The New Inventors of Citizenship: The Implications for Citizen-Government Relations

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The conversations and academic fieldwork that are devoted to understanding the different meanings of citizenship history are crucial parts of urban identity. As numerous sources vie to claim influence in the new definitions of citizenship, research regarding the current structure of citizenship is becoming increasingly important in the modern world. This comparative analysis attempts to understand the methods of new "governing bodies" that utilize advertisements to portray conceptions of citizenship. This analysis was completed by an examination of various forms of advertising (billboards, posters, fliers, pamphlets, etc.) and an analysis of academic literature on citizenship. The analysis specifically focuses on two paradigms for looking at urban citizenship: the social contract and "the right to the city." The findings in this analysis indicate impending tension about modern citizenship in the cities of Ahmedabad, India, Dakar, Senegal, and Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Citizenship is one of the cornerstones of modern societal relations. Throughout history, the role of citizenship, in transforming the public realm, has been fiercely contested. Advances in technology and new social movements are both examples of catalysts for conflict. In the past, various populations would negotiate with public institutions for desired changes to citizenship. The United States Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's is a perfect example of a direct dialogue between citizens and state actors with the intention of changing the contemporary conception of citizenship. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the unofficial leader of the movement, had many documented meetings with President Lyndon B. Johnson. Many Civil Rights leaders, at the time, considered voting an essential part of citizenship, which was being hampered by de facto and de jure forms of discrimination. With the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the federal government used its jurisdiction to supersede state laws and establish a clear path toward voting for all citizens. Scholars Engin Isin and Brian Taylor argue that the emergence of "International government regimes" disrupts the traditional process of citizenship negotiating. Non-public entities, which have control over public resources, public space, or public rights, challenge the state's authority as the sole proprietor of citizenship (Isis and Taylor, p. 4).

Within this framework, a number of questions arise for the modern citizen: How do governing bodies communicate their respective views of citizenship to the public? What are the implications of that communication for the traditional public-sovereign relationship? This analysis focuses on the images of citizenship portrayed by "governing bodies" and resulting social tension in the cities of Ahmedabad, India, Dakar, Senegal and Buenos Aires, Argentina. In this essay, the term "governing bodies" describes any entity, private, public, or combined, fulfilling a public obligation. For example, privately-operated metropolitan water companies are "governing bodies" in any context where the social rights promise citizens public access to water.

The image of citizenship portrayed by new "governing bodies" promotes exclusivity; and thus, a stage for social conflict is created. First, this analysis will examine the three traditional paradigms of citizenship: Rousseau's social contract, T.S. Marshall's conception of citizenship, and Henri Lefebvre's "Right to the City. Second, this paper will explain the methodology used to approach this topic by defining key terms and elaborating observation techniques. The paper will provide examples of exclusivity in the conceptions of citizenship within three cities and the resulting tensions. Finally, this essay will connect the manifestations of those tensions to future discussions of citizenship within the city.

The "social contract" is a theory popularized during the Enlightenment era. Versions of the concept can be found in the writing of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and, most famously, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau argued that men were forced to enter into a social contract to maintain the general will of the public because as man gained private property, he himself became selfish and susceptible to private interests:

> But when the social bond begins to be relaxed and the State to grow weak, when particular interests begin to make themselves felt and the smaller societies to exercise an influence over the larger, the common interest changes and finds opponents: opinion is no longer unanimous; the general ceases to be the will of all (Rousseau)

Rousseau argues that, to prevent private interests from manipulating the general will, men need to enter into a contract with each other. Rousseau's social contract aimed to create a free and equal relationship between the state and the people. The social pact creates reciprocated duties, where the state is committed to the general will of the people, and every individual citizen is committed to the well-being of the whole. An effective society is created through the sustainment of the general will, uninterested in private gains. Within this agreement, citizens explicitly or implicitly accept obligations such as paying taxes or maintaining laws, in exchange for protection by a state. Contrary to the prevalence of aristocratic governance in his time, Rousseau asserted the equality of men. Therefore, Rousseau argued that no man has the birthright to rule over another, and therefore, the only legitimate authority comes from contractual agreements among men.

Rousseau goes on to design the preliminary modern conceptions of citizenship. He argues that political agency is the main distinguishing factor between a citizen and a subject. Within the social contract, the citizen uses his political agency to legitimize government by giving consent. For example, political agency can be demonstrated by being involved in the law creation process. The citizen is only a citizen through his co-authorship of the laws and regulations that are then be respected by the population. Rousseau says, "Obedience to a self-prescribed law is liberty" (Rousseau 1762, 18). Conversely, the denial of a citizen's political agency reassigns him from citizenship to "subjectship."

English scholar T. H. Marshall's conceptions of citizenship are widely viewed as a hallmark of modern citizenship. Similar to Rousseau, Marshall's ideology stresses the centrality of the social contract for legitimate and peaceful social order and focuses specifically on the political agency of citizens. In his essay, "Citizenship and Social Class," Marshall contended that there are three elements of citizenship: civil, political, and social. Marshall defined citizenship as a status granted to those who are full members of a community and have equal rights ensured by accompanying institutions. Civil dimensions include the rights to justice and liberty, and, most importantly, institution in protecting civil rights is the court of justice. Political dimension

includes the right to "participate in the exercise of political power" (149). In democratic societies, voting laws protect this component. The social element involves the right to share fully in the social heritage of a nation. Social welfare institutions are created to protect established standards of living. Marshall concludes by arguing that there is a correlation between the status of citizenship in a country and the measure of equality.

In the modern context, Marshall's analysis raises three major points of contention. The first involves the evolution of citizenship. Marshall illustrates how citizenship in feudal society indicated different social classes. Due to the locality of the feudal system, conceptions of citizenship never expanded farther than local ties. How useful is Marshall's analysis for societies in an expanded world? Richard Bellamy argues that the effects of globalization and multiculturalism are presenting a new challenge to nation-states "to coordinate and define" the meaning of citizenship (123). How has increased globalization changed the nature of citizenship? What factors does globalization bring that challenges Marshall's three dimensions of citizenship?

The second point of contention arises when Marshall argues that protection under the law is not enough to be considered a participant in full citizenship. Specifically, he alludes to an example of social citizenship; freedom of speech has "little substance" without education in order to communicate ideas. Similar to Rousseau, Marshall contends citizenship not only recognition under a state, but also the ability and capacity to vie for social benefits. Marshall argues that modern conceptions of citizenship, specifically political agency, can be traced to the early 18th century, when national consciousness began to rise in England. The tools that aided this national "awakening of public opinion" were: political journalism, newspapers, public meetings, propaganda campaigns and associations for the furtherance of public causes. During this period, similar mediums played a significant role in informing public consciousness or Rousseau's "general will." Today, mediums such as television advertisements or billboards attempt to inform public consciousness, and affect the general will by communicating an ideal type of citizen and society. How are these mediums being utilized to sway public consciousness in the modern formation of citizenship? What message are they sending and how will that affect the future of citizenship?

The last point involves Marshall's assertions about the curators of modern citizenship. He writes, "Societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measures and towards which aspiration can be directed" (150). This assertion is a main point of this essay: the creation of "ideal citizenship." Whose responsibility is it to create this image and continuously adapt its definition? What do current images reveal about the future of citizenship in the Global South? Rousseau and Marshall's analysis of citizenship leads to the conclusion that the political agency of citizens should be exercised in the planning and creation of societal relations. Scholars Isis and Taylor contend that globalization has interconnected society to a level where the authority of citizenship has expanded outside of the traditional state-citizen collaboration to now include, "other international organizations, corporations, and multinational agencies" (123). In the wake of this statement, what role do non-traditional actors play in the creation of ideal citizenship?

Social theorist Henri Lefebvre's "Right to the City" idea promotes a further emphasis on citizen agency. His essay "The Right to the City" calls for a restructuring of the modern conceptions of citizenship. The most crucial part of his argument is the transfer of the decision-making power in the production of urban space. He argues that decision making rights should not only be given to the people for political elections but also for the production of urban space. He attacks the power relations that dictate who, when, where, and why urban space is produced. In

previous renditions of citizenship, major capital holders along with the state, held control over the production of space. Lefebvre contends that citizenship should have a major role in the production process.

Lefebvre uses three coexisting dimensions to define the "space" that citizens should have control in producing. The first is perceived space, which is the physical environment people encounter daily. The second is conceived space, which refers to the abstract constructions of space; the ideas we have about spatial usage. The third, lived space, is a combination of the two ideas and represents a person's actual experience of space and social relations within space. As Scholar Mark Purcell says, "production of urban space therefore entails much more than just planning the material space of the city; it involves producing and reproducing all aspects of urban life" (Purcell).

Current programs of civic engagement and the liberal-democratic model allow citizens to have indirect rule in decisions made by the state, such as popular elections. The first major tenet of Right to the City doctrine is the right to participate in the decision-making processes on all levels of government. Rights of citizens to participate are most important for issues that pertain to urban life (investment, construction, policy). Lefebvre argues for direct participation to oppose the liberal-democratic model of citizenship, which, he believes, has stifled the voice of citizens.

The right to physically be present and utilize urban space, also called the right to appropriation, is the second tenet of the Right to the City. Lefebvre suggests that his doctrine extends to this right to produce new space to meet needs. In this extension, Right to the City doctrine does not only pertain to the production of space, but also civic identity and the right to be involved in the future conceptions of the city. Scholar Robert Park adds that the creation of urban space is, "Man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself" (Lefebvre). Lefebvre transforms the conversations about citizenship from an individualized condition, to a collective right that necessitates collective action over our own lives.

The cities examined in this essay are located in countries where recurring themes are evident: the privatization of public services, huge land acquisition by foreign investors, the destruction of the welfare state, and the emphasis on individual achievement and responsibility. Many of these reforms were the desired, and consequential, results of a global redevelopment program adopted by countries in the Global South. Although highly debated, many scholars refer to this program as "neoliberalism." For those of the Global South, the term neoliberalism is simply a theoretical rebranding of "American Capitalism." However, the United Kingdom's strategy of deregulation and market-oriented solutions in response to the 1970s financial crisis proved to be the major catalyst for neoliberalism's global adoption. Since that time, neoliberalism has best been displayed by the pro-market, socio-economic, policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Origins of neoliberalism are traced to an 18th century English and Scottish model of governance that championed social solidarity. However, the current version of neoliberalism has received scrutiny for policies that decrease social mobility and widen gaps of inequality. Specifically, the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network found that these programs have destructive effects. The study states that the intervention of the World Bank and IMF has been "expanding poverty, inequality and insecurity around the world. [They have]

torn at the heart of economies and the social fabric…increasing tensions among different social strati, fueling extremist movements and delegitimizing democratic political systems" (Ismi, P. 4).

Milton Friedman, often cited as the most prominent neo-liberal theorist, argued that the system's main threat was the collectivist-centered policy orientations of the mid-20th century. Of neoliberalism, he says:

> Neoliberalism proposes that it is competition that will lead the way... The state will police the system, it will establish the conditions favorable to competition and prevent monopoly, it will provide a stable monetary framework, and relieve acute poverty and distress. Citizens will be protected against the state, since there exists a free private market, and the competition will protect them from one another (Friedman).

Scholar Jamie Peck, author of *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*, argues that taking over and restructuring the state duties was a main priority for neoliberals who were determined to see the ideology widely implemented. The new state and quasi-state structures would emphasize a pro-corporate and free trade "market order."

The recent economic collapse of many countries necessitates reevaluation of the neoliberal project. The United States and Iceland in 2008, and Argentina in 2002, are a few examples of countries with failed market-oriented economic policies. Various economic collapses have led to criticism throughout the world. In 2009, the Prime Minister of Iceland stated, "the people of Iceland are settling the score with the past, with the neoliberalism that has been in power here for too long." The neoliberal project is being exposed as detrimental and divisive; countries are restructuring their old socio-economic policies and creating new inclusive, citizen-focused policy agenda. How do varying conceptions of citizenship fit into the new post-neoliberal world?

Images of Exclusivity in Citizenship

The definitions of citizenship proposed by scholars above emphasize degrees of political agency in the relationship between the citizen and the state necessary to maintain a peaceful and effective society. However, the capacity of citizens to demonstrate political agency has become increasingly complicated as neoliberalism has motivated regimes to grant control of public resources and spaces to private corporations unaccountable to the public. Lack of political agency and increased social polarization are creating social tension. The advertisements produced by quasi-public and private "governing bodies" (in the production of Lefebvre's public space) demonstrate the increasing struggle for citizen agency. Below are examples of how advertising has been utilized to portray a certain "desired" type of citizen (in actions and behaviors) that is exclusive and unattainable.

Methodology

This essay mainly uses images of advertisements as a medium to observe manifestations of exclusionary citizenship. Advertising also displays the ways the capital holders of an urban area envision the future production of urban space. T. H. Marshall contends that citizenship is based upon the combined consciousness of the all stakeholders in a polity. He lists advertisements among other manifestations of the future of public consciousness. Public consciousness is the combination of the public values and the utilization of those values to envision the future of society.

Specific types of advertising observed include billboards, fliers, T-shirts, leaflets, store window placards, painting or designs on automobiles, and posters. These observations occurred in many places, but specifically, newly developed public squares, middle-class marketplaces, and shopping malls targeted for tourists. This observation of advertisement was supplemented with interviews from the targeted population and this paper strives to incorporate the reactions and thoughts of the interviewees into the analysis.

Ahmedabad, India
The political history of modern India began when Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharial Nehru campaigned for independence from British rule, and eventually won independence in 1947. Currently, the country's most pressing socio-economic issues are overpopulation, extreme poverty, and environmental neglect. Opening the Indian financial market and the subsequent large-scale foreign investment resulted in the Indian economy being the fastest growing in Asia.

Ahmedabad is an emerging global megacity in India's western state of Gujarat. The city is home to a population of around six million people. During colonial rule, the city was known for its production of textiles; it was dubbed the "Manchester of the East." The city is also known as ground zero for Mohandas Gandhi's political activism. Currently, Ahmedabad is experiencing many structural and cultural changes, many of which are consequences of the city's attempts to modernize, and its increasing reliance on major foreign investment. One example of the city's modernization is the introduction of Bus Rapid Transit in 2009. Similar to India, Ahmedabad has also experienced intense ethnic and religious strife resulting in religious-influenced riots in 2010.

After the fall of their closest trading partner, the Soviet Union, India comprehensively adopted neoliberal reform to avoid defaulting on foreign debt. The Indian government accepted close to 3 billion US dollars in loans from International Monetary Fund in the early 1990s (India Government). This loan came with the agreement to implement neoliberal macroeconomic policies. Such policies included the reduction of state expenditures, usually through the cutting of social welfare programs. The policy also involved promotion of private, usually foreign, investment. For example, the Indian electricity sector received a loan in 1991 from the World Bank in the form of a structural adjustment program, where the availability of money was contingent on India's ability to attract foreign investors.

In Ahmedabad, I observed an advertising strategy that highlighted characteristics that were not represented in the current population. In certain settings, advertisers specifically chose to incorporate locality into advertising. For example, there are specific dishes, which are unique to India, on the menus of international fast food chains. However, the trend of locality-based advertising was not found in consumer product advertisement and other types of commercial advertising. In some cases, the ethnicities of the people depicted in the ad were not racially prevalent in Ahmedabad's society. Children's toys, specifically, Barbie advertisements, depicted Anglo-Saxon subjects, different from the Indo-Aryan majority in the city.

This strategy of misrepresentation was most heavily utilized in real estate advertising. One particular billboard appeared multiple times in various parts of the city. Similar to the Barbie advertisements, billboard A1 (Image A1) does not resemble the geographical environment of Western India, nor does it resemble the current spatial composition of Ahmedabad. The billboard portrays a highly vegetated, highly modernized, apartment building. In the picture, residential parking space is separated from the street. The street is also empty, and filled with palm trees. The people depicted in the picture also are racially different from people within the Ahmedabad region.

Another real estate billboard included the tagline, "An exclusive view for the select few" (See Image A2). The rhetoric used in this advertisement suggests a select class of elite citizens deserve the view of the beautiful city skyline. The tagline was accompanied by imagery of a vibrant urbanized waterfront with crystalline-blue river water. The city of Ahmedabad has one major waterfront, which separates the "old city" from the newer modernized development. Many tourists and residents have complained about the smell and appearance of the river, which, at times, is not allowed to freely flow.

The children's toy advertisements, along with billboards A1 and A2, are examples of advertising portraying a certain "desired" type of citizen (in actions and behaviors) that is exclusive and unattainable. The messages depicted and described above promote exclusivity due to the biological or economical unattainability of the image for all segments of the population. The messages have generated tension within segments of the population. In an interview about the billboard, an older Indian male did not hide his disgust for the message portrayed. He mentioned the advertisements as an intentional attack on Hindi culture. His main concern was that youth were strongly attracted to images such as the billboards (Images A1 and A2) and would then reject what he described as their "true identity."

The interviewer expanded by asserting that Hindi culture emphasizes solidarity and communitarianism. However, the neoliberal policies of privatization and a reliance on foreign investment have increased social fragmentation. Indian Scholar Waquar Ahmed contends that neoliberalization has the support of the "Indian upper caste since the new economic regime has created avenues or re-assertion of upper-caste power" (Ahmed). These strategies especially rang true in areas such as land conglomeration and the transformation of previously state-owned manufacturing companies into private corporations. He argues that prior to neoliberlization of the 1990s the Indian government concentrated spending on social welfare programs focused on "producing balanced economic growth" and combatting "chronic hunger, starvation and famine that had become common during the British rule" (Ahmed). However, in this example, the privatization of previously public spaces has adversely affected one of India's most pressing problems.

India's housing crisis is well documented and one of the main topics of national political discussion. In accordance with principles of the neoliberal project, the local and state government has cleared and leased valuable land to real estate companies for the generation of capital. Many development projects create luxury high rises and other exclusive spaces, such as private parks. Waterfront development of the Sabarmati River is one of the most publicized projects in the city. Housing regulation negligence allowed squatters to settle along the riverfront. Temporary residents were removed and relocated to a new housing project on the outskirts of the city. The first phase of the waterfront development is planned to be a private park monitored by an independent agency. The Sabarmati riverfront and many other developments

Image A1: Swatisk Crossrooads, Ahmedabad, India

This picture was taken at the Swatisk Crossroads, which is in the major technology and shopping district of C.G. road. Located in the Western part of town, CG road is known as the platform of new development. As evident by the amount of informal/formal practices in close proximity, consumers from all ends of the social economic strati frequent the area. Photo taken by Chuma Nnawulezi, March 1st, Ahmedabad, India

Image A2: Panchwati Crossroads, Ahmedabad, India

This image is located at Panchwati Crossroads, which is an upper class segment of CG Road. I used the depiction of a vibrant waterfront in the advertisement to draw conclusions to issues of the Sabarmati Riverfront, as the depiction is very much an ideal version of that specific development. Photo by Chuma Nnawulezi, March 2, Ahmedabad, India.

have created a situation in which private entities govern and dictate the future of formerly public space.

Traces of the neoliberal project utilized by current Indian Prime Minister Nerendra Modi are prevalent throughout the political landscape. The effectiveness of this narrative was exhibited within the comments of a temporary resident involved in the Sabarmati riverfront relocation. This interviewee was not happy about the relocation because he believed it was a necessary step to help Ahmedabad become a "World Class City." After further investigation, I discovered that the relocated residents were never visited or checked on by government officials, as promised. My observation also uncovered their displeasure with their new living conditions, which are different from the promises received prior to relocation. This poses an interesting question for the future of "citizen-governing body" relations in Ahmedabad. What happens if the promises of the "World Class City" narrative, pushed by Chief Minister Modi, and the Bharatiya Janata Party do not result in improvements in the quality of life for the urban poor? How does not being able to hold new private bodies democratically accountable affect their role as "citizens"?

In "Right to the City" doctrine, citizens are proactive in the decision-making process by being directly involved in the production of urban space. Could "Right to the City" doctrine ameliorate the discontent of the relocated residents? If it were followed, the logistical details about the fulfillment of post-relocation services would be more transparent. Residents would have a specific agency or contact person to voice their anger. Are there procedures in place for the residents to voice discontent and hold the responsible parties accountable? If not, the residents were not granted full citizenship under the three models presented. Rousseau, Lefebvre and Marshall contend that not extending citizenship to all members of the society will result in civil unrest. The future of civil engagement in Ahmedabad will be determined by the extent to which private companies and the government incorporates the citizens' voices into their developmental goals.

Dakar, Senegal
Similar to many other West Africans countries, Senegal declared its independence from France in 1960. The socialist party governed Senegal until the democratic election of President Abdoulaye Wade in 2000. Political tension has recently rose due to controversy surrounding the March 2012 election. In this election, former president Abdoulaye Wade refused to abide by term limit rules, and campaigned for reelection, only to lose to current president, Macky Sall. Dakar, capital of Senegal, was also the capital of French West Africa under colonial rule. The city is experiencing many new changes as result of updated infrastructure, foreign aid in the form of structural adjustment programs, and the modernizing of its economy to fit the global market.

In Dakar, the observations focused on the specific messages of the housing development company SICAP, Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert . In particular, I focused on a promotional flyer for a new housing project called "Keur Maasa I" (Image B1). The flyer portrays a "modern" house with the backdrop of a non-urbanized arid setting. The rest of the flyer explains this project as an ideal living space due to its spaciousness and close proximity to Dakar. It also describes the house as the perfect housing environment to raise a family.

SICAP was created in 1951 in response to Senegal's desire to modernize. In Dakar, the government contracts public housing construction to SICAP, which is funded in part by government money. As in India, the action of privatizing the construction of public housing transfers the duty of governance of public housing from the government to a private entity. Similar to the real estate corporations in India, SICAP's advertisement has elements of

unattainability and exclusiveness. As explained by an employee of the corporation, SICAP focuses on creating housing for a middle-class family. Due to its quasi-public status, SICAP's use of public funds to create housing for the middle-income bracket alienates those who are unable to afford the houses.

In addition to the economic unattainability, SICAP's advertisement also has cultural implications. In an interview with a SICAP employee, he referred to the housing projects as "suburban societies" built for the nuclear family. An interview with a younger resident of rural Senegal emphasized an alternative vision. The interviewee stated that it was his "responsibility [as youth] to take care of all of the [extended] family." In the creation of housing for a nuclear

Image B1: Housing Project, Keur Massar

Picture of future housing project Keur Massar. Found at http://www.sicap.sn/futurprojet.php on April 29, 2014 all photo credit to the "Société immobilière du Cap-Vert" This image is used to represent unreleased flier found in SICAP office on March 23, 2014. I was unable to take a picture of this flier in my own personal camera because of disclosure issues. Fortunately, I was able to find a similar picture on the SICAP website. This modernized dwelling is similar to the housing styles of other SICAP housing projects such as SICAP Sacre-Coeur and SICAP Libertie.

family, SICAP excludes the parts of the Senegalese population who cannot participate due to strong cultural convictions.

In Senegal, the cultural dimension of citizenship, and the population's agency in that definition is widely contested. The scholar Toby Miller argues that global citizenship is re-imagined through the manipulation of culture by the social elite (Miller, p.27). The influence of transnational aid companies in the non-profit sphere has created a defining moment for Dakar and Senegal. The youth group named "Y'en A Marre" has received widespread praise across the country for its efforts promoting citizen engagement with the electoral process during the 2012 presidential election. Recently, the group has received support from the United States Agency for International Development, or USAID. The group's message emphasizes the rhetoric of individual determinism. Self-determination is a cornerstone of the rhetorical campaign used by neoliberalists whose policy orientation focuses on breaking down the social safety net and

pushing individual and market-based social mobility. Y'en A Marre's T-Shirt design contains the quote "Ma Carte, Ma Arme" (My Card, My Weapon) which is meant to emphasize the "New Type of Senegalese" whose duty it is to participate in the democratic process by utilizing their right to vote. Also, a sign at the group's headquarters read, "There is no forced destiny, there is only deserted responsibility" (See Image D1). One of the founders explained the idea behind the quote is to focus on individual merit to determine your situation in life. He went on to state that any resulting undesirable life situation is due to individual negligence, or in the words of Y'en A Marre "deserted responsibility."

Image D1: Sign, Dakar, Senagal
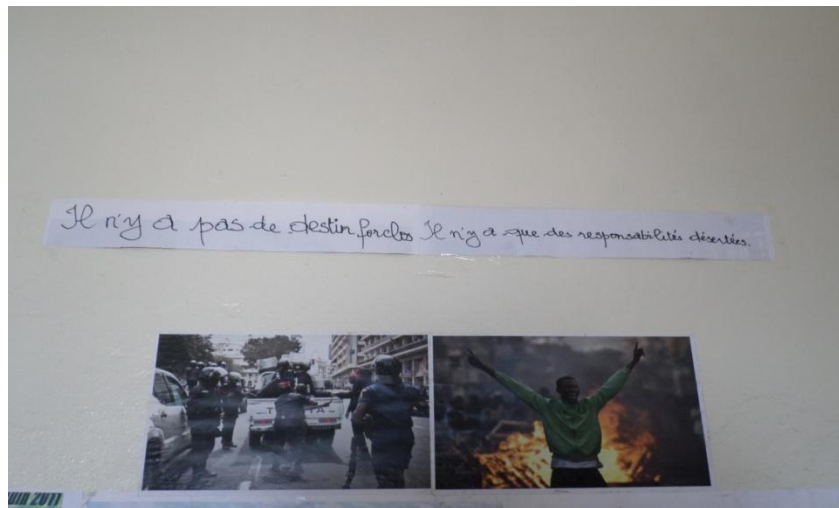
This sign was hanging in the conference room of the social group Y'en A Marre. I specifically choose this image because it echoes much of literature regarding the messages of the "Neoliberal Project". Specifically, the sign emphasizes the messages of meritocracy, where the state does not hold the responsibility to create a good life, but it is the individual's duty to create it for himself or herself. Photo by Chuma Nnawulezi, March 26, 2014, Dakar, Senegal

This rhetoric clashes with the established norms of other major societal groups in Dakar. Specifically, individual determinism is an oppositional view to the Mourid brotherhood. The Mourid brotherhood is a Sufi Muslim organization that has a large following within Senegal. The political, religious, and spiritual messages of the group are visible through the paintings and depictions of Mourid leaders on different edifices within the city including buildings, taxis, and walls. The brotherhood promotes the patronage to the Mourid leaders for political decisions and unity within the various sects of the organization. The leaders of Y'en A Marre have spoken out against this "blind compliance" to the instructions of Mourid leaders. In the aftermath of the latest presidential election, one of the group's leaders was physically assaulted due to their opposition to a candidate chosen by one of the Mourid leaders. In this instance, rhetoric reinforced by USAID has exacerbated social tension between social groups within Senegalese society.

The influence of USAID with Y'en A Marre, and the tension illustrated within that situation is echoed throughout other spheres of Senegalese society. In recent years, non-profits from

European countries have been contracted to revamp the Senegalese medical system. As a part of these new regulations, contraceptives have been made accessible for many people within the nation. In an Islamic country, the promotion of contraception by European non-profits as an acceptable tool created a platform for social tension. The words of a Muslim doctor at the District 11 hospital in Dakar demonstrate this tension: "We think that contraception is a tool used by Yankee fanatics to come in our country and decrease our numbers." Scholars Engin Isis and Brian Taylor contend that issues such as the regulations of behavioral practices are newly contested aspect of citizenship. Their research argues that members of a society always must struggle to determine its' fate. The accepted definition of citizenship now dictates "norms, practices, meanings and identities [of citizenship]" (Isis and Taylor pg.4). Future aspects of the social contract in Dakar, such as health care or the degree of political freedom will be debated between citizens, governments, and these increasingly influential transnational bodies.

Buenos Aires
Argentina declared its independence from Spain in 1816. Since that time, the country has been influenced by European immigrants (mostly Italian and Spanish) who helped shape the current major foods, architecture and language of the country. The 20th century political history of Argentina has consisted of dictatorships replaced by military coups and finally a return to democracy in 1983. The history of Buenos Aires is similar to that of Argentina. Much of the city's recent political history is characterized by military dictatorships, Peronism and a large tradition of public protest. In 2001, the collapse of the financial market and the withdrawal of foreign investment had lasting effects on the social and political landscape of the city. During this period, Argentina appointed five heads of states in one week and riots within Buenos Aires led to the past president fleeing by helicopter. These iconic events set the stage for the events of the last fourteen years and the attempt to rebuild a broken system.

Historically, Buenos Aires has been the political, social and economic hub of South America earning it the nickname the "Paris of South America." Scholars dubbed the 2001 economic collapse as the failure of market-oriented policy making in Latin America and in Buenos Aires. The time period was characterized by mass unemployment rates and a drastically shrinking GDP, which led to the investigation of the economic policies responsible for such turmoil. During the 1990s President Carlos Menem implemented various neoliberal policies, such as the promotion of foreign investment. In order to stabilize currency and make it easily transferable, the Argentine peso was fixed to the US dollar. These conditions were favorable for foreign investment and the impending importation of US products resulted in massive amounts of unemployment. The policies enacted under this strategy had familiar results within the urban population.

As seen in the other two countries, neoliberal policies disproportionately negatively affected the lower income and resulted in intense class polarization. For example, "While the upper class had increased its revenues by 21.2%, between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s, the lower middle-class had lost 22.3% of its income, and the middle middle-class had lost 12.5% (the largest loss in financial volume)" (Guano). In *The Denial of Citizenship*, Emanuela Guano argues that the economic inequality has created social fragmentation in the production of space in Buenos Aires. She argues that the most affluent members of the Argentinean society are completely separated from public life, in gated neighborhoods and exclusive shopping centers. However, she also asserts that the middle and lower classes still interact on a daily basis but that interaction is becoming increasingly hostile.

According to Guano, Argentineans view the city as representative of their own class origins, and thus, must protect the space from being overrun with undesirable sections of the population. Working class Argentineans voice their displeasure at the high unemployment rate by blaming undocumented foreigners who work for lower wages. In turn, Middle class residents of Buenos Aires blame the "non- white lower classes for Argentina's poverty, its corruption, and its disconnect from modernity" (Guano 2003). Guano goes on to argue that lack of a federal strategy for inclusion has allowed the private sector to use "strategies such as spatial segregation, symbolic evictions, and the construction of social invisibility" to alienate undesirable segments of the population. My observations in Puerto Madero demonstrate an exclusive and divisive production of urban space.

Among the numerous billboards in Puerto Madero concerning micro-financing and consumer products, there was an advertisement for office space in a building named the "World Trade Center" (See Image C1). The picture displayed a highly modernized office building surrounded by buildings of a similar architecture. The buildings together create a skyline of office buildings against the backdrop of the Rio de la Plata.

The new "Puerto Madero" development resembles features observed in Ahmedabad and Dakar. During Carlos Menem's presidency (1989 to 1999), Buenos Aires sought a way to return to its prominence of the past. In order to spur this development, his administration sold land in the previously underutilized dock space of Puerto Madero. Puerto Madero was constructed in 1897 to help process and hold cargo Buenos Aires received from the Rio De La Plata. The port is directly connected to the waterfront. Historically, the port has been an essential part of public identity within Buenos Aires. The nickname for citizens of Buenos Aires is "Portenos," or "people of the port." In privatizing land near waterfront, the government has transferred the governance of an essential piece of local identity to a private entity. Advertisements like the "World Trade Center" (image C1) create economic prerequisites for citizens of the public who want to participate in the "white-collar" uses of the building and the development. Commercial buildings in Puerto Madero do not allow for open passage to the riverfront and block access for people who do not work in the buildings.

One resident of Buenos Aires illustrated the feelings of a certain sector of the local population when faced with restrictions to the waterfront. Upon learning that he would not be able to pass through the private building to access the river, he shouted, "That is not right; you cannot privatize access to the water. The river belongs to all Porteňos!" President Menem's privatization of Puerto Madero succeeded in raising capital for a setting, which was in dire need of redevelopment. In order to ease social tension, developers and governmental agencies will need to work with citizens to make Puerto Madero more inclusive for all social strati. The citizens also have a responsibility to organize collectively and demand a role in the future decisions regarding public space. The questions in the future will analyze if the raising capital was worth transferring the governance of one of the most prized assets in Buenos Aires, the waterfront, to private entities?

Image C1: Billboard, Buenos Aires, Argentina

This billboard is located in the recently developed Puerto Madero region of the city. I choose this specific image to display the similarities between the idealized Puerto Madero and downtown Manhattan, the location of the original World Trade Center. The building was still under constructions at the time of this picture. The Rio de La Plata is located directly behind this building. Other high rises depicted in the sky rise of this image restrict access to the waterfront. Thus, inside my paper I referred to this advertisement and its already completed sister buildings in Puerto Madero. Picture by Chuma Nnawulezi on April 4th, 2014, Buenos Aires Argentina.

Future Citizenship in the City

In this essay various factors, including, transnational aid programs, international non-profits, religious and political leaders, have influenced and altered the conceptions of citizenship and citizen agency. These concepts are being redefined and expanded to match the need of a more interconnected world. The exact configuration of these new dimensions has become a subject of social debate and tension. Central to that tension is the increased involvement of unaccountable public entities in the governance of formerly public services or space. The increasing privatization of spaces and services is a main component of the strategy of neoliberalism. In principle, decreased government interference would create competition, which would drive efficiency. Proponents of this theory also argue that many governments in the Global South are not able to meet the basic needs of the public, so private participation is necessary. The opposition to this strategy argues that increasing privatization has unwarranted social implications.

Social commentator David Harvey is one of the many intellectuals to criticize neoliberalism. Harvey's critiques focus around the theory's effect on the social-state relations of urban areas. Harvey argues that the neoliberalism of the Reagan and Thatcher era is a tool of class warfare and has restored class power to the rich. Harvey details how the production of urban space has always been a battle between the rich and the poor and the newest battle for citizenship has followed the trend. He argues that marginalized populations have always played a significant role in capitalist urban expansion. Cities arose through a surplus product, and that surplus

product has historically been extracted from a marginalized population. This paper's cases have demonstrated that vulnerable populations, such as the urban poor, are disproportionately affected by neoliberal policies. For example, informal settlers built homes near the Sabarmati River and used resource for daily chores such as bathing or washing dishes. These temporary settlers were relocated to the outskirts of the city. The most vulnerable residents of the lower class were removed to accommodate the exclusive and guarded waterfront, against   Lefebvre's argument for "full and complete usage" of urban space by all inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1996, p.179).

Neoliberal rhetoric emphasizes capital accumulation and meritocracy, which Harvey argues, divide the social classes. The fragmentation hinders the population from exercising collective action and creating a comprehensive and equitable "general will" as described by Rousseau. Harvey argues that the fragmentation has pitted the different classes against each other in a battle for control over resources, public amenities, public space, etc. Harvey uses the example of Mexico, a country that has produced 14 billionaires and one of the richest men on earth while the income of the lower classes has stagnated or decreased over the last 30 years. He argues that the increased fragmentation of our societies is best described in the new urbanization projects. His depiction of the setting in a newly urbanized and divided society resembles the examples presented in this paper:

> Wealthy neighborhoods provided with all kinds of services, such as exclusive schools, golf courses, tennis courts and private police patrolling the area around the clock intertwine with illegal settlements where water is available only at public fountains, no sanitation system exists, electricity is pirated by a privileged few, the roads become mud streams whenever it rains, and where house-sharing is the norm. Each fragment appears to live and function autonomously, sticking firmly to what it has been able to grab in the daily fight for survival.

It would be unrealistic to suggest that the solution to social fragmentation is to remove the private sector from public services or from governance over public space. The increase and activity of private action in public affairs will remain for decades. In many instances, the signs point to the further integration of private corporations and public space or governance. However, Harvey warns against the private sector having a disproportionate share of power. He points to cases like gentrification in New York City by former Mayor Michael Bloomberg and his real estate empire, or by Columbia University in Harlem and Uptown Manhattan to suggest that the production of urban space is in the hands of a small financial and political elite who are molding the urban fabric in their own interests. If privatization of public resources and space is a continuing trend, the relationship between the private entities and the public will need to be defined in terms of the responsibilities private entities have to the "general will". There is a crisis of interests between private enterprises focused on profit margins and the public good. The unaccountability of the private sector makes it impossible for all inhabitants of a city to fully participate as citizens who can exercise their agency to collaborate in governance and the production of urban space.

This paper has demonstrated that non-state actors, such as corporations or investment firms, make decisions about the production of urban space and behavior. "Right to the City" reform would amplify the current structures of civic empowerment and give urban inhabitants a direct role in all decisions regarding the production of urban space. Similarly, Marshall's contention that citizen agency is vital in defining the standard to which all decisions should be directed

would allow the entire population to contribute to the creation of ideal citizenship. Rousseau's conceptions of citizenship would mostly focus on whether or not the contracts enacted between the public and the government/private corporations fulfill the general will. Future conversations and scholarship should tackle the issue of accountability and transparency for coming generations and the preservation of the citizen agency in interpretations of citizenship.

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Appendix

List of Interviews:

1. Interview with Ahmedabadi Male aged 47
2. Interview with Senegalese rural resident aged 21
3. Interview with Argentinean urban planner, who specializes in mobility and access.