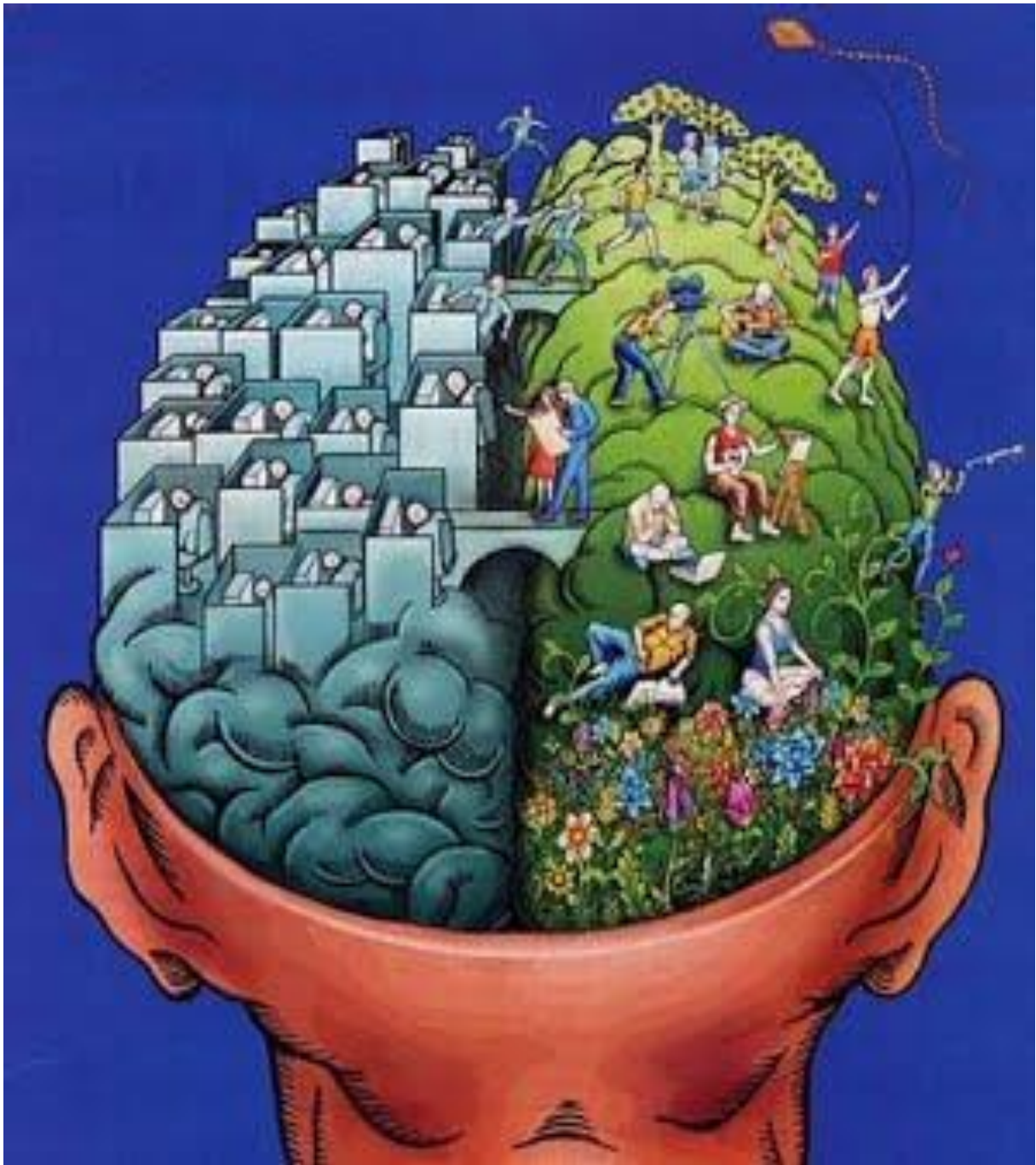


Erasmus University Rotterdam

**Who belongs where and why? Connecting the ‘right’ body to the ‘right’
place:**

A Research on the Allocation Process During the Placement of Refugees



Voor (en met) Nanni

Content

- Abstract 4
- 1. Introduction..... 5
 - 1.2 Reading guide 8
- 2.0 The context of Integration practices 9
- 3. Theory 11
 - 3.1 Imaginaries** 12
 - 3.2 Bureaucrats** 14
 - 3.2.1 Bureaucratic stage..... 14
 - 3.2.2 Bureaucrats and their ‘freedom’ 15
 - 3.2.3 Bureaucrats & imaginaries 15
 - 3.3. Body**..... 17
 - 3.3.1 Body & Imaginaries 17
 - 3.3.2 Body & Bureaucrats..... 18
 - 3.4 Space**..... 19
 - 3.4.1 Space & Imaginaries 19
 - 3.4.2 Space & Bureaucrats 20
 - 3.5 Body & space 21
- 4. Operationalisation..... 24
- 5. Methodology 29
 - 5.1 Research question 29
 - 5.2 Desk research 30
 - 5.3 Interviews..... 30
 - 5.4 Observations 32
 - 5.5 Case selection & sampling methods 33
 - 5.6 Analysis..... 34
 - 5.7 Triangulation and implementation of methods 35
- 6. Descriptive Findings 37
 - 6.1 The Procedure** 37

7. Analyses.....	44
7.1 Bureaucrats	44
7.1.1 Policy discretion	44
7.1.2 Bureaucrats and their ‘freedom’	46
7.2 Space	49
7.3 Body	54
7.4 Body & Place	57
8. Imaginaries	62
8.1 Imaginary of integrability	62
8.2 Imaginary of deservingness	64
8.3 Imaginary of risk	66
9. Discussion and conclusion.....	67
9.1 Research questions	68
9.2 Expectations	73
9.3 Conclusion	74
10. So now What?	76
10.1 So what?	76
10.2 Now what?	79
10.3 Limitations & research agenda	81
References.....	82

WHO BELONGS WHERE AND WHY? CONNECTING THE 'RIGHT' BODY TO THE 'RIGHT' PLACE.

A Research on the allocation Process During the Placement of Refugees

Angelique van Dam

Erasmus University, 2020

Abstract

Successful resettlement requires a safe place for refugees. Besides the preferences of refugees of certain spaces and available facilities, municipalities are also interested in a successful match of refugees and space; so much that they prefer certain categories of refugees over others. Families and highly educated refugees are at the top of this hierarchy. This research focusses on the allocation process and understandings of a 'right fit' of person and space during the matching of refugees to a place of residence within the Netherlands.

Bureaucrats that are trusted with the task of selection and matching operate behind a screen basing their judgement on limited information. Therefore, we call them screen-level bureaucrats. Building on the work of Lipsky (1980) this study will show that screen-level bureaucrats use their policy discretion in almost all their cases. Moreover, it will show that stereotyping lies at the basis of the very elaborate stories about persons and places where screen-level bureaucrats rely their judgements on (e.g. ideas on were gay, families and high or low skilled newcomers belong).

Through extended interviews (46) and observations (34) over a two-year period on a national, regional and local level, this study sheds light on the practices of screen-level bureaucrats and the construction of belonging in the first phase of refugee resettlement in the Netherlands. This study emphasizes the complexity of interaction in digital space: even without physical contact, imaginaries are constructed, enacted and inflected that have consequences for the distribution of rights and facilities where social categorisation, stereotyping and principles of deservingness play an important role. Three dominant imaginaries are distinguished that enact the ideas of the fitness of person and place in these policy practices; namely imaginaries of deservingness, risk and integrability.

1. Introduction

Kuipers Rietbergstraat in Oss made the headlines in 2016. In a seemingly quiet residential area, three Syrian cousins fled from the war in Syria, hoped to build up a safe existence after being granted a refugee status and related permit to stay. A neighbourhood generally known as quiet, child-friendly, and safe seemed a suitable place for the three gentlemen, according to the municipality of Oss and housing association BrabantWonen. It soon became clear that current residents had a different opinion. The newcomers were felt to be inappropriate in a neighbourhood like this. During the painting of the walls, the cousins were besieged with eggs by residents. Not much later, a stone flew through the window, putting an end to the cousins' sense of security. The local newspaper reported: 'Oss is no longer safe and suitable for permit holders' (a refugee who is granted a status), and the permit holders begged to be placed in any place other than Oss. Despite a ban by mayor Wobine Buijs on anti-refugee demonstrations and actions in residential areas, the place no longer seemed to 'fit' and be suitable for a new beginning and the cousins returned to the AZC in the hope of being allocated to a suitable place (Driessen, 2016, Mostafa, 2017).

The above example of event shows that there are ideas of appropriateness of a proper match between people and place. Municipality of Oss, the housing corporation and the three permit holders who were placed on the Kuipers Rietbergstraat were initially convinced that place and newcomers would fit: a suitable place for a new safe start, a successful resettlement. A place where these people would be accepted, and (perhaps after some time and a process) would become seen as one of the residents. Neighbours thought differently about this and identified the newcomers as undesirable, as inappropriate, as different without the expectation or willingness to overcome or allow any form of perceived difference to exist in the same space and place.

Arendt (1968) as well as Agamben (1995, 2016) argue that a body is (made) human by the (re) construction of historical and political practices Moreover: "*Being human is not (only) about being a member of a genotype or species: it is above all about membership in some particular culture, locatable in place and time*" (Arendt, 1968, p 300) This incident arouses curiosity about how one (human) body is considered appropriate within a certain space and which characteristics lead to certain imaginaries of fitness. Furthermore, how does a (local) authority deal with the placement of newcomers (and enact these imaginaries) if this turns out to be more than a practical matter and therefore start to "organize" spaces via bodies within the work of the state.

Allocating permit holders a new place of residence is a context in which people's bodies are consciously and visibly linked to a new place of residence by the state, within integration policies and practices, and therefore offers a window to the imaginaries of fitness between body and place within integration governance. In the Netherlands this linking of newcomers to a place happens in three steps: on a national level a person is linked to a (labour) region, on a regional level a newcomer is linked to a city and on a local level to a neighbourhood. In this last step, the responsibility of COA is also transferred to that of a municipality (COA, 2016-2019). The execution of this task is carried out on a regional and local level by so-called screen-level bureaucrats: they do not meet the clients about whom they make a decision, but base their choices on limited information about the person and place from behind their computer screen. This distribution is organised based on a task assignment: the total number of permit holders is distributed among cities in the Netherlands in proportion to the number of inhabitants. By way of illustration: A city like Rotterdam needed to place 1579 permit holders in 2016 (Monitor Rotterdamse Aanpak Statushouders, 2019).

The increase in the arrival of refugees in the period 2015-2017 posed a challenge at local level for municipalities, as well as at regional level, to find suitable housing for people who have been given permission to build a new life here, if not temporarily. This first poses a practical challenge. Within the context of a tense housing market, it is difficult to provide housing that fits the family composition; a varying challenge from being able to place large families to single people who need complete housing units. In addition to a practical challenge, the above example shows that public support is also important in the politically charged practice of allocating space to newcomers. Or, more accurately, the complexity that coincides with the politically charged and controversial field of migration-related policy practices. A challenge which, in the current political climate and expected lasting influx of refugees, will not diminish in the coming years (Scholten & van Breugel, 2018; Caponio & Borkert 2010; Van Breugel, 2020). Moreover, policy sciences refer to a local turn in a broader perspective when we are looking at migration related challenges (Scholten, 2013; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio & Scholten, 2017) which, in addition to the scale of practices in this research context, indicates that coordination and responsibility with respect to the settlement of newcomers increasingly lies with municipalities. The plans for further decentralization of the integration policy in the Netherlands will strengthen the responsibilities at the local level in the near future (Rijksoverheid, 2019). In concrete terms, this means that, especially here, practices that relate to integration issues on the local level are of increasing importance, and that in both the implementation and preparation of decentralisation, there is a hunger for knowledge about these practices.

As argued earlier, the placing of newcomers offers the opportunity to get imaginaries 'into our hands'. Imaginaries are understood in this study as mental images, which are not private but public.

They show a shared experience and representation, an ordering of the world. An imaginary exists by the virtue of representation and implicit understandings and show how individuals understands theirs (and others) place in the world. They make practices possible. This goes beyond practical knowledge of "what works" because it provides insight into what and why something is seen as working and is therefore a form of understanding and change of getting a wider grasp of our history and social existence. It can show how we see institution of society (Castoriadis, 1987), and moves in line with Bourdieu's idea of habitus, with the complex and unstructured and not fully articulated understanding of the particular features of the whole situation, a moral order. The idea of who we are and how we fit together, who belongs where and why, becomes evident. They therefore form a logical space where the resulting actions have consequences for people and places. This conception and application of imaginaries is in line with the use and understanding of it by Mitchell (1984), Taylor (1995), Lee, Warnner & Guonkar (2002). This lens of thinking in terms of imaginaries is used to look at the practices of the bureaucrats which, within the context of integration practices and policies, make a match between body and place by asking the research question:

How is the allocation of refugees to a residence in integration practices given shape and which imaginaries of fitness between body and place are enacted and inflected in these practices

The study of these practices extends over the period 2016-2019. Through desk research, observations and interviews, the practices of assignment are mapped out and this study shows insight into the leading imaginary that play a role in these practices. At the national level, a match between person and place is made on the basis of a profile of person and place of residence, where the integration potential of economic independence; finding suitable employment, turns out to play an important role (COA, 2016). In addition to a general context and policy sketch, a more in-depth look is taken at the reality of the civil servants in charge of the task of allocating status holder to place of residence. At the regional and local level, this takes place at both the most concrete level of implementation: persons are linked to the municipality and house in a neighbourhood, as well as at the most abstract level: this is only done from behind a computer screen based on limited information, i.e. a number of characteristics of person and place. Officials in charge of this task at regional and local level are called screen-level bureaucrats (Scb); they grant rights and facilities without ever meeting the client, they make their decision purely on the basis of information from behind a screen (COA, 2016; Bovens & Zouridis, 2002). It is assumed that these officials make little or no use of discretionary power (Bekkers, 2012). This assumption is critically questioned in this study because, I argue, they do have decision power, therefore some room for discretionary freedom. The imaginaries that inform bureaucrats are uncovered by taking them seriously and by studying the working methods and reasoning of screen level

bureaucrats. Interviews and observations have therefore taken place with these officials and attention is paid to the bureaucratic context in which these practices take place.

This study connects bodies of literature on bureaucrats, body and place and fills a gap on the relationship and interaction between this literature. I argue that a theory of social imagination in state work practices is needed for a better understanding of the implementation and construction of policy and simultaneously the consequences of state work within (any) dominant system and world order. This thesis is not exhaustive enough to form a theory but makes a gentle attempt to start by drawing out imaginaries that inform the practices of allocating a status holder to a place. Three dominant imaginaries are abductively identified in this study, namely an imaginary of integrability, an imaginary of deservingness and an imaginary of risk.

1.2 Reading guide

After reading this introduction, chapter 2 will outline the context of these practices. Policy and the approach fall under integration policy, and therefore the concept of integration runs as a red thread through this study. Chapter 3 forms the theoretical framework. In chapter 3.1 I start with an explanation of the framework, 3.2 explains the theoretical lens used, i.e. imaginaries. In chapter 3.3 you will find literature about the bureaucrats. Body and space as two important theoretical bodies are explained in chapter 3.4 & 3.5. The operationalisation can be found in chapter 4. Chapter 5 describes the methodology followed by the findings in chapter 6 where the procedure is described. From that point on, the analysis and findings flow into each other in chapter 7. The three imaginaries are also communicated in this chapter. In the conclusion you will read what these findings and analysis add to the theoretical gap of literature on body and place as well as to the social perceived urgency of better understanding placement practices. It also formulates an answer to the research question. The section 'So what' offers concrete proposals for the field of work. A future research agenda stimulates and motivates (hopefully many) researchers to take up the further unravelling in this complex policy area and complement the limitations of this study. Interesting and used studies and literature can be found in the bibliography.

2.0 The context of Integration practices

to be whole and holy

bell hooks

Policy documents and letters from the ministry that address the allocation process of refugees all fall under the heading “integration policy”. In the search for scientific literature on refugee allocation, the same context can be found. Many studies emerge that emphasise the importance of a suitable place: a successful resettlement requires a safe place for newly arrived migrants with a refugee background. This in order to make 'integration' possible, or to facilitate the process of integration (Bakker, 2016; Crul & Jens Schneider, 2010; Musterd, 2003; Vervoort et al 2011; Phillips, 2005; Hewitt, & Cwerner, 2002; Home office 2005; Garvie, 2001; Hact, 2004; Castles, Korac, Vasta & Vertovec, 2002; Phillimore & Goodson, 2008). All start from the assumption that (a process of) integration is necessary to be able to ‘be’ somewhere as a newcomer in an appropriate way; to fit. Furthermore, this process is linked to the interaction between the body and place in migration studies; also referred to as two-dimensional integration process where newcomer on the one hand and existing environment on the other hand are involved and influence the coming to that state of supposed appropriateness.

A lot of attention in these studies is paid to structural indicators of the environment, that are necessary to stimulate a successful integration, see for example Phillimore & Goodson (2008); Phillips (2005); Hewitt, R. & Cwerner, S. (2002); Home office (2005); Garvie, (2001), Bakker (2016) and Hact (2004). In this sense, these studies focus on the relationship between integration and place because they all focus on indicators from the environment that support the integration process (e.g. employment opportunities, a safe and stable good quality home, infrastructure and access to public transport, access to internet/libraries/neighbourhood centres, proximity of care institutions and schools). On the other hand, studies that address integration often focus on the "bodies" of people who are already there. Often building on Vertovec's notion of super-diversity (2007) and Putnam's (2007) hypothesis of the (problematic) relationship between cohesion and ethnic diversity, researchers address integration issues with a strong relationship to the (interaction) effects of the existing group already present in the context to be placed. Ethnic characteristics (present or absence) as central focus

when looking at these specific bodies. This way of linear thinking reasons that under the right circumstances (defined according to body & place characteristics in this case), a newcomer will fit in

the new place after a process. I therefore argue in this thesis that an interwovenness between place on the one hand and body on the other can be seen, also in this literature.

However, none of the above tells us anything about what integration means exactly. This study cannot provide a solution to that problem. The conceptualisation of integration in this study follows therefore the one as is articulated in the policy and practices examined in this study. And it will function as a starting point of this abductive analyses. First, I will be ‘recognizing’ integration by intentions related to a stimulation of participation, economic independence (finding a job) and learning the Dutch language. This interpretation relates to the policy advices out of recent research and policy goals formulated in “sturen op huren” (policy aimed at strategical differentiation of population in social housing) used by the municipalities, housing cooperatives and COA. In addition, it is important to note that both the Rotterdam Act and the current policy instrument “sturen op huren” attempt to promote social cohesion by counteracting concentrations based on ethnicity (especially non-Western immigrants) and poverty (unemployed).

3. Theory

This study focuses on the way in which a placement of permit holders to a place of residence is given shape. Through the lens of imaginaries, these practices are investigated, where I zoom in on the professional practice of screen level bureaucrats (Scb) who ultimately 'do' this placement within the integration practices (matching and make 'it fit'). The following chapter will look at three important bodies of literature that are central to this study: bureaucrats, body, and place. This part offers insight in what we already “know” about existing associations and its effect in practice. Figure 1 will show a schematic representation of the theoretical framework. First, I will start with the lens used in this work and elaborate on my understanding and use of the concept imaginaries.

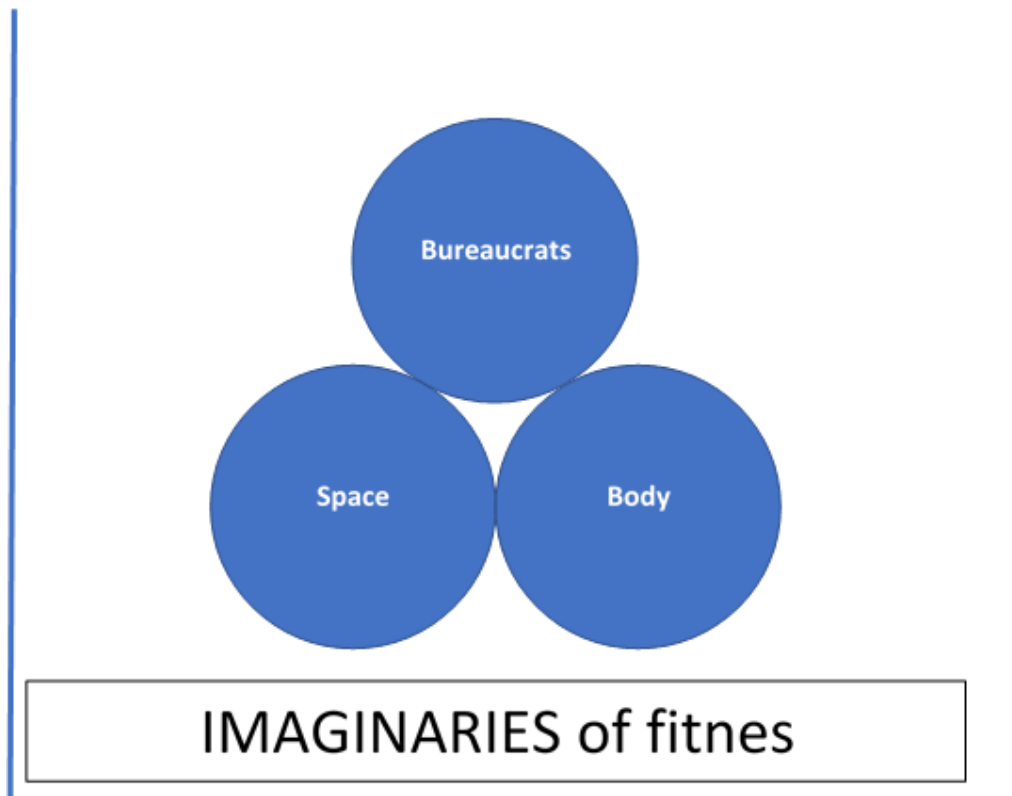


Figure 1 Theory

3.1 Imaginaries

No matter how long I may look at an image, I shall never find anything in it but what I put there. It is in this fact that we find the distinction between an image and a perception.'

Jean-Paul Sartre

This study focusses on the imaginaries that inform policy practitioners within the practices of assigning a permit holder to a place as a lens to see how these practices shapes reality. The notion of imaginary grounds itself in social and cultural practices (Taylor, 2004). It constitutes the forms of life, practices, and traditions within which we must take epistemological, ethical, and political choices (Mitchell, 1984). It creates a place where, according to Taylor society can structure itself and coordinate action through associations. It is these associations that will define the suggested space for social movement and therefore inform the practices central in this study. Imaginaries reach beyond practice knowledge that inform the practices because the revelation offers a form of understanding and a wider grasp of our history and social context (Taylor, 2004).

Moreover, imaginaries are not private but public. It reveals a shared experience and a representation (ordering) of the world. It acts, especially in the context of state work and places where there is decision power. It reveals how we understand ourselves and others and the place of ourselves and others in this world (Taylor, 1989, 1995 and 2004, Mitchell, 1984). It is not the same as a theory because theory normally focus on a small group instead of more general ideas of the public, and theory normally does not focus on how the 'ordinary people' (a whole society) imagine their social surroundings. Lastly, in contrary to theory, social imaginary makes practices possible by common 'knowledge' and shared legitimacy (Taylor, 2004). It furthermore distinct itself from perception because it is the imaginary that leads to a certain deception and perception only exist by acts of imagination (Sartre, 1940). Imagination refers to a total, not an observation and it is the affect, the underlying understanding that makes that we place what we see: a synergy between knowledge and our intention towards an object or situation (Sartre, 1940). In this study we will look to imaginaries that inform the practices in state work.

Within the distinguishing between theory and imaginations the need is found to develop a theory about imaginations. According to Taylor (2004) human behaviour is linked to his intentions and the world, and practices take shape precisely because (wo)man interprets the world in which he or

she lives in. In the never-ending process called understanding, (wo)man has no structure of meaning apart from interpretation. I argue therefore that research also should anticipate on this never-ending

process and work with (flexible) reflexive theories that helps us to better understand these underlying motives and interpretations and their consequences in a changing or critical context (e.g. context of super diverse cities in process of decentralisation in a period of high influx refugees and low capacity (houses) and highly contested political topic). Ordering places with bodies by the state becomes real by doing it. Building theories grounded on empirical practices can be a way to create reflexive theories to give back to the practices and stimulate reflexive policy dialogues. It is exactly this “doing” where it is interesting to see what “happens” . Furthermore, to answer the “why “question we need to be taking leading imaginaries seriously; in this case: who belongs where and why.

A careful start to a theory of social imaginaries in bureaucratic practices will be made in this thesis. In an abductive way, three imaginaries are distinguished that become enacted in the practices of allocation officers. From practice and thus empiricism, these patterns are inductively dissected. This study abductively moves back and forth between empiricism and theory. The deductive analysis complements the inductive analysis. Knowledge from the literature on bureaucrats, body and place have therefore been brought together and will now be highlighted.

3.2 Bureaucrats

In this part the theoretical literature on bureaucrats will be presented. The difference between different sorts of bureaucrats will be clarified. Furthermore, based on the work of Lipsky (1980) it will become clear how bureaucrats seek control over the process of providing rights. Lastly, I will show what sort of freedom they have according to authors and how bureaucrats and imaginaries relate in this thesis.

3.2.1 Bureaucratic stage

Upon arrival in the Netherlands, an asylum seeker can (and must) apply for asylum. The Information and Naturalisation Service (IND) will then make a decision whether the application fits in with the standards for granting a residence permit, after which the asylum seeker will be granted a status in order to be able (and must) integrate (temporarily or otherwise) within an assigned municipality. After this step, it is up to the bureaucrats to make the act of placement and to make a suitable match. This study will describe the procedure of placement, but it is the street-level bureaucrats who receive the most attention because they are 'doing' the actual step of placement (making the decision). In this part it will become clear what we know from literature about processes that affect allocation and decision making of bureaucrats.

Lipsky (1980) refers to street-level bureaucrats as the public service worker that play a role in the implementation of policy and have the power to distribute benefits or sanctions to the citizens. These workers are in contact with the clients and need to translate policy goals to 'real life'. To do so, they have the power of policy discretion, and therefore -in the end- shape the policy and the actual outcomes. Furthermore, Lipsky (1980) argues that street-level bureaucrats divide clients into categories, each with their own associations which makes them function as categories of actions (Lipsky, 1980). In this way they seek control over the process of providing rights; shaping what "has to be done" and what is appropriate within certain sets of associations. Moreover, Lipsky (1980) emphasises that the contact with the street-level bureaucrat and the client is not on a voluntary basis. A street-level bureaucrat produces work for the state (Sharma & Gupta, 2006; Lipsky, 1980). This emphasises the importance of the understanding of these practices and how (and which) imaginaries are enacted in the practices of allocating bodies to a place.

3.2.2 Bureaucrats and their 'freedom'

COA's linkage officer at regional level and municipalities linking officers at local level distribute permit holders among the available places in municipalities and houses. Both are so-called allocation officers. In the implementation they enjoy a certain degree of discretionary power; also called policy freedom. This means that the civil servant can, to a certain extent, determine at his or her own discretion how the distribution of resources or services is carried out (Lipskey, 1980; Bekkers, 2012). Bovens & Zouridis (2002) distinguishes three types of civil servants: street level, screen level, and system level bureaucrats. A street level bureaucrat often has the greatest degree of discretionary power because he or she is in contact with the client and must translate policy directly into an individual case. Interaction can influence the choices that are made (Lipsey, 1980). A screen level bureaucrat, on the other hand, has no contact with a client; they must act based on information on a computer screen. There is room for some discretion Bekkers (2012) states. The use of this policy space will be made on the basis of predetermined criteria rather than processes that affect the civil servant through interaction aspects, client characteristics and environmental factors. Bovens and Zouridis (2002) and Zacka also emphasize that there is no real decision power (2017). The last sort of bureaucrat is a system level bureaucrat. This person checks the data entered and the draft decision made by an automated system. There is no room for exceptions or personal insight. After all, a system level bureaucrat cannot deviate from the draft decision if the draft decision is based on the correct data (Bekkers, 2012).

3.2.3 Bureaucrats & imaginaries

Some countries like Canada, use algorithms to allocate newcomers. In the Netherlands screen level bureaucrats are expected to administer the allocation, without using any policy discretion at all (COA, 2016-2020). This would in Sartre's words mean that there is no room for imagination, and no room ontological freedom in the acts of the state in this phase (Sartre, 1940). However more recent studies like Zacka (2017), Raaphorst (2017) and Keuleman (2020) all emphasises that all executing officers will find a way to make their work meaningful and gain a sense of accountability through peers, even in situation where there is supposed to be none to very little space for discretionary power. Furthermore, Fischer (2012) and Vandervoordt (2020) show that respectively in each place in policy

as well as in politics, a subversive act can be made and the implementation of policy will be constructed in each phase of the policymaking circle. This lead to the expectation that executive

officers, even in an extreme case as a screen level bureaucrat will find or make space for policy discretion and thus for leading imaginaries that will be enacted or modified in this phase of policy implementation. Moreover, it is of interest to analyse the imaginaries to see modes of ordering in it. Law (1994) argues that every mode of ordering consists out of a morality tale which hope to order and distribute blame. The logic and intention behind the decision will therefore be studied. It is then up to see out of these practices whether this can really be seen as 'freedom' (ontological freedom) such as Sartre (1940) assumed, or whether the autonomy as assumed by Castoriadis (1987) is not to be overestimated because through institutions people have been 'raised and imprinted' with a fairly fixed imagination of what (who) belongs where, and are therefore more inclined to maintain that order even when they are not obliged to do so.

3.3. Body

“De mens leeft in een sociaal verband waar deze alleen te midden van anderen zelve een zelf is”

Charles Taylor

Now that the bureaucrats have been discussed, this section will engage with literature on the body. I do this firstly by talking about the relationship between body and imaginaries, and secondly to look at the relationship between body and bureaucrats.

3.3.1 Body & Imaginaries

In this study the word body is used on purpose. The notion body links to a way of thinking by Arendt (1968) and Agamben (1995). It refers to a body loose from a context that makes ‘it’ to a human. It is conceptuality separate from individual or person because I argue that these concepts already are constructed with associations of a western patriarchal imaginary. “Body” is perceived to be “outside” humanity and the protection and acceptance that comes with the historical and political construction that makes a body a human (Arendt, 1968). In this study a bureaucrat ‘unfolds a person’ out of the body presented to him on a document from a screen (appendix 6 form). A permit holder is on paper a member of this nation state, by means of the status document. However, full inclusiveness has not been achieved in practice nor perception (Duyvendak, Gerschiere & Tonkens, 2016). For a long time, a distinction remains between “us” and refugees (Bauman, 2016). The aim and main task of integration practices is therefore to initialise the other: to make “them” “us”. In this casus, to place them in a fitting place.

Answering political questions like 'who gets what and what (in which way) do we owe the other' are combined with a special challenge that marks these situations with a us/them separation and a disbalance in dependency relations (Ngai, 2005). Being part of the "they" party comes with a subordinate position. Therefore, on the one hand permit holders are put in an adverse position. Rawlsian's theory of justice emphasises that adverse acknowledgement of means is mainly the case with immigrants. The situation around allocation and distribution of means to immigrant raises the question 'what do we owe the other' even stronger than the allocation of means to people of the own group (Fabre, 2007). On the other hand, egalitarian norms create exceptions to this adverse allocation of means to immigrants. This means that there is a stronger strive for global justice with a civil servant as soon as inequality is seen as unjust. As long as it is likely that the person in question is not to "blame" for having a miserable life, and the responsibility is not placed at that individual, the distribution of means will become more favourable (Bleitz and Pogge 1999, Scanlon, 2000).

3.3.2 Body & Bureaucrats

Who deserves and should get what is translated in sociology with the term *deservingness*. Van Oorschot (2000) identified five criteria for deservingness: control, necessity, identity, attitude, and reciprocity, also known as the CARIN framework (van Oorschot, W., et al. 2017). Summarised, we can state that people "deserve" the most help according to these criteria if they are not in control on their unfavourable position where they are in, there is a high necessity, there is a certain level of equality meaning the deserving is seen as one of "us", a thankful attitude and willingness to return something to the society. In addition, Taylor (2004) distinguishes a strong economic dimension in today's western modern social imaginary which stresses the importance of the principle of reciprocity. He states that this is furthermore translated to the necessity of having a place in society to be productive as an important and dominant feature in this economical dimension of western imagination. Moreover, research shows a hierarchic order of who is deserving in western countries: the elder and ill are on the top directly followed by needy families with children, against unemployed and immigrants at the bottom of this hierarchy (Van Oorschot, W., 2000; van Oorschot & Roosma, 2002). Additionally, Belabas & Gerrits (2017) show that street-level bureaucrats working with immigrants are often keen to do something extra themselves in the context of a bureaucracy if they work with clients with a high level of motivation, greater urgency and little access to means and policy instruments. Given the current political climate and public debate, access to help, resources and policy instruments are limited for permit holders (Vandervoort, 2020). This may affect the willingness of street level bureaucrats to make use of or room for discretionary power.

The characteristics of the body of the client is also central to assign people to a category of action and thus to the choice of who belongs where. The imaging of a matchmaker is based on bounded rationality; limited information about the permit holder is available and a decision must be made with only this information. Raaphorst (2017) argues that frontline workers, precisely because of uncertainty and incomplete information, form elaborate stories to legitimise the decisions they make, functioning as a justification strategy. Imaginaries are enacted in that process, where only a few personal characteristics serve as a starting point for the imagination. In this study on the allocation practices of permit holder to appropriate residence, the question of who fits where, and who deserves to live where, plays a role. How is it decided who will come to live near which facilities and in neighbourhoods with which characteristics? What are the ideas of what is a 'better' place, and for whom is this place appropriate and for whom is it not?

3.4 Space

“Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics. It has always been political and strategic. There is an ideology of space. Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product.”

Henri Lefebvre

The last body of literature will address the concept of space. Where are we talking about when we are thinking of a space to place someone in, is the question raised in this part. The construction of a “good” versus a “bad” place in the policy practices central to this case will also be addressed as well as the relation between space and bureaucrats. Lastly, the interaction between space and body will be tackled.

3.4.1 Space & Imaginaries

In his work ‘the production of space’ Lefebvre (1974) starts by pointing out that not long ago, and I argue still dominant in general thinking, people mainly think they use the word space to simply refer to a mathematical concept; a pure geometrical meaning. Space of place can be found between numbers because it is the empty area between coordinates. You can even visualize it on a map, very precise, demarcated and visible delineated. In this research I use this way of understanding space when executive officers are asked to indicate which associations live at such a demarcated place, shown on a map. The image of a map helps me to ‘get my hands on’ the imagination about a place, while the respondents are asked to react on (just) a reference to a geographical space. Space, however, is understood in this study as a mental space, an imaginary, a set of associations related to an image of a map or name of an area. practically and historically constructed with always its own set of logic (Lefebvre, 1974). For the purposes of this study, this means that a city is seen in line with Lefebvre's understanding of a city: a space understood by actors in integration practices as an own spatial practice, appropriate space with own specific times, rhythms of daily life, representations of social and moral order. Fitness is the keyword, because this study will explore what is perceived as appropriate in this space. Which imaginaries are enacted and/or inflected in these practices? As Leibniz notes; a

sense of direction and orientation. A space in which values and ideas encounter and people in it (or refers to it in decision making practices) generate or produce a space.

Within policy, dealing with increasing diversity in neighbourhoods is on the agenda. Reports and studies that examine the dynamics between groups in neighbourhoods are published annually (e.g. in November, the WRR will publish a new report on the situation and challenges of hyper diverse neighbourhoods). Perhaps redundant to note that researchers of these reports generally seem to agree that diversity poses challenges in neighbourhoods and places and that this should be a topic of policy. I point to this because it tells us something about the imaginary present in policy and politics and the way the world is ordered: social cohesion is high on the agenda and more diverse neighbourhoods score lower on liveability, sense of safety and security and people feel less at home (Weltevrede et al, 2018; Permentier, 2018; Liedemeijer, van Iersel & Frissen, 2018; Jennisen et al, 2018). By means of a “leefbaarheidsbarometer” (measuring instrument housing quality) these problems are monitored. In addition, for refugees in large cities such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam, an annual rapport (aanpak statushouders) is used to look at and monitor status holders separately. Good and bad neighbourhoods are distinguished from each other on the basis of this quality of life barometer, which focuses on the social environment (feeling safe and at home) and physical environment (building management and waste disposal). In addition, the concentration of so-called vulnerable groups is an indicator for the distinction. These include people in low-income groups and the unemployed, the chronically ill and people with mental problems (Frissen, forthcoming).

3.4.2 Space & Bureaucrats

Social categorization theory states that it is a natural cognitive process that categorizes people based on personal characteristics, social group membership. Decisions about these people are then no longer made based on information about the individual but based on what we know about the social group into which people are categorised (Allport, 1954). This can result in other information about the individual no longer being included. The intergroup bias then occurs. If choices resulting from this social categorisation are negative for people with certain characteristics, we speak of *stereotyping*. If this happens structurally, it is called stigmatisation (Goffman, 1974). A stigma can be decisive in the approach to the individual and influence social identity (Goffman, 1974). This could be the case when allocating houses if, for example, people of a certain ethnic origin or people with a low level of education are more likely to be placed in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, or to be allocated lower-

quality houses than people with other characteristics. In this case, stereotyping and possible stigmatisation could lead to systematic discrimination in the allocation of houses and a place in neighbourhoods with more human capital. In analyses therefore, attention will be paid to (if) certain characteristics that systematically leads to a (dis)advantaged allocation.

As soon as social categories have been formed (permit holder, newcomer) and they must be allocated a place (a city, a house) the thinking starts about who gets what. Moreover, if some places are valued as more desirable than others, the question will be: who deserves where? The final decision will then be an ethical one because the choice and actions of the matchmaker influence another (Loyens and Maesschalck, 2010). After all, an ethical dilemma precedes it because the choice must be made as to who is placed where to build a life, whether to settle down temporarily. Factors that influence the choice (the moral reasoning to decide in favour of the client) can be distinguished in individual characteristics, organisational characteristics, and client characteristics. (Protatas, 1979; Hasenfield, 1983; Scott, 1997). This moral reasoning will show the intention (Taylor, 2004) and the mode of ordering modernity (Law, 1994).

3.5 Body & space

Now that we have a clear view on bureaucrats, body, space and the interaction of bureaucrats and body and space, it is time to think about the interaction between body and place. Which who deserves or belongs where? We have sAs stated earlier, research shows that in the hierarchy of deservingness, migrants (those seen as others) seem to be at the bottom (van Oorschot et al, 2017). Concerning this subordinate position of migrants some specific ‘others’ are at an additional disadvantage, which leads me to believe there is a scale of “otherness” and deservingness within the different criteria of the CARIN framework. The important additional disadvantage relevant in this study is for others that are perceived as a threat to a certain space. I argue that there can be three factors deducted out of literature that are important when we think about threat and risk in modern western imagination of body and space interaction. These are race, religion, and sexuality. Studies show that especially the Islamic (male) body seem to be in a disadvantage position (Puar, 2007; Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2017, Wuthnow, 2010). Moreover, Puar (2007) argues that especially since 9/11 the Muslim men is seen as risk, an ultimate threat. Gole and Duankor (2002) argue that plurality of modern imagination can explain and further unravel the tensions and conflicts here. In the Dutch case, the imaginary of western democracy is leading in understanding the social order (Taylor, 2004). An important mediator of this

imaginary is religion: secularism is seen as indicator for modernity. The identity formed on the nation developed as modern was then linked to seeing no religion indicators in public sphere (or at least a strong decrease). In many Muslim societies however, the development of modernity was not linked to this strong idea of secularism. Bringing these two forms of an imaginary of modernity together causes a conflict. (Guankar, 2002). The (state) reaction of these sorts of conflicts reveals dominant imaginaries within a certain context, in a habitus. Modernism, western thinking is linked to modernity, construction of the entire Dutch nation and where the opposite is the Islamophobic homophobic dangerous other. I argue that in the Netherlands the timing of depolarization and the influx of guestworkers (mostly Muslims) that where actually given a “pillar” strengthen the perceived dichotomy in the imagination of modernity/progressive versus being Islamicist.

Furthermore, insightful here is the brilliant work of van Oorschot, I, (2011) who shows in her study how bodies can be seen at risk and as a risk. She shows how fear around sexual behaviour and perceived sexuality can be considered as a threat for the order in space. For example, vulnerable young women are often seen at risk versus strong racialized tropes of youth as the perpetrators of sexual violence, especially urban young Moroccan, and Antillean youth as a risk. I argue that age is here connected to being addressed as sexually active or desirable (being seen as a sexual being at all), and therefore a risk or at risk. In addition, Hertoghs & Schinkel (2018) show how sexual identity becomes an infrastructure of personhood. To relate this to the work of van Oorschot, I. (2011) this is where vulnerable body (at risk) in this context coincides with a sense of danger (a risk body). Butler links this to the dominant imagination of western democracy as well. She states that accepting homosexuality is seen or is a way of embracing modernity. Modernity here means sexual freedom, and a class of people seen as modern. Here this idea of a body is directly linked to a place because the construction of the Netherlands, urban places, modern progressive (white) spaces, is associated with the dominant order and therefore in this imaginary a dichotomy exist a specific ‘we’ and ‘they’ which seem hard to reconcile. This shows that sexuality is variable as well.

Van Oorschot, I. (2011) point was furthermore not only that sexuality, but also race seem to be a characteristic to order space. In her work she shows that especially Moroccan and Antillean where seen as an undesirable risk for a place. Like states earlier, most studies that looks at urban challenges look at the role of ethnicity and social cohesion and emphasise the problems with (or due to) diversity. Schinkel and van den Berg (2011) furthermore show that especially in the case of Rotterdam the problematization of (a high degree of) ethnicity in neighbourhood’s has made it possible to take further steps in biopolitics and, as pointed out by Agamben, to promote further forms of state led policy practices that sort populations based on spatial differentiation. Rotterdam framed itself as a city in an exceptional situation, with exceptional politics and was thus able to deploy exceptional policy

measures: neighbourhood teams in the case of the study by Schinkel and van den Berg (2011) and the Rotterdam Act as also shown in the study by Uitermark, Hochstenbach & van Gent (2017). Both studies show how Rotterdam linked problem neighbourhoods to certain ethnic groups that threatened the existing order. And thus, of the image of an ideal place with the order of the dominant class white, modern, gay tolerant and developed upper class neighbourhood that needed to be protected by extraordinary policy and law measurements. This understanding of appropriateness in place and bodies again highlights the truly delicate balance between individual, society and belonging (Clarkson, 2014).

In sum, sexuality, race, and religion seem to be key indicators for modern western imagination about the fitness of body and place. Butler (2015) argues that state officials take the task very serious to order this space in their capacity to act. Especially with a powerful image of a body that threatens the order in a space, this can lead to a strong reaction among bureaucrats. This can mean that even though certain bodies do meet the deservingness criteria of van Oorschot, W. (2002), those seen as powerful to disrupt order in a place can still be treated with disadvantage. Ideas of injustice, helplessness and so on, can be disturbed when by stereotyping leads to the construction of a body as a risk. Figure 2 shows a visual representation of this theoretical framework and relevant concepts:

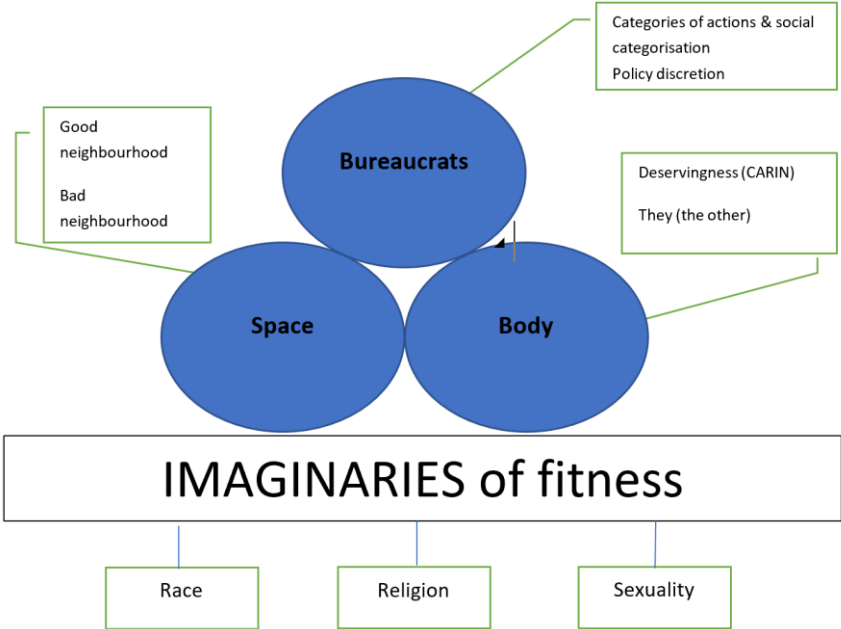


Figure 2 Theoretical framework and relevant concepts of theories in context of integration practices

4. Operationalisation

This study follows the logic of abduction. The leading imaginaries that inform the practices are identified from these practices in an inductive way. The first careful impetus to theory is constructed from the empirical data (Charmaz, 2014). At the same time, we will see how imaginaries are enacted and adapted in practice. This, therefore is not a complete inductive research that strives for a ground theory approach. Theoretical knowledge about executive officers relate to two bodies of research, namely literature on body and literature on place. The existing knowledge will be used in the analyses of the research data. Careful expectations are formulated based on existing literature. I move back and forth from existing knowledge to empirical data using an abductive logic. This approach fits this study because there are many ideas already in place about bodies, space, and executive literature while at the same time there is a lacune about which and how imaginaries enacts in integration practices. The table in figure 3 will show you the suggested expectations draw from literature. The table in figure 4 will give a clear overview of concepts used in this study.

1.	Policy discretion will be used or space will be made, sense making and giving practices will occur
2.	Bureaucrats will form a morality tale
3.	Especially with little information (bounded reality) stories will be used as justification strategy
4.	The more people meet the CARIN criteria, the better the places are that will be distributed to them
5.	People will be assigned to a social group, based on where bureaucrats think they belong to
6.	If there is a negative judgement towards the group that someone is associated with, they will be assigned to lesser places
7.	Sexuality, race and religions are the three characteristics deciding the placement of a person

Figure 3 Expectations

Figure 3 A: Operationalisation Bureaucrats

Body of literature	Concepts	Operationalisation	Research and analyse focus/sensitizing concepts	Important authors & studies
Bureaucrats	Social categorisation	Categorisation based on (assumed) social membership	Belongs to, is the same as	Allport (1954)
	Categories of action	Actions based on criteria of a person or place	Based on experience with others from this group A person with characteristics X fits/likes/dislikes Y	Lipsky (1980), Butler (2015), Sharma & Gupta (2006)
	Policy discretion	Decision power used on criteria other than predetermined in policy	I am not supposed to, place someone here, that person fits here because, I choose this place for	Bovens & Zouridis (2002), Bekkers (2012), Lipsky (1980) Zacka (2017). Raaphorts (2017) Keuleman (2020), Fischer (2012), Vandervoordt (2020)
	(ontological) freedom	Associations as justification for a decision other than stated in policy and modern public opinion/western thought of logic of economical reciprocity	Inductive reasoning: logic that does not align with theories, policy and dominant ideas	Sartre (1940) Versus Castoriadis (1987)

Figure 3 B: Operationalisation Body

Body of literature	Concepts	Operationalisation	Research and analyse focus/sensitizing concepts	Important authors & studies
Body	Unfold a body to a person	Who is being formed out of which characteristics of a form	Person, preferences, description of a person, rights, membership, recognition	Arendt (1968), Agamben (1995)
	“they”	Othering of people based on characteristics where “we” means a) western (white) middle class, b) dominant population or c) people seen as Dutch	Distance (social/cultural), different, other culture or habits, on their own/with their own people, problems in/with communication	Bauman (2016), Duyvendak, Gerschiere & Tonkens (2016), Ngai (2005)
	Deservingness	Deservingness is recognized when/if more favourable options are distributed to those who are likelier to earn them	CARIN framework Care for, feel sorry for, protection	Van Oorschot et al (2000-2020)

Figure 3 C: Operationalisation Space

Body of literature	Concepts	Operationalisation	Research and analyse focus/sensitizing concepts	Important authors & studies
Space	Good place/neighbourhood vs Bad place/neighbourhood	Access to public transportation, work and school, good infrastructure, availability of public services, nearness of (white) middle class, maintenance Bad is opposite plus high concentration of poor, low educated and ethnic diverse others	Infrastructure, whiteness, class, work and schooling opportunities, access public transportations and services, maintenance	Weltevrede et al (2018) Permentier (2018) Liedemeijer, van Iersel & Frissen (2018) Jennisen et al, (2018), Lefebvre (1974)
	Stigmatisation	If social categorisation to certain groups leads to systematic allocation to what is perceived as “bad” area’s/ place with less (human) capital	Sense for characteristics associated to bad places, burden	Goffman (1974)

Figure 3 D: Other relevant/overlapping operationalisation

Body of literature	Concepts	Operationalisation	Research and analyse focus/sensitizing concepts	Important authors & studies
All bodies of literature	Morality tale Distribution of blame	Justification strategies	Fairness, storytelling, sharing and taking responsibility	Law (2012) Taylor (2004) Van Oorschot et al (2000-2020) Belabas & Gerrits (2017)
	Social justice	Linked to deserving but in addition a hint for more senses of global justice	Making something right, balancing out bad things	Fabre (2007) Bleitz & Pogge (1999), Scanlon (2000)
	Race or ethnicity Religion Sexuality (interwoven with gender)	Demarcations on racial tropes Non secular Heterosexual and man as a risk Woman as at risk Homosexual as at risk	Effects of race/ethnicity as cause for a certain decision Dichotomy religion and modernity (secularism) Associations connected to Muslim Vulnerable because, not save, save, appropriate, need of protection, threatening	Oorschot, I, (2011), Puar (2007), Bonjour & Duyvendak (2017), Hertoghs & Schinkel (2018) Gole and Duankor (2002), Taylor (2004), (Guankar, 2002), Schinkel and van den Berg (2011), Uitermark, Hochstenbach & van Gent (2017)

5. Methodology

5.1 Research question

In this study, the placement of permit holders to a place is central. This leads to the following research question:

How is the allocation of permit-holder to a residence in integration practices given shape and which imaginaries of fitness between body and place are enacted and inflected in these practices

This chapter shows the methodology used to answer this question. Before further developing the multi-method approach within this qualitative research, it is important to reflect on the assumptions and the starting point from which this research starts. The researcher starts by noticing and looking at the practices from the idea that policy making is not neutral, at no point in the process and by no person in the practices. The drive and motivation to take seriously these specific practices of assigning and linking person and place starts with a curiosity about the social imaginary that is present and imaginaries that are leading in the creation of a specific policy, and the consequences of such always present and guiding imaginary. This research thus positions itself in the social constructivist perspective of policy science (Fischer, 2003). And align with the idea of Charles Taylor that to understand human action and decision making, you need to look at their intentions and underlying imagination of moral order (Taylor, 1989). To map out these practices and the associated imaginary, the main question has been divided into the following sub questions, with corresponding fields of attention. The first two sub questions focus on policy: What is the task conception, the goal, the structure of the process and what is done by whom in what circumstances. Sub questions C and D focus on how this is done, with which imaginary and mediated by which factors.

- a) What does the allocation process look like?
- b) What is the bureaucratic scene of performers and practices?
- c) Which imaginaries are enacted in these practices?
- d) How are these imaginaries enacted and inflected in these practices?

Because the starting position and perspective on the importance of a subjective reality remain the same in all methods, we speak of a multi-method approach instead of a mixed method approach (Creswell, 2013; Ritchie, 2014). To formulate an answer to the research question, three qualitative research methods were used, namely desk research, interviews, and observations.

5.2 Desk research

Desk research is understood to mean the method of studying letters of the ministry and policy documents that in the period 2016-2019 focus on the described policy of placement, the so-called 'matching on labour policy' of Minister Lodewijk Asscher. Both fall under the heading of integration policy and concern public government documents (COA, involved municipalities monitors and archives & overheid.nl). This period was chosen because during the so-called 'refugee crisis of 2016' critical juncture or rupture in the policy field took place because the unforeseen high influx of refugees and media attention (and related place on the political agenda) ensured that a windows of opportunity came and new policy was formed (Lipset & Rokan, 1967; Collier, 1991; Goldstone, 1998; Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2004, Bowker & Star, 2000; Bekkers, Fenger & Scholten, 2017). A period of active policy construction or adaption offers a good change for a researcher to “see” what sort of imaginations and logics are articulated or even negotiated about.

This particular activity in the policy field can even been seen as an exceptional situation because within the trend of mainstreaming migration related policy (Scholten & van Breugel, 2018) the so called 'crisis' situation allowed specific policy for refugees, extraordinary measures (Agamben, 2005), and therefore helps the researcher to unravel a 'wicked problem'. This period provides insight into ways of thinking, imaginary, of what needs to be done urgently, is seen as a problem, and can be used as a solution. The written policy shows the amalgamation of these logics and is one of the materializations of dominant imaginary. The letters of the ministry the discussions and furthermore show the logic behind this construction.

5.3 Interviews

Interviews were held with professionals in integration practices. This concerns both Scb'ers as well as their manager and the policy makers in this field. A total of 46 professionals were interviewed in the period between 2017-2019. At the time of this study most of the respondents were employed by the municipality of Rotterdam, Capelle aan den IJssel, The Hague and Delft. This part of the fieldwork allows an understanding of the local level. In addition, COA employees were interviewed to map out the regional level of these practices.

Interviews lasted an hour on average and were all conducted at the location where the professionals work. For the local level, this means that the interviews took place at the various town halls. The step

at regional level is usually taken from home by the civil servants involved. For these interviews, the moments when they were present in the municipality of Rotterdam were chosen. For all the interviews a separate room was used where it was possible to speak freely and undisturbed, aware of the political environment in which these practices are carried out.

The interviews consisted of two parts. First, a semi-structured interview mapped out what the civil servants themselves described as their job description and working method. By opting for a semi-structured form, experiences and descriptions could be systematically questioned among all interviewees, but it was also possible to allow respondents to talk freely and to ask questions when associations and images emerged in the interview (Silverman, 2006). During *face-to-face* conversations it is possible to respond to sensitive topics. Non-verbal information is not lost and can be used as a starting point to go deeper into a particular topic (Babbie, 2010; Ritchie, 2014). In this study, this resulted in a conversation in which professionals described their day and working conditions in detail in response to a grand tour question about what an average working day looks like as well as a picture based on which ideas determines who 'should' be placed where. Attention in this was the degree of, motivation for and circumstances in which employees use discretionary space.

In the second part of the interview the respondent was asked to respond to a card taken by the interviewer. Each respondent was given a card with a picture of the area in which he or she had to place permit holders. Figure 5 Shows the example of the map used for allocation at the local level in Rotterdam where the geographical allocation area is divided into the neighbourhoods shown.

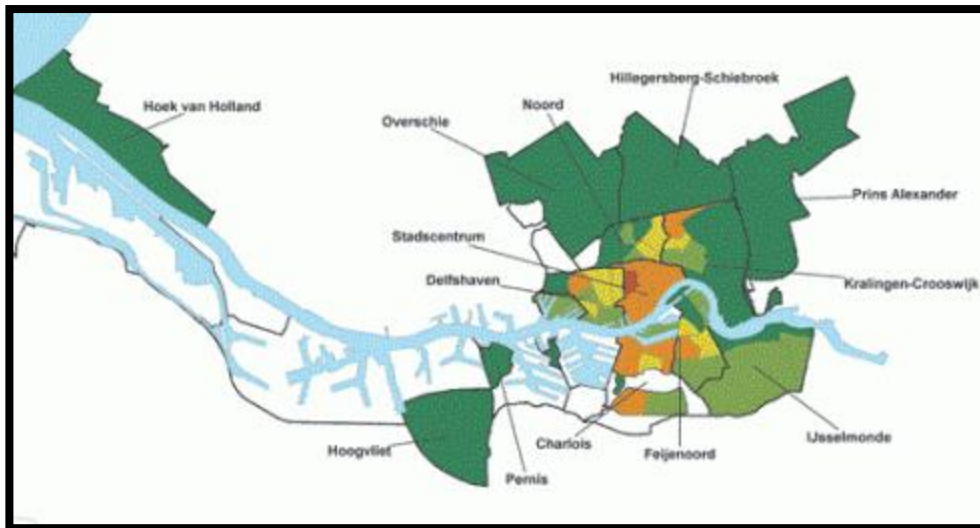


Figure 5 Rotterdam

At a varying pace, the interviewer pointed out a place on a map and asked the interviewees to indicate who they would place there and who they would not. The varying tempo resulted in a richness of data. In this way, a rapid tempo brought about a revelation of associations, intuitive and anchored in thought and conviction without conscious formulation or meta-ratio. The slower reactions, provoked by a why-and-why question and changed tempo in talking by the researcher, offered room for the story and the logic that lived with the respondent; the imagination belonging to a place. Respondents were also asked to motivate their choice, which characteristics of persons suited the place that was designated, which did not, and why. Finally, they were asked about the image of the place; what idea was associated with the place that was designated on a schematic map? And how does this relate to a (possible) choice and action.

5.4 Observations

Observations were made in the departments of the municipality where civil servants are charged with the task of allocating and distributing permit holders to specific districts and in the COA captains who are responsible at regional level for allocating permit holders to residences. In addition, several network meetings were attended, organised by the municipalities, with partners involved in the placement of holders of residence permits (e.g. housing cooperative, refugee work, foundation new home Rotterdam, COA, several representatives of various departments of large municipalities at the local level and at the regional level representatives of the various municipalities). The 34 observation days were spread over the period between 2017-2019 and had the same geographical scope as the interview respondents.

The observations enable us to get a good idea of the bureaucratic stage of the practices studied as well as the imaginary ones present that are leading in the implementation of the link between person and place. Screen-level bureaucrats were therefore asked to carry out their work as always, with the exception of one thing: they were asked to do this and think out loud, what do you see, what do you read from your screen, what choice do you make and why. The researcher sat as quietly as possible next to or just diagonally behind the performer in the room. A larger number of observations with the same respondents were of added value here because respondents needed the time to get used to this working method. The first few minutes translated into thinking out loud in explaining the steps and motivations to the researcher. After getting used to it, thinking out loud became an automatism, the

researcher was barely noticed, and thoughts were articulated that felt natural to the respondents, instead of a meta-cognitive action. Exactly getting past meta cognition and showing reflection is the most important addition to this method of observation in addition to the interviews and desk research carried out. This method therefore offers more insight into actual actions, distinguishing between what people say and think they do and what they actually do and how they do it (Olsen, 2011; Gobo & Molle, 2016).

5.5 Case selection & sampling methods

The period between 2016 and 2019 has been chosen as the period of research. The desk research looked at the period between 2016-2019 and the fieldwork at the period 2017-2019. In the written policy and documents of the parliamentary questions, it is of added value to include 2016 because an active moment of thinking about policy emerged here (e.g. De Rotterdamse aanpak), in response to the refugee crisis and politically perceived urgency to act on it. However, this policy was implemented in 2017. The time needed between making and implementing policy explains why the period within these methods have a different scope.

The criteria that respondents of the interviews and observations must comply with, are that they are involved in the design or implementation of integration and allocation policy, and in particular are responsible for the coupling of refugees to a region, municipality and/or neighbourhoods. This sampling method relates to intensity (Cresswell & Clark, 2011; Bryson, 2012). I would like to interview people who are able to offer an informative interview in which the underlying effect of policy in practice can be explored in depth. The makers and implementers of this specific policy field within COA and the municipalities studied are therefore central. Subsequently, a snowball method was used by asking each party involved about possibly other relevant interlocutors and relevant meetings (Matthews & Ross, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, the policy of allocation is unfolding at national, regional, and local level. The national level defines the overall policy which is mapped out through desk research. Metropolitan area Rotterdam-Den Haag and region is the area central to this study to map allocation practices during fieldwork at the regional and local levels. Most of the research took place in Rotterdam. This is because this large city serves well as a *critical case* (Cresswell, 2013). With 14 areas and 88 districts, Rotterdam is one of the largest cities in the Netherlands. Even though the city is not segregated as, for example, The Hague, there are differences between the districts concerning the available

facilities and demographic composition; schools, medical care, number of unemployed, level of education and so on (Rotterdam in cijfers; buurtmonitor, 2017). Rotterdam is also one of the cities where a relatively large number of houses were appointed because the task assignment was relatively high. In the period of this study Rotterdam formed a new policy "the Rotterdam approach", together with Amsterdam the first in the Netherlands to form a policy and actively monitor it in response to the high influx 2016. This made thinking about and forms of policy very visible. In addition, Rotterdam was the only municipality in the selection that managed to place assigned people in this period, partly thanks to an initiative of Stichting de Verre bergen which bought 200 houses to house Syrian refugee families (including an offer of its own integration programme). The *screen level bureaucrat who must place a status holder* therefore has a (visible) consideration to make in the period in Rotterdam. However, to avoid a bias, other municipalities and areas have been included and investigated in this study.

5.6 Analysis

Bakewell (1998) argues that words and language as well as images and imaginaries are not descriptive but production of actions. In relation to the request to the respondents in this study to think out loud, to describe what one sees when characteristics are read on the appendix 6 form or when a place is indicated on a map, I analyse these as representations of reality and categories of actions. It is precisely by keeping track of the respondents' reactions (which images they see of a person on the basis of which characteristics, and which places are visualised when a mark is indicated on a map) that it is possible to systematically dissect which imaginaries play a leading role in determining fitness body and place in integration practices. Here one can speak of both linguistic and visual doings (Bakewell, 1998). Two different types of notes were made during this research. During the interviews, conversations were recorded and transcribed. Field notes were made during the observations. Together with the policy documents, this data was partly obtained with the aid of the Atlas analysis programme. TI, and partly hand coded and analysed.

The first step in the analysis process was open coding. A broad look was taken at how someone is placed. In which cases there is a focus on numbers: Size of house and size of family. When do other logics and motives emerge, and which are they.

In the second step, the step of axial coding, it was mapped out which ratios were behind which different choices, and when they occurred to whom and where. Here, careful use was made of sensitizing concepts such as: *pathetic, safe, that can't be there, that one belongs there, this person I place there, you have to take into account, burden, fitting in place, feeling at home, troubles are*

expected if someone is placed somewhere, this person or place deserves. See also the tables of operationalisation for a more complete overview.

Selective analysis as the third step made an analysis of patterns in people's choices and logics possible. This form of analysis allowed me to draw up patterns and ideas of the construction of imaginaries from out of the data (Van Staa & Evers 2010). In this step, focus was centred on the imaginaries certain characteristics constructed (e.g. what sort of person do you see reading this form, or how does the place look like when pointed something at the map). Fitness of person and place where systematic categorized in this step. Together with the literature, the imaginaries could eventually be distinguished from this. The three imaginaries (deserving, risk and integrability) itself became the last codes to uncover the characteristics of people and places that mediates these imaginaries.

5.7 Triangulation and implementation of methods

To answer the research question, three research methods have been chosen in this study, namely desk research, interviews, and observations. This was chosen because triangulation allows each method to check and complement the other method (Creswell, 2007; Babbie, 2010, Matthews & Ross, 2010;). In this study, both the time factor and the amount of data are part of the researchers' intention to undertake a form of slow science in which a deeper engagement with the field is seen as a way of 'learning to see together' and unravelling what is happening in the practices studied (Stengers, 2018). None of what I write here as a researcher is something that was not given to me by my respondents, to whom I am very grateful for their openness and trust. There is work in 'showing' what I am allowed to write here, and this work validates my unravelling. The richness of this data enables me, as a researcher, to make a statement about the described policies, practices and imaginations that are present and leading in these practices. Reliability, understood as an expectation to come to the same answers repeatedly from method, is something that is seldom pursued in a flattened form in qualitative research (same as generalizations) because the relationship between researchers and investigated involves a specific and also relevant dynamic (Bryman, 2012; Cresswell, 2013). However, by identifying patterns from the width of research places, moments, and respondents, I argue that a substantiated statement is made when I speak of dominant imaginary that occur within practices, subject to the limitations of this study.

In some cases, for pragmatic reasons such as availability of the respondent, interviews and observations were combined at 1 moment (successively on the same day). However, the majority of the interviews and observations were deliberately planned and carried out separately, with the

intention of observing behaviour and working methods and eliciting associations without the respondent's reactions being influenced by the effects on the other research method (Creswell, 2013).

The large number of observations and interviews and the time taken for this fieldwork offer the advantage that a relationship between the researcher and the professionals could be established and the daily practices and working methods, as well as the intention of the researcher, could be shared (Gobo & Molle, 2016; Stengers, 2018). Particularly because it looks at how a placement is created and which imaginaries are leading in both the written policy and the implementation of policy, this combination of method is of added value; the difference between what one says and what one does can be included in the research, as well as the imaginary of which an individual is not always aware. By taking a broad view and structurally linking up with the work, it has also been possible to build up a relationship of trust and to get an idea of the discretionary power of the *screen level bureaucrat*, and the logic of using this space .

6. Descriptive Findings

6.1 The Procedure

This chapter describes how refugee placement practices take shape. First, the procedure will be explained. In this way, the three layers at which the policy of placement takes place will become clear. The question of how an allocation of status holder to a place is established will first be addressed here by sketching a picture of the practices studied, based on the observations, interviews, and desk research. I will do this by explaining and describing the policy and the associated steps of allocating permit holders to municipalities.

Upon arrival in the Netherlands, an asylum seeker can (and must) apply for asylum. The Information and Naturalisation Service (IND) will then make a decision whether the application fits in with the standards for granting a residence permit, after which the asylum seeker will be granted a status in order to be able (and required) integrate (temporarily or otherwise) within an assigned municipality.

At the time of this procedure, someone is staying at reception locations under the responsibility of the COA (2016). When granting a status, the term changes from asylum seeker to status holder, and a person can be placed in a municipality where this person's (civic) 'integration' must take place. In this sense, the responsibility for this person shifts from COA to the municipality where he or she will be placed. From the moment of 'distribution' of people across places, this research starts and that is why I am now zooming in on the three levels these practices unfold.

Level 1

First, since 2016, there has been "screening & matching policy" at national level. This means that the Netherlands is divided into labour regions. Each region creates its own profile based on the available employment. This information comes from municipalities and institutions such as the UWV that keep track of the labour demand per region. The division of the Netherlands into the so-called labour regions is for a broader purpose than the placement of refugees after a status has been granted. The aim of this working method is to achieve labour participation for a broader target group. Screen and

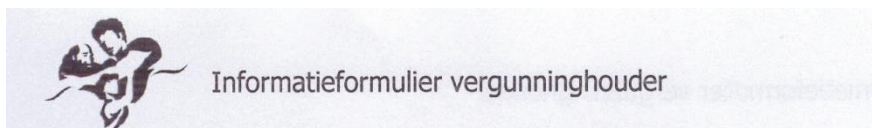
match policy of Minister Ascher since 2016, however, tries to use this classification for the target group refugees, because it fits in with the idea that exists about the 'necessary integration'. The motivation of this policy is, in fact, that the integration potential of a status holder is examined: the place where it should be placed should be the place where its interaction potential is best realised. Therefore, this is an example of government intervention in managing integration issues: after all, it is used to achieve integration and, in this case, affects the decisions on which bodies to organise in which place. An imaginary of integration shows itself in this part of the policy process and logic that has played a role in the creation of the policy process.

Information on labour regions and employment is public. In most cases, however, an employee of a large municipality coordinates the information on labour demand in a region and informs COA about available employment positions. There are no fixed rules as to when this information is to be updated (interviews COA). Picture 6 shows the classification of the Netherlands by labour region in 2017



Figure 6 Labour market regions Netherlands (source: regioatlas.nl)


A COA employee draws up a profile of the status holder in a national POL AZC. The aim is to make a link with one of the 35 labour regions in the Netherlands. The wish is to make a promising link with a location where the status holder can integrate by start working as soon as possible (COA, 2016). In this phase the interview will be conducted by a street level bureaucrat; there will be a face to face contact with a status holder and civil servant. From this interview, the street level bureaucrat "folds" the client into the following so-called appendix 6 form by describing a couple of characteristics. Picture 7 shows an example of the appendix 6 form.



Basis gegevens	
V-nummer	
SOE	
BSN	
PLE	
IBIS-nr	
Laatst geïmporteerd uit IBIS	
Achternaam	
TussenVoegsel	
Voornaam	
Geslacht	
Geboortedatum	
Nationaliteit	
Land	
Moedertaal	
Moderne taal	
Godsdienst	
Etniciteit	

Koppeling gegevens	
Gekoppeld op	
Gekoppeld aan	
Opmerking	

Overige gegevens	
Werkervaring	
Opvangvorm	
Opvanglocatie	
Plaatsingscriteria	
Vergunningdatum	
Vergunningtitel	
Instroomdatum	
Burgelijke staat	
IBAN	
Toestemming	
Telefoonnummer	
Uitgifte verblijfsvergunning	
Pasnummer	
Werk	
Opleiding	
Eerstegraads familie	
SMA aanvraag datum	
SMA besluit datum	
SMA advies	



Informatieformulier vergunninghouder

Gezinshereniging	
Beperking tav huisvesting	
Medische bijzonderheden	
Onderwijs bijzonderheden	
Speciaal onderwijs	
Overige bijzonderheden	
Opleidingsniveau	

Andere personen in deze plaatsingseenheid						
Achternaam	Voornaam	Geb. datum	V-nummer	BSN	Geslacht	Rol

Figure 7 appendix 6 form

In sum, the first part of the sheet consists of basic data where in addition to administrative numbers such as bug service number and name and date of birth and nationality, religion and language are also included. By modern language proficiency one understands a western language (especially English and French). Under the heading 'koppeling gegevens' the official will find comments from the street level bureaucrat regarding link information. "Overige gegevens" means other data and covers information that the scbs are not supposed to look at because a link has already been made on this basis (education level, work experience etc). The second sheet formulates exception criteria such as medical conditions, additional needs, and family reunification. Remarkably, the level of education is also mentioned here. Another striking rule here is "overige bijzonderheden" (other peculiarities). This rule provides space for the permit holder to express a wish and is therefore the only way for the permit holder to communicate with the placement officer, even if the latter is not supposed to read this rule.

At this level, the policy includes a preference for selection. In a personal interview, the official asks for work experience, level of education and background and the languages spoken and written in which they are proficient. Based on this information, a so-called work profile is drawn up and an attempt is made to establish a link with an area in which the so-called integration potential can best be met. Here, integration means the best chance for self-reliance in the socio-economic dimension of the concept of integration. In this phase, the implementation and expression of imagery of integration is enacted in the conversations between civil servant and status holder, including the choices that are subsequently made. After this phase, allocation is supposed to continue without selection and ideas on who fits where. This appendix 6 form with characteristics is what remains for the allocation officers who in the next steps act solely upon the information of this form.

Level 2

The second level where people govern the match between person and place is regional. Within the labour region, the link with a municipality must be made. Here an allocation can be made to a large city such as Rotterdam or a more rural area such as a village in Zeeland, also by a bureaucrat of the COA. A variety of facilities distinguish urban or more rural areas, such as public transport facilities, infrastructure and access to institutions such as hospitals, schools etc. Selection in this step is clearly less intentional in the work process than in the first step of placement. In this case it is important that municipalities meet the targets of the task assignment. The task refers to the agreement made

nationwide that the status holders will be divided among municipalities according to the population ratio. Based on the number of inhabitants, each municipality absorbs a proportionally equal number of permit holders per year. As a rule, therefore, in this second step of the process, selection, and consideration of personal or situational characteristics, only takes place based on the exception criteria drawn up in advance. The pre-determined exclusion criteria concern permanent employment (a person who has found permanent employment can be placed at the relevant location), medical grounds and/or informal care (people with a condition who need or need to provide certain medical care to a first-degree family member may on those grounds be placed near a facility that meets this care need) and placement with a family member who is part of the same nuclear family (in the Netherlands, nuclear family refers to married couples and minor children). It is also intended that allocation should take place based on numbers, as dictated by the task assignment. The allocation officer in charge of this task is therefore a so-called screen level bureaucrat; he or she does not see the status holder and makes an assessment on the basis of information that can be found on the so-called appendix 6 form. This information is collected by the official from step 1.

In the Netherlands in the period of this study 8 officials were in charge of the function of assigning permit holders at regional level, appointed by COA. None of these civil servants had a permanent place of work to perform this function. They were all free to use an open office in COA institutes and in the municipalities of their region. In practice, all civil servants fulfilled this task mostly from home, usually from a study/ attic room. Followed by some working hours spend at the municipality where they were for consultations and network briefings.

Level 3

The third level concerns the local level per municipality. Since the increase in the number of permit holders since 2016, large municipalities often have a department that focuses on the reception of permit holders and/or accommodation of migrants. In Rotterdam, for example, this is done at the reception of permit holders' desk of the municipality (IOS). In smaller municipalities, the civil servant who focuses on the placement of permit holders usually comes under social affairs and/or housing. The coupling at this third level should, according to the policy as at the second level, be made randomly by an official from behind a computer screen. Here, too, the municipal official is supposed to make the match based on quantified indicators; namely, the number of rooms of a house and the number of members of a (core) family. Accepted exceptions are a medical indication, a job or study of more than 20 hours per week and informal care for a first-degree family member.

The screen level bureaucrat in charge of this task is part of the team of the municipality concerned dealing with integration and reception of refugees. He or she therefore works together with the street level bureaucrats who work on other aspects of the integration and settlement of permit holders, such as, for example, the person who does the intakes and home visits and shows the status holder the house where he or she is going to live. Unlike the civil servant at the regional level, the screen level bureaucrat at the local level works directly in the office of the relevant municipality's team.

7. Analyses

chapter 7 presents the analysis. It starts with the bureaucrats, their freedom and policy discretion. Subsequently, it illustrates how a body is unfolded into a person through the information on the screen, and which characteristics are leading to an imaginary in these practices. Next, the ideas of space are explored. Finally, the interaction between body and space is highlighted.

7.1 Bureaucrats

7.1.1 Policy discretion

The public officer in step two and three of the procedures to match person and place, is a *screen level bureaucrat*. They allocate resources to permit holders without meeting the permit holders. They retain a certain degree of policy freedom to determine for whom an exception can be made. It is a question of weighing up and allocating resources, but from behind a screen. Some form of (digital) interaction can be understood from this because decisions are made that affect the clients: Who is allowed to live where, who belongs where and will be able to best fulfil his or her 'integration potential' there. According to Bekkers (2012), a screen level bureaucrat will only evaluate based on predetermined criteria, no further use of discretionary power is expected.

Respondents from this study all made clear that they are aware of this rule in policy that scb's are not supposed to select and that (in line with Bekkers, 2012) selection can only take place at a strategic policy level. Municipalities can express their interests, but the actual coupling may by no means be made based on selection, like the following quote illustrates:

De koppelaar zelf mag absoluut niet kijken naar andere zaken dan wat vastgelegd staat in het beleid. We willen niet nog meer "cherry picking" dan al gaande is, zelf kiezen in welke buurt iemand komt te wonen....nee dat mag echt absoluut, absoluut niet! (Leidinggevende scb'er, 2017).

The officer himself cannot respond to any other characteristics than what is laid down in the policy. We do not want any more cherry-picking than is already going on, choosing which neighbourhood someone will live in...no that is absolutely forbidden, absolutely not! (manager scb'er, 2017).

However, during both observations and interviews with all screen-level bureaucrats, it emerged that where there is room for choice a choice is made; based on more than just the stipulated exception criteria determined in policy. The exceptional grounds on which selection may officially take place are first degree family, medical grounds, informal care and a job or training for more than twenty hours a week. Respondents indicated that they also make use of policy discretion by considering the wishes of the permit holder and thinking about where a person fits in best. This is done if there are enough houses to choose from, as the following quote illustrates:

“Ik probeer wel te kijken van oké, welke buurt zal beter bij ze passen? Is ook niet de bedoeling maar als ik veel keuze heb uit woningen en ik kan maar geen woning kiezen, ja dan ga ik even kijken welk gezin zal beter passen bij die buurt.” (scb, 2018).

"I'm trying to look which neighbourhood will suit them better? I know i am not supposed to, but if I have a lot of choice of houses and I can't choose one, then I'll go and see which family will be better suited to that neighbourhood." (scb, 2018).

As the above quote illustrates, civil servants know that it is not the intention according to the policy but driven by a sense of responsibility of their job they legitimize why they do create room for policy discretion. Respondents indicate that they feel responsible for the permit holder, especially because of the harsh political climate, worse in some cities than in others. They do not expect permit holders to get a lot of help after they are placed, after what the scb'er can do for them. They also find it unfair and difficult that a permit holder does not has much to say about what happens to them, where they end up. The importance of a good match is therefore something that the screen level bureaucrats find very important:

“Ja ik kies een plek voor ze en ze hebben al zoveel meegemaakt. Zij hebben er echt geen zeggenschap op, soms is dat best frustrerend.” "

Yes I choose a place for them and they have already been through so much. They really don't have a say in it, sometimes that's quite frustrating". (scb COA, 2017)

&

“Ik moet een goede keuze voor ze maken. Straks kies ik een huis voor ze en vinden ze het niet leuk, wie helpt ze dan?”

"I have to make a good choice. If I choose a house and they don't like it, who will help them next?" (scb local level, 2017)

The sense of responsibility is reinforced by the current political and public climate that is negative towards refugees. At the same time, municipalities strive to pursue a generic policy, which means that there is little policy and facilities available for this specific target group. As a result, the respondents expect that permit holders will receive little to no help after the process of placement. The choice of where to live has a lot of influence on the permit holders, respondents stress. Screen level bureaucrats are therefore also inclined to do more when the need is high, there is a lack of control (Oorschot, 2000; van Oorschot & Roosema, 2002) and there is little access to resources (Belabas & Gerrits, 2017). Little access to resources and the absence of other policy instruments leads to (legitimation of) the use and creation of discretionary power. This supports the argument that in a politicized context mainstreaming becomes less likely (Van Breugel, 2020). Furthermore, it shows that it is not the fact of a bounded rationality due to limited information of the person, but the idea of a person not receiving any more help within this hashed politicized context (an idea of a public debate and opinion) leads to this particular morality tale.

7.1.2 Bureaucrats and their 'freedom'

Trevino (1986) states that situational factors are also determine if the bureaucrat will use their freedom, freedom is this way of understanding must be given. Respondents indicate that they did only make use of their discretionary power and allow other interests to be considered than determined by the policy if there is a choice. In this case this means for example on a local level that there must be several houses available that offered enough space for the households that needed to be placed. And during all observations it became visible that whenever there was a choice, bureaucrats made it, and made room and time for it. The agreement is that people must be placed within a period of 10 weeks after being linked to a municipality. The total placement includes moving people in and securing health insurance and registration in the municipality by other colleagues at the town hall. Scb'ers therefore formally have 2 weeks to come to a match. At times, the work pressure was so high that this could not be met. However, this had no effect on the time taken to think about where someone would best fit in. Random placement in the form of a match based on number of family members and number of rooms occurs if there is only one fitting option (e.g. with big families this sometimes occurs

because there are not many houses in the social housing market available for a household of more than 8 people). Time pressure was not a reason to not take some time to wonder who would fit best where.

In addition, the working environment of the bureaucrat is of influence. From this research it appears that both the control on the implementation, justification of the choice and work culture influences the choices that are made. In practice, the scb'er is not checked on their choice. He or she does not have to give any account for why someone is linked to a location. Formally, the scb of the regional level must justify whether the advice of the labour region has been followed, but in practice there is no feedback loop in the process to do this. Factors that influence the choice remain uncontrolled, assumed that there is no freedom. Moreover, the COA scb'er usually works from home. Here, in the attic or study room, he or she tries to achieve a good match based on the data from appendix 6. Respondents indicate that they try to make as fair of a distribution as possible. In their "private room" they include several stakeholders to the thinking process. And the following quote shows how other interests are considered:

"Want ja, je wilt een keuze maken ook voor de gemeente om een bepaalde taakstelling te halen, je wilt rekening houden met de verzoeken van de statushouder en je wilt rekening houden met Asscher [screen en match beleid]."

" you want to make a choice for the municipality to meet a the task assignment, you want to take into account the requests of the permit holder and you want to take Asscher [policy screen and match] into account". (scb COA, 2017).

The quote from this scb'er on the regional level shows that a scb'er creates some room for policy discretion and also does this with the intention to take the interest of the different stakeholders into account, even when he or she is not asked or supposed to, and in a private setting doing their job. A certain freedom is found here. However, an ontological freedom cannot be interpreted here because the imaginary of fitness itself is not yet revealed to be anything other than an institutionalized idea of appropriateness. This finding suggests that Castoriadis (1987) idea of a limited ontological freedom in this particular form of policy discretion seemed in order when we pay attention to 'who' interest are taken into account.

The matchmaker at local level works in a completely different context. He or she works in the same room as several street level bureaucrats that engage with permit holders in integration practices such as, 'inhuizers' (scb that physically connects people to their new house) and client managers. A team spirit is expressed and social processes of this setting are of influence in the way a scb'er shapes

his or her practices. Almost all the respondents at the local level indicates that everyone is very empathetic and that there is a culture in which everyone wants the best for the permit holders:

"everyone here does something extra (...)" These are not rules for us, but just things you do from within yourself, being human"

The “care” enacted in the way work is done, is considered as an act of humanity. This does seem like an association in these practices that suggest some form of ontological freedom like Sartre (1940) understood it. Here placing a body carefully to a good place by state workers is articulated and related to an act of humanity. Right here it is not (yet) about a particular body nor protecting a particular order. To take this hence seriously, it is important to further investigate what the intentions are, and which idea of knowledge informs these practices.

Scb’s indicate that during informal conversations on the work floor, the Scb’ers receives feedback about the choice made from their street level bureaucrat colleagues that see the effects of the choices where people are placed. An “inhuizer” informs the scb about the physical characteristics of a place, and the impression of the person that is placed. A work coach or client manager sees how the person is doing after he or she is settled and informs scb’er in some cases about further developments (e.g. finding a job etc). This whole informal feedback process is considered as a learning process; a team learning process. The scb’er receives a confirmation about their own impression or estimation of fitness. The information that follows from the experiences of the street level colleagues is used to motivate the next choice, as the following quote demonstrates:

“Ik had vooraf geen kennis over wie waar het beste past, maar ik leer van de ervaringen van mijn collega’s over hoe mensen reageren op een wijk en woning (...) van de tijd dat ik hier aan het matchen ben is het door de weigeringen ook dat ik erachter kwam van oké deze buurt is bijvoorbeeld niet geschikt voor een homoseksuele of transgender en dat je op die manier leert, anders zou ik dat niet weten.”

"I had no prior knowledge about who fits where best, but I learn from the experiences of my colleagues about how people react to a neighbourhood and home (...)it is also because of the refusals that I found out that this neighbourhood is not suitable for a homosexual or transgender, for example, and that you learn that way, otherwise I wouldn't know". (scb local level, 2017)

In sum, the screen level bureaucrats are aware of the various interests but then works autonomously. On a regional level this happens at home, from behind a screen. At the local level, the work culture at the office plays a role. At the local level, the matchmaker receives feedback from the street level

bureaucrats with whom he or she works in an office space. In this way the matchmaker learns about the effect and consequences of the choice in practice. There is also a culture in which all bureaucrats use their discretionary power; everyone does something extra. This legitimizes the scb's freedom of choice and sets a precedent for the use of the screen level bureaucrat's discretionary power. Zacka (2017) teaches us that executives can gain a sense of accountability through peers, other workers in the department. This is in line with the incentive that the respondents in this study experience a group culture among colleagues to take that extra step, even for the 'stranger/other' and independently of the client's behaviour as in Belabas and Gerrits (2015) and van Oorschot (2000) studies where suggested to be conditional criteria's. Based on these findings we see that moral reasoning and little control lead to selective coupling and bureaucrats, who find and create room for policy discretion and some sense of freedom.

7.2 Space

The way in which respondents gathered knowledge and construct images about a place differ between the implementers at regional and local level. On a local level almost all Scb's knew the city because they worked there. Many also lived in or near the city where they worked. Regularly, both on a regional and local level, the scb'er used google to get an idea of the city or district and its facilities: e.g. proximity of the subway/ bus stop, (primary) schools and/or care institutions and community centres). At the regional level, people were informed by or formed an image during the consultations they attended in the municipalities. Respondents at the regional level also indicated that they felt it was important to attend these meetings for this reason:

“Je krijgt toch een beeld van de stad zo he. Daarom werk ik soms ook op die locaties, dan weet je beter wat past en wat de draagkracht is. Zeker in steden waar het minder duidelijk is waar de problemen liggen.”

"You get a picture of the city, don't you? That is why I sometimes work at these locations, so you know better what fits and what the bearing capacity is. Certainly, in cities where it is less clear where the port problems lie". (scb COA 2018)

Despite the fact that the policy assumption is that this civil servant 'only' links on the basis of 'neutral numbers' (number of people to open numbers of tasks of municipalities), this civil servant is structurally a permanent consultative body per municipality area. The large and medium-sized cities such as Rotterdam and The Hague have their own consultations in addition to regional consultations (usually once every 6 to 8 weeks), and smaller villages/cities come together as a region in these consultations (usually once every 3 months on average).

During such consultations, several parties came together as standard, with small differences per (large of) municipality/region. The COA scb'er, representatives of the municipality (several departments) and representative of the housing corporation (s), were always present. In these consultations it was explained to me that this form offered the best cooperation and opportunities to bring all parties to the table and to tackle this problem of places of permit holders and their further integration process very pragmatically together. A logic was articulated that one can govern space in such way that one knows "what will show up where and what will show up next" as in a linear understanding of space and time. This supports Butler's (2015) notion that bureaucrats are very likely to try to contribute to the (moral) order. Furthermore, preferences of the parties (places) were expressed openly during these meetings: not too many (young) single (Muslim) men; body seen as a risk (Van Oorschot, I, 2011) and a preference for families with (young) children; bodies seen as deserving (van Oorschot, W, 2000).

In addition to this nuance in expressing preferences about certain 'types' of status holders, it is striking that municipalities want to influence the scb'er on this point. The COA bureaucrats are (eagerly) invited to get to know the city and its stakeholders. This was expressed by my participants of the COA as one of the ways cities lobby. The respondents of the municipalities called this their way a responsible urban policy implementation and taking care of their city and population and order. The scb wants to get there in order to assess carrying capacity. This is not just about lobbying for the desired bodies. It is also about the newcomers (others) themselves being seen as a challenge for the city that needs to be tackled together. It is not just about looking at who fits best, or who needs to be made fit by integrating. The order of the city and the carrying capacity of both the municipality and the local dominant population (dominant in class and race in space) are at stake.

The scb'er from the example above states that you do not always know exactly where the problem lies in a city. However, if we look at research and take a closer look at the life barometer that policymakers also cite in this study when they make a statement about the quality of a neighbourhood, then the dominance of the Putnam hypothesis stands out in the mindset: more diversity leads to more problems and less social cohesion and feelings of insecurity. The life barometer as a policy instrument is also constructed in such a way that more diversity is directly translated as a reduced quality of life in

a neighbourhood. race is seen here as an indicator to indicate the quality of a living environment/neighbourhood. And the placement of a newcomer is seen as a challenge, as is living together with different groups, that needs to be governed. This imagination of maintaining a dominant order of population based on class and race by managing diversity that is problematized links to what Korteweg & triandafyllidou (2015) call multicultural governance, and moreover, a way to do race and institutionalize race based order. In other words a form of institutionalized racism enacts.

Analyses

At the local level, almost all scb's knew the city because they worked there. Many also lived in or near the city where they worked. Regularly, at both regional and local level, the scb'er use google to get an idea of the city or neighbourhood and its facilities. They were invited to think out loud:

I: Would you mind thinking out loud for me here too, what do these images of the neighbourhood and street tell you?

R: "hmmm, first I see the building and the street (google street view) yes then you see what kind of neighbourhood it is, do you see that?"

I: Not so good yet no, can you explain to me exactly what you see and deduce from this?

R: These buildings, you see what kind of district it is and you know what kind of people live here, look at peeled off paint, satellites, see how the laundry hangs here (points to balconies, antennas and outside of a three-storey apartment building). Many of the neighbourhoods where we place people are typical social housing neighbourhoods, but one is located slightly different from the others (...) so you get a bit of a picture.

I: The specific picture you have now, are there people you would not put there at all?

R: You don't always have a lot of choice, but when I look at my list I also have an available space of the right size in this area here (enter a different address in google maps). Look, this looks different anyway (points to green area near apartment building).

I: what do you see as different from what you just saw?

R: Look over there, look (points to paint on building and green area). I think this fits better here, I put them here.

I: Oh yes, which placement were you working on again?

R: This single elderly Chinese woman (points to heading gender on screen with appendix 6 form).

The state of the buildings told something about the maintenance of the neighbourhood. This was also linked to how cared for the area was, because often the next step was to look for rubbish bins to see how much dirt was outside the container. Neat looking green spaces were associated with safer and cleaner neighbourhoods, more appropriate for those who were more vulnerable (the elderly, single women), as well as for those who fitted in (highly educated). Moreover, there were images that functioned as diversity indicators, diversity here meaning the opposite of white Dutch and western. Satellites were pointed out as a strong indicator for diversity. Furthermore, in the map the scb'er actively looked at the proximity of various amenities such as metro stations or bus stops, (primary) schools if it concerned families with young children, community centres with the reasoning that help might be available there for illiterate people in more ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, and care institutions if it concerned someone of an older age. Striking in this respect was the care that appeared in the "mapping" of the appropriate environment for the unfolded person from appendix 6. A care in the sense of organizing body and place, but at the same time a bureaucratic affect in the feeling of care and responsibility to make the "right" appropriate choice.

7.3 Body

"All municipalities have an interest in housing people who integrate quickly into their city. "

(Scb COA, 2018)

Respondents indicate that all municipalities prefer families and highly educated people when it comes to the reception of refugees. For this group they consider the chances of successful integration to be the highest and the costs for the municipality the lowest: *'(...) through the children's school the whole family comes into contact with the language more easily, families are more easily accepted by people in a neighbourhood'* (project leader municipality of Rotterdam, 2017) and *'families and highly educated people, they will manage'* (programme director municipality of Rotterdam, 2017). Families are also easier to accommodate: *'For a family of five, you need one house and one time furnishing costs, for four singles you need four houses and four times furnishing costs, but in both cases four people go off task'*. (Policy maker local level, 2017).

However, thinking in terms of the economic dimension as Taylor described it, where order in current Western thinking consists of finding a place to produce, is not the only logic at play here. Although the cost of placements is low, families themselves are not always seen as having the greatest potential to become financially self-sufficient. With scb's, the expectation is clearly expressed that they will be better accepted by the current residents and that the chances of participation and networking will be greater via children and their schools.

Municipalities are trying in various ways to meet these challenges and represent their interests. Agreements on the distribution of permit holders are laid down in management agreements. It is then important that the municipality has something to offer to the group of preference as well, for example suitable reception facilities, houses, or work. This also applies to Rotterdam:

"Sommige gemeenten sluiten akkoorden met technologiebedrijven om statushouders werk aan te bieden zodat ze kunnen pleiten voor meer hooggeschoold technisch personeel. Wij hebben er bij het bouwen van het AZC rekening mee gehouden dat de opvangunits groot genoeg zijn voor gezinnen. Ook hebben wij een GVA-locatie laten bouwen zodat gezinshereniging kan plaatsvinden en er meer gezinnen geplaatst worden in Rotterdam. Daarnaast helpt het dat wij hulp krijgen van SNTR, hierdoor krijgen we momenteel meer Syrische gezinnen " (Programmadirecteur, gemeente Rotterdam, 2017).

"Some municipalities conclude agreements with technology companies to offer work to permit holders so that they can argue for more highly qualified technical staff. When building the AZC, we took into account that the reception units are large enough for families. We also had a GVA location built so that family reunification could take place and more families could be placed in Rotterdam. In addition, it helps that we get help from SNTR, as a result of which we currently have more Syrian families" (Programme Director, Municipality of Rotterdam, 2017).

Respondents indicate that they feel responsible for the status holder. Because of the tough political climate, worse in some cities than in others, they do not expect permit holders to get a lot of help just like that. The importance of a good match is therefore something that the *screen level bureaucrats* find very important.

The attribute sick or in need of care without a doubt to select a suitable location. For people who are sick or in need of care, a practical location close to the necessary facilities, services and possible informal carers is mainly chosen. Deservingness plays a role here; after all, people are not considered guilty or responsible for health problems (Beitz and Pogge, 1999; Oorschot, 2000). Fabre's (2007) Egalitarian norms come to the fore in both implementation and written policy because this is an accepted ground for exception to random placement. Respondents also indicated that they would like to do something extra for this group. In addition, the level of education, family composition, age and the corresponding expected contact opportunities play an important role in the choice of a matchmaker.

An exception on the preferences for families are for families that are (too) big. large families are seen as undesirable and comes with it two kinds of tensions. On the one hand this is a practical tension: few Dutch houses inside social housing were equipped for too big families. on the other hand, this also brought a tension to the level of identification and fitness. When asked what a large family was, the answer was variable because it depended on the exact composition and location, as the following regional scb show:

"Eigenlijk wordt het al moeilijk om een gezin met 2 of 3 kinderen te plaatsen in de stad. Nu hangt het er een beetje van af, we mogen 2 kinderen van hetzelfde geslacht samen in een kamer plaatsen. Een gezin met twee jongens, is dus nog steeds wel hanteerbaar. Dan heb je maar 1 kamer nodig voor de kinderen. Maar stel dat je een gezin hebt met 4 kinderen waarvan 3 jongens en 1 meisje, dan heb je 3 slaapkamers nodig voor de kinderen, een andere voor de ouders, woonkamer. Zoek gewoon maar eens even een huis met vijf kamers in deze prijsklasse. Die zijn er nauwelijks, zeker niet in de stad. Je hebt echt een eengezinswoning nodig, en ja dat wil iedereen wel! (scb, 2018)

"Actually, a family with 2 or 3 children becomes difficult to place in the city. Now it's a bit gender sensitive, we are allowed to place 2 children of the same gender in one room together. So a family with two boys, is still manageable. Then you only need 1 room for the children. But suppose you have a family with 4 children of which 3 boys and 1 girl, so you need 3 bedrooms for the children, another one for the parents, living room. Just find a five-room house in this price range. There are hardly any, certainly not in the city. You really need a single-family house, and yes everyone wants one! (sch, 2018)

The above quote shows a pragmatic tension, lack of suitable housing within a certain class of housing. But there is also an appeal to the carrying capacity of the environment: "single-family dwellings are rarer, more desirable, everyone wants them". There is a tension in the allocation of this experienced scarcity to the "stranger/newcomer" target group, which is also articulated here. In this imagination, what "the other" is coincides with the family size. A representative of one of the housing associations called this composition of larger nuclear families "un-Dutch" and non-Western (observations, 2017).

In addition, both municipal employees and employees of the housing associations indicated that it does not fit in with the social economic status of people who are dependent on social housing because that type of housing is certainly not suitable for many housemates. Finally, it certainly did not fit in with the city, but more with the countryside, where the most sought-after shelter for the larger families was found.

Here you see an interwovenness with what Frank Fischer calls the logic of practical discourse and argumentation, whereby motivation for action is rationally explained by a pragmatic logic "houses don't have enough room" but where this practical reasoning cannot exist in the absence of a normative political discourse since actions that follow from it must be based on norms and meaningful commitments to base the decision on (cannot exist without normative commitments): un-Dutch that size of families, difference between rural and urban areas.

7.4 Body & Place

7.4.1 Integrable body & place

There is a strong imagination of an integrable body at the right place. As soon as there is something to choose, the scb'er looks at these characteristics to determine where someone fits best. Even though they know that this is not really allowed. Important in the motivation is the access to help and contact in the neighbourhood. It is assumed, for example, that single Eritreans cannot make contact in rural areas such as Zeeland. In large cities they can join other Eritrean people and Eritrean church communities. Families make contact easier because of the schools and networks that children end up in. Elderly people are preferably placed in a quiet neighbourhood. On a local level it is also noticeable that especially illiterate people are placed in places where many Arabic-speaking people live. People who speak other languages were not mentioned. The association between illiteracy and Arabic-speaking came to the fore in several statements. This can be seen as an example of an intergroup bias and manifestation of an existing stigma (Allport, 1954; Goffman, 1974) .

7.4.2 Deserving body

Screen level bureaucrats make a match based on which characteristics of persons they think fit certain municipalities and neighbourhoods. This is done based on image formation. At the regional level, for example, it emerges that the image prevails that single men are not accepted and admitted outside the big cities:

“Ja wat moet een Eritrese alleenstaande in Zeeland? Dat is hartstikke saai voor zo 'n jongen. Bovendien accepteren ze in Zeeland zo 'n iemand niet, die wordt niet opgenomen... dat komt niet goed.” (Scb COA, 2017).

"Yeah, what's an Eritrean single person doing in Zeeland? That is very boring for such a boy. Besides, they don't accept someone like that in Zeeland, they don't take him in... that's not good." (Scb COA, 2017).

At the local level, various neighbourhoods are categorized differently and considered appropriate for different groups. In Rotterdam, for example, Delfshaven is seen as suitable for students and Vreewijk

for the elderly because it is quiet there. Neighbourhoods with a good reputation such as Prins Alexander, Blijdorp and Hillegersberg are considered unsuitable for illiterate people:

“Ja daar gaan ze in de knel raken, dat past gewoon niet. Dan hebben ze niemand om mee te praten, nee ik zou nooit een analfabeet in Hillegersberg of dat soort buurten plaatsen (Scb 2017).

"Yeah that's where they're going to get stuck, that just doesn't fit. Then they have no one to talk to, no I would never place an illiterate person in Hillegersberg or neighbourhoods like that (Scb 2017).

Illiteracy is directly linked to level of education and both are directly linked to class. According to the respondents, highly educated people fit better into neighbourhoods with a lower ethnic concentration, more highly educated people and people with a higher socio-economic status:

“Blijdorp zou ik ook hoogopgeleiden doen, want dat is ook een buurt waar mensen zijn, vooral koopwoningen daar, dus je hebt daar vaak mensen die allemaal Nederlands spreken. Je hebt geen mensen in de bijstand. Heel weinig in ieder geval. Dus dat is een buurt waar je jezelf goed kan ontwikkelen. Hillegersberg en Alexander ook.” (Scb, 2017).

"Blijdorp I would also place highly educated people, because that's also a neighbourhood where there are people, especially owner-occupied houses there, so you often have people there who all speak Dutch. You don't have people on welfare. Very few in any case. So that's a neighbourhood where you can develop yourself well. Hillegersberg and Alexander too." (Scb, 2017).

According to the respondents, low-educated and illiterate people fit in better in higher ethnic concentration areas because they can talk to more people here and get more help. In the case of the low-educated, the needy and the illiterate, the respondents consciously made sure that they were placed in neighbourhoods where people spoke Arabic. Here, too, the lack of available help and the possibility of making contact were mentioned as the most important motivations. Here too illiteracy, educational level and class are connected to race. It is not expected that these people will still go or be able to integrate. Precisely because there is little help, the extra step that scb 's take and the care and responsibility they feel to people than places where they feel secure because there is little help. Not

integrable but deserving. No risk for the place, but a risk for the vulnerable body. The civil servants do not choose a house, they choose a home.

7.4.3 Deserving place

Coa's civil servant had more than an accompanying passive role that would fit in with the pronounced motivations to "only get a picture of the challenges living in a municipality" when he or she is attending a network meeting. There was a regular atmosphere of negotiation which also is illustrated by the following quote:"

"I would like to send you a little fewer single people, but have you had that family of 10 for weeks now, do you finally have a house for that?"

In addition to a bargaining atmosphere, respondents appointed at regional level also felt a responsibility to "make a fair distribution", as respondents themselves repeatedly described it, and thus to share the "burden" fairly between different places. There is also frustration if this fair distribution does not entirely succeed. This became particularly visible in Rotterdam and the surrounding area. From 2016 onwards, a private party, Stichting Nieuw Thuis Rotterdam (SNTR), part of Stichting de Verre Bergen, will be offering and providing housing for Syrian families here, including its own integration programme. This initiative was sufficient reason to include in an administrative agreement between the city of Rotterdam and COA that Syrian families could be given priority in Rotterdam because Rotterdam (through this programme) had something to offer this group. In addition to the fact that the civil servant responsible for the distribution of permit holders in the region of which Rotterdam is part was very positive about the initiative of SNTR, it also became visible if there was a blockage in the space to make what he considered to be a "fair distribution":

"Ja want omdat Rotterdam nu meer Syrische gezinnen moet krijgen, moet ik meer alleenstaanden Eritreeërs naar omliggende gemeentes plaatsen. Dat is belastend voor de gemeentes en de Eritreeër die graag bij een kerkgezelschap in Rotterdam wilt zijn, heeft nu pech. Dat is wel gemeen spel (..)"

"Yes, because Rotterdam now has to have more Syrian families, I have to send more single Eritreans to surrounding municipalities. This is burdensome for the municipalities and the Eritrean who would like to be with a church group in Rotterdam is now unlucky. That is a dirty game (...)"

&

“Afgelopen jaar heb ik echt veel alleenstaande mannen toegewezen aan de gebieden rondom Rotterdam, zoals Barendrecht, Capelle- en Krimpen aan den IJssel. Ja die zitten daar toch ook niet op te wachten. Zij hebben niks te kiezen. Ook hebben die gemeentes helemaal niet zoveel middelen, ze moeten het zelf maar een beetje uitzoeken. Ik probeer dit normaal echt wel eerlijker te verdelen en ik worstel hier best wel mee.”

"Last year, I had to place very many singles in the surrounding regions of Rotterdam. Municipalities such as Barendrecht, Capelle- and Krimpen really don't need that either. They don't have the choice, nor do they have many other means and possibilities. As a municipality, they have to look for solutions themselves. I always try to spread this a bit more honestly and I do struggle with this. (SCB, COA 2017)

During the meetings, wishes of representatives of places have been appointed. Officials themselves, however, also indicate that they "will in any case grasp what every municipality wants". During interviews, officials of the Coa were questioned about the motives for responding to requests from municipalities. They said they saw success and an interest in good cooperation: "This benefits the integration and is good both for municipalities and for the people themselves (referring to permit holders)", according to Linking Officer COA 2017. While attending the meetings in the municipality, and by regularly being there to work (i.e. having good contact and good rapport), an official estimates the need, alternative solutions that municipalities have (e.g. whether or not assistance is provided by an SNTR/ private institution that picks up part of the housing), possibilities for swerve construction or designation of another group of housing to social housing/availability type of houses. Civil servants also show appreciation for a principle of reciprocity, the city that places a family of 10 at that size, takes that extra step, the civil servant himself also wants to take that extra step and preferably sends a few less single men (the undesirable body), or the other way around, in places that have already had a lot of the latter category, a family or a group of highly educated people is also sometimes suitable.

Shared responsibility is articulated to transfer people well and to give them a place that fits, but above all, to share 'the burden' for municipalities fairly. The question of who could then be seen as a burden is mainly about single men and people with a disorder. Special facilities in houses cost extra money and must be distributed fairly. Single men have the most difficult potential for integration, least support from the neighbourhood/most fuss in the public debate and do not tick off nicely in terms of tasks, duration: 1 house needed for 1 person, while with a family as many as 6 people may be ticked off in one go, while in terms of location there is only one house and one household to organise. Most popular: families with (not too many) children: highest integration potential.

7.4.4 the paradoxical power of imagination

Of all the places, there is something ironically "exceptional" for the city of Rotterdam that should not go unnoticed. Here is you find an imagination that backfired for Rotterdam specifically. If you follow Schinkel and van den Berg (2011), Uitermark, Hochstenbach & van Gent (2017) studies, Rotterdam framed itself as a place with exceptional problems that ask for exceptional policy measures to decrease the concentration of diverse ethnicity and poverty (the undesirable and non-integrable bodies). Yet, the framing and maybe even unwanted branding of the city led not only to a imagination of a city of "problemled" population. It has also led to a imagination of a city for the problematized population (Regardless of whether it is justified to regard certain target groups as problematic). Proportionally more single people, people with exceptions granted on medical grounds and low-educated people are placed in Rotterdam:

'I have been doing this work for 30 years now and Rotterdam traditionally attracts problem cases'
(COA, 2017).

Respondents indicate that this is because on average the port provides more employment for the low-skilled than in other municipalities. In addition, the large city offers facilities for those in need of help, such as hospitals and care institutions. In addition, the supply of large affordable housing is limited in the city, making families more difficult to place. In sum, they indicated that this was the city that could offer a home to people with diverse ethnic background, lower educated and illiterate and poor people, and single Muslim men. They will fit right in, is the logic articulated and enacted.

8. Imaginaries

From the above finding and analyses, three dominant imaginaries can be dissected that inform practices. Imaginary of integrability, imaginary of deservingness and imaginary of risk. In this chapter all three will be disclosed.

8.1 Imaginary of integrability

“Je weet dat deze vrouw (oudere alleenstaande dame uit China) nooit echt zich thuis zal voelen of zal passen. Laat ik maar een fijn en rustig plekje voor haar zoeken.”

“You know that this woman (elder single lady from China) will never really feel at home or fit in. Let me find a nice and quiet place for her”.

Scb local level

The right person must fit in the right place. That is a clear imaginary that emerges in the intentions and logic of bureaucrats. An imaginary through which they allow themselves to be informed, to make decisions and to legitimise decisions. Whether someone really fits in is determined by the imaginary or integrability (Integrabiliteit). Someone is integrable when he or she match the environmental indicators of ethnic diversity (e.g satellites) and moreover match the dominant ruling population (dominant in race and class, which are strongly connected). Thinking about integrability coincides strongly with thinking of the carrying capacity of the ruling class in a place. This does not always have to be the dominant white middle class western person, that does stands for a more general norm. It can also mean that someone is considered to fit and expected to be happier and more accepted in for instance a neighbourhood dominantly occupied by Eritrean woman. It is however the case that the disturbance of the dominant white class is more problematized. Integrability is measured along the lines of this general norm. Can someone fit in, find their way and maybe after a process be tolerated or accepted by that dominant order? If not, he or she might fit, feel happy and at home in those places where others are that are not seen as integrable (e.g. Eritrean neighbourhood). Race and age is a mediating factor in this imagination. Some background are considered as to distant from dominant western thinking, and old aged people are not seen as likely to find their way of integrate in any other way.

I argue that this is the only one of the three imaginaries in which civil servants really find an answer to who fits where. As can be seen in the following pieces, the imaginary of deservingness and

risk provides space to place people who need to be given a place but are not necessarily seen as fitting. This distinction also highlights a conceptual difference between the term integration and integration potential. Assessing someone's integration potential addresses the question of whether someone has, or can be offered, the space and facilities to move optimally up the social ladder towards the dominant or mainstream population. Presented here mainly as (white) middle class people. Participation, learning the language and finding a job are the leading ideas and associations when we ask what integration means here. Integration is one step ahead of people thinking about someone's integration potential. An integrable person will find his or her way, even when integration potential is low. A non-integrable person will never really fit. In this imagination there is a strong expectation that possibilities to ever be accepted or to find a place where differences can coexist without problems seem excluded. Even if someone were to realise his or her integration potential and, for example, learn the language and find work.

An example of non-integrated persons is single men, especially those with an ethnicity from which great cultural and social distance is expected, such as Eritreans and Somalis. Here thinking of integrability is a way of doing race. This category also falls under undeserving and seen as a risk, as the following two imaginaries will show. However, this overlap does not always have to exist. A person can also be seen as highly deserving and vulnerable (at risk) and yet at the same time be portrayed as non-integrable. This happens, for example, to elderly people. The hope seems to have completely given up on bureaucrats that they will fit in socially, culturally, or economically, or that they have some form of integration potential or will one day feel truly at home. The desire for a safe and quiet place is great among bureaucrats for people who are seen in this way. At the same time, however, they are not expected to see a place as a burden to some extent because they 'know' that integration and real fitting are out of reach.

8.2 Imaginary of deservingness

“Provide me a house for a large family of 10 and I will slim down the allocation of single man”

COA scb

Imaginations of deservingness were clearly present in the practices of the screen level bureaucrats. However, besides a deserving body there was also a strong imaginary enacted about the deserving place.

First, the deserving bodies were articulated and most of the CARIN framework were enacted and inflected in the following way:

- **Control:** Families were seen as a deserving group. A sympathy was expressed to parents that fled to provide a better and safe future for the children. Their situation was dominantly understood as not having control of the situation in their country of origin. Furthermore, Syrians seem to have the advantage of the need recognized because bureaucrats often referred to the media (especially television) that the images of the situation in Syria is well known and that therefore everyone knows how terrible the situation is there.
- **Attitude:** This was not very visible in most cases. There were however estimations about attitudes made (expected passivity and inability to learn) based on race and age.
- **Reciprocity:** people who were believed to have agency were seen as deserving if this agency connected to reciprocity principle, but only if they at the same time were not considered to be a risk. Young highly educated man has the agency and capacity to learn and find a job, but were often still seen as undesirable and a risk.
- **Identity:** All permit holders were seen as strangers but the social and cultural level of distance were experienced differently. Race/ethnicity were indicators for the estimation of the place on the scale of otherness. People from Eritrea and Somalia were seen as people with a large distance. Syrians were seen as smarter, more western, and closer to the Dutch existing population, easier to integrate. The closeness of identity (and need) might have to do with the media attention for this group of refugees.

- Need: Especially the elder, single woman and homosexual where believed to have a great need of protection

The hierarchy of target groups were somewhat respecified. Families with young children where definitely seen as the most wanted and deserving group. It is believed that they are accepted by locals quite easily and that they will make contacts in daily live via the children (schools, play dates etc). Their deservingness and in particular desirability were however also strongly connected with the imaginary of integrability. The elder and (mental or physically) ill where seen as deserving, because of the high need, lack of control but also seen as a burden and group that brings high costs for places. There was a strong feeling of deservingness articulated towards places where the same CARIN framework could also be applied. Especially the attitude and reciprocity and control where indicators to act on. Besides a distribution of blame, a distribution of burden enacted.

8.3 Imaginary of risk

"I would never ever place a homosexual or transgender in North. That is irresponsible and absolutely not safe!"

Scb Local level

Thinking about the term risk and risk calculation goes hand in hand with thinking about Ulrich Beck who introduced the concept of risk society in 1999. The concept refers to the way in which modern society deals with new risks to which it is exposed as a result of various developments (Beck, 1999). These are developments whose consequences go beyond being directly influenced or overseen by people. Risk management in policy where justification of decisions is obtained from partial transparency of the deliberations. In this technocratic way of governmentality, knowledge from advice and science leads politicians and bureaucrats who are increasingly seen as social engineers and managers. Beck also mentions that in these modern times, financial risk and/or economic gain is often a legitimization that appeals to the logical imagination of the general public, which Taylor also sees as a characteristic of imaginary or western democracy (dimension distinguishes from this imagination). Where I first strongly associated Beck's idea with technological, material, physical risks, I would now argue that a similar imagination is enacted in integration practices with what is perceived as social risks: bodily embedded risks.

The practices studied show a risk assessment where, on the one hand (especially at regional level), it is estimated which body is a risk to order in a place. The carrying capacity of cities and towns are considered, and people who are assessed as undeserving, uneconomical, should be distributed fairly between different places in order not to spread the burden disproportionately and cause problems for towns and cities. The disproportionate housing of many single men in nearby Rotterdam cities such as Capelle and Krimpen aan den IJssel when Rotterdam, with the help of the SNTR project, was able to "claim" families (legitimising the allocation of more families) was described as a "dirty game". The risks and thus the costs for the places are higher if the space is arranged with these bodies and the official shows feelings of responsibility for an equitable distribution. This is the intention behind the leading imagination, not a judgement on the imagination that is enacted here.

On the other hand, the risk to the body must be assessed, this often happens at local niveau where the responsibility to place a body in a safe place is in the foreground. Fear of violence and lack of acceptance against, and homosexual men were the practices that most preoccupied and seemed to

be the greatest level of threat. A homosexual (visibly homosexual) or transgender person is not safe in a neighbourhood with many Muslim men, is the strong belief. They belong to the (white) progressive modern middle class.

Addressing social cohesion, a risk assessment is made of what fits, what maintains order, also by bureaucrats as Butler (2015) teaches us. Practices are informed by research, knowledge that concentrations of ethnicity and poverty are not the good neighbourhoods. Schinkel & van den Berg (2011), Uitermark, Hostenbach & van Gent (2017) demonstrate a similar development when they point to the fact that the city of Rotterdam legitimizes itself with the use of policy instruments and allows legislative measures by framing itself as a place with extreme problems that need to be managed with exceptional policies and measures to restore order, where again, ethnicity and poverty are characteristics to construct the image of disturbed utopia.

We see, as van Oorschot, I. (2016) observed, also in these practices the imagination between when a body is a risk, and when a body is at risk, and decisions are made on the basis of exactly this assessment. We see the civil servant's attempt to maintain a form of order, as Butler (2015) noted. We also see a freedom being applied; a policy space being created that is not fixed in any policy. In this space, the imagination where sexuality meditates is tapped to inform practices. An imagination of modernity where acceptance and the provision of a safe place for homosexuality is attributed to white, modern, progressive and secular. And a threat to the homosexual body is attributed to the other, the specific other, namely the (non-Western male) Muslim other. Marginalisation and racialisation ordered around religion more than around ethnicity in this super diverse context.

The risk in this case is the risk. Especially non-Western male single persons of foreign heritage (not child, not senior) are seen as a risk for those who are seen as vulnerable (homosexuals, single women, seniors) and at the same time for locations where this does not fit (less diverse, therefore white, non-urban places). Here, risk spreading goes hand in hand with a sense of fair policy and burden sharing.

The capacity to act is clearly limited to choosing who is placed where. The civil servant does not further problematise a place or person they consider unsafe, does not use other policy instruments or departments (e.g. order and security) to deal with the perceived threat.

9. Discussion & Conclusion

9.1 Research questions

In this study, the allocation of permit holders to a place is central. This leads to the following research question:

How is the allocation of status-holder to a residence in integration practices given shape and which imaginaries of fitness between body and place are enacted and inflected in these practices

In order to map out these practices from 2016 till 2019 and the associated imaginary I have analysed the observations, interviews and desk research. The main question has been divided into the following four sub questions, with corresponding fields of attention. The first two sub questions focus on policy. What is the task conception, the goal, the structure of the process and what is done by whom in what circumstances. Sub questions C and D focus on how this is done. In this study, the practices of placing a status holder in a place have been taken seriously. The following answer can be formulated to the question of how a link between person and place is established within refugee integration practices, and which imaginaries are leading in this respect:

A. What does the allocation process look like?

As soon as an asylum seeker is recognised as a refugee and the asylum application has been approved, the term to refer to the body changes to permit holder. A permit holder is then a body that has to be placed in a municipality, in a house to start a new life, so to speak. The allocation of permit holders to municipalities in the Netherlands is based on a task assignment, which means that municipalities are allocated permit holders on a proportional basis based on the current number of inhabitants. This accommodation takes place in the context of a politicised and controversial debate surrounding the reception of refugees. Estimated carrying capacity of the receiving context plays a role, as does a tense situation on the housing market due to a shortage of (social) rental housing where people are placed.

The actual placing is done on three levels. Selection is applied at the national level where the goal is to place people in a region where the chances of getting a job (based on their employment history and the open vacancies) are the highest. On a regional level, a screen level bureaucrat of the COA links the permit holders to a city. This is done from behind a screen based on limited information. No

selection or policy freedom is assumed here. A civil servant has to make a division between registered permit holders and the space to place people based on the number of inhabitants in the municipality. This task should therefore not last long and should be based on numerical logic. This with the exception of pre-determined exception criteria that are the same for the civil servant at the local level, namely: medical grounds, existing work or education, informal care for first degree family member and family reunification. At the local level, a town hall civil servant links a permit holder (and his or her household) to a dwelling with the same assumed objectivity of numerical logic. The number of rooms in a dwelling must match the family size where children of the same sex in pairs are supposed to share a room.

B. What is the bureaucratic scene of performers and practices?

On a national level, a profile is created between person and place. The aim is to make the best use of the integration potential. Regions in the Netherlands are profiled on the basis of vacancies. Persons are interviewed face to face with a COA civil servant in order to map out their employment profile. A match is made on the basis of the outcome. A so-called appendix 6 form is all that remains from this phase where selection is deliberately deployed. Integration here is understood to mean economic independence through work.

In the second step, an official of COA at the regional level makes a choice for a city. This is done from behind a screen, without ever coming into contact with the client. Here the scb makes the choice between urban areas or more rural locations. In practice, this happens without supervision or control, and often in the civil servant's own office space at home. In addition, the civil servant is in regular contact with the municipalities involved via network meetings. This, in their own words, is to get a good picture of the carrying capacity and possibilities of the municipalities involved. In the last step, a scb working for the municipality where the permit holder is placed makes the choice for a specific house at district level. This is done in the context of a work environment where fellow street level bureaucrats do have contact with the client. In this way the scb receives "feedback" of the choice because the people who assist clients in receiving the house regularly give feedback about the experienced adequacy of person and place (according to their own experience or that of the client).

C. Which imaginaries are enacted in these practices?

From the findings I dissected 3 imaginaries: an imaginary of deservingness, an imaginary of integrability, an imaginary of risk. Within the imaginary of deservingness, you will find a hierarchical order of different bodies and households that are seen as more or less deserving. The CARIN framework does reflect in these practises: people who seen as more similar to the dominant Dutch population, are seen as less to blame for their misery, are in high need and more likely to “give something back to society’ are seen as more deserving. Estimations where made about attitude, mainly focussing on expected passivity where race and age are leading indicators. An important addition to the CARIN framework is that them seem to be a scale of otherness when we look at identity and who is considered to be at a distance of dominant western imagination. Furthermore, it shows that the lack of other forms of help and policy instruments, and the hardened political and public climate towards refugees also strengthen the motivation to evaluate a person as more deserving. Another important addition to the deservingness literature is that the CARIN framework also was applied on cities, and not only on people. This was expressed in making a fair distribution of ‘burden’ (=undesirable bodies) and seeing cities as deserving as well in this allocation. If a city (representatives of a municipality and housing corporation) for example showed reciprocity actions, scbs where more likely to act in their favour, out of an imaginary of social justice and balancing order.

The imaginary of integrability addresses the likeliness of someone to fit in a place. To ‘fit’ here means that he or she will be accepted and even find some help in finding his or her way. A lot of consideration here goes to the expected carrying capacity of the dominant population and order. In this imaginary race plays an important role and a dichotomy is expressed by seeing ethnical diversity versus a dominant (white) middle class population. Someone can be placed with much care, feelings of deservingness and vulnerability, but at the same time evaluated as not likely to ever fit in to the dominant order. Illiteracy and educational level, age and race are important mediators in this imaginary. Someone of a high age is not expected to have learning capacity to adapt to this order’s habitus. Race and illiteracy and educational level are strongly associated with (lower) class and often with being a burden.

The imaginary of risk is shown in almost every case. The bureaucrat makes a risk calculation, going back and forth between seeing a body as vulnerable, at risk (mostly woman and the homosexual) and seeing a body as threat for the dominant order and place, as a risk (mostly Muslim, young man). Sexuality (including gender and being in a sexual age) and religion are important factors in this imagination.

D. How are these imaginaries enacted and inflected in these practices?

Officials use policy freedom and make decisions based on imagery. All focused on the following characteristics of the Appendix 6 form: race, gender, age and level of education/illiteracy.

Furthermore, all looked at the small space where a permit holder expressed preferences and tried to meet their wishes. Imaginaries that are more general inform practices, at the same time officials apply pragmatic re-specification to calibrate these imaginaries. This is done in the following way using the characteristics discussed below.

In the hierarchy of people, single men from Eritrea are seen as least desirable (body as a risk) and families from Syria as most desirable because of the expected integration potential. Integration here means acceptance by existing residents and being able to connect in the neighbourhood. Families are supposed to make contact easier and learn the language faster through the children's schools. Ethnicity and family composition are therefore considered first.

Sexuality is strongly linked to vulnerability: single women and gays are not safe in area's with many Muslims. Risk assessment when a body is at risk is made. Gender and remarks about sexuality are therefore one of the first characteristics on which almost all civil servants scan the appendix 6 form. Directly followed by language, and linked to language they then determine whether someone is illiterate or not. Level of education is then also directly examined to construct an image of a person. Based on these characteristics you can see a weighting and estimation of where a person fits in and how integrable a person is seen. Cohabitants are defined from here where highly educated are considered progressive and (Western modern) appropriate, and low educated are considered non-integrable and more appropriate in neighbourhoods with a lot of Arabs and a lower socio-economic class. Finally, age plays a role and older people are seen as more deserving to take an extra step to find a place in a nicer area, preferably with a lot of other elders.

Places whose representatives in network meetings or during lobbying at the COA show that they are willing to go the extra mile and include more people who are considered less desirable or difficult to place (e.g. very large families) are seen as more deserving to distribute integrable permit holders. Places that, however, successfully manage to make more claims to the more integrative group are seen as cherry pickers on the other hand and not entirely fair and solidary regarding the distribution of lusts and burdens towards surrounding municipalities that are now burdened with this group of undesirables. Scbs on both regional and local level show both feelings of responsibility and care when linking a person to a place. On a regional level, this care also pays a lot of attention to the 'joys and burdens' that cities and local authorities can experience when allocating people that are considered more undesirable. Residents' ability to support themselves is taken into account in this consideration, which strongly resembles a risk assessment. A fair distribution of desirable and undesirable persons between places is therefore seen as their responsibility.

At the local level, you mainly see concern about the people who have to be given a new place to live. The task here is not so much to find a practical house with enough rooms. The space created in this redefinition of the task definition is much more about finding a home. Influencing that space in place of a pragmatic approach is the political colour and hardness of the municipality in which the civil servants work. It is precisely in municipalities with right-wing orientated politics with an anti-migrant sentiment that civil servants tend to do more. This fits in with the deservingness criteria of van Oorschot (2002) and the findings of Belabas and Gerrits (2015), which states that people in dire straits are more likely to be helped with little other help at their disposal.

Places where many people with a migrant background live are seen as less good neighbourhoods. Here a link is created in the imagination between a low socio-economic class and ethnicity. Especially if these are Arabic-speaking Muslim people. Images of places where many (Muslim looking) men enter public space are also stigmatized. These places are also more likely to be seen as unsafe for non-individual Muslim (heterosexual) men.

Whiteness is an indicator for 'better and cleaner' neighbourhoods with people from a higher social and economic class. Neighbourhoods are seen as safe, comfortable and tidier areas (e.g. no waste on the street, satellites and less dilapidated buildings). Whiteness here is linked to western modern, tolerant of homosexuals, safe for women, a better place to raise children and more suitable for higher educated people.

On appendix 6 form there is also a small space where permit holders can express their own wishes. A civil servant may not officially do anything with this, unless it is already clear that someone falls under one of the predetermined exception criteria. In all cases observed, however, the officials do read a client's wish and, if possible, try to comply with it.

Striking is finally what is not included. Religion is a heading that is requested on the appendix 6 form. Yet this was rarely looked at. Religion was assumed on the basis of ethnicity and race. So, as shown in the imaginaries, religion, and then especially Islamophobia was enacted and a very important characteristics. But the main point is that religion was not information that bureaucrats derived out of the appendix 6 form. Religion was assumed based on race. Also, it was never taken into account how long a person had been in procedure and waiting for a status and therefore may have been passive for a longer period of time.

9.2 Expectations

The focus of this study is on the imaginaries that inform policy within the practices of assigning a permit holder to a place, while at the same time the practices also make these more general imaginaries appropriate by the actions they take: in this case, deciding on the appropriateness of a person and place, and thus assigning a house and a place of residence to a newcomer. The subquestions has now been answered. There is also a response to the expectations:

1.	Policy discretion will be used or space will be made, sense making and giving practices will occur Confirmed, bureaucrats created space in all cases, even when they where under time pressure
2.	Bureaucrats will form a morality tale Confirmed, they did so in all cases where they had something to choose
3.	Especially with little information (bounded reality) stories will be used as justification strategy This can not be confirmed based on this study. Elaborate stories where formed in all cases. The only indicator that seem to strengthen the use of stories was if there is an idea of a strong negative public and political environment and if this act was seen as the last thing anyone could do to help the clients.
4.	The more people meet the CARIN criteria, the better the places are that will be distributed to them This is confirmed. In addition, the idea that there will be no other help than the action of the bureaucrat strengthen the CARIN effect. Furthermore. Deservingness criteria where not only used for people. Places could also been seen as more or less deserving and the same criteria seem to lead this imagination.
5.	People will be assigned to a social group, based on where bureaucrats think they belong to. Bureaucrats do unfold a body to a person, assign them to a social group and try to place them there so that people will feel at home and receive help to settle. This happens rather to the non-integrable and deserving. If someone is seen as integrable, it is more likely that they will be placed near the dominant middle class group so that people have a change to climb the social ladder.
6.	If there is a negative judgement towards the group that someone is associated with, they will be assigned to places seen as "bad"

	<p>This expectation was not confirmed, the opposite seems true. Bureaucrats wanted to make a “fair” distribution of burden and are open for negotiation and principles of reciprocity when dealing with cities.</p>
7.	<p>Sexuality, race and religions are the three characteristics deciding the placement of a person</p> <p>Sexuality was indeed a strong indicator to base a decision on. When bureaucrats screened the appendix 6 form, the search for gender first and indicators about homosexuality second. I argue that with gender vulnerability of risk (at risk/a risk) was determined by gender and family composition. Single woman (or mothers) and homosexual men where seen as at risk and single man as a risk. And this latest risk was formed mostly based on sexuality (threat).</p> <p>Scb’ers did not looked at it at race on the appendix 6 form. However, all, they did assume religion based on ethnicity. Religion (Islamic religion) is then strongly involved in the stories of legitimation if bureaucrats looked at the population in places. There it was seen as a risk and it led to the stigmatization of a unsafe place. A strong sense of Islamophobia was seen because Muslim religion is interwoven with being seen as risk and to many Muslim (man) at one place as a risky place for certain people seen as vulnerable.</p>

9.3 Conclusion

In sum to conclude, in every situation a screen level bureaucrat had a something to choose, policy discretion was used and even created. Even when they knew they were not supposed to or when they experienced time pressure. This is an important addition to the work of Lipsky and the work on street level bureaucracy in general because there is still a lot unknown about the field of the screen level bureaucrat. This study contests the assumption that a screen level bureaucrat does not have (much) policy discretion. Furthermore, this study shows that processes that are assumed to be of influence on street level bureaucrats, are also of influence on screen level bureaucrat, namely: situational factors, deservingness criteria’s, (ideas of) public and political discourse and debate, lobbies, influence of a team and work environment. Even in a digital space mediated by a screen, there is some form of interaction between a bureaucratic state worker and the people they decide for.

Imaginarities of deservingness, risk and integrability were enacted but also inflected. This takes the disentanglement of Schiller (2015), who showed how bureaucrats combined different views in a paradigmatic pragmatism way, a step further. I would like to draw upon the important notion of

pragmatic respecification articulated by van Oorschot, I (2018). Bureaucrats had or took some form of ontological freedom by respecify meaning and concepts out of fixed/modern imaginaries in a pragmatic way. Not to get something pragmatically done (like finding a house for a certain household) but to maintain an imaginary of a certain order, and their sense of justice. A moral tale was constructed, and pragmatism here contributed to a logic and good narrative of this moral tale, fitting in a dominant imaginary that can and was inflected. Besides stigmatisation of social groups, places could also be stigmatized. Sexuality (also gender), illiteracy/education level (class), age, religion (based on race) and race itself where mediating characteristics where the elaborate stories of a body turned into a human where constructed on.

10. So now What?

10.1 So what?

In addition to a better understanding of these practices and the supplementation in the existing literature, the findings of this study also have implications for policy. It is assumed that screen level bureaucrats made little or no use of policy discretion and that allocation after an accepted selection on the basis of profiling and estimated integration potential on the basis of job opportunities, is 'objectively' done on the basis of numbers; number of rooms + number of people = appropriate match. This study shows that this is not the case. Even on the basis of very little information, imaginary about the right match between person and place play a role, there is care and feelings of responsibility in the actions of civil servants and one can speak of a digital interaction between placement officer and permit holder. This shows that policy is also constructed in this phase. In line with Ranciere, it also shows that here, too, politics is in place: after all, an individual or group wonders who is part of the social order and who is assigned which place.

This does not answer the question of whether this personal touch and care is better than an automatic placement using an algorithm. In addition to the fact that it is a political question of who to classify where based on what characteristics of person and place, it is important to understand that an algorithm does not presuppose objectivity either. After all, when programming such a system, somewhere a choice will have to be made based on which characteristics are assigned. The stereotyping of both person and place that was found in this study and that became visible to the allocation officials, may be the same basis for a choice of placement attributable to an algorithm. Although it would be very interesting so see if the difference of the moment in the process where you allow for discretion changes anything. Based on this research however, the question should not be how we can make this practice objective, the relevant question here is: how we can take ever existing subjectivity that structure our social existence serious. It is therefore important to reflect on the imaginaries that this study reveals and to question if we want to continue our actions based on the current leading imaginaries in these policies in general.

By describing and distinguishing the leading imaginaries I also make an appeal to form more theory on sociological imaginary in political practices. Alternative ways are possible, sense of belonging, ideas of appropriateness are brought to reality by entanglement of numerous processes, in the most various places enacted. We can question ourselves critically whether the images on which we build

our policies, our actions, the assumptions that guide us, could also be different. We can see what our thoughts and ideas are doing and reflect on whether that is desirable and in line with our values. I call for and try to make an effort to 'do' Stenger's slow science, an engagement between researcher and field, to create lived practices in the practice of science and to 'learn' to see and think with each other what the leading imaginaries are in 'lived (bureaucratic) realities'. My call follows Beck's argument that process of risk assessment and I want to move on to management/political frameworks as management/social engineers, policymakers in the engineerable society, stand in the way of the question of what are the real risks and what do we choose for whom, who gets what and why and who belongs where and why, are not made public. This does not, of course, mean that the political question does not 'happen'. With measures such as steering on populations in social housing context, the Rotterdam law, the civil servant who is looking at a good match at all three levels, the policy that focuses on match labour and place, the gay man who is being protected against the Muslim man, the single young man who will neither feel at home nor be accepted in that small village in Zeeland. Safety utopia and safety illusion are created by framing policy and policy decisions as managing risks (Boutelier, 2004, as in Bekkers, Fenger & Scholten, 2017). Exactly this is what undermines the risk definition process and suppresses reflection on challenging values in the social world as a taboo. And just as talking about racism is controversial, here too it does not make addressing the contestation and tension followed by ideas of threat disappear. It can, however, explain certain elusiveness that crops up again and again when we look at integration practices.

We have arrived at an ironic paradox in my argument, to depoliticise you need to politicize. To take political responsibility for who to place where, we must avoid management to which governance strategies are moving more and more. The illusion that we are not doing politics but management is the ultimate form of politics that sweeps away suggestion for alternatives. It closes the door for ontological freedom when we try to define the problem, answer and solution. It is the wicked problem ungrounded framed as manageable, ungrounded because it is still contested. The lack of political responsibility arises when we frame governmental actions as acts of management and that means that you can no longer be reflective and hear people's (ch/v)ices or reflect on dominant imagination. It makes reflexive practices impossible.

So, let's put it on the table: what is the exact difficulty when we look at social cohesion and people living together with 'others' who are seen as different? Why does it get uncomfortable when we talk about race and racism? It does not make it any less easy than letting words like racism move like a 'Voldemort-concept' through practices when inconvenience is then managed by problematising diversity or further opposing policy practices with suppressed awareness. It is like Scholten (2019) points out exactly here where alienation occurs.

In order to allow pragmatism at local (and every) level, we need to be able to reflect. To be able to reflect, we need to be able to politicise. In this case, we need to be able to discuss who belongs where and why, and who decides in which part of the process?

We can learn from the bureaucrats in this study, and science can contribute by exposing these practices and further formulating theories on how social imaginaries informs practices, so that alternatives to them are also possible. The bureaucrats in this study have shown affect, care and empathy to contribute to a peaceful and safe situation for both a city and a person (THE person they unfolded from a body on a computer screen). At the local level, they received feedback from the street level bureaucrats who physically guided people to the houses. Together they searched for the best and safest place, inside every situation where they saw risk. I would like to put this intention forward as a great asset. Although I call for reflection on the values that play a role and I think we should politicise them and take real political responsibility for choosing a method with a well-founded reason, and although there are certain assumptions that are certainly true, I believe that we should not start in another place than with the affect, than with the intention, than with the loving intentions that have guided the practices. This seems to me to be the best ground for further reflection on the actions and assumptions that exist. Alternatives and change, from within. Take home message: take these practices and bureaucrats serious. If they signal that a neighbourhood is not safe for a homosexual, we could examine if this is true and if so, what we could do about it. Protecting “order” could then mean that we protect “our” value to create safe spaces for everyone, not by ordering space with bodies but to change or influence situations.

10.2 Now what?

In this section you will find a proposal on how to make the practices of refugee placement more reflexive. This can be done by creating feedback loops at different points in the process, where multiple parties can share experiences and discuss views. At the municipal level, this teamwork is already taking place. But informally and self-standing. This is a missed change. By creating targeted intervention moments and recognising the screen level bureaucrat as a team member with capacity to act, a broader reflection can take place and information from practices can be pragmatically respecified. There are already meetings at regional level. However, these meetings are often dominated by lobbying and not by reflection on the processes and outcomes. This can be included on the agenda.

An important addition in this process is that there will also be a feedback loop including permit holders themselves, in order to take into account how successful and appropriate they experience the placement and the process of placement. Two weeks after placement, the process of placement can be evaluated, possibly by an organisation such as refugee work that provides feedback to the municipality. In addition, a few months later, the municipality can check the match between person and place by asking again how the person or family is doing. In this way, the practices (those who do it and those who have to undergo it) can inform, challenge and adapt policies. This increases the chance of political accountability for choices and opinions within each step and in each action by the actors involved, and creates more room for pragmatism because it is possible to discuss openly what works and what doesn't work for what reason. In short, it offers room for alternatives.

In addition, it offers room for cooperation with other parties. As mentioned above, I would argue in favour of involving the permit holders themselves. But cooperation between other departments of municipalities and/or with other organisations at certain locations also seems essential to me. If, for example, a certain neighbourhood is seen as unsafe for homosexuals, would it not be appropriate to take this report seriously and investigate it? Cooperation with the security department can be a step to be taken if there is sufficient ground.

In addition to reflecting on each other at the moments indicated below, research can help to adapt practices based on the outcome of reflection. On the one hand, this could be done through various forms of co-creation between research and practice, where a researcher helps to set up practices based on the values chosen as relevant. If, for example, it is chosen to make people feel at home, how can parties contribute to a network of status holders in the neighbourhood? If, on the other hand, the economic aspect is (politically) pursued, how can companies and entrepreneurs in the

specific area become involved in the placement of status holders? These are examples of possible co-creation designs, the most important call from this study is, however, a call for reflexive practices and taking responsibility for choices and actions. This also includes the recognition of actions at all points in the process and depoliticising by politicising so that there is room for pragmatism in a policy field where taboos are silencing people's mouths, without diminishing the urgency and problematisation in these integration practices.

Moreover, science can help to critically question and further investigate certain assumptions. The Putman hypothesis, which is currently dominant in practice, is disputed in various studies. However, thinking about the relationship between ethnic diversity (i.e. not white and western) and cohesion diversity is already being problematised as a starting point. This makes it difficult to look at when and where (and for who) diversity is going to become a scourge. Incorporating scientific discussions in the moments of the feedback loops, for example, could lead to the life barometer being under fire. Studies that clearly show what such measuring instruments do are of unprecedented importance in this respect.

10.3 Limitations & research agenda

It would be very interesting to look at the practices of screen level bureaucrats in other practices (e.g. healthcare systems). It would also be extremely interesting to take a closer look at the technical side and the influences of different technical setting. Moments of space for policy discretion, and deservingness within algorithm-based decision making would all be studies that add to a better understanding of the field of migration and of policy/political studies in more general. However, to respond to the call for action articulated in this study, it is important to better understand what integration does and what it means to do. After all, the political ontology of thinking in terms of integration is the context that determines the room for manoeuvre in these and many practices still, which presupposes the possible sets of associations. Leading in the logic of the organisation of the practices studied is, after all, 'what can someone best integrate into' without clearly defining what integration is then. Without a theory of social imagination, still perceived as urgent and contested. So let us take a look after what happens exactly after a placement, of a fitting body in a fitting place and when the process of integration is supposed to start. Let us unravel the concept of integration from the practices, from those who have to “do integration”.

Let us continue

References

- Alexander, M. A. (2003, 11 December). Host-stranger relations in Rome, Tel Aviv, Paris and Amsterdam. A comparison of local policies toward labour migrants [PhD thesis]. Retrieved on June 24th, 2018, from <http://dare.uva.nl/search?metis.record.id=220493>.
- Arendt, H. (1968). *Totalitarisme*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Boom uitgevers Amsterdam.
- Agamben, G. (1995) *Homo Sacer*. Stanford University press.
- Agamben, G. (2016). *State of exception*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice (25th Anniversary Edition)*. New York, USA: Perseus Books Publishing.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities* Verso Books
- Babbie, E. R. (2013). *The practice of social research* (13e ed.). California, Verenigde staten: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Bakker, L. (2016, 21 januari). Seeking Sanctuary in the Netherlands Opportunities and obstacles to refugee integration [PhD thesis]. Geraadpleegd op 24 juni 2018, van file:///C:/Users/Angelique%20van%20Dam/Downloads/proefschrift-Linda-Bakker-Seeking-Sanctuary%20(2).pdf
- Bauman, Z. (2016). *Strangers at our door*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Beck, U. (1999). *Risk society. Towards a new modernity*. Sage publication
- Bekkers, V (2012). *Beleid in beweging*. Boom: Amsterdam
- Bekkers, V., Fenger, M. & Scholten, P. (2017). *Policy in action*. Edward Elgar Publishing
- Belabas, W., & Gerrits, L. (2017). Going the Extra Mile? How Street-level Bureaucrats Deal with the Integration of Immigrants.. *Social Policy & Administration*, 51(1), 133-150.
- Belabas, W. (2020). *The Elusiveness of Governing Migrant Integration: Why putting complexity in boxes does not work*: Erasmus University Rotterdam
- Bonjour, S. & Duyvendak, J., W. (2018) The “migrant with poor prospects”: racialized intersections of class and culture in Dutch civic integration debates, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41:5, 882-900, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1339897

- Bovens, M. & Zouridis, S. (2002) From Street-Level to System-Level Bureaucracies: How Information and Communication Technology is Transforming Administrative Discretion and Constitutional Control. *Public administration review*. <https://doi-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/10.1111/0033-3352.00168>
- Bowker, G. C., & Star, S. L. (1999). *Sorting things out: Classification and its consequences*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), USA: MIT Press.
- Bryman, A (2012) *Social research methods*. Oxford university press: UK
- BUTLER, J. (2015). *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (pp. [i]-[vi]). Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press. Retrieved November 1, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvjghvt2.1>
- Caponio, T. & Borkert, M. (2010). *The local dimension of migration policymaking*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.
- Castles, Korac, Vasta & Vertovec. (2002). *Mapping the field*. Home office: UK
- Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institutions of society*. Blackwell Publishers
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd edition). London ; Thousand Oaks
- Clarkson, A. (2014) *Belonging, the pradox of citizenship*. CbC massey lectures
- COA, (2018). *Huisvesting vergunningshouders*. Verkregen van <https://www.coa.nl/nl/voorgemeenten/huisvesting-vergunninghouders-op-31-05-2018>.
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd edition). Los Angeles, USA: SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3^d edition). Thousand Oaks (California), USA: Sage Publications.
- Dryzek, J. S., Honig, B., Phillips, A. (2006). *The Oxford handbook of political theory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Engbersen, G., Dagevos, J., Jennissen, R., Bakker, L., Leerkes, A., Klaver, M. M. V. J., & Ode, A. (2015). *Geen tijd verliezen: van opvang naar integratie van asielmigranten*. (WRR Policy brief-4). Geraadpleegd van <https://www.wrr.nl/publicaties/persberichten/2015/12/16/geen-tijd-te-verliezen-van-opvang-naar-integratie-van-asielmigranten>
- Fabre, C. (2007). *Justice in a changing world*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Gemeente Rotterdam, (2017). Monitor statushouder. Verkregen op, 28 mei 2018 van https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/wonen-statushouders/GEMROT003-Monitor-Statushouders_online-scr.pdf.
- Gemeente Rotterdam, (2015). Integratie 010. Verkregen op 23 oktober, 2017 van https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/wonen-statushouders/Integratienota_010.pdf.
- Gemeente Rotterdam, (2016). Rotterdamse aanpak statushouders 2016-2020. Verkregen op 23 oktober, 2017 van https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/wonen-statushouders/16bb2715__Rotterdamse_aanpak_statushouders_2016-2020.pdf.
- Gemeente Rotterdam, (2015). Met taal versta je elkaar. Verkregen op 23 oktober 2017 van <https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/wonen-statushouders/mettaalverstajeelkaar.pdf>.
- Grzymala-Kazłowska, A., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(2), 179–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706>.
- Hertoghs, M. & Schinkel, W. (2018) The state's sexual desires: the performance of sexuality in the Dutch asylum procedure', *Theory and Society* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-018-9330-x>
- Van Hulst, M. (2008). *Town hall tales: Culture as storytelling in local government*. Delft, Netherlands: Eburon Publishers.
- Jennissen, J., Engbersen, G., Bokhorst, M., & Bovens, M. (2018). De nieuwe verscheidenheid: Toenemende diversiteit naar hertkomst in Nederland (WRR-verkenning nr. 39) Den Haag WRR
- Keulemans, S. (2020). *Understanding street-level bureaucrats' attitude towards clients: A social psychological approach*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Optima Grafische Communicatie.
- Korac, M. (2003). Integration and How We Facilitate it: A Comparative Study of the Settlement Experiences of Refugees in Italy and the Netherlands. *Sociology*, 37(1), 51–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001387>.
- Korteweg, A. C., & Triandafilopoulos, T. (2015). Is multiculturalism dead? Groups, governments and the 'real work of integration'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(5), 663–680. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.907925>.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Law, J. (1994). *Organizing Modernity*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

- Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The production of space*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Liedelmeijer, K., Frissen, J. & Van Iersel, J. (2020). Rapport Veerkracht in het corporatiebezit. Leiden: Aedes.
- Lipskey, M. (1980). *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York, USA: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Matthews, B. & Ross, L. (2010). *Research methods: A practical guide for the social sciences*. Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited.
- Mol, A. (2002). *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press.
- Ngai, S. (2005). *Ugly feelings*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Putnam, R.D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century. *Scandinavian Political studies*, 30(2)
- Raaphorst, N. J. (2017). *Uncertainty in bureaucracy: Toward a sociological understanding of frontline decision making*. Nederland: ProefschriftMaken.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. McNaughton Nicholls, C. & Ormston, R. (2014). *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for social science students & researchers (2nd edition)*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Scanlon, T. (2000). *What we owe to each other* (Nachdr.). Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press.
- Sartre, J. (1940) *The Imaginary: A Phenomenological Psychology of the Imagination*. Routledge London
- Schiller, M. (2015) Paradigmatic pragmatism and the politics of diversity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38:7, 1120-1136, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2014.992925 To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.992925>
- Schinkel, W. (2007). *Denken in een tijd van sociale hypochondrie: aanzet tot een theorie voorbij de maatschappij*. Kempen, Nederland: Klement.
- Schinkel, W. (2017). *Imagined societies: A critique of immigrant integration in Western Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schinkel, W. and M. van den Berg (2011) City of exception: the Dutch revanchist city and the urban Homo Sacer. *Antipode* 43.5, 1911–38.
- Scholten, P. (2011). Framing immigrant integration: Dutch research-policy dialogues in comparative perspective. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.
- Scholten, P. W. A. 2013. “Agenda Dynamics and the Multi-level Governance of Intractable

- Policy Controversies: The Case of Migrant Integration Policies in the Netherlands.” *Policy Science* 46 (3): 217–236. doi:10.1007/s11077-012-9170-x.
- Scholten, P. (2016). Rotterdam moet laten zien waar het goed in is: integratie. Vers beton 7-4-2016. Verkregen op 25-5-2018, van <https://versbeton.nl/2016/04/rotterdam-moet-laten-zien-waar-het-goed-in-is-integratie/>
- Scholten, P. & Van Breugel, I. (2018). *Mainstreaming integration governance: New trends in migrant integration policies in Europe*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Scholten, P. W. A. (2019). Mainstreaming versus Alienation Complexity and the Dynamics of Migration and Diversity Policy Complexity and the Dual Nature of Migration and Diversity Policymaking. [Oratie] Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Schmeets, J. J., & te Riele, I. (2010). *Sociale samenhang: participatie, vertrouwen en integratie*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- Sharma, A. & Gupta, A. (2006). *The anthropology of the state: A reader*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative data*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Stoler, A. L. (2016). *Duress: imperial durability's in our times*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1995). *Philosophical Arguments*. Harvard University Press
- Talor, C. (2004). *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Duke University Press
- Van Breugel, I., & Scholten, P. (2017). Mainstreaming in response to superdiversity? The governance of migration-related diversity in France, the UK and the Netherlands. *Policy & Politics*, 45(4), 511–526. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557317X14849132401769>.
- Van Breugel (2020) Mainstreaming integration governance. Proxies and taboos in a contested policy context. PhD Thesis. Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.
- Van Driesen, M (2016), Bedreigde statushouders willen niet meer in Oss wonen. [Branbants dagblad] <https://www.bd.nl/oss/bedreigde-statushouders-willen-niet-meer-in-oss-wonen~a2e42c8e/>
- Van Gent, W., Hochstenbach, C. & Uitermark, J. (2017) Exclusion as Urban policy: The Dutch ‘act on extraordinary measures for Urban Problems. *Urban Studies Journal*
- Van Oorschot, I. (2011) Youth, space and sexuality. Erasmus University Rotterdam
- Van Oorschot, I. (2018) Ways of case-making [PhD thesis]. Enschede, Netherlands: Ipskamp.
- Van Oorschot, W. J. H. (2000). Who should get what, and why? On deservingness criteria and the

- conditionality of solidarity among the public. *Policy and Politics: Studies of local government and its services*, 28(1), 33-48.
- Van Oorschot, W. J. H. (2006). Making the difference in social Europe: deservingness perceptions among citizens of European welfare states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(1), 23–42. doi.org/10.1177/0958928706059829.
- Van Oorschot W. and F. Roosma (2015), The social legitimacy of differently targeted benefits [Working Paper] No. 15/11. Antwerp: University of Antwerp.
- Van Staa, A., & Evers, J., (2010). Thick analyses: Strategie om de kwaliteit van kwalitatieve data analyse te vergroten. *Kwalon*, 15-1.
- Van der Waal, 2018. *Dit komt ons duur te staan*. (z.d.). Geraadpleegd 6 mei 2018, van <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/dit-komt-ons-duur-te-staan>.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024–1054. doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465.
- Wuthnow, R. (2010). *Be very afraid: The cultural response to terror, pandemics, environmental devastation, nuclear annihilation, and other threats*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Zacka, B. (2017). *When the state meets the street: Public service and moral agency*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), USA: Harvard University Press.
- Zapata-Barrero, R., Caponio, T., & Scholten, P. (2017). Theorizing the ‘local turn’ in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: a case study in immigrant policies. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 83(2), 241–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852316688426>