The Making of Smart Citizenry: Decoding 'Smart Citizen'

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Abstract

Ayona Datta (2017) highlights how the digital turn in the post-colonial cities in India has allowed the coercive power of state to control and discipline citizenry by making them actively engage in governance; while the active citizenry is just a smokescreen, a proxy to provide the larger legitimacy to the smart city project and rather the citizenry is paternalised and handheld through the emerging technologies of government. She argues, in the process, the emergence of alternative citizenry is cast and their reflections need to be gauged from the perspective of subaltern and others who defy the digital turn and its wider network. In this backdrop, the article examines the discursive construction of 'smart citizenry' under India's Smart Cities Mission. Drawing on the discourse analysis of 100 smart city proposals, the article contends that the Mission creates a false binary of active and passive citizenship with implications on the citizenship rights. It is further argued that that the Mission has a very narrow understanding of active citizenship, limited to just giving tacit consent to smart city projects. This is depicted in proposals calling for smart, active, duty-bearing, responsible citizenry lack of which risk jeopardize the success of smart cities.

Keywords: smart citizen, smart cities, smart cities mission, citizenship rights

1. Introduction

India's Smart Cities Mission (SCM) in its pursuit of developing smart cities envisages a 'smart' citizenry, who should be actively participating in the city development. The Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines [15] provides for citizen consultation for selection of areas to be developed as smart cities. It is routine under the Mission to invoke the idea that the future urbanism should be citizen-driven, and urban centres should be developed as per the needs and wishes of the city dwellers. The Mission lays emphasis on considering the interests of all city dwellers for 'improving their quality of life' and for seamless delivery of citizen services. The Mission relies heavily on IT-based smart solutions and social media to ensure effective citizen engagement.

Under the Mission, India selected 100 cities from 36 states and union territories to be developed as 'smart' cities. The selection of cities in different phases was based on city-level proposal that each participant city had to prepare illustrating their vision and goals, and a host of other criteria. Each smart city proposal has a section detailing how it has ensured citizen engagement in the development of proposal. Smart city proposals of 100 cities indicate attempts made to elicit responses from citizens through social media (Facebook, Twitter), mygov.in website, newspaper, debates and essay competitions, street plays, and through representatives such as slum dwellers association and resident welfare associations.

For the proponents of the Smart Cities Mission, a smart citizen is duty-bound, disciplined and illustrate responsible behaviour when it comes to access city services and actively engage in the development of urban projects. During the launch of the Mission in 2015 the then Union Housing and Urban Affairs Minister said, "…Smart Cities require smart

people…they have to pay user charges and have to follow certain amount of discipline…"
(see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GxJRiua0m2o).

This urban governance mission, therefore, creates an urban centric, ICT-based smart citizen identity. As per the Smart Cities Mission:

- "The Smart Cities Mission requires *smart people* (emphasis added) who actively participate in governance and reforms. Citizen involvement is much more than a ceremonial participation in governance. Smart people involve themselves in the definition of the Smart City, decisions on deploying Smart Solutions, implementing reforms, doing more with less and oversight during implementing and designing post-project structures in order to make the Smart City development sustainable. The participation of smart people will be enabled by the SPV (Special Purpose Vehicle) through increasing use of ICT (Information and Communication Technology), especially mobile-based tools." [15, p.18]

  It further says,

- "The Proposal development will lead to creation of a smart citizenry (emphasis added). The proposal will be citizen-driven from the beginning, achieved through citizen consultations, including active participation of groups of people, such as Residents Welfare Associations, Tax Payers Associations, Senior Citizens and Slum Dwellers Associations. During consultations, issues, needs and priorities of citizens and groups of people will be identified and citizen-driven solutions generated." [15, p.22]

The above text in the Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines provide a key parameter for the cities to develop their proposals to participate in the Smart Cities Mission challenge and to get shortlisted among the 100 cities to be ultimately selected. Moreover, it draws the contours of a smart citizenship i.e., 'smart people' and 'smart citizenry' who would be inhabiting smart cities and would be crucial for the development and sustenance of such cities. It is important to note here that the citizen engagement was given 16 per cent weightage, which was third highest among other parameters including "feasibility and cost-effectiveness" (30 per cent), "result orientation" (20 per cent), "smartness of proposal" and "strategic plan" (each 10 per cent), "vision and goals" and "evidence-based city profiling and key performance indicators" (each 5 per cent), and "process followed" (4 per cent) for cities to prepare their proposals in order to get ranked under the SCM challenge [2].

The 100 selected cities thus provide a site for understanding the discourse of smart citizens in smart cities which the guidelines say the proposal-making process ensure the participation of and, in turn, will ultimately lead to. Therefore, these 100 proposals provide a critical vantage point to explore and understand the smart citizens discourse and what it entails in relation to cities to be developed as smart cities.

2. Literature Review

Ayona Datta's [4] paper illustrates that alongside the imaginary of a tech-savvy global construct of a "smart citizenship" parallely exists a vernacular notion of "chatur citizen" (who believes in making more with less; or to say making do with little resources) which is much politically engaged and is found in "multiple publics and spatialities". Datta [4] further argues that there are three processes which are crucial to understand how these notions exists simultaneously; and these are identified as "enumerations", "articulations", and "breaches". The process of enumerations involves making citizens legible online who has been otherwise remained hidden by making them turn to 'like', 'tweet', 'view', 'nudge', and 'share' behavior. Virtual presence of citizens is a way to fast-track smart citizenry and which has been what Datta says borrowing from Hill [4] is "push button democracy" [4] where endorsement online is assumed to have engaged in/tantamount to engaging in democratic way of engaging on an issue in the public domain [4]. The process of articulation, Datta [4] says, refers to engagement of citizens as co-creators, collaborators and endorsers of smart cities. It requires citizens to be tech-savvy, entrepreneurial and working judiciously for innovation, growth and state enterprise [4]. The third, process of breaches indicates a form of citizenship that does not adhere to the norms of enumerations and articulation and other smart city principles, and seen more in act of defiance and alternative ways of engaging with state, forging alternative ways to managing their citizenship different from digital citizenship [4]. In her work, Datta [4] identifies breaches in the "speech acts" of post-colonial citizens who defy the tech-led smart citizenry connotation to assert their identity and autonomy [4] and create the imaginary of a "chatur citizen", which is not new to the Indian landscape. However, she says its discursive landscape has been created and its emergence in the digital landscape of smart cities needs to be understood from the positionality of subaltern, analogue and disconnected citizens [4].

Datta [4] highlights how the digital turn in the post-colonial cities in India has allowed the coercive power of state to control and discipline citizenry by making them actively engage in governance; while the active citizenry is just a smokescreen, a proxy to provide the larger legitimacy to the smart city project and rather the citizenry is paternalised and handheld through the emerging technologies of government. Datta [4] argues, in the process, the emergence of alternative citizenry is cast and their reflections need to be gauged from the perspective of subaltern and others who defy the digital turn and its wider network.

Another perspective into the critique of the smart citizenship discourse illustrates that 'actual smart citizens' play an ambivalent and messier role. Shelton and Lodato [24] studying the smart cities initiatives of Atlanta using the frameworks of 'general citizen' and 'absent citizen' lament that participants of such initiatives, several of them consultants outside city, experts, and professional discussed about developing smart cities and taking decision on behalf of the all citizens of the city as a homogeneous group. They further argue that the smart citizenship has been found as substantive citizenship performed with the invocation of expertise and by someone holding cultural capital to the detriment of those actually holding rights of formal citizenship who remain absent from the decision-making process and hold heterogeneous identity [24]. The city development therefore, should look into those getting excluded under the policy making efforts. According to Fainstein [24]

"City building for the benefit of non-elite groups requires empowering those who are excluded not just from discussions but from structural positions that allow them genuine influence."

Cardullo and Kitchin (2019) [3] argue that initiatives for smart city development in Dublin dubbed as 'citizen centric' are grounded in civic paternalism, stewardship, and neo-liberal notion of citizenship that give priority to market-based solutions over individual autonomy.

3. Research Methodology

I have used the framework of discourse analysis to explore smart cities and citizenship discourses. As postulated by Michel Foucault, investigating the alternative narratives into play should be the guiding principles to discover and analyse any prevalent discourse to "reconstruct the function of the text…according to its objectives, the strategies that govern it, and the programme of political action that it proposes" [6]. The discourse analysis has been quite a valuable tool for exploring the smart citizenship discourse in policy, implications for urban citizenship, notion of inclusion, exclusion and adverse inclusion, power, control, discipline and surveillance. What makes the smart cities discourse as a dominant narrative as compared to other discourses for urban governance today, how has it been operative in different parts of the world as a viable medium to address the issue of urban challenge, what kind of social reality, and state-citizen relations the smart city discourse has been engendering this study delves into.

The Foucauldian discourse analysis allows investigating how the smart city discourse with emphasis on technology produces a 'panopticon' regime of discipline and surveillance, and creating a culture of empowerment and exclusion in society [2].

For the purpose of analysis, I checked the frequency of occurrence of the term "smart citizen(s)" in the smart city proposals of 100 cities, and analysed the context within which the term has been mentioned and what does it entail in terms of the smart citizenship discourse.

4. Analysis: Demystifying 'smart citizens'

An attempt has been made in this article to have a qualitative understanding of the discourse around the aspect of smart citizens envisaged under the Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines [15] and the 100 proposals of cities [16] being developed as smart cities. A qualitative analysis of the source and the context in which a city proposal identifies 'smart citizen(s)'/smart citizenry would help in understanding the smart citizenship discourse under the Smart Cities Mission, and reflecting on the discursive construction of the notion.

Out of 100 smart city proposals analysed, only a few cities – 18 cities – are found to have mentioned the term 'smart citizen' explicitly; Jaipur Smart City Proposal [8] has used the term 'Smart Jaipurite' in the citizen engagement process (see Table 4.1 for reference of 'smart citizen' in smart city proposals). In 81 cities—Bhubaneswar, Ahmedabad, Belagavi, Bhopal, Chennai, Coimbatore, Davanagere, Guwahati, Kakinada, Kochi, Ludhiana, Surat, Udaipur, Vishakapatnam, Agra, Amritsar, Aurangabad, Gwalior, Hubbali-Dharwad, Jalandhar, Kohima, Madurai, Mangalore, Nagpur, Namchi, Nashik, Shimoga, Thane,

Thanjavur, Tirupti, Tumkur, Ujjain, Vadodara, Varanasi, Vellore, Agartala, Bhagalpur, Chandigarh, Dharamshala, Faridabad, Imphal, Sagar, Karnal, Satna, Bengaluru, Shimla, Dheradun, Tiruppur, Pimpri Chinchwad, Bilaspur, Pasighat, Jammu, Dahod, Panji, Port Blair, Raipur, Ranchi, Warangal, Thiruvananthapuram, Naya Raipur, Jabalpur, Rajkot, Amravati, Patna, Puducherry, Gandhinagar, Thoothukudi, Tiruchirapalli, Aizwal, Allahabad (Renamed as Ayodha), Aligarh, Gangtok, Bareilly, Bihar Sharif, Diu, Itanagar, Kavaratti, Moradabad, Saharanpur, Silvassa, and Shillong—no direct reference of 'smart citizen' or 'smart citizenry' has been made. However, overall, there is an implicit assumption that the proposal preparation for smart cities will result in the development of smart citizenry, as it gets reflected from the Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines [14] which has also used the term once. These proposals are analysed for the context within which these terms have occurred, found expression and with what effect for understanding the smart citizen discourse.

Table 1: Reference of 'Smart Citizen' in Smart City Proposals

	Smart City	Term/Word/Text mentioned
1.	Indore	Rigorous Social media Activity: Induced discussion and flyers "I am a Smart Citizen"
2.	Jaipur*	City wide campaign of 'Smart Jaipurite' covering spot feedback interviews of 1,000 citizens
3.	New Delhi Municipal Council	Smart Citizen Mobile App - provide livability data to citizens by providing air quality/ noise level information, traffic conditions, quality of water, availability of tickets for shows, level of crowds on street, crowd in park etc.
4.	Pune	"Smart family" and "Smart citizen" initiatives"
5.	Solapur	…Smart governance along with smart citizens makes cities smart in its true sense. The city should ensure active citizens participation for inclusive planning and encourage people to interact more with the government and refer to the more accurate information.
6.	Ajmer	To develop Ajmer as a global, religious and heritage tourism destination with high quality living and sustainable smart citizen services.
7.	Kalyan-Dombivali	…Citizens need to be empowered, as 'smart citizens make smart cities'.
8.	Kanpur	Smart City demands Smart Citizens. For encroachment free streets and pavements, citizens' participation is a pre-requisite… Lack of Citizens ownership of the projects and irresponsible behaviour towards making their city a smart city can affect the success of the project.
9.	Kota	Citizens urged to use smart citizen posters as profile pictures on Facebook.
10.	Rourkela	Project City Gov and Project Paribahan will leverage this key programme for designing and development of systems and solutions for Smart Cities using Internet of Things for Smart Utilities, Smart Mobility, Smart Citizen and Smart Environment.
11.	Salem	Funding for developing electronics and IT components for sectors in the area: Smart Utilities, Smart Mobility, Smart Environment, Smart Citizen

12.	Lucknow	Smart City demands Smart Citizens. For encroachment free streets and pavements, citizens' participation is a pre-requisite... Lack of Citizens ownership of the projects and irresponsible behaviour towards making their city a smart city can affect the success of the project.
13.	New Town Kolkata	Design and development of systems and solutions for Smart Cities using internet of things for Smart Utilities, Smart Mobility, Smart Citizen and Smart Environment. …Designing and development of systems and solutions for Smart Cities using internet of things for Smart Utilities, Smart Mobility, Smart Citizen and Smart Environment.
14.	Karimnagar	Superior Social infrastructure to serve Smart Citizens- Establishment of 100 E-learning centers with infrastructure facilities like computers, printer, wi-fi, LED TV, server, smart podium etc.
15.	Muzaffarpur	E-Governance Center and Citizen Facilitation centers - eight smart citizen facilitation centers will be established to cover 49 wards.
16.	Srinagar	Other than technology partners, … stakeholders (such as NGOs) were roped in to design projects to foster community involvement and creation of responsible and smart citizenry
17.	Tirunelveli	Faster and efficient citizen service delivery through smart citizen kiosks, dedicated helpline and a citizen service app…
18.	Jhansi	Jhansi cannot be a smart city without smart citizens. The aim is to deem Jhansi an inclusive place that uses technology and innovation to engage with and empower citizens to participate in the development of ideas and solutions for the city.
19.	Erode	In City vision and goals for smart citizen friendly governance: Transparent Seamless Governance and Effective Citizen Engagement.
Smart Cities Mission Guidelines		The Proposal development will lead to creation of a smart citizenry.

Source: Accessed from the website of the Smart Cities Mission of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India [16]. Text indicating 'smart citizen' in the last column has been reproduced from the city proposals with slight modifications in language, and removal of special characters.

Here different contexts within which each city proposal has identified smart citizens are presented and analysed for understanding the smart citizen discourse.

4.1. Strategy adopted for citizen engagement in making of smart city proposal

Cities have mentioned smart citizen and used the term in their citizen engagement strategy for the preparation of area-based and pan-city proposals. For example, in the Smart City Proposal of Indore [7], the term smart citizen has been used once. It has occurred with respect to the citizen engagement strategy in shaping the city vision and goals. As per the proposal, the city has used "I am a Smart Citizen" flyers and induced discussion on social media as a rigorous activity to engage with the citizenry as part of ensuring maximum outreach [7]. The proposal, however, is not forthcoming in further explaining the contents of the flyers used. It has merely stated that in the citizen engagement strategy the city has

focused on, among other things, rigorous social media outreach using this flyer for inducing discussion on smart citizenry.

The expression 'smart citizen' has been found in one of the four different ways of citizen engagement process for the proposal preparation of Pune. The city proposal [20] of Pune has used the initiatives of "Smart family" and "Smart citizen" without clearly spelling out what exactly these initiatives entailed in terms of engaging with the citizens. The underlying assumption, it seems, is that through the discourse of smart citizenry the city tried to engage with people to prepare its proposal.

In its citizen engagement component, the Smart City proposal of Kota [13] mentions having employed "innovative ideas" including urging citizens to use posters of smart citizens as their profile pictures on Facebook; besides one other expression it uses to have included in its surveys "responsible citizens oath" [13]. In a way, the proposal has aimed to inculcate in its citizenry the notion and sprits of smart and responsible citizens. How it can be achieved is not clearly spelt out and is left unaddressed.

The Smart City Proposal of Srinagar [26] has used the expression "smart citizenry". It has used the term in the context of engaging with citizens for proposal preparation. As per the proposal, the city engaged with different stakeholders including NGOs, health sector, schools and universities "to foster community involvement and creation of responsible and smart citizenry" [26]. A smart citizenry can be developed by constant engagement with different stakeholders, and ensuing a sense of responsibility as evidenced from the assumption drawn from the proposal.

The Smart City Proposal of Erode [5] has used the term smart citizens in relation to ensuing effective citizen engagement and citizen friendly governance. It has used the term Smart Citizen Friendly Governance in its vision and goals for the city [5]. Through transparent governance, planning culture, enhanced institutional capacity, it aims to deliver on the promise of smart citizen friendly governance in the city.

4.2. Pan-city solution for e-governance

Besides the citizen engagement strategy, the term smart citizen has been found mentioned in the city's proposals with respect to e-governance, and developing interfaces in the pan-city solution for developing smart cities. Take for instance, the Smart City Proposal of the New Delhi Municipal Council [18]. It has referred the term smart citizen in the context of deploying a mobile app, Smart Citizen Mobile App, as a pan-city solution for e-governance [18]. The mobile app is aimed at providing citizens 'livability' data on noise pollution, air quality, water quality, traffic information, crowds' level on street and in park, and tickets availability for different shows in the city [18]. The underlying discourse is that the mode of e-governance through a mobile app in the city in accessing services would result in citizens acting smart in taking decision on their move, or plan their activities, can decide to go out or not, which route to take, among other city-centric services.

"Jhansi cannot be a smart city without smart citizens," says the proposal of the Jhansi Smart City [9]. By way of methodology and approach for developing pan-city solutions,

the smart city of Jhansi aims to empower citizens for effective participation in development of solutions and ideas for developing the city with technology and innovation. It says smart city is not an end goal; it's a continuous process of improving living quality of which smart citizen is the key for ideas and solutions of pressing issues in city [9]. Therefore, empowerment of citizens through technology is crucial.

One noteworthy point in the Smart City Proposal of Karimnagar [12] is that it has used the expression, "Smart Citizens", six times -- maximum numbers as compared to the smart city proposals of other cities; Kolkata has mentioned twice and rest have used the expression once. Moreover, in its key components for pan-city solutions it has identified "smart governance for smart citizens". As per the proposal, the city would develop Integrated Command and Control Centre, will leverage data analytic tool, use CCTVs for safety and security purposes and creating social infrastructure like centres for e-learning in order to serve smart citizen [12].

Similar to Karimnagar, the Smart City Proposal of Muzaffarpur [17] has used the expression as key component of e-governance for smart citizens. It aims to develop e-governance Centre and citizen facilitation centres, in particular setting up of eight facilitation centres for smart citizens in 49 wards as a pan-city solution [17].

4.3. 'Duty' to participate in urban governance
By way of engaging with different stakeholders and finding out solutions for developing smart cities, city proposals have been found to have mentioned the term smart citizens, and what it takes to build and sustain a smart city. In the pan-city proposal, Solapur Smart City [25] has adopted the methodology of taking the opinions of elected representative for adopting solutions, among other approaches. The proposal has cited the opinions of the representatives saying "smart citizens makes (*sic*) smart cities", and therefore "city should ensure active citizens participation for inclusive planning and encourage people to interact more with the government and refer to the more accurate information" [25]. It can be said that in this city proposal a case of smart citizens who actively participate in the affairs of the governance, in planning and other city-related activities would lead to the creation of smart cities. This reflects that citizens have to assume a duty to take part in the city governance while relying on information which is true; they should not just be passive recipients of rights and privileges, or entitlements but they have to actually perform their duties and 'earn' these through their active civic engagement.

Also, in the pan-city proposal of Kalyan-Dombivali [10], elected representatives are of the view that "Smart citizens make smart cities" and their effective participation in the governance process is required.

4.4. Vision and goals of smart city
In city vision and goals for developing smart city, in its vision and goals for the city, Ajmer [1] has aimed to develop the city as a global tourist hub and providing high quality of living to its citizens which is sustainable and it uses the expression of providing smart citizen services. The vision document like the proposals of other cities has been prepared through citizen consultations, and engaging with various stakeholders to map the desires of the

city's citizens, among other assessment of the city's strengths, weaknesses and risks. So, unlike the proposal of Solapur, here the city engages to map what smart services it can deliver to its citizens. The proposal, however, does not explicitly say it seeks active engagement of the citizenry in the governance.

4.5. Possible risk in the success of the smart city

Examining the threat perception and possible risk in the development of smart cities, the Smart City Proposal of Kanpur [11] has used the expression "Smart City demands Smart Citizens". In the area-based proposal, the city has identified lack of citizen's support and irresponsible behaviour of citizens, and lack of ownership tendency as the possible risk issue that can jeopardize the success of the smart city. It calls for citizens participation as something which is a pre-requisite for city development, for example streets and pavements free of encroachments [11]. The success of the project, the proposal says can be affected in the lack of citizens ownership despite preparing a plan which is citizen oriented. Similarly, the proposal of Lucknow [14] has used the term in the context of risk preventing success of the area-based proposal owing to the lack of citizen ownership which is stated as a prerequisite for an encroachment-free smart city.

It can be observed here as well the onus is on the smart citizen who owns the responsibility, or assume the duty of acting responsibly for the success of the smart city project.

4.6. Achieving convergence with the other ongoing schemes

Each smart city in its proposal had to address the question of how the city will achieve convergence with the other ongoing schemes and programmes for a pan-city solution. In this context, the Smart City Proposal of Rourkela [22] has aimed to converge with the City wide WiFi project of the Odisha Electronics and Information Technology, and says that it will leverage this project to design and develop "solutions for Smart Cities using Internet of Things for Smart Utilities, Smart Mobility, Smart Citizen and Smart Environment" [22]. For Smart Citizen in the smart cities, the city proposal has said to use Internet of Things (IoT) for identifying solutions in convergence with the ongoing Wi-Fi project [22].

Like Rourkela, the Smart City Proposal of Salem [23] has also used the expression of smart citizen in the context of leveraging Digital India and Internet of Things projects as a way of convergence to secure funding for IT and electronic components of the smart city for smart mobility, smart utilities, smart citizen and smart environment [23]. It does not clearly identify or explain what it means by smart citizen or who is a smart citizen; the implicit assumption is on who rely on e-services and uses technology in day-to-day activities in accessing several city services.

The New Town Kolkata Smart City Proposal [19] also by way of convergence with programme of the Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY) will leverage IoT to design and develop solutions and systems in smart cities for smart citizen, smart mobility, smart environment and smart utilities [19]. The underlying assumption is that the development of smart solution based on technology will help build a smart citizenry.

4.7. Measuring governance impact

The Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines require each city to identify measurable governance, economic, social, spatial and sustainability impact of the area-based development to the area and citywide.

Among the five types of measuring the impact of the area-based proposal, the Tirunelveli Smart City Proposal [27], in measuring the governance impact has used the term 'smart citizen'. It has referred to provide efficient and faster citizen services via "smart Citizen Kiosks", a dedicated helpline number and an app for citizen service. As per the proposal of the city, the ICT-based 'smart solutions' will lead to efficiency, transparency, fiscal sustainability and quick responses to address grievances [27]. For measuring citywide governance impact, the proposal says it will rely on "incident management and evidence-based decision making" using the CCTV cameras [27]. The assumption under the Mission, therefore, is that the through the delivery of online services it aims to empower citizens to access civic services. The question, however, that is not addressed in the proposal how those not able to access the digital services or the app or smart citizens will be able to access services efficiently and get their grievances redressed.

5. Conclusion

In the wake of severe criticism of the tech-centric smart cities, giving less preference to people attempts have been made worldwide to engage with citizens and make the city driven by citizens' desires. Smart urbanism along with smart citizenry has been the hallmark of several of the now conceived smart cities projects in the global North and South. Taking a cue, India has also in its Mission asked the participant cities to engage with citizens in the making of the proposals and that was among the key marking criteria for cities to get shortlisted to become a smart city. In this regard, the implicit assumption in all the proposals is that cities attempted to engage with citizens. This has been critiqued by experts, academicians and researchers for not being adequate and would have resulted in further exclusion and marginalization of the 'other' city dwellers; and only a few segments, tech savvy, educated could participate; there was no adequate feedback mechanism that could take into consideration the ideas and aspiration of the citizens.

However, the citizen engagement process provides a crucial site, in particular, and the proposals in general, to understand the construct of the idea of a smart citizen who should be nudged, educated, empowered, active, passive, and follow one's duty, actively participate, need to upgrade agency of citizens.

In the Smart Cities Mission, I contend that the discursive construction of smart citizenry has been made to co-opt citizens to enumerate and articulate citizens to give wider legitimacy to smart cities and use the citizenry not just passive users of benefitting from digital cities but to also be actively working, coordinating and participating in producing data to run the digital cities.

The discourse of smart citizenry is an attempt towards making the development of an urban area a citizen-centric and bottom-up approach. The discourse is created to provider wider legitimacy to urban infrastructural development while factoring in citizens' interests and concerns. Following the Foucauldian discourse analysis, I argue that the smart citizen discourse is mere a rhetoric, and aimed at discipling and controlling citizenry through increased surveillance that the Mission underpins, putting onus on citizenry for project implementation and success. The discourse though exemplifies an active citizenry, it is argued that it has very narrow understanding of the active citizenship. The active citizenship requires citizens to be in a controlling position with respect to the day-to-day governance system, requiring substantive involvement of people from all walks of life in activities having implications on them. Beyond symbolic and token engagement, active citizenship provides citizenry holds government accountable for failing to deliver what is promised. The discourse of smart citizenry as is evident from the proposals limited to generating consent and token citizen engagement, and not allowing citizenry in a controlling position as far as development of cities is concerned which will have wider ramifications on citizens' rights to the city and its resources. A research study to look at the empirical evidence of how citizens are engaged in the implementation of smart city projects, and their level of participation can provide further insights into the smart citizen imagery.

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