White Order:

Racialization of Public Space in the Netherlands

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Vignettes

We start this essay with a series of vignettes from recent Dutch news and government documents.

Vignette 1.

In 2013, a Roma family, described as a 'nuisance family,' was forcibly removed from their home and relocated to what has been controversially referred to as a "scum village."[1] The mayor of Amsterdam Eberhard van der Laan justified the eviction by pointing out that, "The family has been causing problems for years and has a history of vandalism, noise nuisance and threatening behavior." The encampment, which is on the outskirts of Amsterdam and under constant police surveillance, consists of disused shipping containers, which have been converted into 'homes.' The municipality of Amsterdam plans to warehouse more 'problem families' in shipping containers. Eberhard van der Laan said that "[t]he container homes will be used more often, and in different parts of the city. This is how we want to deal with the most extreme cases of problem families."

Vignette 2.

Last year (2014), the arrival of 1400 asylum seekers in the village of Orange in the Dutch province Drenthe caused unrest. According to the residents, it wasn't the arrival of the refugees that was a cause for concern. The residents objected to the increase in the population. They expressed concerns about how such an increase would affect the 'liveability' and safety in the village. Moreover, according to the residents, such an increase could lead to a possible decrease in property value. They wanted only 250 of the 1400 asylum seekers.

According to a spokesperson for the municipality, the refugees weren't meant to be housed in the village for more than two days.

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[1] "Amsterdam Moves 'Neighbours from Hell' to Container Dwelling." *DutchNews.Nl* September 5, 2013a. http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2013/09/amsterdam_moves_neighbours_fro/.

They mean no harm, but because they do not know Dutch customs, and this has already caused nuisance. For example, they walk to the store, and then they walk in fours on a main road. That is not safe for them and other road users find it annoying. Or twenty of them try to board a neighborhood bus that has only room for eight people. The bus is run by volunteers who are accustomed to have only a few people on board.[2]

The arrival of asylum seekers was characterized in a local newspaper as an 'invasion.'[3] Eddy Veenstra (PvdA [Labor Party] Staten Fractie [Parliamentary Group]) affirms in a letter that "[t]he number of asylum seekers in a village ought to be in balance with the number of inhabitants." He asks, "What are the limits in relation to the number of inhabitants of a village? Isn't a more evenly spread across the province desirable?"

In a recent speech in the Christian Democratic party's Congress, Sybrand Buma (party's leader MP) argued for "a better distribution of refugees across Europe."[4]

Vignette 3.

Last year, Fred Teeven, the Netherlands' State Secretary of Security and Justice, said that: "There is enormous pressure. We have asked local councils to work more quickly in supplying places to live for asylum seekers but it is not going quickly enough."[5]

Dutchnews.nl[6] reports that in order to cope with the influx of refugees, refugee centers that had been closed are being reopened and former prisons are being brought

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[2] Anouk Eigenraam, "Gemeente Stuurt Asielzoekers Weg Uit Vakantiepark Wegens 'overlast'," *NRC* October 15, 2014.
[3] "Invasie Vluchtelingen Op Vakantiepark Oranje," *De Krant Van Midden-Drenthe* September 26, 2014c.
http://www.dekrantvanmiddendrenthe.nl/nieuws/beilen/346943/invasie-vluchtelingen-op-vakantiepark-oranje.html.
[4] Sybrand Buma, Speech CDA Partijcongres, November 8, 2014.
https://www.cda.nl/fileadmin/CDA/Documenten/2014/SPEECH_Sybrand_Buma_8_november_2014.pdf.
[5] "Asylum Seekers may have to Live on Boats Or in Tents: Minister,"
DutchNews.Nl July 7, 2014a.
http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2014/07/asylum_seekers_may_have_to_liv/.
[6] Ibid.

back into service. Teeven said that if these facilities become full, it will be necessary to house refugees on boats or in tent camps.

Vignette 4.

In 2012, the Left wing political magazine *De Groene Amsterdammer* published an article titled *How a Black Neighbourhood Became Blacker*, in which the Bijlmer, a borough of Amsterdam, is said to be "the drain of the city."

Some quotes from the journalist Marcel van Engelen:

> And besides the fact that traditional heroine junkies are literally going extinct, there are more places that offer temporary accommodation—you do not see [junkies] in the Bijlmer very often. It may sound unworthy of a human being, but the most obscure elements have been removed from the Bijlmer.

> Officially, a more ethnically diverse composition was not an objective of the renovation. The Bijlmer had to become more socio-economically diverse in order to attract and persuade people with higher incomes to stay. That's been somewhat successful. It more or less happens automatically when you partially replace social housing (all thirteen thousand old flats were rented social housing) with expensive rental homes and properties for sale. [7]

Vignette 5.

In May 2014, the Senate approved the amendment that broadened the scope of the Municipality Law.[8] This law enables a zoning of the city in terms of 'safety.' In order to make stop and search 'legal,' Article 151b was added to the Municipality law. Mayors are now allowed in a 'emergency' to directly designate an area a "security risk area," without requiring the consent of the municipal council. Once an area is designated a "security risk area" (*veiligheidsrisicogebied*) anyone within that zone can be subjected to preventive body searching. The police have now the power to stop and

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[7] Marcel van Engelen, "Hoe Een Zwarte Wijk Nog Zwarter Werd," *De Groene Amsterdammer* March 21, 2012. http://www.groene.nl/artikel/hoe-een-zwarte-wijk-nog-zwarter-werd.

[8] "Fouilleerbevoegdheden Politie Verruimd." *Joop*, sec. Leven, May 20, 2014b. http://www.joop.nl/leven/detail/artikel/27005_fouilleerbevoegdheden_politie_verruimt/.

Martina & Schor

search citizens in "security risk areas" even if there is no "probable cause"; no criteria have been established.

Furthermore, the police are now allowed to search someone *before* they are taken to the police station. The police are also allowed to perform a visual and manual "body cavity search" on people who are detained.

According to the police, stop and search actions have become 'less comprehensive' control actions; current actions are relatively short and 'less invasive.' These 'less invasive' actions have proven to be 'effective' especially in so-called 'Hotspot zones,' or 'Hotspot areas.'

Vignette 6.

We end this series of vignettes with a small selection of quotes taken from the 'Public Private Comparator *Gevangenissen* [Prisons]', a report by Knowledge Centre PPS [PPS stands for *Publiek-Private Samenwerking*, i.e. Public–Private Partnership] and the Dutch Ministry of Finance:

> Fewer [prison officers] thanks to the sophisticated design of the architect.
>
> Since personnel costs are the biggest expense in the public-private model, the private consortium aims to cut this spending directly.
>
> The design of the prison will determine to a large extent staffing efficiency.
>
> Because personnel costs take up 70-80% of the total expenditure, private parties will always design prisons with staffing efficiency in mind.
>
> Because job descriptions are less clearly established in the public-private model, it is easier to deploy personnel flexibly.[9]

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[9] Voäs Brouns, Marcel Ham and Elaine Penning, "Public Private Comparator Gevangenissen," (2001).

Introduction

What is subsumed under the managerial language of structure and the moral vocabulary of order that we have highlighted is the workings of 'White order,' which disciplines shifting populations marked for containment and imprisonment. In this essay, it is our intention to explode 'White order,' or, to put it differently, the fantasy that the Netherlands is governed through a 'neat' and 'racially neutral' set of formal agreements. The desire for a clean, wholesome, and controlled landscape, organizes, to cite Christopher Lane, "the meaning of racial and ethnic identities."[10]

Along the essay, we will sketch how the government rationalizes a politics of containment and human disposability through the promotion of 'liveability' programs. Moreover, we will point out the role that architecture, and urban planning play in the containment and control of disposable populations.

Reading Mekonnen Tesfahuney's and Richard Ek's 'Planning as War by Other Means'[11] alongside Paul Mutsaers' and Hans Siebers' 'Low Intensity Ethnic Cleansing in the Netherlands,'[12] we interpret urban planning and spatial management as forms of low-intensity violence, or as "war without bloodshed." The aim of this low intensity violence is not military conquest, but social control by way of "['cleaning'] a certain territory from populations that are defined in ethnic [and utilitarian] terms."[13]

We aim to broaden the scope of what is now understood as violence, and analyze its everyday manifestations—the quiet racism. We also want to draw attention to the different modalities of warfare—such as cultural, economic, environmental, financial warfare—and coercion that have been rendered mundane, acceptable, and banal within modern societies. What kind of 'social relations' emerge as a result of this, to put it baldly, irreconcilable war of attrition?

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[10] Christopher Lane, "Introduction," in *The Psychoanalysis of Race*, ed. Christopher Lane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 6.
[11] "Planning as War by Other Means," in *Planning Against the Political: Democratic Deficits in European Territorial Governance* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 171-177.
[12] "Low Intensity Ethnic Cleansing in the Netherlands," *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, no. 38 (2012).
[13] Ibid., 4.

Anti-Blackness And Disavowed Spatial Violence On The Outsider/Intruder

Mutsaers and Siebers note in *Low Intensity Ethnic Cleansing in the Netherlands* that there is an "increasing and mainstreamed call for ethno-territorial homogeneity of the European and national space."[14] If this diagnosis is correct—and we take it to be so—then ethno-territorial homogenization involves not only violence, but it also requires a bureaucratic apparatus that regulates the processes of exclusion and "the extent to which these are presented as acceptable or even legitimate."[15] Racism and bureaucracy, as Hannah Arendt notes,[16] are intimately connected. However, before we turn our attention to the bureaucratic apparatus, we would like to sketch the work that seemingly race-neutral terms, like *Allochtoon* and *Autochtoon*, perform.

Allochtoon, a common term in Dutch social management, political discourse and colloquial language, is used to categorize a person born abroad, or a "person of whom at least one parent was born abroad."[17] It refers to someone's origins. However, in the Netherlands, origin is not only restricted to parentage or ancestry. The Central Bureau of Statistics defines origin as a "characteristic showing with which country someone *actually* is closely related given their own country of birth and that of their parents."[18] Origin is defined as a characteristic that is a feature that helps to identify, tell apart, or describe recognizably, a distinguishing mark or trait.

The term *Allochtoon*, which is borrowed from geology, suggests an enlacement of race/ethnicity and territory. "Allochthonous rocks" Dvora Yanow and Marleen van der Haar write, "are recognizable as having been created out of specific geological components constituted out of the soil, water, air, and sun characteristic of the setting in which they originated."[19] Bodies, which are always-already mediated through race, are,

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[14] Ibid., 3.

[15] Ibid., 5.

[16] "Race and Bureaucracy," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966).

[17] . *Allochtonen* (www.cbs.nl: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek,[2015]). http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37.

[18] Ibid., emphasis added.

[19] Dvora Yanow and Marleen Van Der Haar, ""Race" by another Name? Categories, Counting, and the State – the Case of Netherlands Integration Policy Discourse," (2010). 18-19.

then, territorialized through terms like *Allochtoon* and *Autochtoon*, and it is through geography by way of soil properties that Blacks and Whites are consigned to different physical and metaphorical spaces. "The symbolic charting of racial zones across the globe," Uli Linke writes, "relies on the ontological coupling of nature, race and space, and so is crucial for our understanding of contemporary European Union population politics."[20]

Both *Allochtoon* and *Autochtoon* suggest a fusion of body, soil, water, air, and sun, and this amalgam gives rise to a geomorphic body. Geology, the elements, and the body collapse into each other and produce beings, tailored specifically for (use in) a particular environment. Even though both terms refer to soil, it is only *Allochtoon* that carries the trace of dirt, or—to put it more bluntly—dirtiness. Dirt connotes blackness. Frantz Fanon writes that: "when one is dirty one is black—whether one is thinking of physical dirtiness or of moral dirtiness."[21] Dirt is matter out of place—even those born on putative Dutch soil are referred to as *Allochtoon*. "Dirt," writes Mary Douglas, "is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as *ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements*."[22] Dirt is, then, a matter of spatial designation.

There is a constitutional link in the birth of the national territory, as it was preceded by the Empire, between the Black body and confinement. The Black, as dirty and unclean, is a "stimulus to anxiety,"[23] whose very *being* calls for 'supervision' (surveillance) and eradication. As a phobogenic object, the Black body is always already located in a field of containment. The Black is marked for incarceration *a priori*. In his autobiography *My Fight Against Apartheid*, Michael Dingake notes that:

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[20] Uli Linke, "Technologies of Othering: Black Masculinities in the Carceral Zones of European Whiteness." in *Europe in Black and White: Interdiciplinary Perspectives on Immigration, Race and Identity in the 'Old Continent'*, ed. Manuela Ribeiro Sanches and others (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2011), 123-141. 127.
[21] Frantz Fanon, "The Negro and Psychopathology," in *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto, 2008), 109-162. 146.
[22] Mary Douglas, "Secular Defilement," in *Purity and Danger; an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966), 36.
[23] Fanon, *The Negro and Psychopathology*, 109-162, 151.

Martina & Schor

"Blacks are always in one prison or another. They cannot escape imprisonment for one moment."[24]

Patricia Schor theorizes in *Dutch Enclaves West – non-West/Black*, that this a priori confinement of the Black body produces the *body-as-enclave*. Schor posits that,

> the enclave is constituted by fencing the Black body within. As a bodily marker, the enclave is not only encountered in a fixed space, but moves along with the racialized body. The Dutch Black carries the boundary that separates her/him as s/he traverses public space.[25]

Craig Wilkins puts forward a similar argument, when he writes that: "Black bodies can be employed in strategies that create spaces that are transferable and transportable."[26] This synthesis, on a seemingly fundamental level, of the physical properties of a specific environment and genes fosters not only a sense of sameness (*made from similar components under similar circumstances*), but it also offers a 'natural' justification for socially constructed differences, making the order of things appear as though it is inevitable. It produces, in Uli Linke's words, "a vision of human bodies branded by space and invariably marked by a geopolitical territory."[27]

The *Allochtoon* is matter *out of place*, or "the enemy within"—the dangerous outsider within a supposed White homeland—whose body, following Tesfahuney and Ek, serves as the contemporary battlefield following the decline of the European exogenous colonization.[28] *Allochtoon*, which relies on tropes of blackness, functions, one could argue, as a shorthand for 'enemy territory,' or an 'enemy's territory,' that is to be annexed—joined to the nation, but in a subordinate capacity.

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[24] Michael Dingake, *My Fight Against Apartheid* (London: Kliptown Books, 1987), 123.

[25] Patricia Schor, "Dutch Enclaves West – Non-West/Black: Framing the Racism Debate" (Paper, International Colloquium: Enclaves North and South, University of Nottingham, March 22 2014, .

[26] Craig Wilkins, "Brothers/Others: Gonna Paint the White House Black..." in *Revealing Male Bodies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 213.

[27] Linke, *Technologies of Othering: Black Masculinities in the Carceral Zones of European Whiteness.*, 123-141, 127.

[28] Tesfahuney and Ek, *Planning as War by Other Means*, 171-177.

Spatial Planning As Coercion And Racial Violence

A brief digression into the etymology of the verb 'to coerce' will prove useful before we continue. To coerce, which comes to us from Middle French *cohercer* via the Latin *coercere*, meaning 'to control, restrain, shut up together'—from *com-* 'together' and *arcere* 'to enclose, confine, contain, ward off.'

"At the centre of coercion," Michael Weinsteintells us, "is effective control of space."[29] Weinstein argues that coercion should be viewed "in terms of controlling spaces rather than in terms of controlling actions." Coercion, according to Weinstein, is mediated primarily through the design of public space. Architecture, urban planning, and space management institute a framework for the control of territory that de-politicizes the field of social interactions. However, we have here in mind not only spatial organization, but also legal architecture and social relations. The rule of law and urban renewal efforts, which unfold over time, offer a patina of legitimacy to violence, exercised as management.

In *Planning as War By other Means*,[30] the authors refer to this time-space compression as *post-political*. Tesfahuney and Ek assert that the term post-politics does not "denote the end of politics, nor an era after/beyond politics." Rather, post-politics refers specifically to "the conduct of politics by other means," which reassembles political issues "as economic, managerial (administrative/technocratic) and moral concerns."

In the framework of post-politics, political struggles and antagonisms are ratcheted down to operational problems that can be resolved through "consensual 'good' techno-managerial governance."[31] Politics, then, becomes "institutionalized social management, whereby all problems are dealt with through administrative-organizational technical means and questioning of things as such disappears."

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[29] Michael Weinstein, "Coercion, Space, and the Modes of Human Domination," in *Coercion* (Chicago: Aldine·Atherton, 1972), 66.
[30] Tesfahuney and Ek, *Planning as War by Other Means*, 171-177.
[31] Ibid.

Consensual politics and democracy become the prevailing ideologies and ideal means of achieving the "common good by an enlightened government of elites."[32]

The Language Of Care

Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgeois warn us in *Introduction: Making Sense of Violence* that, (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004, 4)"the most violent acts consist of conduct that is socially permitted, encouraged, or enjoined as a moral right or duty."[33] We must pay careful attention to the language of 'care,' 'liveability,' and renewal that is being deployed in the Netherlands. The 'care for life,' or the 'quality of life' that is being pursued is in service of a biopolitical imperative of regulated normality. 'Care' in this context comes with strings attached. Moreover, some populations are *a priori* excluded from biopolitical care, or what passes for 'care' is, in fact, covert surveillance, at best, and eugenics, at worst.[34]

The so-called "Intervention Teams"[35] which consist of officials of the (immigration) police, the Social Affairs and Employment services, the municipality, and housing associations that make "house calls" together, are an object lesson in the way 'care,' and the criminal industrial complex are co-articulated in a policy practice. The aim of the municipal "intervention teams" is twofold: enforcement and care. These teams use a language of war in order to construct designated 'safety risk areas,' or zones of exception, as 'war-torn' urban zones, for eliminating or disciplining the "enemies within." Intervention Teams are explicitly deployed to *take back*, *reclaim*, and *reconquer* "security risk areas" in order to 'improve liveability.'

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, "Introduction: Making Sense of Violence," in *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 4.

[34] For instance, in 2006 the then alderwoman in Rotterdam Marianne van den Anker proposed to send pregnant women, whose children would be at risk of becoming victims of neglect, violence, and abuse, to an abortion clinic. She argued that forced abortion should apply especially for Antillean teenage mothers, that is Black women, sex workers, drug addicts, and the mentally disabled.

[35] Gemeente Rotterdam, *Protocol Huisbezoeken Stedelijke En Deelgemeentelijke Interventieteams Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam,[2007]).

Noordegraaf notes in *Meanings of Measurement. The Real Story Behind the Rotterdam Safety Index* that the "Safety Index," used by intervention teams to gauge 'liveability,' includes an "ethnicity" variable to the effect that a neighborhood in which relatively many *Allochtoon* people live automatically gets a lower rating on the Index.[36] In *Social Reconquest in Amsterdam and Rotterdam*, Engbersen, Snel and Weltevrede write, "In these kinds of neighbourhoods [deprived areas] a strategy of 'social reconquest' is apt—i.e. a massive commitment of all stakeholders to improve liveability." [37] The position that the *Allochtoon* is seen to occupy in neighborhoods and, by extension, in domestic space, is symptomatic of her position vis-à-vis racial and legal regulations.

The municipal council of Rotterdam has taken a zero-tolerance attitude toward what it considers 'threatening populations,' which is reflected not only in the spatial organization of the city, but also in the design of objects: one example are the benches at bus stops (designed not for sitting, only for leaning against). Their seemingly 'neutral' designs, which have been dubbed anti-homeless sleeping designs, make it impossible to sleep on them. In addition, the municipal council has made begging illegal.

Homeless people are, in effect, being dissuaded from being in public space without what is recognized by the State as a 'productive aim.' Such bodies that materialize under the rubric of *'aimless' being in space* are racialized. They must be tracked and expunged from the city, if not the territory, since they threaten 'liveability.' The sign of a neighbourhood's 'success' boils down to the expulsion of 'undesirable elements' for they *embody* risk, *un-luckiness*, and as such pose a 'threat' to liveability.

The Politics Of Liveability

The Law is the primary weapon in the arsenal of the State; it is deployed, at its discretion, to exercise violence that is deemed not harmful, because it is dissociated

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[36] Mirko Noordegraaf, "Meanings of Measurement. The Real Story Behind the Rotterdam Safety Index," *Public Management Review* 10, no. 2 (2008), 221-239.
[37] Godfried Engbersen, Erik Snel and Afke Weltevrede, "Woord Vooraf," in *Sociale Herovering in Amsterdam En Rotterdam: Eén Verhaal Over Twee Wijken* (Den Haag/Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 5.

from the concept of war. The municipality safeguards 'liveability' through ordinances and the law, or in other words 'lawfare.' In *Lawfare Today: A Perspective*, Major General Charles J. Dunlap Jr. defines lawfare as "the strategy of using—or misusing—law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve an operational objective."[38] One such example is the 2005 "Umbrella and Exception Law," also known as the "Rotterdam Law," which not only allows for the spatial management, but also the "physical displacement" of urban populations. The Rotterdam Law is deployed as a temporary measure in some neighborhoods to 'diversify' the population composition.

Diversification and urban renewal often translate as the removal of 'undesired elements' from the city and/or neighborhood. Their ascribed non-belonging is made evident in the very 'social type' of 'problem people' (following David Goldberg).[39] In the Dutch government's 'liveability programme' we read that: "Problem families are characterised by a number of issues, such as debt, unemployment and poor parenting."[40] The underlying message is that those who are identified as 'anti-social' render public space (their neighborhoods) unliveable.

A cause for great concern is this new form of state intervention, which is now being conceptualized as a public-private partnership, that stretches by way of a "Behind the Front Door approach" (*Achter de Voordeur Aanpak*) into the hitherto 'private' life of 'anti-social' citizens. In *Protocol Home visits Urban and Municipal Intervention Rotterdam*, a document issued by the municipality of Rotterdam, the writers state that, "The intervention team has a complex set of tasks. They intervene in the vital worlds of citizens: physical world, living space, world of work, financial, social and emotional

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[38] Charles J. Jr Dunlap, "Lawfare Today: A Perspective," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (2008). http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5892&context=faculty_scholarship.

[39] David Theo Goldberg, "Racisms in Orange: Afterword," in *Dutch Racism*, eds. Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving (Amsterdam, New York: Editions Rodopi, 2014), 407-416. 410.

[40] "Liveability Programme," Government of the Netherlands, , accessed January 5, 2015, http://www.government.nl/issues/liveability/liveability-programme.

world."[41] 'Deviant' populations are perceived as redeemable, or recuperable, only inasmuch as they display the desire for normality by cooperating.

Those who are classified as "anti-social" are coerced through 'intervention policies' to correspond with the ideal body of the nation, which is well-behaved, reasonable, while the neighborhood, which is often dilapidated, is made to correspond with the body as well, i.e. *clean, whole, safe* (which is, in fact, Rotterdam's motto). In this sense, gentrification is perceived as a remedy, and used to minimize, or eliminate, tensions and, in the words of Uitermark, Duyvendak and Kleinhans, "reduce concentrations that pose a problem for authorities."[42] In Rotterdam, especially, techno-managerial governance has given rise to state-led gentrification that is aimed at enhancing social order in the public sphere in particular neighborhoods. Racial violence is mediated through bureaucratic regulation, disguised as 'care,' and "urban renewal" that, in turn, takes on a moral dimension.

In *At the Intersection of Safety and Care* van Dijk, Hoogewooning, and Woerds[43] write that a lot of contemporary police work centers on "'the most vulnerable members' of society, such as single-parent families, multi-problem families, people with disabilities and/or low income, addicts, the homeless and mentally ill." According to the Dutch police, "[p]olice and healthcare complement each other," which leads the police to assert that "safety and health care are closely linked." The police posit that there is "a large overlap of the target groups of police and (health)care. When it comes to care it is primarily focused on public health, and Public Mental Health Care (OGGGZ) in particular." "In cases where there is a display of antisocial behaviour, offenses or crimes," van Dijk, Hoogewooning, and Woerds note, "the police may make use of pressure and coercion, including in extreme cases deprivation of liberty."[44]

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[41] Gemeente Rotterdam, *Protocol Huisbezoeken Stedelijke En Deelgemeentelijke Interventieteams Rotterdam*, 5.

[42] Justus Uitermark, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Reinout Kleinhans, "Gentrification as a Governmental Strategy: Social Control and Social Cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam," *Environment and Planning A* 39, no. 1 (2007), 125-141.

[43] Auke J. Van Dijk, Frank Hoogewoning and Sandra Ter Woerds, "Op Het Snijvlak Van Veiligheid En Zorg: Samenwerking in Uitvoering," *Het Tijdschrift Voor De Politie* 76, no. 9 (2014), 6-11. 6.

[44] Ibid.

Day-to-day control of public space is slowly being moved out of the hands of the police. An examination of the government document *Monitoring and Maintaining Order in Public Spaces Strengthened by Special Investigating Officers* shows that currently civilians, some in supervisorial capacities, are increasingly being tasked with spatial control:

> Besides the special investigating officers, many municipalities also deploy street wardens, street coaches and other supervisors, who hold no authority, and yet they represent a low-threshold method of keeping 'eyes and ears' open in public spaces. Many valuable citizens' initiatives have been started up over the last few years relating to supervision, according to the Minister [of Security and Justice], such as projects with neighbourhood fathers and neighbourhood watch, as well as collaborative projects between the police and businesses (including the Business Security Warranty). He is currently looking into the best possible way in which citizens can be involved in the supervision of public spaces, whilst fulfilling their desire to make an actual contribution. It was also set out in the coalition agreement that citizens would become more involved in the security policy for neighbourhoods.[45](Ibid.)

These municipal efforts to 'get involved,' 'show empathy with' and 're-socialize' 'anti-social' or 'deviant' people create a space in which control through a careful distribution of 'care' becomes a very effective strategy—a strategy which fuses moralism, benevolence, and militarism with claims about restoring public order on the streets by intervening *behind the front door*. The symbiosis of outside and inside, public and private, space and body, precedes and informs State planning to a large extend. In the zone of exception, Giorgio Agamben notes in *Homo Sacer*, the "city and house [become] indistinguishable."[46]

State agents are not only tasked with bringing order in the streets, but also in 'anti-social' homes. Militarism and policing come together under the sign of 'care.' The fading distinction between the neighborhood and domestic space, configurations within

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[45] "Monitoring and Maintaining Order in Public Spaces Strengthened by Special Investigating Officers," Government of the Netherlands, , accessed March 20, 2015, http://www.government.nl/news/2013/07/02/monitoring-and-maintaining-order-in-public-spaces-strengthened-by-special-investigating-officers.html.

[46] Giorgio Agamben, "The Camp as Paradigm," in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 188.

which 'care' is distributed, reveals the invasive power of order. Order itself is a *habit of whiteness* as outlined by Shannon Sullivan in *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege*:

> As ontologically expansive, white people tend to act and think as if all spaces—whether geographical, psychical, linguistic, economic, spiritual, bodily, or otherwise—are or should be available for them to move in and out of as they wish. Ontological expansiveness is a particular co-constitutive relationship between self and environment in which the self assumes that it can and should have total mastery over its environment.[47]

White ontological expansiveness was the very motor of settler colonialism that drove the violent incursion of Europeans into native peoples' territory for exploitation, and materialization of the frontier.

The Racial Calculus: Price Tagging Black Life

White supremacy is a socio-spatial project that aims to control not only the environment, but also the sentient beings in it. To elaborate, White supremacy is a system that attempts to control the ensemble of conditions in which a non-White person or *thing* lives through the regulation of 'quality of life,' which is constantly monitored through statistics and indices that measure compositional and patterned 'diversity.' As such, state violence is normalized, and articulated as 'managing care.' Racial animus is transformed into a concern for the 'quality of life.' Racism regulates the distribution of death, disease, and life chances among populations. Ruth Wilson Gilmore defines racism as,

> a practice of abstraction, a death-dealing displacement of difference into hierarchies that organize relations within and between the planet's sovereign political territories. Racism functions as a limiting force that pushes

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[47] Shannon Sullivan, "Introduction," in *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 10.

disproportionate costs of participating in an increasingly monetized and profit-driven world onto those who, due to the frictions of *political* distance, cannot reach the variable levers of power that might relieve them of those costs. Indeed, the process of abstraction that signifies racism produces effects at the most intimately 'sovereign' scale, insofar as particular kinds of bodies, one by one, are materially (if not always visibly) configured by racism into a hierarchy of human and inhuman persons that in sum form the category 'human being.'[48]

Similarly, François Delaporte highlights in *Disease and Civilization* how spaces, or the ensemble of conditions in which sentient beings live, trespass the border between outside and inside of the body surreptitiously, seemingly non-violently, assigning life conditions and different life-spans to different (national) subjects. Delaporte writes,

Living conditions affect two distinct areas, one within the body, the other outside it: organic space and social space. Social space is the space within which the organism lives and labors, and the conditions of existence within that space-living conditions—determine the probability of life and death.[49]

The calculability of life highlights the intersections between political economy and biopolitics in which certain expressions and forms of life are formally institutionalized. In a sense, the ideal, productive White life is formally, though not explicitly, presented as the example to follow. By this we mean that the lives of middle-class, heteronormative, able-bodied, neurotypical White people are taken as the norm against which all other forms of life are judged. As such, 'quality of life,' which is associated with the *good*, *proper* life full of possibility, is life that is already coded as White.

Across the political spectrum, parties think about the *Allochtoon* in terms of costs and benefits. In 2010, the PVV (the Freedom Party, the extreme Right party of Geert Wilders) calculated 'how much an Allochtoon costs.' Through the use of metrics to 'measure' productivity, or determine value/cost of an *Allochtoon*, life itself is economicized. The calculability of life allows for the exercise of total control over all

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[48] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography," *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002), 15-24. 16.
[49] François Delaporte, *Disease and Civilization: The Cholera Epidemic in Paris, 1832*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986). 80.

aspects of life through a process of devaluation and valuation. What is implicit in the measurement of 'liveability' is a discussion about human worth. Some lives are scripted as 'poor in possibility' (*kansarm*), while others are imagined as 'rich in possibility' (*kansrijk*).

This terminology, authored by Dutch social policy makers, is widespread in use. It is allegedly intended to identify and classify those 'most in need' and serve as a tool to help remedy social problems 'associated' with 'the poor.' In a *post-political* fashion, this terminology takes the place of structural analysis of social injustice, whereby the status quo is reinforced. To be labeled *kansarm* is to have a "life unworthy of life." Lives 'poor in possibility' are lives that are not "registered as liveable," unless 'improved' upon. Attributing differential life-value to groups of people is an extension of an original practice in which the legitimacy of killing is grounded upon the valuation of the human above the non-human. "Blackness," as Tommy J. Curry notes, "denies racialized people the ability to claim a right to life."[50]

An examination of a news item entitled 'Antilleans most frequent victims of murder in Netherlands' offers insight into these processes, namely the framing of Black lives as chanceless due to the racialized amalgam of soil, and life:

> When the boys come to the Netherlands, they bring their lives on Curaçao with them. They have no education, no job, and no prospects. Moreover, they run into their old friends again in the Netherlands. [According to the Professor of Criminology] Frank Bovenkerk: "Families think these young men are more likely to kick the habit here. However, they have *more opportunities to develop* themselves in criminal delinquency in the Netherlands. Prosperity is higher here, there is more to get here."[51]

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[50] Tommy J. Curry, "Pessimistic Themes in Kanye West's Necrophobic Aesthetic: Moving Beyond Subjects of Perfection to Understand the New Slave as a Paradigm of Anti-Black Violence," *The Pluralist* 9, no. 3 (2014), 18-37. 27.

[51] "Antillianen Vaakst Slachtoffer Van Moord in Nederland." *AD*2013b. http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/1012/Nederland/article/detail/3443884/2013/05/19/Antillianen-vaakst-slachtoffer-van-moord-in-Nederland.dhtml. emphasis added.

The Dutch Caribbean, and by extension Black people, have consistently been scripted as 'useless,' as a financial drain on the 'nation.' The co-articulation of prosperity and 'security' has given rise to policies intended to keep '*kansarme*' Antilleans, that is Antilleans 'poor in possibility,' or 'with poor life chances,' out of the Netherlands. White lives are 'full of chance' whereas Black lives are overdetermined. However, this 'chance,' or luck, is, as Lisa Tessman observes, "systemic rather than natural or accidental luck." [52] The commitment of the state to 'political order' and the maximization of prosperity, as part of its national security policy, has rendered all life calculable. So, apart from being labeled as forms of lesser and shorter lives, Antilleans labeled as 'poor in possibility' are also identified as a threat.

In her article *Access to the Netherlands of Enslaved and Free Black Africans*, Dienke Hondius[53] delineates how the Whiteness of the metropolitan space was safeguarded through legal and social historical practices from the 16th to the 19th centuries. She shows how the Dutch States General strictly regulated the entrance of enslaved and free black Africans to the Dutch metropolis. Hondius argues that, by so doing, slavery remained absent not only from view, but also from the historical canon and the common knowledge about the imperial enterprise.

Europe was imagined through the 'free soil principle' as a 'space of freedom.' Hondius cites Seymour Drescher on this matter: "Conceptually as well as legally, the operative distinction in northwestern Europe between slavery and freedom was geographical and racial, and it remained so." [54] Thinking plantation geographies alongside the 'free soil principle' highlights the tension that led to a 'continental approach' of determining the status of enslaved Africans and ultimately to enslaved Africans being warehoused. Seymour Drescher writes in *The Long Goodbye*,

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[52] Lisa Tessman, "Regretting the Self One Is," in *Burderned Virtues: Virtue Ethics for Liberatory Struggles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11-32. 30.
[53] Dienke Hondius, "Access to the Netherlands of Enslaved and Free Black Africans: Exploring Legal and Social Historical Practices in the Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 32, no. 3 (2011), 377-395.
[54] Ibid. 379.

> The States-General decreed that Dutch slave holders could encapsulate their colonial property in the free metropolis. Black slaves brought from the colonies were thereby treated like overseas commodities. They could be legally "warehoused" for reexportation within a limited period.[55]

We have argued in *The Alien Body in Contemporary Netherlands* that the invisibilization of those relegated to the zone of the nonbeing (after Fanon)[56] is a fundamental aspect to incarceration. For the maintenance of the national myth of a human and humane society, the Netherlands must keep the nonbeing out of sight.[57]

Moreover, the removal of the Black from purview is the founding act of civil society, and civil society enacts this originary violence continuously as it simultaneously repudiates the use of extreme force. There is a "collective disavowal of the violence subtending the production of blackness. This collective disavowal exists despite or because of the centrality of anti-blackness for the production of the world's sociality." The Black emerges as a core object in the narrative of Humanity, as an almost being. Again here she confirms the white man's burden and must, therefore, be present in order to make the narrative of the Human work both metaphorically and materially, in the space.[58] What separates the Human from nonbeings is their "humanitarian" efforts, the 'empathetic' or 'humane' relationship with those in the zone of nonbeing.

There is a fundamental relationship between space ordering/design and the Black body. Léopold Lambert states in #*Weaponized Architecture: The Slave Ship as Architecture* that:

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[55] Seymour Drescher, "The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective," *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (1994), 44-69. 65.
[56] Fanon, *The Negro and Psychopathology*, 109-162.
[57] Patricia Schor and Egbert Alejandro Martina, "The Alien Body in Contemporary Netherlands: Incarceration and Force-feeding of Asylum Seekers," *Critical Legal Thinking* (October 14, 2013).
[58] Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, "Waking Nightmares," *GLQ: Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 17, no. 2-3 (2011), 357-363. 358.

> The slave ship is […] the paradigmatic example of an architecture that serves the quintessential violence unfold by the same logic that then took the names of colonialism and capitalism. [I]t is fundamental to observe that this violence could have simply be [sic] impossible without the technological apparatus that design provides on the bodies. It would be a mistake to think of this relationship between architecture and violent ideologies only within the somehow comfortable context of history, without wondering what would be equivalents nowadays. They might not unfold their violence in the same extreme degree that the slave ship or the gas chamber historically did; however they use the same logic to control the bodies and enforce their ideological violence upon them.[59]

Tracing the genealogy of the Blackness as bodily armor, we see that there is an ontological mashing of the Black body with containment: the urge to contain it, coerce it, enact violence upon it. The spatial enactment of racial coercion has taken different shapes across history. Contemporary equivalents of racialized architecture are hidden behind the narrative of whiteness, i.e. pragmatism and planning.

The Language of Reasonableness

On the surface, the desire for order assumes an air of reasonableness, or pragmatism, which renders racial issues into non-issues through rational dialogue and accommodation. Any sign of 'unreasonableness,' any contamination *by* and *of* the senses, is exorcised.

'Fair-mindedness' resonates with the logic of formal contracts, written procedures, and quality systems that lies at the heart of formal interactions in the Netherlands: 'a deal is a deal,' and 'rules are rules.' This logic does not only govern the realm of formal interactions, but the sphere of sociability as well as. The overarching narrative is that all one needs to do in order to 'function properly' and be accepted is to abide by 'the rules.'

However, rules alone do not explain the workings of society. Moreover, rules do not 'make *it* work': 'rules' are not racially neutral. 'Reasonability' appeals to a supposed shared positionality and a shared chance and aspiration to locate oneself 'in

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[59] Léopold Lambert, "# Weaponized Architecture /// the Slave Ship is Architecture," (2014).

the middle.' However, 'reasonability,' we argue, is predicated on a economy of constraint. The realm of supposedly shared meanings shape policies via a 'consensus' that positions certain populations as always-already at odds with the status quo—they are always-already seen as failing to follow the 'rules of engagement.' Unlike spectacular forms of violence, coercion may operate "under the cover of voluntarism," or reasonableness. Bureaucracy, urban design, and proper planning are expected to create order in the chaos of society. Structural violence is given legitimacy for it is an unspoken requirement in the building of civil society itself.

How Black people are seen and narrated, as well as the spaces they inhabit, contribute greatly to the construction of a nationalist, gendered, sexualized, socio-spatial framework of proper *White Autochtoon Dutchness*. In the fusion of State territoriality and White power, the State surveils Black and non-white bodies already within, and delimits their mobility inside the national territory. Coercion through spatial ordering manifests itself as a way of policing Black bodies and mobility, and safeguarding the whiteness of the national territory.

In Rotterdam, the municipality delegates its coercive power to the citizenry and private agents in matters of 'quality of life and nuisance factors,' and bestows such 'State agents' by proxy with the privileged status of gearing police action. By so doing, spatial control becomes more diffuse and widespread. The State effectively becomes omniscient and omnipresent through its coercive delegates.

Violent practices that target Black bodies have been systematically normalized and are not recognized as such but as post-political and therefore non-racialized. We must consistently pull into view the colonial genealogy of these categorizliveations and their afterlife in contemporary rhetoric and policy. It is fundamental to force the gaze towards spatial violence—the limitation of mobility through containment—acted upon Black bodies in the Dutch national narrative and its corresponding territory. ✪

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