7.   The Datafication of Racialization and the Pursuit of Equality

The Case of the "Barometer Culturele Diversiteit"

Gerwin van Schie

Abstract

In this chapter, I show how the investigation of racialization in datafied applications can be done through an instrumental, epistemological, and ontological approach to datafication and that the results of each approach do not necessarily match. By analyzing the attempted implementation of a tool aimed at measuring the composition of personnel in terms of migration background called *Barometer Culturele Diversiteit* (BCD) at Utrecht University in the Netherlands, I show how the tool is using ideas about race (instrumental), shaping knowledge through colonial politics (epistemological), and producing race (ontological) simultaneously. Aided by this analysis, I will advocate for an understanding of the use of race-ethnic data for affirmative purposes in terms of strategic essentialism, making epistemic imperfection regarding race warranted only in antiracist data systems working toward their own obsolescence.

Keywords: datafication, racialization, strategic essentialism, infrastructural inversion, critical data studies, postcolonial studies

In 2019, the Sociaal-Economische Raad (SER), an important socio-economic advisory board for the Dutch government, concluded that the speed at which the representation of women and cultural minorities in top positions in companies and public sector organizations in the Netherlands was not increasing fast enough (SER 2019).[1] In their report, they suggested creating

1   SER = Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands

tools for measuring and monitoring the representation of disadvantaged social groups in order to track if policy changes have positive effects (SER 2019, 41). As a result, in July 2020, *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS) made available a new tool called *Barometer Culturele Diversiteit* (BCD), or the Cultural Diversity Barometer (Koolmees 2020).[2] While companies and organizations usually have enough information to track the representation of men and women reliably, this is more difficult when it comes to numbers on race, ethnicity, or migration background (*migratieachtergrond*) due to legal restrictions, privacy concerns, and ambiguities in terminology. Furthermore, there is a profound and well-reported cultural uneasiness and ignorance concerning race-ethnic issues in the Netherlands (for a collection of studies on this topic, see Essed and Hoving 2014), an attitude that critical race scholar Gloria Wekker (2016) articulates as "white innocence." Due to unspoken racial undertones in Dutch discourse on ethnicity, I follow Yanow, van der Haar and Völke (2016) in referring to Dutch governmental "ethnic" categories as "race-ethnic" categories. The pervasive idea of Dutch institutions being "color-blind" clashes with the lived reality of many employees working at Dutch universities (see Essed 1999). BCD is, in part, meant as a solution to tackle many of these issues, as it delegates the statistical and categorization process to CBS and gives the organizations that order its results the possibility to focus their effort and attention on initiatives that improve the position of minority groups in their organization.

While this process might seem straightforward, this initiative became rather controversial at Dutch universities. It was met with criticism regarding its methods and politics (see Heck 2021). Furthermore, around the same time as this public discussion, CBS decided to follow the advice of the Scientific Council for Government Policy (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid*, from now on WRR) to abolish the adjectives "Western" and "non-Western" from their reports and communication (Bovens et al. 2021), including initiatives like BCD. As a result of the heated discussions and the upcoming changes in the labeling policies of CBS, several Dutch universities suspended their participation in the BCD initiative. The case of BCD raises many important questions concerning race-ethnic classification in data systems and associated ethical, epistemological, cultural, and political issues. First, there are questions concerning the necessity for datafied instruments given the available alternatives. Second, the BCD brings up important questions concerning the epistemic accuracy of categorization and the politics of labeling. Third, since categorization and labeling are also

---

2   CBS = Statistics Netherlands

fundamental processes producing stigmatization and discrimination, we need to consider how we can distinguish between racist categorization and anti-racist categorization and labeling. Furthermore, how do we prevent categorization and labeling processes aimed at decreasing inequality from becoming a source for (or the continuation of) inequality over time? These are the questions central to this investigation and for which I propose a three-part methodological approach. My aim here is not to answer all the above-mentioned questions but rather to offer an analytic framework that allows for the investigation of the meaning-making process that underlies the use of identity characteristics in governmental data systems. By highlighting three different ways in which data can be understood through an instrumental, epistemological, and ontological approach, it becomes possible to reflect on whether race-ethnic labels and categories work in racializing and/or empowering individuals in particular situations and why. Outcomes of such an analysis, in turn, can enable political discussions about strategies and policies aimed at creating inclusive and diverse working populations in companies, organizations, and government agencies.

Three Approaches to the Datafication of Racialization

Racialization should not be confused with racism. While racism signifies an ideology that informs negative attitudes and behavior toward people deemed of a different race (Todorov 1993), racialization designates a meaning-making process. In the context of this chapter, racialization can be seen as a precursor for racism. As a process, racialization is continually producing racial formations, which I understand as geographically and historically situated collections of people, things, and practices grouped on the basis of their perceived race, ethnicity, or nationality. Such an understanding contests both the essentialist views on race as something objective, biological, and concrete and the social constructivist view on race as an "illusion" born in social relations and discourse (Omi and Winant 2015, 109). Historians Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2015) state that, while the concept of race invokes "seemingly biologically based human characteristics (so-called phenotypes), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process" (110). While I fully subscribe to the thesis that the selection of human features for racial signification is socially and historically situated, we also need to take into account the technologies that mediate these very processes in today's datafied society.

Therefore, the starting points for my analysis of BCD are the categories and labels a system uses and the way in which they relate to social, cultural, and technological factors. This method, called an "infrastructural inversion," is explained as a way of recognizing "the depths of interdependence of technical networks and standards, on the one hand, and the real work of politics and knowledge production on the other" (Bowker and Star 1999, 34). Therefore, an infrastructural inversion is a means to investigate not only the political and epistemological underpinnings of definitions and standards but also the systems and institutions in which they materialize and come into effect. By tracing categories back from the moment when we encounter them to the moment they were assigned—the *inversion*—it becomes possible to make visible "foundational though invisible patterns" (Loukissas 2019, 72). This way, I show how racialization is not made possible by a singular system or organization but rather happens throughout the Dutch governmental data infrastructure. Practically, this means that I start my investigation with the Barometer Culturele Diversiteit of CBS, after which I systematically trace its data sources and the categories and definitions used in those sources.

The Instrumental Approach

In an instrumentalist perspective on datafication, data about identity characteristics like ethnicity, race, or nationality can also quite literally become instrumental. The selection, measurement, and processing of people's characteristics is seen as a neutral endeavor, since instrumentalism generally also favors a rather empiricist understanding of knowledge production. The assumption here is that, even in matters of ethnicity or race, there is some objective truth out there in the world that can be known when the right tools are used. In this world view, knowledge about skin color, countries of origin, and religion can be recorded as facts and from that moment onwards be used to cross-reference with other demographic and statistical characteristics. This is not generally seen as a political or cultural matter but rather as an objective and neutral scientific endeavor. However, when the process described in this paragraph is compared with the aforementioned definition of racialization, the similarities are striking. Here, "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group" (Omi and Winant 2015, 64) and the selection of "particular human features for purposes of racial signification" (Omi and Winant 2015, 110) is done in somewhat more neutral and scientific-sounding terms. Therefore, in a context in which information

about race, ethnicity, and nationality is readily available, instrumentalism makes governmental data projects very prone to racializing features. In such contexts, race quite literally starts to function *as technology* (Chun 2009). Through the data-as-instrument approach, we investigate data systems in terms of how they instrumentalize race and for what purposes. Additionally, we should pay attention to whether the chosen approach does what it is supposed to do and how it engages with existing societal power relations.

An Epistemological Approach

The political role of technologies in processes of knowledge production has been one of the core subjects in the field of science and technology studies (STS). Scholars like Bruno Latour (2005), Sandra Harding (1991), and Donna Haraway (1991) have all pointed to the socially constructed and non-neutral nature of knowledge production. Feminist critiques of scientific objectivity can be particularly helpful in addressing the politics and implications of knowledge producing assemblages such as data systems. Feminist STS scholar Sandra Harding distinguishes two possible modes of critique in the fight against epistemic inequalities in her influential work *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives* (1991). The first approach, which she calls "feminist empiricism," sees social biases in the outcomes of research as bad scientific practice (111–18). When prejudice ends up in scientific work, this is rarely the result of structural or institutional issues but can usually be traced back to human conduct. The second approach Harding recognizes and advocates uses a different understanding of how knowledge relates to the world. Such "feminist standpoint epistemology" suggests that actors and agents involved in knowledge production practices should be attentive to power relations and should incorporate in their work who benefits from a particular perspective, and, importantly, who does not (Harding 1991, 119–37). In this view, objectivity does not so much lie in the information that is extracted from the world but rather in the way in which researchers communicate the perspectives that are used in their research. To acknowledge one's position (such as in my case, a white, European, middle-class, heterosexual, cisgender male) is seen as a form of "strong objectivity" (Harding 1991, 149). It considered much better than pretending that I somehow produce knowledge in a neutral and impartial way. As I show in the following case study, data systems rarely explicitly communicate the perspective and contexts from which they operate and would therefore be considered a form of "weak objectivity." Not communicating a perspective, however, is not equated with lacking one. On the contrary, data systems

generate knowledge from a particular vantage point, and feminist standpoint theory enables us to recognize that perspective. By taking a close look at a system's input, possibilities, visualizations, and outputs, it is possible to reconstruct a perspective as well as the normative assumptions embedded in a system. Such an evaluation not only includes what is present in a system but also what is missing. By focusing on the technologies and processes of knowledge production incorporated in data systems, it becomes possible to uncover structural and institutional discriminatory and racializing practices instead of simply pointing fingers at racist programmers and or bureaucrats.

An Ontological Approach

One limitation of thinking about data-as-knowledge is that it is largely unable to account for the ways in which data systems engage more directly with our everyday lives. In the case of automated systems, the reflexive step in which knowledge is interpreted and choices are made is often delegated to computers as well. The idea of computer logic bleeding into our lifeworld therefore invites thinking about datafied racialization in more than an epistemological way. Data systems not only report on our world; in a way, they perform it. They are not just representational but also operational (Loukissas 2019). Investigating *datafied racialization* through this lens means asking questions about how race comes into being or is performed in relation to data technologies. Race-ethnic categories like the recently abolished "allochtoon," "autochtoon," "Western," and "non-Western" function as Foucauldian "régimes of truth" that are not only enacted through governmental policy but also in scientific, political, and public discourse (Rath 1991; Prins 2000). If categories like "niet-Westers" work in an institutionalized practice, they will be accepted as real; it is their institutionalization that makes categories more than mere representations. They become actors that shape and define us as people and as well as the world we live in. Considering datafication in processes of governance in terms of ontological properties helps in situating particular racial formations and technologies as inherently connected. What we end up with, then, is a relational ontology of race in which racial formations are always mediated by specific data technologies; each technology produces its own racial ontology based on its historical and sociotechnical context *and* technological possibilities. It should be noted that this stance does not equate to an ontologization of race, i.e., considering race a reality that is merely made legible by technologies, but rather makes race into an object that does not exist in its own right; race needs actors or data systems, in the case of this chapter, that connect and produce its meanings and materiality

(see M'charek 2013). The job of a researcher is not to separate fact from fiction but rather to understand how the two are connected. When systems are no longer merely treated as knowledge-producing actors but rather as world-making agents, we can be more conscious of the fact that race-ethnic categories should only be used when we are aware of the ontologies that will be, at least temporarily, produced during the design process of a system. Such awareness can aid in assessing whether race-ethnic categories in data systems are justified and whether they aid in creating a more equal and just society. In the next paragraph, I will use the case of BCD as an example to show how to conduct such an analysis.

Case Study: The "Barometer Culturele Diversiteit"

The "Barometer Culturele Diversiteit" was created to solve legal and methodological problems that Dutch organizations interested in striving for race-ethnic inclusion and equality encounter when trying to produce knowledge about their race-ethnic make-up and attempting to set goals for the future. In the institutional context of the Netherlands, the CBS is a logical partner for producing race-ethnic statistics, as it both meets the legal requirements for the collection of demographic data and already possesses most of the necessary information. The only missing information needed to generate the BCD for a specific organization is a list of the people that it employs and potentially additional information regarding, for example, these individual's department, income bracket, and/or specific function. In the following section, I will discuss the details of the CBS work process in applying BCD, taking Utrecht University as an example. Most of the specific information about the Utrecht University case was taken from a document the organization sent to its personnel and made available on its intranet server (see Universiteit Utrecht 2021). I will begin my discussion about the instrumentality of BCD by examining the different stages in the process, from data collection to policy initiatives.

BCD as Instrument

The European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR.EU 2029) requires data collectors to request consent from the people they collect data about. Utrecht University chose to ask all its Dutch personnel permission via an opt-out system, meaning that only the people who explicitly asked to be excluded from the dataset in a given timeframe were excluded; a non-responding

person was considered to have tacitly agreed to their data being used for the BCD (Universiteit Utrecht 2021).[3] After the deadline for the opt out process has expired, information about the remaining people is gathered after subtracting refusals. This data consists of the variables in which an organization is interested. In the case of Utrecht University, these were:

– Date of birth
– Sex
– Job profile
– Income bracket
– Type of contract (permanent or temporary)
– Department

Furthermore, the organization needs to add some identifying information that will help CBS couple the information above with their own database:

– Zip code
– House number
– House number addition (if available)

When all this data is gathered, the files are uploaded to CBS by the client or downloaded by CBS from the client via a secure internet connection (CBS 2021b). The next parts of the process happen at the secure servers of CBS.

When CBS receives data from an organization, it starts its process by first pseudonymizing all data and matching the data with information from the Dutch national registry (*Basisregistratie Personen*, from now on BRP) (CBS 2021a). This way, we are able to combine the identifying information with the migration background of the people in the organization under scrutiny. After this process of data coupling, all data is aggregated on the level of the requested variables and on the level of the organization. In short, this means that statistics are produced about the division of migration backgrounds into three categories, which I discuss in greater detail in the next paragraph on epistemology. For now, it suffices to know that the categories are named: "*Nederlands*" (Dutch), "*Westers*" (Western), and "*niet-Westers*" (non-Western).

---

3   The justification given by Utrecht University for the choice of an opt-out system was the consideration that BCD should be considered a "legitimate interest" except when people find their private interests outweigh that of the organization. Utrecht University explains the legitimate interest it is pursuing as the "public value of equal opportunity for (future) employees with a migration background" and that the opt-out system reflects these values best (Universiteit Utrecht 2021).

These categories are used to produce statistics about Utrecht University as a whole, its individual departments, its different income brackets, and its different job profiles. To make sure that no one can be recognized individually, CBS only provides information on subcategories that consist of at least 250 people (Universiteit Utrecht 2021). If a requested subcategory is not large enough, it will be merged with one or more other categories until it matches or exceeds 250 people. An additional privacy safeguard is that information shared for the purposes of the BCD will never be used for any other purposes, unlike some other CBS data.

After processing, all personal information is deleted and only the aggregated results are processed further in the form of statistics about the race-ethnic make-up of the total organization and the requested subpopulations. With the processed statistical information, CBS creates tables and charts that visually show the division of race-ethnic representation in the Netherlands as a whole, in different industries, and in individual organizations (see for example Figure 6). By comparing different populations, an organization can be compared to other organizations in the same field or to the Dutch workforce as a whole. And when BCD is repeated after several years, developments within an organization can be monitored.

Within the instrumental approach, the BCD tool should not be confused with policy itself, as it merely measures the current state of race-ethnic representation in a particular population. Implementing BCD does not mean that any change should be expected. To increase the prospects of marginalized groups, organizations need policy initiatives that address the power structures that caused the situation to be beneficial for certain groups, e.g., white men, and detrimental to others. If the causes for unequal representation of groups are unknown, BCD might prompt further, often qualitative, research into the apparent mismatch between specific marginalized groups and the organizational culture. This was demonstrated in one of the early BCD tests when it was used to investigate the race-ethnic make-up of the Dutch national police (CBS 2017). When looking at the differences between different ranks, it became clear that people with a "non-Western" migration background were well represented at the different police academies, but that they tended to quit working for the police in their first few years of service at a disproportionate rate compared to people with a Dutch migration background (Politie Nederland 2021). The Dutch police is currently investigating the causes for the apparent discrepancy. This situation shows how BCD is not a solution to a problem but rather a starting point. In the next section, I will discuss how BCD is a very particular way of knowing and not the only option.
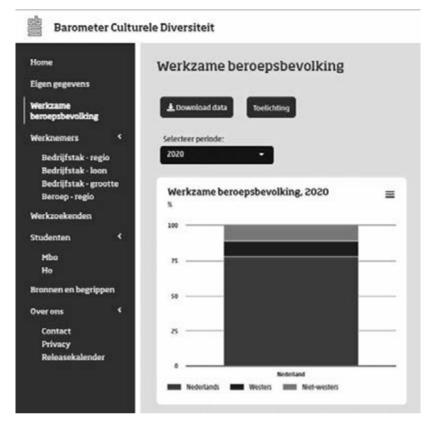
Fig. 6. Interface of the BCD dashboard showing data about race-ethnic representation in the Dutch labor force in 2019 (Cultureel Bureau van de Statistiek [CBS]).[4]

Situating Knowledge in BCD

Through an epistemological approach, we can see that BCD is presenting not a general but rather a very specific view on "cultural diversity." First, in the current configuration, BCD only counts diversity in terms of migration background. Marginalizations based on sexuality, gender, (dis)ability, class, or other characteristics are not considered. This practice silences intersecting marginalizations that might have different implications than simply the sum of its parts (see Crenshaw 1990). Since BCD only takes into account migration background, the name BCD seems awkwardly chosen.

Second, the way in which migration background is conceptualized in BCD is very specific to the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, a migration

4   See https://dashboards.cbs.nl/v3/barometerculturelediversiteit.

background is determined based on the country of the place of birth of a person's parents. However, this is only one of the ways in which a person might be considered to deviate from the race-ethnic norm in an organization. Diversity in terms of accent or skin colors cannot be quantified in this way. BCD is therefore clearly limited by the informational standard that CBS has available. This does not mean that the information it produces is necessarily wrong or biased but merely that it is constrained in particular ways. More qualitative forms of knowledge production do not have similar constraints. Take, for example, the previously mentioned case of the Dutch police. It has been well-reported that, since the 1980s, the police has problems with the recruitment and retention of police officers with a migration background (see de Ruijter 1998; Broekhuizen, Raven, and Driessen 2007). The reasons for these processes, which are considered to be a combination of workplace discrimination, microaggressions, and institutional racism, have been investigated well but without reference to any datafied methods (see Broekhuizen, Raven, and Driessen 2007; Mutsaers 2014; Cankaya 2017; Gowricharn and Çankaya 2017). It seems that administrators and policy makers in this case mistakenly value datafied "solutions" over different methods of knowing, only to find similar results. Ironically, datafied methodologies can rarely point at the "why" of a certain social phenomenon and results and therefore often still require more qualitative research.

A third epistemological issue: the three migration backgrounds are officially clustered along the lines of "cultural and economic similarities with the Netherlands" (CBS 2021c) when establishing the categories "*Nederlands*" (Dutch), "*Westers*" (Western), and "*niet-Westers*" (non-Western). These categories are the continuations of the racialized categories "autochtoon," "Westerse allochtoon," and "niet-Westerse allochtoon" that were the informational standards since the early seventies. These labels split the clusters of migration backgrounds roughly between affluent Christian and racially white nations (most nations in North America and Europe, plus Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Indonesia), and their Others (All African, South-American, Middle Eastern, and Asian nations, plus Turkey, Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles). The most obvious anomalies in this categorization scheme (such as the former Dutch colony Indonesia being considered western, but Surinam, another former Dutch colony, being considered non-Western) can only be explained by considering Dutch colonial history and both its historical and more recent processes of racialization (Yanow, van der Haar, and Völke 2016). While the labels of these categories were changed around 2017 as the result of a critical report by WRR on the division between allochtoon and autochtoon (see Bovens et al. 2016), the functionality of the categories

remained in use in CBS statistics and third-party data systems based on those statistics (see van Schie, Smit, and López Coombs 2020). BCD, too, is a system that uses historically racialized categories that are merely labeled differently. Looking at BCD as situated knowledge, we therefore can conclude that it still produces knowledge from the same perspective as before and consequently reinforces the same norm. Thinking in terms of migration background through categories such as "Westers," and "niet-Westers" has been naturalized and institutionalized to such an extent in the Netherlands that it is the standard way of envisioning any social problem that requires knowledge about race or ethnicity.

Racial Ontologies in BCD

Through an ontological approach, we can see that there are reasons perhaps warranting the use of racialized categories in systems monitoring "diversity." The clustered migration backgrounds signified by the orientalist and colonial designations of "Western" and "non-Western" distinguish quite precisely the ideological demarcations between non-stigmatized migration backgrounds and stigmatized migration backgrounds in the context of the Netherlands. While it might seem counterintuitive, these clusters of categories, ideally with new labels, are rather fitting for the task for which the BCD was selected. In situations such as these, the political goals could temporarily trump epistemic precision, a practice referred to in feminist and postcolonial discourses as "strategic essentialism" (Eide 2016). In the words of postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak: "You pick up the universal that will give you the power to fight against the other side, and what you are throwing away by doing that is your theoretical purity" (Spivak in Spivak and Harasym 2014, 12). Such a pragmatic use of essentialism should, however, be treated with care and, only temporarily, to prevent the reification and naturalization of categories one eventually wants to eliminate.

The ontological dimension of this strategy does not lie in the supposed reality of the essentialist categories but rather in the future one is attempting to create. Ideally, Dutch universities will eventually become the meritocracies they are already pretending to be. Meanwhile, it is important to realize that affirmative action initiatives relying on stigmatized categories do not operate in a similar manner as surveillance systems relying on the same categories; the former is correcting a societal imbalance, while the latter is exploiting it in favor of people who are already benefiting from existing inequality. I therefore argue that whether we should consider the use of

race-ethnic categories a form of racialization depends heavily on the future it is helping to realize. While BCD produces race-ethnicity in a way that follows the colonial and racist logic inherited by the categories it uses, it does so in a way that aims to paint a picture of the current situation so that affirmative action can be taken from the results. Nevertheless, it remains important to realize that the results of BCD imply that the representation of people with different migration backgrounds should eventually reflect numbers that correspond with the values of institutions that truly value inclusion and diversity; a responsible use of the results implies both change in organizational culture and the implementation of policies and initiatives to enact that change.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have shown how the investigation of racialization in datafied applications can be done through an instrumental, epistemological, and ontological approach to datafication, and that the results of each approach do not necessarily match. By analyzing the attempted implementation of BCD at Utrecht University, we find that, with the instrumental approach, there seem to be no inconsistencies in the relation of BCD to the goals set by the Dutch government, in the choice of data, and in the phenomenon investigated. On a practical level, the consent request is the only issue that needs a more accountable method concerning the decisions made. We need a better framework to decide when consent is necessary and desirable and when the legal requirement of consent might be outweighed by the public value of equality in opportunity. The institutional availability of race-ethnic data in the Dutch context can be understood as a testament to instrumentalism being the main mode in which both technological *and* race-ethnic matters are considered. Instrumentalism regarding technology invariably leads to instrumentalism regarding race; rather than an accident, racialization becomes a feature and add-on or plug-in, which can be turned on when programmers deem the use of this information "effective." The availability of race-ethnic data makes it possible to look at societal problems as if they are an engineering problem: an engineering problem that naturally requires a technological solution. Such technological determinism, however, often causes organizations and companies to overlook non-technological solutions to societal problems, even in situations in which it is still very unclear whether apps or data systems will eventually live up to the (often very high) expectations.

With an epistemological approach, we see how BCD has a necessarily situated and partial perspective on diversity that is only focused on migration background in the way it is captured in already available data. Until 2021, the format of the available data reflected discriminatory and racialized categories that have since been abolished. The results of BCD can, therefore, only account for diversity in organizations in a limited way and without any further explanations about the reasons for a particular division in representation between different groups. Qualitative research providing more detail and explanations and that has already been performed in the recent past, in the case of some organizations, seems to be valued less or considered less objective without proper substantiation.

With the ontological approach, I demonstrated that, while the labels and categories used in BCD reflect discriminatory and racialized discourses concerning people with a migration background, the way they are employed works to address and combat the problems to which those same categories have historically contributed. This does not mean that using racialized discourse within affirmative action initiatives is always warranted but rather that strategic essentialism can be an option in achieving long-term goals at the cost of short-term epistemic imperfection. How to leverage in the long and short term, or instrumentalism, epistemology, and ontology, will be different in each datafied application and in each situation caused by institutional inequality. Only by being able to distinguish between the different forms and problematize their implications will we be able to have fruitful political discussions about how to create an equal and just datafied society. Only then can we provide the conditions for people of all migration backgrounds, genders, sexualities, colors, and other axes of difference to take part in this society.

References

Bovens, Mark, Meike Bokhorst, Roel Jennissen, and Godfried Engbersen. 2016. "Migratie en classificatie: Naar een meervoudig migratie-idioom." *WRR-Verkenningen* 34. The Hague: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid.

Bovens, Mark, Roel Jennissen, Meike Bokhorst, and Godfried Engbersen. 2021. "Afscheid van westers en niet-westers: Naar meervoudige indelingen van herkomstgroepen." *WRR-policy brief* 8. The Hague: WRR.

Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Broekhuizen, Jolijn, Judith Raven, and Franciscus Maximiliaan Hendricus Driessen. 2007. "Positie en expertise van de allochtone politiemedewerker. Op weg naar een volwaardige plaats binnen de Politie." *Politiewetenschap* 37. Utrecht: Bureau Driessen.

Cankaya, Sinan. 2017. "The Racialization of Ethnic Minority Police Officers and Researchers: On Positionality and (Auto)Ethnographic Fieldwork." *European Journal of Policing Studies* 5, no. 1: 119–32.

CBS. 2017. "Migratieachtergrond werknemers Politie Nederland 2017: Pilot Barometer Culturele Diversiteit." *CBS*. https://www.cbs.nl/-/media/_excel/2019/05/190117_eigen_data_politie_nederland.xlsx.

CBS. 2021a. "Barometer Culturele Diversiteit – ingezoomde variant." *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/onze-diensten/methoden/onderzoeksomschrijvingen/korte-onderzoeksbeschrijvingen/barometer-culturele-diversiteit-ingezoomde-variant.

CBS. 2021b. "Data uitwisselen met het CBS." *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/deelnemers-enquetes/deelnemers-enquetes/bedrijven/meer-over-cbs-enquetes/data-uitwisselen-met-het-cbs.

CBS. 2021c. "Persoon met een niet-westerse migratieachtergrond." *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/onze-diensten/methoden/begrippen/persoon-met-een-niet-westerse-migratieachtergrond.

Chun, Wendy Hui Kyong. 2009. "Introduction: Race and/as Technology; or, How to Do Things to Race." *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies* 24, no. 1 (70): 7–35. https://doi.org/10.1215/02705346-2008-013.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1990. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6: 1241–300.

de Ruijter, Ad. 1998. *Pluriform in uniform: diversiteit bij de politie Amsterdam-Amstelland, een overzicht van 1987–1998*. Lelystad: Stichting IVIO.

Eide, Elisabeth. 2016. "Strategic Essentialism." In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1–2. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss554.

Essed, Philomena. 1999. "Ethnicity and Diversity in Dutch Academia." *Social Identities* 5, no. 2: 211–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504639951563.

Essed, Philomena, and Isabel Hoving. 2014. *Dutch Racism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

GDPR.EU. 2019. "What Are the GDPR Consent Requirements?" January 25, 2019. https://gdpr.eu/gdpr-consent-requirements.

Gowricharn, Ruben, and Sinan Çankaya. 2017. "Policing the Nation: Acculturation and Street-Level Bureaucrats in Professional Life." *Sociology* 51, no. 5: 1101–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515601781.

Grondwet. 2008. *Artikel 1*. http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0001840/2008-07-15.

Haraway, Donna J. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3: 575–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066.

Harding, Sandra. 1991. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Heck, Wilmer. 2021. "Ophef over diversiteitsproject dat kansengelijkheid op de arbeidsmarkt moet vergroten." *NRC,* April 14, 2021. https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/04/14/diversiteitsproject-cbs-stilgelegd-a4039885.

Koolmees, Wouter. Kamerbrief. 2020. "De barometer culturele diversiteit komt per 1 juli 2020 beschikbaar." May 14, 2020. https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/brieven_regering/detail?id=2020Z08725&did=2020D18653.

Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Loukissas, Yanni Alexander. 2019. *All Data Are Local: Thinking Critically in a Data-Driven Society.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

M'charek, Amade. 2013. "Beyond Fact or Fiction: On the Materiality of Race in Practice." *Cultural Anthropology* 28, no. 3: 420–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/cuan.12012.

Mutsaers, Paul. 2014. "'All of Me': Psychologizing Turkish-Dutch Police Officers in the Netherlands." *Anthropology of Work Review* 35, no. 2: 72–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/awr.12041.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States.* 3rd ed. New York and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Politie Nederland. 2021. "Diversiteit politie neemt geleidelijk toe." July 6, 2021. https://www.politie.nl/nieuws/2021/juni/7/diversiteit-politie-neemt-geleidelijk-toe.html.

Prins, Baukje. 2000. *Voorbij de onschuld: Het debat over de multiculturele samenleving.* Amsterdam: Van Gennep.

Rath, Jan. 1991. *Minorisering: De sociale constructie van "minderheden."* Amsterdam: Sua.

SER. 2019. "Diversiteit in de top – Tijd voor versnelling." The Hague: Sociaal-Economische Raad.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, and Sarah Harasym. 2014. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues.* New York and London: Routledge.

Todorov, Tzvetan. 1993. "Race and Racism." In *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader,* edited by Les Back and John Solomos, 64–70. London: Macmillan Education UK. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-22911-6_2.

Universiteit Utrecht. 2021. "Deelname Universiteit Utrecht Aan Barometer Culturele Diversiteit." April 16. https://intranet.uu.nl/kennisbank/deelname-universiteit-utrecht-aan-barometer-culturele-diversiteit.

van Schie, Gerwin, Alex Smit, and Nicolás López Coombs. 2020. "Racing through the Dutch Governmental Data Assemblage: A Postcolonial Data Studies Approach." *Global Perspectives* 1, no. 1. https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2020.12779.

Wekker, Gloria. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wet Op Het Centraal Bureau Voor de Statistiek. 2004. *Artikel 35*. http://wetten. overheid.nl/BWBR0015926/2017-01-01/0/Hoofdstuk5/Paragraaf1/Artikel35/ informatie.

Yanow, Dvora, Marleen van der Haar, and Karlijn Völke. 2016. "Troubled Taxonomies and the Calculating State: Everyday Categorizing and 'Race-Ethnicity' – The Netherlands Case." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1, no. 2: 187–226. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2016.7.

About the Author

Gerwin van Schie is Assistant Professor in the Media and Culture Department of Utrecht University, interested in processes of datafied racialization in the Netherlands. He dedicates his chapter, written without funding, to action group 0.7, which is fighting for better working conditions for temporary and part-time staff at Dutch universities.

> g.a.vanschie@uu.nl