willesden,' zeiden Irie en Millat tegelijk.
> 'Ja, ja, natuurlijk, maar oorsprónkelijk?'
> '*O*,' zei Millat, zijn wat hij noemde *slijm-slijm*-accent opzettend, 'je bedoelt waarvandaan kom ik oorsprónkelijk.'
> Joyce zag er verward uit. 'Ja, oorsprónkelijk.'
> 'Whitechapel,' zei Millat, een sigaret tevoorschijn halend. 'Via het Royal London Hospital en bus 207.'
> Alle Chalfens die in de keuken rondliepen, Marcus, Josh, Benjamin, Jack barsten in lachen uit. Joyce volgde gehoorzaam.
> 'Relax, man,' zei Millat wantrouwig. 'Zo leuk was het verdomme nou ook weer niet' (Smith 2019: 242).

In deze passage uit de roman wordt het personage Millat gevraagd waar hij *oorspronkelijk* vandaan komt. In zijn antwoord op deze vraag van Joyce Chalfen, benadrukt Millat dat hij van 'hier' is, dat wil zeggen, geboren in het Verenigd Koninkrijk en woonachtig in het Verenigd Koninkrijk. Of, nog meer, in de specifieke locaties Whitechapel en Willesden. Niettemin

representeert zijn personage een relatief jonge generatie in Europese samenlevingen die voortdurend de vraag wordt gesteld: "Waar kom je vandaan?"

Het hoofdstuk richt zich dan op de manieren waarop een meetinstrument, de onderzoeksvragenlijst, productief is in en verantwoordelijk voor een voorstelling van afkomst en dat wat anders zou zijn. De analyse laat zien hoe een onderzoeksinstrument performatief is in het lostrekken van de samenleving van dat wat anders wordt gemaakt, in dit geval specifiek wie gepositioneerd wordt als 'ergens anders'. Dit vindt plaats in zogenaamde neutrale routes in vragenlijsten en onderzoeksvragen over onderwerpen als 'herkomst', 'taal', 'contacten', 'eten' en 'huidskleur'. De analyse toont aan dat wanneer respondenten uiting geven aan hechting, trots, of vertrouwdheid gerelateerd aan een plaats of afkomst, een afstand wordt gecreëerd naar de plaats waar iemand is geboren of woont, oftewel, de samenleving. De onderzoeksvragen 'doen iets' in plaats van alleen omschrijven of representeren, ze voeren een techniek van racialisering uit op basis van plaats.

Bovendien, de manier waarop verbeeldingen van 'hier' en 'daar' worden gemaakt door een monitoringsinstrument voedt de politieke onrust over jongere generaties van verschillende afkomst. Het hoofdstuk demonstreert hoe de logica van ondervragen in de onderzoeksvragenlijst is geassocieerd met het **koloniale heden**. Ten eerste, kwantitatieve sociaalwetenschappelijke onderzoeken zijn vaak in opdracht van een staat die geobsedeerd is met kennis over jonge generaties met op een bepaalde manier een 'niet-Europese afkomst'. Dit resoneert sterk met de manier waarop koloniale ambtenaren angstvallig te weten wilden komen over diegenen geclassificeerd als "*Inlandsche Kinderen*" in Oost-Indië (Stoler 2009). Ten tweede, alhoewel in koloniale tijden de plekken waren verdeeld tussen Europa en de koloniën spiegelen de door vragenlijsten geconstrueerde verbeeldingen van een 'hier' en 'daar' deze plekken alsnog binnen Europa. Desondanks concludeert het hoofdstuk dat door het voortdurend vouwen en maken van anders-zijn in

onderzoeksvragenlijsten, de verbeelding van 'hier', de samenleving, actief wordt gedissocieerd van haar koloniale heden.

Zien

In *Zien*, hoofdstuk 6, is de manier van zien in het veld van integratiemonitoring onderzocht. Het eerste deel van het hoofdstuk analyseert de manier waarop in rapporten en beelden wordt gezien met behulp van het narratologische begrip **focalisatie**. Focalisatie verschijnt op het niveau van de karakters als ook extern van het narratief. Dit is behulpzaam in het ontwarren van de aanwezigheid van een '**societal gaze**' oftewel blik van de samenleving in integratiemonitoring. De blik van de samenleving is ogenschijnlijk een blik vanuit het niets is, die een manier van zien distribueert dat neutraliteit, objectiviteit en ongesitueerdheid claimt. Deze blik wordt echter geanalyseerd als een manier van zien dat de macht van de referentiecategorie organiseert, dat is de **witte referentiecategorie**. Met deze categorie, die de samenleving representeert, wordt door een geracialiseerde blik gezien en worden vormen van geracialiseerd verschil geprojecteerd.

Het tweede deel van het hoofdstuk onderzoekt hoe de blik van de samenleving wordt gedistribueerd als een manier van zien in de professionele gemeenschap van integratiemonitoring en hoe ongemak en spanning de logica's van het werk bijeenhouden. Zien gebeurt door ongemakkelijke paradoxen die ontstaan wanneer in interviews twee stemmen op hetzelfde momenten spreken. Bijvoorbeeld: "Je vraagt niet aan Duitsers of ze zich Duits voelen" tegenover "dit zou aan iedereen gevraagd moeten worden". En: "Witte mensen zijn niet de norm" tegenover "zij zijn de meerderheid, het gemiddelde van de totale bevolking weerspiegelt hen indirect". Het ongemak wordt gedaan wanneer de witte categorie niet naar voren wordt geschoven als norm maar uiteindelijk wordt geconcludeerd dat ze dat wel is, aangezien ze de meerderheid weerspiegelt. Of in een poging om 'Duitsers' te zien, maar bepaalde vragen niet aan 'Duitsers' te stellen. De analyses

laten zien hoe het zien is georganiseerd en gedistribueerd door affectieve praktijken, hier specifiek het **coderen** van normen en het **uitlichten** van een selectie van onderzoeksvragen.

Zien is georganiseerd door een gespannen blik van de samenleving die ziet door de referentiecategorie heen, die vervolgens onmogelijk gezien kan worden. De professionele gemeenschap van integratiemonitoring, waaronder zich onder andere sociologen, economen en beleidsadviseurs bevinden, is voortdurend druk met coderen en uitlichten om de manieren waarop de referentiecategorie onverwachts verschijnt, weg te zetten en onzichtbaar te maken. Dit werk helpt de professionele gemeenschap om te gaan met de '**trouble**' oftewel spanningen die zij tegenkomen in het werk, maar onvermijdelijk worden deze spanningen door dit werk ook keer op keer gereproduceerd. Vandaar dat het hoofdstuk aantoont hoe de manier van zien in integratiemonitoring een **techniek van racialisatie** is, waarin vooral **witheid** stilzwijgend ten uitvoering wordt gebracht. Bovendien, de specifieke praktijken die het perceptuele veld structureren, ordenen daarmee een fixatie van de samenleving.

Dissociëren

De conclusie claimt dat integratiemonitoring van zogenaamde immigranten een **werk van dissociatie** is waarin de 'samenleving' wordt weggehaald en gezuiverd van 'anderen' die niet goed genoeg zijn, er niet bij passen, op een afstand staan, oftewel, zij die voortdurend aan het arriveren zijn. Het professionele veld doet veel dissociërend werk om een omkering van voor- en achtergrond te vermijden door de referentiecategorie die de samenleving representeert uit zicht te plaatsen en 'immigranten' in de schijnwerper te zetten. 'Dissociating' is een begrip van Ann Stoler die zegt dat actieve dissociatie over blokkeren, wegzetten en de onmogelijkheid tot herinneren gaat (Stoler 2016).

Meer in het algemeen concludeert de dissertatie dat het specifieke werk van dissociatie elke keer een dissociatie is van manieren van

kennisproductie in de registers van postkolonialisme en ras en racisme. De kennis die geproduceerd wordt over 'immigranten' en dus 'de samenleving' is ontkoppeld van het postkoloniale heden en dagelijkse vormen van structureel racisme. De dissertatie is een **werk van associatie** geworden door aan te tonen hoe door en met affect associaties tussen registers kunnen worden opgespoord, welke oncomfortabel zijn om aan te gaan, voor open te staan en om met gemak over te spreken. Ras en racisme werden aangetroffen als afwezige aanwezigheid (M'charek et al. 2014). Door het onderzoeken van de moeilijkheden in het spreken en het analyseren van de performativiteit van affect werd laten zien wat er 'tussen de muren' van de sociaalwetenschappelijke monitoring van integratie gaande is.

Ook al wordt er nogal wat beweging en verwachting verondersteld in integratie monitoring, voornamelijk in de verbeelding van 'immigranten' die zich al dan niet richting 'de samenleving' bewegen, beweegt er eigenlijk helemaal niets; iedereen '**wacht op Godot**' (cf Beckett 1953). Al deze veronderstelde mobiliteit, wat geldt voor zowel zij die reizen richting de samenleving als zij die zich 'er al bevinden', is geheel geen voorwaartse beweging in termen van 'behoren', 'samenleven' of 'inclusiviteit'. De logica's van integratiemonitoring bevinden zich in een **impasse**, een manier van verder leven in tijden van crisis en verlies volgens Lauren Berlant. Zowel de onderzoekers, overheidsfunctionarissen als zij gevangen als 'immigranten', en, ook al zeer ongelijkmatig, 'autochtonen', leven in een **hoop op aankomst**. De crisis is precies gelegen in deze hoop. Onderzoekers doen onderzoek met de beste intenties maar tegelijkertijd wordt de hoop op aankomst met een volhardend ongemak en spanning geleefd.

Dit resulteert in een vorm van **wreed optimisme** (Berlant 2011), waarin de aankomst een gevoel van 'we zijn er bijna' suggereert dat zinspeelt op een roerloos afstevenen op een gewenste bestemming. Maar de wreedheid in deze relatie ontstaat in de aard van aankomst. Aankomst is uitgesteld. Het wrede optimisme breidt zich uit tot politieke projecten, waar de bestuurlijke visie van 'de integratie van immigranten' uiteindelijk

in uitmondt. Het is endemisch voor projecten van 'aanpassing', welke in de vorm van 'assimilatie' precies dat is waaromheen het werk van integratiemonitoring draait. In andere woorden, het project van een hoop op aankomst, hoewel zeer gespannen, beslaat het ultieme doel van assimilatie en aanpassing aan de norm van de samenleving en is het blijvende kader waarbinnen de kwantitatieve kennis van immigranten en hun nakomelingen wordt gereproduceerd.

De laatste pagina's van de dissertatie onderstrepen een andere manier van kennisproductie in migratie- en integratiestudies. Ten eerste, het karakter van de migrant verdient uitgebreide aandacht in wat of wie er door academische studies wordt gereproduceerd. Door een obsessie met dit karakter wordt 'de samenleving' vrijgesteld van zaken zoals 'integratie', migratie, racisme en haar koloniale heden. Ten tweede wordt benadrukt dat onderzoeksprojecten niet *over* anderen moeten gaan, wat tot een problematisering van bepaalde mensen leidt, maar *naar* de geracialiseerde ordeningen in de wereld. Op deze manier zal kennis worden geproduceerd over de manieren waarop mensen worden geraakt door ras en racisme in plaats van het problematiseren van een zogenaamd 'ras van mensen'. Dit, ten derde, behelst een transformatie van wat geldt als kennis vandaag de dag, dat sterk gedomineerd wordt door een politiek van cijfers.

Als een kwalitatieve onderzoeker en etnograaf, onderzoek(t) ik/men de manieren waarop bepaalde mensen op bepaalde plekken worden getroffen door structuren van raciale differentiatie. Het betekent een focus op infrastructuren en affectieve praktijken waardoorheen ras reist. Het stamelen hoeft en kan misschien niet worden overstemd maar laten we pauzeren en uitgebreid aandacht besteden aan het stamelen en de dubbele stemmen. Dat betekent, in navolging van Harraway, door te **associëren met het troebele leven**.

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About the author

Sanne Boersma (1984) studied journalism in Utrecht and New York and obtained her BA in 2006. In 2010 she finished her MA in Literary Studies at Utrecht University. Her thesis focused on the literary works of Toni Morrison and Assia Djebar. She got involved in the Postcolonial Studies Initiative and the research project Postcolonial Europe. After her studies Sanne worked as a journalist and editor in Utrecht and Berlin. She was co-founder of 'Onder de klok van Vaassen', an online platform collecting and telling personal stories of Moluccan families in the Netherlands. In 2012 Sanne started as a doctoral researcher at the ERC funded research project Monitoring Modernity, led by prof. W. Schinkel. She worked at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. She was also part of the workshop 'Peopling Europe' together with the ARITHMUS research group at Goldsmiths University London and followed part of the graduate program at the Netherlands Graduate School of Science Technology and Modern Culture (WTMC). Sanne has a strong interdisciplinary focus in her research in which Science and Technology Studies, ethnography, literary studies, feminist- and postcolonial studies come together. Since January 2019, Sanne is working as a postdoctoral researcher on the ERC funded Race Face ID research project led by prof. A.A. M'charek at the University of Amsterdam.