Nordic Journal of Social Research

Universitetsforlaget

RESEARCH PUBLICATION

Volume 13, nr. 1-2022, s. 23–36
ISSN online: 1892-2783
DOI: https://doi.org/10.18261/njsr.13.1.3

Intersectional Spatial Politics

Investigating the Establishment of White Public Spaces Using Spatial Capital in Rotterdam

Jennifer Long
Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Economics, and Political Science, MacEwan University, Canada
longj34@macewan.ca

Abstract
Recently, Dutch scholars have called attention to the "culturalization of citizenship," a phenomenon in which racialized and Muslim immigrants are required not only to integrate politically or economically, but also publicly demonstrate Dutch cultural values. Using an ethnographic case study of cycling courses in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, I use Ryan Centner's work on spatial capital to understand how privileged local inhabitants can consume and imbue public spaces with their own spatial practices and perceptions. It becomes apparent that women perceived as Muslim lack spatial capital because of others' perceptions of their nonbelonging, here against a backdrop of local "Dutch" spaces, what I call "spatial poverty." This concept calls attention to the racialized narratives of national belonging in the local uses of public places, highlighting the role of everyday white majority community members as state actors.

Keywords
cycling, culturalization of citizenship, spatial capital, spatial poverty, the Netherlands

During my 2009–2010 fieldwork in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, Friday mornings were reserved for volunteering as a cycling instructor at a local neighbourhood centre. The municipal government sponsored these women-only lessons that were designed to appeal to Muslim women who had emigrated, largely from Turkey and Morocco, with their families. Most of the women taking the cycling lessons wore headscarves and long robes that visually marked them as Muslim. After meeting for coffee or tea at the neighbourhood centre, which was located in Rotterdam North, anywhere from five to twenty amateur riders and three cycling instructors would take over the neighbourhood's sidewalks and pathways in a small park to learn how to cycle. Once a few participants gained enough skill and confidence, two volunteers would take them on the adjacent streets to practice their knowledge of street signs and the implicit and explicit rules of the road, allowing them to gain experience with cycling in traffic.

The women who staffed these sessions, including myself, were volunteers from the local community or workers hired to run the programme through a local volunteer agency. One such volunteer, Tieneke, a white Dutch woman in her early fifties, insisted that everyone speak Dutch during the cycling lessons and coffee breaks. She would often say,

"Come on, ladies! You must speak Dutch! Speak Dutch!" Tieneke was approached by two cycling participants one morning, and one participant was trying to translate the intentions of the other. In mid-sentence, Tieneke interrupted the "translator" and pointed to another participant, saying, "No, no, you," she urged, "Try to tell me what it is you mean in Dutch. That is what you're supposed to do here." Moments like this made it clear to me that the cycling lessons were much more than a time and space to learn how to ride a bicycle: they were also seen as an opportunity both for these women to learn Dutch and for the volunteers to convey the requirements for assimilating into the majority Dutch society.

I came to this conclusion after conducting research in the district of Rotterdam North in 2009–2010 (see also Long, 2011; 2015). During the twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork, I conducted in-depth interviews and focus groups with more than eighty individuals, participated in hundreds of different neighbourhood events, was a standing member of three neighbourhood committees, and volunteered with a local cycling lesson every week for eight months. The ethnographic material for the current article comes from the interviews with Dutch majority community members associated with cycling lessons.

Over the past decade, Dutch scholars have brought attention to a new phenomenon in the Netherlands (but also more broadly): the "culturalization of citizenship," in which "non-Western"[1] and Muslim immigrants are required not only to politically or economically integrate, but also to publicly demonstrate Dutch cultural values, which include speaking Dutch and ascribing to so-called Western-liberal morals (Duyvendak, 2011; Duyvendak et al., 2016). Of interest in this ethnographic case study is the role of whiteness as part of Dutch cultural practice. Frankenberg (1993) defines whiteness as a standpoint to categorize oneself and others, a structural location to "confer exclusive privilege," and as a set of cultural values and practices that mark white identity as normative identity. In this article, I explore how everyday practices draw on beliefs about whiteness and Dutchness to uncover the processes of racialization (Harrison, 1995, p. 63). The present work situates itself alongside other ethnographic works that study racialization from the perspective of those who are racializing. I will explore racialization by looking at those who benefit the most from the racial hierarchy in the Netherlands[2].

1 The category of "non-Western" immigrant is deeply problematic because of the racializing and Orientalist (Said, 1979) connotations associated with this term; for example, "non-Western" is often associated with backwardness and in direct contradiction to the so-called Western Enlightenment. My use of this term throughout the article highlights its importance as an immigration category (this "non-Western" category is still used by the national Statistics Bureau in the Netherlands, although it is under review, CBS, 2021) and its explicit use by interlocutors in my field site. Yet I acknowledge the folly of its use and role in perpetuating the very ideologies that I am committed to addressing as a critical scholar. Despite this, the use of this term highlights the connection made to the racist ideologies at work that features both national identity and immigrant otherness—with a particular focus on the othering of some immigrants ("non-Western") over others. I have chosen to use non-Western immigrants as a category rather than even more problematic terms like "allochthonous" (see Yanow & van der Haar, 2013) and used quotation marks to signal questioning its validity.

2 I am keenly aware that some would argue that I need to give a stronger presence to the voices of the cycling learners. For this article, this is not what I set out to do. This article explores the process of racialization, focusing on *racializers*, in a public space, here set within the ideology and practice of the Dutch state. The insights of this work, come from my role as a participant observer and volunteer cycling instructor. Although I interacted with cycling learners as a volunteer, my in-depth ethnographic focus here was with Dutch majority community members. See Long (2011) for data and analysis that includes perspectives of racialization from those who are racialized.

The Netherlands and Denmark share similarities across their imagined communities and immigration histories. The Dutch and Danish majority communities consider themselves culturally homogeneous societies with Judeo-Christian roots that support contemporary egalitarian welfare states (Eijberts & Ghorashi, 2017; Rytter, 2019). Both countries welcomed guest labourers from non-European countries in the mid-twentieth century and adopted more assimilative integration policies over time (Entzinger, 2014; Rytter, 2018). This process in the Netherlands led to a heavily bureaucratic, welfare-state approach to addressing the assumed cultural gulf, which was more assimilative than integrationist in practice (Entzinger, 2014). Between 2004 and 2005, both countries experienced their own critical "9/11 event" (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014), with the public execution of media personality Theo Van Gogh by a Dutch Muslim in 2004 (De Graaf & de Graaff, 2008) and the "cartoon controversy" in Denmark in 2005 (Hervik, 2012). Since then, Muslims have become the ultimate "other" in the Netherlands and Denmark (Long, 2011; Rytter & Pedersen, 2014), as politicians and the media continue to engage in heated debates about the place of Muslim immigrants and Islam in their respective countries (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007; Rytter & Pedersen, 2014).

Scholars have also found that Dutch and European identity is increasingly associated with "white" identity and that "white skin colour is one of the criteria of inclusion in the community of 'real' European nationals" (Essed & Trienekens, 2008, p. 68). Yet contemporary Dutch society lacks an appreciation for the legacy of colonialism and the systemic inequalities of the racialized present (Essed & Nimako, 2006; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Hondius, 2014; Wekker, 2016). This white-washed view of the past shapes everyday interactions and identity politics, where the blame for contemporary socioeconomic inequalities lands squarely on the shoulders of those who are perceived to be failing to live up to societal expectations, namely the racialized immigrants and/or Dutch Muslims (Weiner, 2014; Essed & Hoving, 2015). Therefore, this investigation takes "othering" and the reification of Dutch cultural values and norms (the culturalization of citizenship as a nation-making project) in everyday interactions, such as cycling lessons for immigrant women, as a racializing process. However, it also looks at racialized identity and belonging through a spatial lens, exploring why this approach is illuminating.

In their approach to space, anthropologists often examine how social, historical, and lived experiences shape physical spaces and their constructed meanings (Low, 2014, p. xxiii). Recent work has reconceptualized space in a way to draw greater attention to the physicality of the space and the interplay between its uses and interpretations because these both influence and are influenced by physical space (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003; Massey, 2005). Although many anthropologists have used Bourdieu's concepts of practice and habitus to understand how "social practice activates spatial meanings," sociologist Centner's (2008) work offers the concept of "spatial capital" as a way to explore how privileged users consume and imbue public spaces with their own spatial practices and perceptions. Spatial capital is defined as the ability to access, make, or even take (over) a place in a manner that defines and reformulates its use (Centner, 2008). This concept recognizes that local places are shaped by local actors and that these places, in turn, influence social interactions (Low, 2014). Mace (2017) argues that spatial capital is a useful concept for analyzing power and drawing attention to inequalities, contestations, and privileged understandings in the use of places. I argue below that Centner's reading of spatial capital can also shed light on the inherent "whitening" effect of certain spatial practices.

The aim of the current article is to apply the concept of spatial capital to an ethnographic case study of cycling courses for Muslim and/or "non-Western" immigrant women in

the Netherlands to demonstrate how spatial capital has a racial dimension. Through the application of spatial capital, it becomes apparent that women *perceived as* "non-Western" and/or Muslim immigrants lack spatial capital because of others' perceptions of their non-belonging against the backdrop of local "Dutch" spaces. Here, "non-Western" and/or Muslim immigrants—and women in particular—are relegated to what I call "spatial poverty" (the antithesis of Centner's spatial capital), a concept drawing attention to the racialized narratives of national belonging active in the local uses of public places. There is little research on cycling courses as integration activities for newcomers in Denmark (Ward, 2007), and as such, this Dutch case suggests an opportunity for further research in the Danish and Nordic context more broadly.

By taking an intersectional approach to understand how "non-Western," Muslim immigrants are racialized—through ethnic, religious, and gender identities—in reference to "white public spaces"[3] (Hill, 1998; Anderson, 2015), this analysis offers a deeper understanding of the racialization of public spaces from the perspective of majority community Dutch residents' practices. Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) argue that the spatial dimensions of gender construction, as socio-spatial form, require an exploration of the influences of class, ethnicity, and racialization. My own analysis seeks to add to the growing body of literature that sheds light on the everyday "othering" of "non-Western" and/or Muslim immigrants through civilizing projects (e.g., integration activities for immigrants; see also Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Ghorashi, 2015; Long, 2015). Important comparative aspects for Danish integration cases include a new focus on the racialized spatial practices of integration and the role of social organizations in arranging (visibly) mixed social opportunities for the purpose of performatively integrating Muslim immigrants (see Vertelyte this issue).

Theoretical Overview

What is Spatial Capital, and why Use it?

Centner's work builds on Lefebvre's ([1974] 1991) concept of the spatial triad, which posits that social interactions within public spaces are influenced by perceptions of how a space should be used, how other users *actually* use the space, and how its physicality influences others' perceptions and use of the space. Lefebvre takes a relational perspective that approaches space as an active player in shaping social interactions (Massey, 2005; Buser, 2012). He also argues that scientists, government officials, and urban planners design and propagate ideas about appropriate uses of urban spaces, taking this notion of dominant users further to recognize how people with greater levels of symbolic capital are better able to influence others' use of that space.

Symbolic capital is the form that the other types of Bordieusian capital (economic, cultural, and social[4]) take when recognized by others as being "legitimate" (Van den Berg, 2011, p. 504). In the context of the Netherlands, perceptions of cultural or social capital are tied to the culturalization of citizenship, in which immigrants are asked to public-

3 Hill (1998, p. 682) defines white public spaces as "a site where whites are invisibly normal, and in which racialized populations are visibly marginal and the objects of monitoring."

4 In his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* ([1977] 2013), Bourdieu argues that class and social inequality are the product of four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Webb et al., 2010). Capital represents "congealed social power" (Centner, 2008, p. 197), which is recognized through social interactions; that is, someone else must recognize that you embody social, cultural, or economic capital. Briefly, Bourdieu defines economic capital as one's access to and accumulation of money and resources; cultural capital as one's level of education, ability to speak the language, or perform prestigious customs (as examples); and social capital as one's social network, which one can draw upon to exert power or influence.

ly perform Dutch cultural values and norms (Schinkel, 2008; Duyvendak et al., 2016). For "non-Western" and/or Muslim immigrants, such values and norms include not wearing a headscarf, participating in society (economically), and being independent in terms of transportation (not riding in a car but cycling to work or taking the children to school) (Kaya, 2009; Jaffe-Walter, 2016). These gendered assimilative practices foreground Eurocentric Christian and atheist ideals, and they push women in different ways than male immigrants to demonstrate that they are not living under the foot of either their partners or their religion, both of which are thought to hold them back from true independence (Eijberts & Ghorashi, 2017).

In this way, class and social inequality are not only based on political and economic structures, but also on social networks and cultural tastes. Those who have access to such capital—through their successful performance of taste (wearing the right clothes, using the latest technology) and access to social connections (and the ability to convince others through such performances)—are the ones who are the most likely to decide what is valued among particular social groups (van den Berg, 2011, p. 504). In the case of Rotterdam biking lessons, contestations over the appropriate use of public spaces, here through the use of and behaviours within local spaces, signal a social hierarchy where Dutch cycling instructors have added credibility as state actors through government-sponsored integration activities.

Centner (2008) combines Bourdieu's idea of the field (which he sees as urban neighbourhood spaces of contestation) and the idea of spatialized symbolic capital to reveal how those with greater capital can make their claims in and on space appear to be natural. His ethnographic work centres on the everyday uses of public places in San Francisco during the "dot-com boom" (1999–2002), when billions of dollars from information technology businesses "flowed into [a] small seven-by-seven-mile space" in San Francisco (Centner, 2008, p. 193). Using participant observation, cognitive mapping exercises, and in-depth interviews, Centner analyzes how hyper-affluent workers "spatialized [their] consumption practices," crafting "exclusionary places of privilege" in the city (2008, p. 193). The outcome of this short-lived "spike" of money and other resources, he argues, was a well-paid cohort of young professionals who used their newfound social, cultural, and economic capital to "commodify" urban spaces through ownership or preferential treatment (p. 198). Centner's work demonstrates the ability of a privileged elite to both make and take place; it involves more than just "access to a site; it empowers the making of definitions about its usage and reformulation" (p. 198). The below example from his ethnography illustrates how social capital can be converted into spatial capital.

Centner describes social capital as spatial capital, here through his example of dot-commers hosting a wine party for colleagues in a public park. This party grew to more than fifty people, and despite a constant police presence and at least three warnings to "keep the noise down," the partygoers were only asked to leave (politely) at nightfall and were never fined for public consumption of alcohol. Centner argues that this spatial practice displays social and cultural capital through their "habitus of entitlement," which (2008, p. 212):

> Enabled an untroubled, cogent negotiation with police officers that rendered a nearly free ranging if completely illicit use of the park. This misrecognition of capital converted the character of the park from a place for Latino families of lesser means to bring their children for recreation to a place where young, intoxicated internet workers could look for love and perhaps a new job.

Centner's emphasis on "converting the character" of the public park during this event is important, highlighting the misuse or transgression of "normal" boundaries related to a space. This example also showcases a racialized aspect of these spatial practices, particularly when Centner notes that Latinx families experienced restricted access. One may assume that the symbolic capital accrued by these dot-commers is what afforded them the "right" to engage in illicit behaviour, a right that most likely would not be afforded to Latinx families or those of lesser (economic, social, or cultural) means. Further, the fact that this behaviour was ultimately allowed by official government actors (police officers) aligns dot-commers' *mis*use of this public space with the state and its associated power.

Centner's work on the everyday (mis)uses[5] of public spaces is instructive for studying how ordinary citizens might apply their power (biopower, hegemonic power) over minorities (see Mace, 2017), and his concept of spatial capital is helpful in analyzing how individuals manifest their privilege. Centner's work also provides insights into the "whitening" effect of such spatial practices. In the current study, I explore the role of gender, religious identity, and, in particular, the process of racialization in relation to spatial capital.

To do this, I pay greater attention to Bourdieu's (1984) idea about "the homology of fields" or the "homology of action." Mace argues that the analysis of spatial capital can draw on this idea to understand "how advantage in one field tends to be reinforced by advantage in another—with the same reinforcing mechanism being true of disadvantage" (2017, p. 130). This "compound advantage" persists and distinguishes certain individuals, especially in their endeavours to "employ capitals in a way that has spatial dimension, and that *taken together,* produce powerful advantage of some over others" (Mace, 2017, p. 126, emphasis in the original).

Following the idea of homology, those with symbolic and spatial capital in one field would be recognized as more powerful within another field (e.g., homeowners with economic capital would be assured the dominant use of nearby local public spaces or their input in urban planning projects would be taken more seriously) (see Long, 2016). The following ethnographic case study shows that this homology of fields is an important aspect to consider when investigating the mixed use of public places because the "successful" takeover of place may not necessarily be derived from or result in capital. In what follows, I provide a brief overview of the symbolic capital associated with bicycling in the Netherlands, describe in more detail my research context, and offer an ethnographic case study that, I argue, illuminates the role of spatial capital in producing local and national belonging.

Cycling to Integration in the Netherlands

According to the Netherlands Institute of Transportation Policy Analysis, the Netherlands is the "unrivalled number one bicycling nation," with Denmark in second place (Harms & Kansen, 2018, p. 3). Scholars and spatial planners have long argued that cycling is an important cultural practice (Stoffers, 2012) that has shaped the construction of Dutch public spaces (Pelzer, 2010, pp. 2–3). Studies find that the "native Dutch" population cycles more often than the "non-Western" immigrant population, highlighting women immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, and Suriname as some of the most infrequent cyclists (van der Kloof et al., 2014, p. 90; Harms & Kansen, 2018).

5 Centner uses "misrecognition" here to acknowledge Bourdieu's argument that symbolic capital is misrecognized. However, Centner is further arguing that individuals recognize their peers for the economic, social, and cultural capital they have and that the outcome of this recognition is credibility, a kind of symbolic capital.

Harms studies ethnic minority mobility in Dutch urban centres and argues that "people of foreign origin leave the house more rarely than the ethnic Dutch" (2006, pp. 6, 7). He reasons that "perhaps cultural factors, like the limited possibilities for Muslim women to go out of the house without the consent or without being accompanied by their husbands" results in different spatial behaviours among Turkish and Moroccan residents (Harms, 2006, pp. 6, 7). This assertation is problematic at best and racist at worst because of its use of gendered, cultural, ethnic, and religious stereotypes. Such Islamophobic narratives, however, are typical of the widespread notion that "non-Western" immigrants and their children are unwilling or unable to cycle, reinforcing the idea that cycling is a uniquely Dutch manner of traversing public space[6] (see also Haustein et al., 2019).

For about thirty-five years, Dutch governmental and nongovernmental organizations have used cycling lessons as an "integration activity" and as a measure to relieve "transport-related social exclusion" (van der Kloof et al., 2014). Although the language around cycling lessons has shifted, casting it as providing a "democratic" method of transportation, such policies embody paternalism toward and biased perceptions of Islam because the lessons are often proposed as a means to emancipate and empower Muslim women (van der Kloof et al., 2014; see also Razack, 2004; Abu-Lughod, 2013). Recent research has identified numerous problems with this perception, including the fact that cycling lessons do not often translate into the everyday use of cycling as a mode of transportation (van der Kloof et al., 2014). Few scholars have highlighted the public nature of cycling as a way for liminal and racialized members to display their belonging to the "national community" (for an exception, see van der Kloof, 2017).

Although the make-up of the participants in the cycling lessons I participated in changed over time, many women were first-generation immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, between twenty-five and sixty-five years old. The participants were more likely to speak Berber languages, Arabic, and Turkish than Dutch during the lessons. Most of the participants had children and lived with their extended family in Rotterdam, although not all lived locally (some came in from as far away as Rotterdam South, a thirty-five–minute to forty-five–minute commute by public transit). Most of the participants joined the lessons through an invitation from a friend, family member, or acquaintance. Their livelihoods varied; some were students at the local Islamic university, although most were homemakers or retired, providing childcare for children or grandchildren. Most women attending the cycling lessons wore headscarves and long robes. When I spoke with local residents (who did not participate) about these lessons, they would refer to this activity as "*fietsles voor Moslima's*" or cycling lessons for Muslim women, despite there being a few nonveiled women in attendance as well.

Approximately one hundred women participated in cycling lessons during the year I was involved, and many of them indeed highlighted the importance of this being an activity for women. During a focus group with immigrant women,[7] half of whom had personally participated in the cycling lessons, the respondents associated this space and activity with friendship, stating, for example, that limiting it to women increased the

6 This discussion of embodied social capital through space is a fruitful area for further discussion (see Centner, 2008; Mace, 2017). Because of word count limitations, I focus on how public spaces can change in character and the spatial practices to successfully takeover public places, along with what these mean for belonging.

7 This focus group included individuals who had participated in cycling lessons at some point in the past but was convened through their participation in other activities.

level of coziness (*gezelligheid*) and lessened the amount of embarrassment for learners when they fell or ran into obstacles. In response to questions as to why they chose to participate, they highlighted how cycling would allow them to quickly traverse the city (April 2010; see Long, 2011 for further discussion). In contrast, local organizers, which included a volunteer association that staffed the local neighbourhood centre and the municipality's borough representative, often linked the women-only design of the classes as a way to appease religious and familial norms. Although this might have been the case for some participants, none of the participants I spoke with explicitly mentioned religious obligations or familial norms as a reason to attend women-only classes. Although I was still learning to speak Dutch, I was asked to volunteer at the cycling lessons based on my ability to cycle. The volunteer coordinator stated in English that "many of the women who come to learn how to cycle don't speak Dutch either," noting that much instruction was conveyed through hand signals or, when possible, translated by bilingual volunteers into Arabic or Turkish.

Lessons began at 9:30 a.m., following coffee or tea and biscuits in one of the two rooms at the local neighbourhood centre. I arrived on the first day to find a group of women receiving basic instructions about the rules of the roads when cycling. The participants and volunteers then walked the bicycles across the road (there were approximately one-third to one-half of the number of bicycles to participants) to a T-shaped parkette. The participants used the surrounding sidewalks and three transecting paths in and among trees and football fields to practice cycling. At the far end of the park, away from the neighbourhood centre, was an open square where new riders would learn how to balance, steer, stop, and start. When I joined the lessons in early November, this square housed a set of benches around a playground with a small play structure and a concrete ping-pong table with a drooping net and a well-worn basketball net. By June, the local government had renovated the playground into a sprawling area with swings and other structures that proved difficult for the newest cyclists to avoid.

During the cycling lessons, dog walkers, neighbourhood residents, and children intent on walking through the park or playing on the playground had to contend with this temporary interruption and the *mis*use of public space. Notably, from an urban planning perspective, these paths were intended for pedestrians (there was no cycling infrastructure, such as bike lanes) or for local dog owners, as was evident from signage asking residents to clean up after their pets.

Throughout the months of cycling lessons, many passers-by would comment, shouting out a mix of cheers and jeers, some supportive ("Pedal harder!") and others derisive ("You should have learned when you were younger!"). On two occasions, the volunteers were approached by residents (both times, parents with children) with complaints that the park was a place for children to safely play. Although their complaints were met with sympathy, the scheduling and location of the lessons did not change. On another occasion, the cycling students asked one of the volunteer instructors to talk to an all-male group of construction workers who were eating on the surrounding benches and ask them to leave so that they could practice. A volunteer did, and the men left; the volunteer interpreted this request as related to the lessons being a women-only space. The power to continually *mis*use this public space for cycling lessons demonstrates the power held by the cycling volunteers as state-sponsored actors.

At first glance, it might appear as though the instructors *and* the cycling students successfully *took over* this public space to the exclusion of other, often local, "native Dutch" residents. However, this does not mean that the immigrant women taking the classes had

successfully accrued a significant amount of spatial capital. To understand how these lessons displaced the activities of others in the neighbourhood, we need to look at how this park was accessed and by whom. The following examples explore the role of the integration-infused field with "native Dutch" residents' perspectives on the acquisition of social, cultural, and economic capital.

Ella, a "native Dutch" neighbourhood employee charged with empowering residents, reflected on these lessons, stating the following:

> These cycling lessons bring positive action to the street. Everyone appreciates it. It's a kind of integration—to learn to cycle and to be better able to use your city, to be more mobile. Everybody sees that these women are becoming active in the city by using their bikes. I see this as integration. These women are participating in Dutch society, and the bicycle is a part of that. If younger children from Turkish or Moroccan families aren't taught how to ride a bike, I think they should make it a mandatory subject in school. In the Netherlands, you should ride a bike; the distances are small. (Interview, May 2010)

In this statement, we see Ella's frame of reference shift from the street to the nation. She also raises several themes present in discussions of belonging around "non-Western" immigrant women, who interpret visible "active" participation in the city as a form of integration (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Her words express the typical public perception that certain groups—Turkish and Moroccan families—do not see the importance of this Dutch cultural trait. Cycling, here, is a form of cultural capital: those cycling and moving *independently* throughout the city are thought to be integrated, if not emancipated (see also Ghorashi, 2010).

Ella also signals the importance of "getting out there," which supposedly creates opportunities for social connection (and, therefore, social capital). Similarly, Tieneke, at several points over the eight months, made several statements about the purpose of these lessons, such as, "These lessons are great for these women who barely get out of the house." Or when Tom, a former government employee who used to be involved with cycling lessons who bemoaned the lack of Muslim women that he saw cycling in the street, stated the following:

> When I heard that they were going to start bicycling lessons at the local neighbourhood centre, I said, 'Good! Get out there and start doing it!' because you can see the backwardness of these people who live very small lives because they don't get out. They don't know many people. The more backward the person is, the smaller their life is. (Interview, March 2010)

The comments of Tom, Tieneke, and Ella regarding "getting out there" provide an important insight into understanding cycling as social capital. Cycling is perceived to give sheltered women the ability to get out of their homes and access the rest of the city and the people within it. This point was brought home by Willem, a "native Dutch" man who lived outside the neighbourhood but who was paid to document local events:

> They come to learn cycling but get to talk to people. They take a neighbour along with them; it works like an inkblot that spreads. This is a nice example of the positive effects of this project. I think a bicycle course is better for social cohesion than an integration course [the official citizenship courses]. These are more obligatory, while the cycling course is voluntary. This works better. (Interview, May 2010)

In this logic, if women do not take advantage of this—using bicycles, teaching their children, and participating in the larger society—then they misunderstand the intention of the cycling course and cycling in general.

The performativity of these integration efforts is similar to Vertelyte's (this issue) ethnography of Danish social organizations that work to arrange ethnically mixed youth groups. Vertelyte describes a "visibility paradox" in which "mixed friendship" among ethnic Danish and "non-Western" migrant youth must involve members of both groups (with distinctive phenotypical and cultural differences) meeting in public places; those working as organizers believe that the mixed nature of the group works to eliminate the perceived cultural barriers that prevent "non-Western" migrant youth from successfully integrating into Danish society. Despite their voluntary involvement in mixed group activities in the Dutch case study, however, these women who learn to cycle are not yet perceived as fully integrated until they are seen to be socially mixing—on the way to pick up their children or collect groceries—in greater society in a manner (cycling) that showcases Dutch cultural values. Such values and politics of belonging structure the social field and recognition of capital, where Muslim immigrant participants are in a state of liminality, stuck waiting for acceptance into the nation and struggling to meet personal socio-cultural expectations (for a similar theoretical approach, see Kirk et al., 2017). These courses then work to normalize Dutch behaviour through the culturalization of citizenship and reinforce the perceived incompatibility of cultures (see Hervik, 2015 for a similar discussion in the Danish context).

Returning to Centner's work on privilege and spatial capital, the contrast is stark: despite the racialized women effectively taking over the park with the cycling lessons, they did not accrue any spatial capital (unlike the volunteers) because of their "otherness." Instead, the public space and the act of cycling lessons both showcased dominant Dutch norms and women's otherness. The image of a veiled Muslim woman learning to cycle in a local neighbourhood space highlights the uniqueness of this place and how to cycle as a spatial practice. This picture might resonate differently if, for example, a participant was riding a *babboe bakfiets* (a bicycle with a large box at the front that can carry up to four children) to bring her children to school. Why? It would cast her as an independent woman, knowledgeable of Dutch norms and with the economic capital to buy an expensive bicycle. However, the women taking the cycling lessons did not gain spatial capital; in fact, we might characterize them as having spatial poverty: an inability to capitalize on spatial practices because of their perceived social, cultural, and economic positioning as "outsiders."

Spatial Capital, Spatial Poverty, and Intersectionality

Spatial capital is based on the perception that a person has capital, and it depends on one's ability to convince others of that fact. In this case, Friday morning cycling lessons affirmed only the symbolic capital of the volunteers and organizers who facilitated these lessons. The students were only granted access to this space through those volunteers' and organizers' capital and resources: their social networks, their access to government funding and volunteer organizations, their possession of bicycles, and their access to the local community centre.

The concept of spatial capital sheds light on this park as a social field and contested place that encompasses Dutch cultural and moral values, including "whiteness" as a normative backdrop in the process of recognizing an individual's spatial capital. Despite displaying forms of cultural capital, cycling learners were perceived by both instructors and passers-by as being in a not-yet-integrated liminal state; there was no homology allowing the lessons to accrue spatial capital. There remains a need to take a hard look at the whiteness

of cultural practices, at cycling as reflecting integration or Dutchness. When authorities and their representatives develop new integration practices, it is important to understand how racialized women experience them.

This process may begin with a deep look into the role of whiteness and the seemingly "natural uses" of public spaces to understand how these places exclude less-privileged individuals. Following Mace (2017), I advocate for the use of spatial capital as a theoretical concept to help identify imbalances of power and gain insights into how power operates in the built environment, in this case from actors afforded different levels of power because of their proximity to displaying cultural forms of citizenship or systemic political power. As was made clear, power and capital varied across the four "actors" in the above scenario: (1) the bureaucracy that sets integration requirements that authenticate ideological perceptions around Dutch cultural norms, which are reinforced by both (2) the "native Dutch" volunteers as state-sponsored actors and (3) the women who participate in cycling lessons for a diversity of reasons and with varying outcomes. The final actors are the (4) surrounding public, who watch and comment on the activity with the effect of reinforcing cultural markers of belonging within public space[8]. Against the backdrop of the deeply bureaucratic welfare-state system of the Netherlands (Oorschot, 2006), these lessons have the potential to reinforce cultural perceptions of both belonging and difference, to make us aware of the power of spatialized integration practices, and to highlight the role of whiteness as normative in the everyday public setting. Using an intersectional lens to understand how the national politics of identity shapes the field can create a better understanding of how neighbourhood-level practices can advance exclusionary national discourses in everyday Dutch life. Doing so moves the analysis away from identity and representation toward tools that fight systemic barriers.

Crenshaw, who first coined the term intersectionality, argues that the point of understanding intersectionality is not to turn the racial hierarchy on its head but instead to "make (more room for) advocacy and remedial practices" (as cited in Coaston, 2019, para. 42). Such an approach might tease apart the marginalization of women of colour by other women in support services (like those facilitating and volunteering with cycling courses) to understand how these issues might variously affect racialized women. This might then allow us to look at how racial and ethnic stereotypes, the culturalization of citizenship, and classism create different levels of access to resources, which include public spaces. The culturalization of citizenship provides an opportunity to explore the role of ethnic Dutch individuals in maintaining Dutch cultural values (which also reinforces whiteness) in everyday spaces and as part of state-supported integration policies and activities. Exploring the culturalization of citizenship in other contexts, such as Denmark, would help identify situations of unconscious or systematic racism against immigrant communities, providing opportunities for more equitable local and national integration practices.

Conclusion

Centner argues that those who have an abundance of social, cultural, and economic capital can create spatial capital (which is understood as a form of symbolic capital), hence making and taking public spaces for their own purposes. Individuals with recognized forms of capital, he writes, can enact a greater "geographically free-ranging engagement with the city" (2008, p. 294). In the current cycling case study, the act of immigrant women learning

8 My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for advocating to draw out this important point.

to cycle in a public space meant for playing, walking, enjoying nature, and so forth might appear to signal such a free-ranging engagement. However, as this case study shows, the cycling students were only granted access to do so via the presence of "native Dutch" sponsors and volunteers. This suggests that "non-Western" and/or Muslim immigrant women are characterized by spatial poverty that is produced by others' lack of recognition of their social, cultural, and economic capital. The fact that these women do not gain spatial capital highlights the temporary nature of their takeover of public space and the type of power they do not (yet?) possess to belong in Dutch society.

Therefore, the use of this local public space to integrate immigrants expresses both differential power and access to resources, suggesting that we, as anthropologists, should study how national identity politics and belonging are inculcated—and contested—in national and local places along racial lines. Questions of belonging were important themes during my fieldwork, which was set within a larger context of the affirmation of Dutch liberal ideals and growing anti-Islamic sentiment (Vellenga, 2018); such questions have only become more poignant through the growing support of populist politics (Vossen, 2016). In this context, scholars might do well to take up Bourdieu's concept of homology and its effect in producing "compound advantage," in concert with intersectionality theory. Both are important, I argue, when investigating the use of public places, the accrual of spatial capital and the problem of spatial poverty, and the workings of national belonging.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). *Do Muslim women need saving?* Harvard University Press.

Anderson, E. (2015). The white space. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 1*(1), 10–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214561306

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2013). *Outline of a theory of practice* (28th ed.). (R. Nice, Trans.) Cambridge University Press. (Original work published in 1977)

Buser, M. (2012). The production of space in metropolitan regions: A Lefebvrian analysis of governance and spatial change. *Planning Theory, 11*(3), 279–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095212439693

Centraal Bureau de Statistiek. (2021, April 21). *Het gebruik van "westers – niet-westers" door het CBS*. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/uitgelicht/het-gebruik-van-westers-niet-westers-door-het-cbs#:~:text=Het%20CBS%20is%20bezig%20met,hoofdindeling%20van%20herkomst%20en%20migratieachtergrond.

Centner, R. (2008). Places of privileged consumption practices: Spatial capital, the dot-com habitus, and San Francisco's internet boom. *City & Community, 7*(3), 193–223. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2008.00258.x

Coaston, J. (2019, May 28). *The intersectionality wars*. Vox. https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination

De Graaf, B. A., & de Graaff, B. G. J. (2008). Counterterrorism in the Netherlands after 9/11: The 'Dutch approach'. In J. Moran & M. Phythian (Eds.), *Intelligence, Security and Policing Post-9/11*, (pp. 183–202). Palgrave Macmillan.

Duyvendak, J. W. (2011). *The politics of home: Belonging and nostalgia in Western Europe*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Duyvendak, J. W., Geschiere, P., & Tonkens, E. (Eds.). (2016). *The Culturalization of citizenship: Belonging and polarization in a globalizing world.* Palgrave MacMillan.

Eijberts, M., & Ghorashi, H. (2017). Biographies and the doubleness of inclusion and exclusion. *Social Identities, 23*(2), 163–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2016.1244766

Entzinger, H. (2014). The growing gap between facts and discourse on immigrant integration in the Netherlands, *Identities*, *21*(6), 693–707. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.828616

Essed, P., & Hoving, I. (2015). *Dutch Racism.* Brill. https://doi.org/110.1163/9789401210096

Essed, P., & Nimako, K. (2006). Designs and (co)incidents: Cultures of scholarship and public policy on immigrants/minorities in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 47*(3-4), 281–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715206065784

Essed, P., & Trienekens, S. (2008). "Who wants to feel white?" Race, Dutch culture, and contested identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31*(1), 52–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701538885

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. University of Minnesota Press.

Ghorashi, H. (2010). The right to be different: The position of Muslim migrants in the Netherlands. In R. Banakar (Ed.), *Rights in context: Law and justice in late modern society* (pp. 163–177). Ashgate.

Ghorashi, H. (2015). Racism and "the ungrateful other" in the Netherlands. In P. Essed & I. Hoving (Eds.), *Dutch racism*, (pp.101–116). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401210096_006

Harms, L. (2006). *Mobility among ethnic minorities in the urban Netherlands.* Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik. https://difu.de/node/5947

Harms, L., & Kansen, M. (2018). *Cycling facts.* Netherlands Institute for Transport Policy Analysis.

Harrison, F. V. (1995). The persistent power of "race" in the cultural and political economy of racism. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 47–74. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000403

Haustein, S., Kroesen, M., & Mulalic, I. (2020). Cycling culture and socialisation: Modelling the effect of immigrant origin on cycling in Denmark and the Netherlands. *Transportation*, 47, 1689–1709. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11116-019-09978-6

Hervik, P. (2012). The Danish Muhammad cartoon conflict. *Current Themes in IMER Research, 13*. Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM), Malmö University.

Hervik, P. (2015). What is in the Scandinavian nexus of 'islamophobia, multiculturalism, and Muslim-western relations'? *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, *1*(1), 66-82. https://doi.org/0.17356/ieejsp.v1i1.29.

Hill, J. (1998). Language, race, and white public space. *American Anthropologist, 100*(3), 680–689. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1998.100.3.680

Hondius, D. (2014). Black dutch voices: Reports from a country that leaves racism unchallenged. *Thamyris/Intersecting, 27*, 273–294.

Jaffe-Walter, R. (2016). *Coercive concern: Nationalism, liberalism, and the schooling of Muslim youth*. Stanford University Press.

Kaya, A. (2009). *Islam, migration and integration: The age of securitization.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirk, K., Bal, E., & Janssen, S. R. (2017). Migrants in liminal time and space: An exploration of the experiences of highly skilled Indian bachelors in Amsterdam. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 43*(16), 2771–2787. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314600

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishers. (Originally published 1974).

Long, J. (2011). *Shifting notions of citizenship in the Netherlands: Exploring cultural citizenship and the politics of belonging through neighbourhood spaces in Rotterdam*. (Publication No. 341)[Doctoral dissertation, Western University]. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository.

Long, J. (2015). Lessons in proper citizenship behaviour: Teaching immigrants how to use public spaces in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. *Journal of Social Science Education, 14*(3), 17–27.

Long, J. (2016). Reinforcing belonging and difference through neighbourhood gentrification projects in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. In A. L. Ramanathan, *Language, immigration, and naturalization: Legal and linguistic issues* (pp. 164–183). Multilingual Matters.

Low, S. (2014). Editors' introduction and suggestions for further reading. In J. J. Gieseking & W. Mangold (Eds.), *The people, place, and space reader* (pp. xix–xxxiii). Blackwell Publishing.

Low, S., & Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (2003). *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Mace, A. (2017). Spatial capital as a tool for planning practice. *Planning Theory, 16*(2), 119–132. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095215617000

Massey, D. (2005). *For space.* Sage Publications.

Pelzer, P. (2010). *Bicycling as a way of life: A comparative case study of bicycle culture in Portland, OR, and Amsterdam.* Oxford. https://www.ris.uu.nl/ws/files/31021264/Bicycling_as_a_way_of_life.pdf

Razack, S. H. (2004). Imperilled Muslim women, dangerous Muslim men and civilised Europeans: Legal and social responses to forced marriages. *Feminist Legal Studies, 12*(2), 129–174. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:FEST.0000043305.66172.92

Roggeband, C., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995–2004. *West European Politics, 30*(3), 524–548. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380701276352

Rytter, M., & Holm Pedersen, M. (2014). A decade of suspicion: Islam and Muslims in Denmark after 9/11. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37*(13), 2303–2321. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.821148.

Rytter, M. (2018). Made in Denmark. Refugees, integration and the self-dependent society. *Anthropology Today, 34*(3), 12–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12433

Rytter, M. (2019). Writing against integration: Danish imaginaries of culture, race and belonging. *Ethnos, 84*(4), 678–697. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1458745

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism.* Pantheon Books.

Schinkel, W. (2008). The moralization of citizenship in Dutch integration discourse. *Amsterdam Law Forum, 1*(1), 15–26. https://heinonline-org.libaccess.lib.mcmaster.ca/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/amslawf1&i=15

Schinkel, W., & van Houdt, F. (2010). The double helix of cultural assimilationism and neo-liberalism: Citizenship in contemporary governmentality. *The British Journal of Sociology, 61*(4), 696–715. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2010.01337.x

Stoffers, M. (2012). Cycling as heritage: Representing the history of cycling in the Netherlands. *The Journal of Transport History, 33*(1), 92–114. https://doi.org/10.7227/TJTH.33.1.7

van den Berg, M. (2011). Subjective social mobility: Definitions and expectations of 'moving up' of poor Moroccan women in the Netherlands. *International Sociology, 26*(4), 503–523. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580910393042

van der Kloof, A., Bastiaanssen, J., & Martens, K. (2014). Bicycle lessons, activity participation and empowerment. *Case Studies on Transport Policy, 2*(2), 89–95. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cstp.2014.06.006

van der Kloof, A. (2017). Lessons learned through training immigrant women in the Netherlands to cycle. In P. Cox (Ed.), *Cycling cultures* (pp. 78–105). University of Chester Press. https://storefront.chester.ac.uk/index.php?main_page=product_info&products_id=431

van Oorschot, W. (2006). The Dutch welfare state: Recent trends and challenges in historical perspective. *European Journal of Social Security, 8*(1), 57–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/138826270600800104

Vellenga, S. (2018). Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the Netherlands: Concepts, developments, and backdrops. *Journal of Contemporary Religion, 33*(2), 175–192. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/13537903.2018.1469257

Vossen, K. (2016). *The power of populism: Geert Wilders and the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands.* Routledge, Taylor & Francis.

Ward, V. J. (2007, August 08). *Denmark to immigrants – Let's ride*. Spiegel International. https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/creative-integration-denmark-to-immigrants-let-s-ride-a-501869.html

Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. (2010). *Understanding Bordieu.* Sage.

Weiner, M. F. (2014). The idologically colonized metropole: Dutch racism and racist denial. *Sociology Compass, 8*(6), 731–744. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12163

Wekker, G. (2016). *White innocence: Paradoxes of colonialism and race.* Duke University Press.

Yanow, D., & van der Haar, M. (2013). People out of place: Allochthony and autochthony in Netherlands identity discourse–Metaphors and categories in action. *Journal of International Relations and Development, 16*, 227–261. https://doi.org/10.1057/jird.2012.13