FOUR MODELS OF CITIZENSHIP: 
FROM AUTHORITARIANISM TO CONSUMER CITIZENSHIP

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Any discussion of citizenship will have to consider the relationships – and especially the changing relationships – between the state, the market and civil society. It is appropriate to argue at the outset that civil society is the actual site of active citizenship and the social foundation of democracy, but its history is largely determined by the interaction between the three components. I have argued elsewhere that bottom-up citizenship, which emerges from social struggles in civil society rather than top-down citizenship granted by the state, when combined with a cultural system that promotes and fosters public rather than private identities and moral codes, provides the most promising conditions for the evolution of durable and robust citizenship (Turner 1990). In short, the idea of citizenship is central to any political discourse about rights, participation and identity. Citizenship of course comes in many forms, but in this commentary I shall identify four types that conveniently map onto state, civil society and market. The first is national citizenship, which typically takes on the mantle of ethno-nationalism and has been important in nation-building from the nineteenth century onwards. In Asia, this form of citizenship is also closely related to the so-called developmental state and can be illustrated by the struggle over citizenship in South Korea (Chang 2006). In Latin America, ethno-national citizenship was also closely related to nation building. However, Latin America (with the exceptions of Costa Rica, Mexico after the Revolution and Uruguay since the late 1960s), and the Philippines can be said to have experienced an authoritarian and militaristic version of nationalist citizenship as the legacy of Iberian colonization, culminating for a period in ‘bureaucratic authoritarianism’ (O’Donnell 1999). The third form is social citizenship that is closely connected to civil-society institutions rather than to the state or market. It involved the creation of social rights in association with the development of the welfare state. In the twentieth century, this form of citizenship was

1 I am grateful to David Lehmann who read, corrected and expanded the original manuscript to include additional material on Latin America.
related to democratic developments in Scandinavian societies and with the United Kingdom in the post-war period of social reconstruction when Keynesian economics were important in rebuilding a shattered economy. The fourth form of citizenship identifies the citizen with participation in the work force and emphasizes self-reliance and autonomy. This type of citizenship was associated with American liberalism and emphasized the private provision of insurance and welfare. These forms of citizenship frequently overlap with each other and can be regarded for the sake of convenience merely as heuristic ideal types.

In this discussion I argue that with economic globalization and the development of neo-liberal strategies the various forms of citizenship have converged onto a market model of passive consumer citizenship in which the state has curtailed entitlements and withdrawn from the provision of social security, and civil-society institutions have been eroded. The market rather than civil society has become the institutional setting for citizenship. The result is the emergence of the a-political, isolated and passive citizen as consumer and it can be claimed that participation in market economics has become the *sine qua non* of citizenship in those countries with de-regulated economies. The consumer citizen is the product of a leisure society in which the ‘virtue’ of the citizen is measured by their taste for luxury goods. Such a society inevitably produced an under-class of poorly educated and unemployed people whose consumption is confined to cheap goods and basic needs. The irony of a leisure society is that with very low minimum wages citizens have to work long hours to purchase necessities. This paper assesses the significance of this trend towards consumerism, and the extent to which it is contested in the context of Latin America.

**Definitions of Citizenship**

As a preliminary definition of citizenship, we can say that it is a status, conferring membership in a political community that determines a person's individual life chances and their share in the collective resources of that community (Turner 2008). Without a bona fide claim to citizenship (such as a birth certificate, passport or naturalization papers), a person is almost certainly condemned to a life of poverty and personal insecurity. This is typically the lot of indigenous populations, refugees, ethnic minorities and stateless persons. Citizenship gives us a public identity thereby providing a modicum of security against scarcity and the unavoidable