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Introduction

Gemma Blok and Jan Oosterholt

Abstract

In contemporary societies, security has become a highly contested topic and is very difficult to define. The crucial question of what it means to provide security for citizens, to be or feel safe or to make someone or something secure, provokes a variety of answers. This introduction highlights the aims and intent of the volume *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security*. We explain how the articles in the volume seek to contribute to the interdisciplinary effort of analysing security cultures by specifically bringing out the value of humanities research. Insights from history, art history, literary studies and philosophy can help in generating a deeper understanding of the norms, beliefs and emotions underlying perceptions of safety and security.

Keywords: safety and security, risk prevention, public health, interdisciplinarity

In February of 2020, during the first phase of the global Covid-19 crisis, lockdowns were announced in many countries, and citizens were encouraged to stay home as much as possible. Frustrating to many, this request was especially complicated for one particular social group: the homeless. 'I would stay home if I had one', they protested in desperation. Life became much harder for homeless persons in a world without walk-in shelters, department stores with public toilets, coffee bars or fast-food restaurants in which to sit and be warm for a while. Emergency night shelters were created, but this was not a solution for all. Some did not feel safe in these crowded places; being around other people felt unsafe to them, or they felt at risk of being infected as fellow occupants of the shelter would cough or did not observe the rules of hygiene. In several places, the homeless received 'survival

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packages' containing a tent and a sleeping bag. This would enable them to avoid shelters where situations were not safe.¹ Also, around the world, in times of COVID-related lockdowns, the homeless population became much more visible in public spaces and was policed more heavily than before.²

As this pandemic story shows, the desire for safety is both a basic need of human life, and one of modern society's most pressing challenges. Peace and security, 'the greatest of goods' according to the Austrian author Stefan Zweig, have been ambitions for individuals and societies since antiquity. Yet these ambitions are highly complicated, as could be observed during the Covid-19 crisis. The lockdowns, aimed at creating safety for the general public, created unsafe situations for homeless persons. Moreover, the collective wish to secure public health conflicted with the desire for individual freedom and agency. Furthermore, critics have argued that the far-reaching preventive public health measures that were taken by authorities to reduce the number of infections from Covid-19—the lockdowns, the coercion to be vaccinated, the proofs of vaccination or recovery that were required to participate in public life—in fact made them feel unsafe, manipulated and excluded by their own governments. Society became polarised by the 'War on Disease'—as historian Alex de Waal labels contemporary global public health practice and discourse.³ In short, the pandemic showed that experiences and interpretations of what constitutes safety can differ greatly within society.

Preventing Risks

'Fighting' disease is but one aspect of contemporary collective efforts to produce safety. Not only are wars waged on disease, politicians have also declared wars on drugs, terror, crime and climate change. Meanwhile, cultural critics call the desire for safety an obsession, an addiction, a fantasy we live by. As sociologist Ulrich Beck famously stated in 1992, while humans have always been subjected to a level of risk—such as epidemics, crime, war

1 Sage Anderson, Gemma Blok, and Louise Fabian, eds, 'Marginalization and Space in Times of Covid-19: Lockdown Report HERA Project: Governing the Narcotic City', Spring 2020, <https://narcotic.city/news/gonaci-lockdown-report/>.

2 Umberto Bacchi and Rina Chandran, 'Homeless People "Treated as Criminals" Amid Coronavirus Lockdowns', *Reuters*, April 23, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-homelessness-featu-idUSKCN225271>.

3 Alex de Waal, *New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two Hundred Years of War on Disease and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Polity, 2021).

or natural disasters—societies in the twentieth century became exposed to new risks, such as climate change and pollution, that were the result of the modernisation process and the emergence of the welfare state.⁴ Triggered by the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in 1986, Beck argued that while technological advancements created unprecedented heights in terms of standards of living, they also generated unintended consequences and new and invisible ‘threats’ which could not fully be predicted. According to Beck, this situation created an increasing preoccupation with risk and future safety.

Since Beck coined the concept of the risk society, the twin issues of risk and safety have become leading topics in scientific and public debates on the nature of contemporary Western culture. In 2001, criminologist David Garland characterised American and British late-modern societies as ‘cultures of control’; he argued that the modern crime control system was driven by the public and/or political longing for more punitive measures and more control of society and offenders.⁵ The Dutch social psychologist Hans Boutellier states that this desire for control is reflective of an impossible desire: since the 1960s, citizens in the West have developed a wish to combine a maximum of personal freedom for self-development, self-expression and hedonistic pleasure, with a maximum of control and protection. Boutellier calls this a ‘safety Utopia’.⁶ The tone of the debate became more critical over the years, it seems, with the Hungarian-Canadian sociologist Frank Furedi arguing, for instance, that in the West ‘safety has become a cultural obsession to the point that many institutions and policymakers have adopted the ideal of a “harm-free” world as a realistic objective, a fantasy perhaps most strikingly expressed through intolerance toward risk and accidents’.⁷

Whatever our valuations are of the desire for safety, we can observe that contemporary society is dominated by an awareness of risks, as well as by the urge to prevent these risks as much as possible.⁸ Preventive policing and public health surveillance are merely examples of this. The overall

4 Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Toward a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992).

5 David Garland, *The Culture of Control. Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

6 Hans Boutellier, *De veiligheidsutopie: Hedendaags onbehegen en verlangen rond misdaad en straf* (The Hague: Boom Juridische Uitgevers, 2002); Hans Boutellier, *The Safety Utopia: Contemporary Discontent and Desire as to Crime and Punishment* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2004).

7 Frank Furedi, ‘The Paradox of Our Safety Addiction: How the Zero Risk Mentality Breeds a Culture of Anxiety and a Hunger for Authority’, *The American Interest*, 2018, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/v/frank-furedi/>.

8 Beck, *Risk Society*.

tendency to prevent risks has been analysed as a securitisation process. It has been argued that the prophylactic or 'preventive gaze'⁹ was caused by the terrorist threat that gripped the West after attacks on the United States in September 2001.¹⁰ Governments used scenarios of danger and threat to justify defensive measures, such as the expansion of military forces.¹¹

However, the preventive gaze had already been growing in the political arena in Western countries. For instance, during the Second Red Scare in America, in an effort to curb the perceived threat of Communism and anarchism, in 1947 President Harry S. Truman created a 'Federal Employees Loyalty Program', establishing political-loyalty review boards who determined the 'Americanism' of federal government employees. Millions of Americans underwent loyalty screening.¹² On the other side of the Atlantic, fear of terrorism in the German Bundesrepublik in the 1970s resulted in preventive screenings as well. German historian Eckart Conze has characterised the 1970s in West Germany as a period of striving for 'inner security', when laws were put in place to prevent members of radical organisations from working for the civil service.¹³

In the 1980s, as historian Wim de Jong and philosopher Litska Strikwerda have argued,¹⁴ the precautionary paradigm was developed in response to the so-called urban crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. In many Western American and European cities, deindustrialisation resulted in high unemployment rates and left abandoned industrial properties in or close to inner cities. Urban residents left for suburban areas, empty houses and properties became homes to squatters and city centres fell prey to crime, poverty and decay. In this period, new precautionary practices were developed in urban policy, mental health care and policing, often going under the umbrella term of harm reduction, to restore citizens' experience of safety in the public space.

9 Rik Peeters, *The Preventive Gaze: How Prevention Transforms Our Understanding of the State* (Tilburg: Eleven International Publishing, 2013).

10 Lucia Zedner, 'Pre-crime and Post-criminology', *Theoretical Criminology* 11, no. 2 (2007): 261–81.

11 Jutta Weber and Katrin M. Kämpf, 'Technosecurity Cultures: Introduction', *Science as Culture* 29 (2020): 1–10.

12 Landon R.Y. Storrs, 'McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: American History*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.6>.

13 Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler, 2009).

14 Wim de Jong and Litska Strikwerda, 'Controlling Risks in the Safe City: The Rise of Pre-emptive Practices in Law Enforcement, Public Surveillance and Mental Health and Addiction Care (1970–2020)', *Urban Studies* 58, no. 12 (2021): 2514–30.

Close Reading Safety and Security: The Intent of This Volume

As Alan Collins writes in his introduction to *Contemporary Security Studies*, which looks at the rapidly developing academic field of security studies, ‘core assumptions about what is to be secured, and how, have come to occupy our thoughts’.¹⁵ Security has become a highly contested topic and is very difficult to define. The crucial question of what it means to provide security for citizens, to be or feel safe or to make someone or something secure, provokes a variety of answers. Originating from the field of international relations, since the late 1980s an impressive body of theory has been developed showing how traditional conceptualisations of security—such as a state keeping its citizens safe from foreign invasion, crime and terrorism—have been broadened to incorporate other areas of security—such as social security, health security, environmental security and cybersecurity. A new research field has emerged that is referred to as Critical Security Studies.¹⁶ Within this field, conceptualisations of safety and security are no longer seen as static quantities. In the words of Eckart Conze, security ‘is a social construct, a variable in the historical process. Different societies display very different notions of security and insecurity. And like these notions, social feelings of security or perceptions of security can change permanently’.¹⁷

In order to open up interdisciplinary perspectives for security research, the German political scientist Christopher Daase has introduced the concept of security cultures, understanding security and risk as social constructions based on norms and beliefs.¹⁸ The aim of this volume is to contribute to this interdisciplinary effort by specifically highlighting the value of the humanities for generating a deeper understanding of the norms, beliefs and emotions underlying perceptions of safety and security. We believe that methods and data from (art) history, philosophy, literary studies and

15 Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 2; see also other recent contributions to security studies such as Regina Kreide and Andreas Langenohl, eds, *Conceptualizing Power in Dynamics of Securitization: Beyond State and International System* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019); Peter Burgess, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012).

16 See, for instance, Columba Peoples and Nicholas Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2014).

17 Eckart Conze, ‘Security as a Culture: Reflections on a “Modern Political History” of the Federal Republic of Germany’, *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 28, no. 1 (2006): 5–34, at 12.

18 Christopher Daase, ‘On Paradox and Pathologies: A Cultural Approach to Security’, in *Transformations of Security Studies: Dialogues, Diversity and Discipline*, ed. Gabi Schlag, Julian Junk, and Christopher Daase (London: Routledge, 2016), 82–94.

human geography are highly relevant to look at ongoing debates on safety and security from a cultural constructivist point of view. Whose safety are we after, how has a safe society been defined, when and by whom; where do we locate safety, how do we envision it? A close reading of literary works, philosophical lines of thought, artworks, architecture and various other historical sources can contribute qualitative data and new insights on the fundamental questions and dilemmas involved in the advancement of safety and security. Next to imaginaries and discourses, the cultural dimensions of health or public order practices will be taken on board as well.¹⁹ As feelings of safety and also unsafety are subjective indications, it is interesting to look into the cultural expressions of these emotions and see how and when these have been voiced and portrayed. What did various historical actors actually mean when they talked about (or visually expressed) safety or security? How were these concepts defined throughout history? Who are included and excluded from security practices and strategies?

In this volume, we bring together perspectives from the humanities to critically evaluate underlying cultural perceptions of safety and security that have shaped (early) modern European societies. The twelve chapters are based on collaborative work and reflect a wide range of topics, from early modern thought on safety and religious tolerance to twentieth-century drug use in public spaces.

Conceptualisations of (un)safety are expressed in literary, scientific and political discourse, in art and architecture, in urban policies, health care, and police practices, and in urban planning. The chapters are bound together by the ambition to demonstrate how safety and security are not just social or biological conditions we can aim to achieve, for instance through striving for safety from disease and crime.

The growing body of humanities scholarship on safety and security shows how these concepts are interpreted differently across societies, time periods, social groups and individuals. They have different meanings for various groups of people and have been defined and expressed in many ways across different places and times, with a big impact on society and everyday life. Safety is also a historical and cultural construct, in the sense that safety is not only being protected, but also the feeling of being protected from factors that cause harm. In the history of emotions, and the wider field of affect studies, the feeling of safety is less developed than its counterpart,

19 Peter Burgess, *The Future of Security Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Discussion Paper of the Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH), European Science Foundation, July 2014, 10, http://archives.esf.org/uploads/media/future_security_research.pdf.

fear.²⁰ In this volume, cultural representations of safety as well as unsafety will be explored.

According to the Dutch historian Beatrice de Graaf, in order to historicise security, we ‘need to analyse how future conditions of safety were perceived and represented in different periods of time’.²¹ On balance, security policy is aimed at a projected future, and in shaping this projected future, cultural products play an important role. Therefore, several chapters in this anthology offer a close reading of fiction, paintings, philosophical texts or architecture, analysing imaginaries of future safety expressed in them. In general, artistic representations of safety are crucial to our understanding of individual and collective perceptions and meanings of safety. To quote the Finnish scholars Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola from their introduction to the anthology *Narratives of Fear and Safety* (2020), literary texts and other narrative media are ‘cultural imaginings of worlds’ that influence the social and collective emotions that frame our everyday experience.²² Close reading of cultural products can also generate a deeper understanding of individual experiences of, and the ambivalences and dilemmas involved in, perceptions of safety and security. Finally, taking a close look at safekeeping at the urban level, as several chapters in the volume do, reveals how the desire to produce safety remains a ‘compelling organiser of social life’, as criminologist Alexandra Fanghanel aptly phrased it.²³ Urban planning and policing was informed to a large extent by perceptions of safe places, safe practices and safe people.

Structure and Content of the Volume

In the first section, ‘Philosophical Conceptualisations of Safety’, we take a deep dive into philosophical debates on concepts of safety and security. Eddo Evink ambitiously covers the long period from antiquity to the present day. Taking the concepts of *securitas* and *certitudo* as his points of departure, he demonstrates how the notions of security and certitude have a long and

20 On fear, see, for instance, Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago, 2006); Peter Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

21 Beatrice de Graaf, ‘De historisering van veiligheid: Introductie’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012): 305–13, at 308–9 (quote translated by Gemma Blok).

22 Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola, ‘Introduction: Affective Spaces in European Literature and Other Narrative Media’, in *Narratives of Fear and Safety*, ed. Kaisa Kaukiainen et al. (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2020), 11–32.

23 Alexandra Fanghanel, ‘The Trouble with Safety. Fear of Crime, Pollution and Subjectification in Public Space’, *Theoretical Criminology* 20 (2016): 57–74, at 58.

somewhat complicated history that can be traced back to ancient Greece. Already in antiquity, and more pronouncedly after the fall of the Roman Empire, the term 'security' referred to the realm of the political—namely, the security or tranquillity of the city-state or 'nation' both in terms of physical security in times of conflict and also in the history of law. The concept of *certitudo* is closer to trust; it has been interpreted in a religious fashion as subjective trust in God, and it was explicitly opposed to rational security by Luther. Evink, however, argues that considerations of safety should reach beyond the modern false dilemma between subjective freedom and objective control, towards a better understanding of the complicated relationship between trust and security. Starting from the writings of the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patočka, he builds his plea for an integration of *certitudo* and *securitas* in a regime that protects as well as trusts its citizens.

Ana Alicia Carmona Aliaga continues this section with a close reading of the work of Pierre Bayle, fleshing out his arguments for religious tolerance. She demonstrates how this argument was linked to an analysis of the passions in Bayle's writings. Religious zeal, Bayle argued, not only resulted in persecutions and killings of 'heretics' but it also nurtured hatred in the hearts and minds of those who underwent forced conversions, for instance. Tom Giesbers, finally, offers a thorough and insightful analysis of the work of Fichte, and his ideas on the state as a guarantor of public safety. Fichte argued that political states should not only protect the properties but also the bodies of citizens, keeping them from bodily harm and maintaining their basic needs. Remarkably, Fichte put forward some extreme measures: he was in favour of a strong police force and of citizens carrying personal identity cards at all times. However, he also thought that reducing social and economic inequalities were essential to guaranteeing freedom and safety. His legacy lasts, Giesbers argues, in his articulation of the necessary co-dependency of freedom and safety: a state of 'free individuals' can only be realised, Fichte argued, when our properties and our bodies are safe from being abused.

In the next section, 'Security Cultures in History', we take a closer look at the emergence of modern security cultures and practices from a historical perspective. Beatrice de Graaf, a leading scholar in the field of historical security studies, demonstrates how in the early nineteenth century, in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, a European collective security culture took shape, driven by a fear of revolution, radicalism and chaos. The encompassing security culture, De Graaf shows, was 'compounded in the newly adopted constitutions, and embodied in monarchical rule, supported by new, centralised police and intelligence forces'. Security was organised in a

top-down fashion, to exert surveillance over a population, against alleged foreign and domestic threats. We tend to situate this type of international security culture in later historical periods, but as De Graaf demonstrates, the roots lay much further back in time.

Taking a leap in time, Vincent Baptist takes us to the urban level, focusing on the Rotterdam ‘pleasurescape’ of the Schiedamsedijk during the interwar period. At the time, many Western nation-states had incorporated the reduction of vice into their policies and security practices, as a result of global anti-vice activism.²⁴ In Rotterdam, a lot of police activity was aimed at controlling the alleged unruly and criminal neighbourhood of the Schiedamsedijk. Using an innovative spatial approach based on visual and archival sources, which he calls ‘deep mapping’, Baptist contrasts external perceptions of this ‘vice district’ with internal perspectives, looking at the quotidian aspects of life in this particular area. This internal perspective is suggestive of a close-knit community that reinvented itself in the 1930s as a festive area for domestic tourism. Baptist observes an internally perceived safety versus an externally demanded security, but also argues that in the late 1930s, as the Schiedamsedijk was commodified, these opposing perceptions of safety were reconciled more than before. The fight against ‘vice’ faded into the background as the neighbourhood proved to be of economic interest to the city.

The next chapter, on heroin use in public spaces, by Gemma Blok, Peter-Paul Bänziger and Lianne Walma, continues with an analysis of dealing with perceived disorder in urban settings in the late twentieth century. Using the policy responses to open drug scenes in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich as their case studies, the authors demonstrate that there was a difference in how local opiate users were treated, versus foreign heroin users present in these cities. For many policymakers and urban residents, drug use and trade represented a new ‘threat’ that was hard to manage. This new phenomenon of non-medical drug use did not respect national borders, nor did it respond to traditional local or state security approaches. The European security culture that had emerged since the early nineteenth century did not have a collective answer to this new transnational challenge, and heroin users who crossed national borders were increasingly repatriated or deported in the 1980s and 1990s.

The third section, ‘Narratives and Imaginaries of Safety’, demonstrates how imagining and dreaming of safety has a long tradition as a way of coping

24 Jessica R. Pliley and Robert Kramm, eds, *Global Anti-Vice Activism 1890–1950: Fighting Drinks, Drugs, and ‘Immorality’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

with insecurities. During the political and religious upheaval and wars of the seventeenth century, as art historian Nils Büttner shows, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) painted many idyllic landscapes, often with windmills in them. These paintings can be regarded as expressions of patriotism, as they certainly were in nineteenth-century Dutch nationalist historiographies. But, as Büttner argues, the artworks can also be interpreted as ‘counter-images’, painted in reaction to constant threat, to keep the spirits up in difficult times and to focus on a safer future.

Also relating to wartime insecurities are the famous writings of Stefan Zweig. On the eve of the Second World War, he published his novel *Beware of Pity* (1939), depicting the world on the eve of the First World War. According to the analysis offered by literary scholar Frederik Van Dam, in spite of Zweig’s professed nostalgia for the security this lost world had to offer, with its bureaucratic institutions and technological networks, his novel of 1939 also touches upon insecurities inherent in them: the temptations and anxieties that were generated by the pressure for upward mobility and by new technologies. Arriving closer to present times, in twentieth-century Oslo and Belfast, as historian of architecture Roos van Strien argues, modern architecture reflected dreams and perceptions of future safety in reaction to terrorist threat. The new Government Quarter in Oslo, for instance, was meant to represent Norwegian national identity, with an emphasis on openness and unity and building on relations of trust and safety, according to authorities.

The volume closes with a section on ‘Narratives and Imaginaries of Unsafety’. Art historian Sigrid Ruby deconstructs the ambivalent safety promise of the domestic space. In early modern visual culture, the home was often depicted as an unsafe place, where men beat their wives, extramarital sexual encounters were common and lavish drinking took place. Close reading paintings by Pieter de Hooch, Ruby argues that these represented an aesthetic strategy she calls ‘poetics of insecurity’, after literary scholar Johannes Voelz. This concept refers to a cultural imaginary that reverses accepted meanings of security and insecurity so as to attract attention from the reader or viewer. These pictures, however, had a clear didactic and moralistic purpose. They were meant to convey the message that both domestic and social disorder were the result of escaping gender roles and abolishing self-control.

In the next chapter, literary scholar Jan Oosterholt analyses a nineteenth-century Dutch social novel published in 1844, Jan de Vries’ *De verborgenheden van Amsterdam* (‘The Mysteries of Amsterdam’), which was an adaptation of the French social novel *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue. De Vries

portrays certain poorer areas of Amsterdam as unsafe places filled with riffraff—no-go areas of poverty, alcoholism and crime. The novel suggests that idlers and beggars should be removed from the city to make it a safer place. However, De Vries' fiction is not simply a call for the repression of unruly elements among the lower classes; it also speaks to the fears of the middle-class bourgeois intended audience of the novel, for a loss of status. Oosterholt makes a strong case for reading literary texts as 'barometers' of cultural perceptions of (un)safety.

In the final chapter of this volume, philosopher and historian Femke Kok contributes to the analysis of feelings of unsafety by Martha Nussbaum by analysing Hungarian writer Magda Szabó's novel *Iza's Ballad*. The novel, Kok argues, illustrates an important aspect of the nature or phenomenology of feelings of unsafety: the experience of being at a loss for words. Not being able to speak out generates a feeling of being locked in a speechless head, not being able to enter into human interaction, undermining a sense of trust, confidence and certainty: it makes a person feel unsafe. There is not always the choice or possibility to negotiate our emotions, as Nussbaum states. Literary texts can create an awareness of this important aspect of the nature of emotions and a new dimension to philosophical theories on what it means to feel safe.

Secularisation and Moralisation of Safety and Security

In combination, the twelve chapters on safety and security, taking a *longue durée* approach, push forth several important realisations. First, while the role of religion in providing a sense of safety became less dominant in secularising societies, the desire for safety remained highly linked to moralisations. During the Middle Ages and early modern period, as Jean Delumeau and others have described, fears of death and of damnation were powerful realities, used as disciplinary tools for children and adults alike.²⁵ In reaction to the emotional anxieties of famine, epidemics and the exhaustions of war and combat, widespread beliefs in witchcraft, at least partly sanctioned by the Church, were means of alleviating insecurity. Religious and political leaders explicitly legitimised the persecution of 'heretics' with the promise of peace, social order and safety, associating civil peace with

25 Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

religious unity. On a more positive note, however, religion also offered a sense of what, among others, Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther have called 'certitudo': certainty in faith, the safety of being protected by a god who knows us better than we can know ourselves; a belief in God's grace.²⁶

During the early modern period, Pierre Bayle, among others, started to defend religious tolerance as a security strategy, arguing that religious zeal and intolerance generated disorder, hatred and crime. Enlightenment thinkers carried Bayle's progressive plea for a separation of church and state into the next centuries as a dominant mode of political thought. With the rise of the nation-state, 'security' became the prerogative of national governance, and the role of the Church was gradually limited to the realm of public life. According to the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, a pioneer in conceptualising the state as an organiser of public safety, the state should be safe and non-moralistic.

However, as several chapters in this volume show, in the secularist discourses, practices and imaginaries of safety and security of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the desire for safety often does operate in a moralistic fashion, with exclusionary effects in its production of deviancy, the 'Other' being defined as a safety threat. Feelings of fear and the desire for safety can be used and abused politically, for instance in moral crusades against 'vice', as several chapters in this volume highlight. Safe places were often defined and perceived in opposition to unsafe places, and unsafe places were represented as filled with lower class 'riff-raff', foreign drug dealers, prostitutes, alcoholics and criminals. This type of scapegoating has been analysed by Ulrich Beck as an intrinsic part of twentieth-century risk societies, but it clearly has longer historical roots and can be construed as a way of dealing with insecurity and emotional anxieties.

Another recurring theme in many of the chapters is the ambivalence in perceptions of safety with regard to the human 'passions', emotions or desires. On the one hand, experiencing individual agency and having the freedom to express emotions, to be heard, to express one's subjectivity and vitality, are aspects of the cultural discourse on feeling safe. On the other hand, controlling 'passions', emotions and desires is often seen as a strategy towards achieving social order and safety. The fundamental conflict between control and freedom of the 'passions' is also acted out within the individual, as is beautifully illustrated and illuminated by literary narratives such as Zweig's novel *Beware of Pity* (1939). In this novel, which is set in the

26 Susan E. Schreiner, 'Certainty and Security in Martin Luther's Theology', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: Religion*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.348>.

early twentieth century, new technologies such as the telegram, train and car offer humanity in the modern age a new sense of mastery and trust in the future, making people feel safe and secure. At the same time, these new technologies offer new temptations, tapping into human's desires and 'primitive instincts'. Driving a car really fast, for instance, can awaken unconscious desires and loosen the sense of emotional connection with one's secured and regulated life.

Evink, in his chapter on the historical and contemporary aspects of the concept of safety, proposes an alternative framing of the fundamental modern dilemma between freedom and control. He suggests that we focus more on *certitudo*, not in a religious sense of certainty of faith, but as 'the relations of trust in which we live'. This trust in the 'natural and social structures in which we live', as he phrases it, needs to be supported and maintained. We should be really careful not to replace trust by control. In striving to keep citizens safe and protected, we should protect this basic trust instead of replacing it by security. The tension can thus, he argues, be articulated as a 'tension between a security in service of trust and a security that replaces and thus destroys trust'.²⁷

Similar arguments can be found in other recent publications from the humanities. Historian Beatrice de Graaf, for instance, also mentions trust as a key issue for security cultures: the basis of social control should be trust in the very citizens that governments aim to keep safe. Institutionalised distrust, she argues, puts an axe to the roots of our democratic rule of law. 'Without trust, societies fall apart', Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola write in their anthology *Narratives of Fear and Safety*. It is the 'glue that makes social integration and cooperation possible'.²⁸ As part of the critical reflection on security cultures in the past and present, a strong suggestion thus seems to emanate from the humanities to focus more on trust. 'The scare stories that we continually transmit to one another indicate that society feels uncomfortable with itself', state Nykänen and Samola, quoting Frank Furedi. One way of countering the dominance of 'scare stories', as part of political or media discourse in society, as well as in being objects of academic research, may be to explicitly look for and analyse 'safe stories', as this volume aims to present: conceptualisations and subjective expressions of being and feeling safe, even if these are often expressed in direct reference to unsafety.

27 See Chapter 1 in this volume, by Eddo Evink, 'Security, Certainty, Trust: Historical and Contemporary Aspects of the Concept of Safety', p. 39.

28 Nykänen and Samola, 'Introduction', 14.

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