



**Citizenship by Design** investigates the design of international passports, identification technologies and travel regulations to raise critical questions about contemporary citizenship, security, and nation-branding. By highlighting the aesthetics of these bureaucratic documents and procedures, and by remixing their graphic elements into multinational hybrids, the project calls attention to the ways that citizenship is designed—and the ways it might be reimagined in an era of proliferating global crossings.

This publication documents the project **Citizenship by Design** and includes selected images from its circulation as a series of exhibitions and public installations in 2008-10.

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# CITIZENSHIP BY DESIGN

Kadambari Baxi and Irene Cheng

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## INTRODUCTION:

### WHO IS A CITIZEN TODAY? HOW IS CITIZENSHIP DESIGNED?

**Citizenship by Design** raises critical questions about the nature of contemporary political identities by focusing on an object whose design is often taken for granted—the passport. The project asks how passports might be redesigned to reflect new forms of “nonstandard” citizenship in a world marked by increasingly fluid and contentious national borders.

#### Contemporary Global Citizenship

Traditional definitions of citizenship based on place of birth (*jus soli*) and blood (*jus sanguinis*) are being eroded by the increasing mobility of individuals, capital, and national borders. Although historically citizenship was conceived as a singular status, today, many individuals acquire second and even third citizenships through family ties or naturalization. Countless others are stateless or in between states, including refugees of war, guest workers, and inhabitants of occupied lands.

Contemporary “nonstandard” citizens include a spectrum of identities, from undocumented immigrants barred by their extralegal status from participating politically in their communities to globetrotting financiers in pursuit of economic citizens of tax havens. A Vietnamese laborer working in a British-owned factory in the Mariana Islands and a Latvian-born investor with dual citizenship in Russia and Canada exist on opposite ends of a continuum of privilege and opportunity. Yet both individuals can claim multiple national affiliations through ties of location, family, labor, and investment. Their experiences—increasingly more typical than anomalous—raise the question: How should citizenship be defined today?

Citizenship is both an abstract idea and a legal category that produces concrete effects in the lives of individuals, regulating where one can live, vote, work, and travel. Citizenship is also concretized and made visible in the form of official procedures and documents—such as the passport—that link the individual to the state, the personal to the political, and the private to the public.

#### The Passport as an Object of Design

Like many bureaucratic documents, the passport operates under a guise of neutrality and artlessness. We imagine its birthplace to be a shadowy government printing office, its features the result of default settings determined by anonymous officials.

Passports are designed, however. Attributes like color, cover image, and interior content signify: together, they comprise an object that determines its bearer’s freedom of movement across borders, and that embodies the imaginary relationship between a state and an individual. Interrogating the design of the passport therefore can open up inquiry into the definition of contemporary citizenship.

The sections that follow “zoom in” on several key attributes of the passport—namely, color, symbolism, language, security printing, and biometric identification techniques—in order to denaturalize the object, and to uncover some of the ideological content hidden within the aesthetics of contemporary passports. Following the analyses of passport design are three sections that “zoom out” to interrogate the rights

and responsibilities of contemporary citizens. “Unequal Mobility” explores asymmetries in the freedom of movement enjoyed by holders of different nations’ passports, while “Polymorphous Citizens” relates semi-fictional accounts of eight nonstandard citizens. A final section entitled “Inconclusive Surveys” presents a sampling of responses to critical questions about contemporary citizenship.

By honing in on the aesthetic qualities of the passport and telescoping out to examine the effects of passports on individuals around the world, **Citizenship by Design** asks how the passport—and the relationships embedded within it—can be redesigned to reflect the contemporary reality in which many individuals have heterogeneous national affiliations, virtual identities, and multinational rights and responsibilities.

WHAT SHOULD DETERMINE A PERSON'S PASSPORT COLOR?

WHAT SHOULD THE SYMBOL ON A PASSPORT COVER SIGNIFY?

WHAT SHOULD A PASSPORT BEARER BE CALLED?

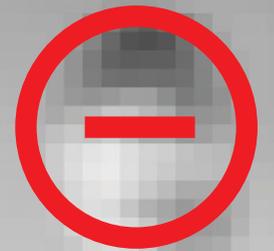
WHAT SUBLIMINAL INFORMATION SHOULD BE EMBEDDED IN A PASSPORT?

WHAT DATA SHOULD A STATE BE ABLE TO COLLECT ABOUT INDIVIDUALS PASSING THROUGH ITS BORDERS?

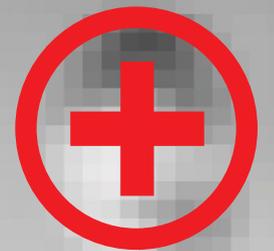
WHAT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SHOULD CITIZENS HAVE?



NOTCOUNTED



UNDERCOUNTED



OVERCOUNTED



DISCOUNTED

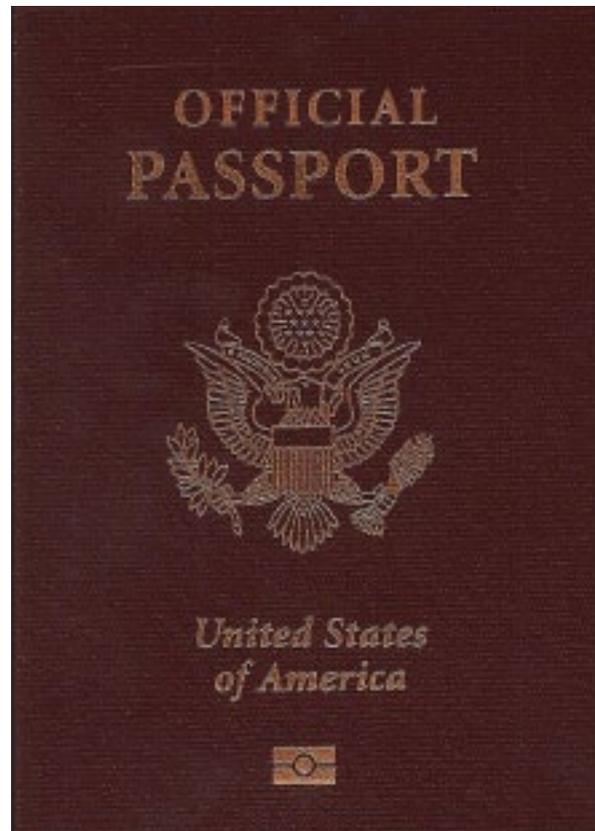
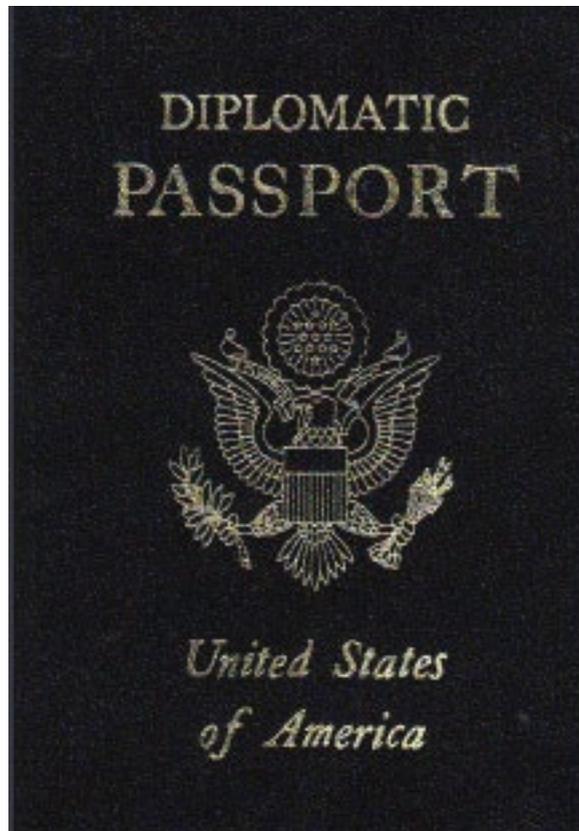
WHAT SHOULD DETERMINE A  
PERSON'S PASSPORT COLOR?

NONSTANDARD <<<<  
COLOR <<<<<<<<<<<<

Color is one of the most  
conspicuous and ostensibly  
innocuous attributes of a  
passport. Yet the shade of the  
passport can signify discord  
as well as unity, and can  
mislead as well as clarify.

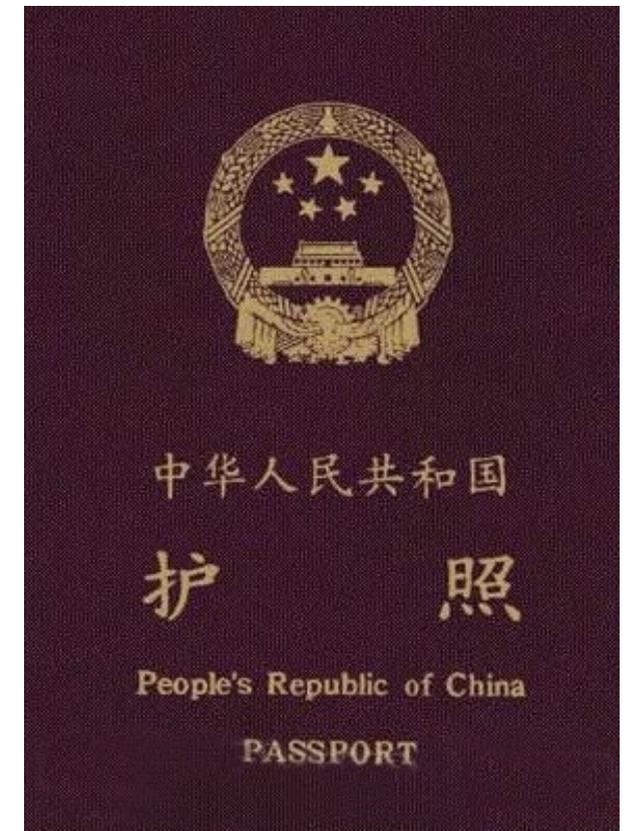


BAHRAIN	LATVIA	FINLAND	ESTONIA	SLOVENIA	FRANCE	AUSTRALIA	PANAMA	KOREA	BANGLADESH	GHANA
SWITZERLAND	NORWAY	LUXEMBOURG	NETHERLANDS	MACEDONIA	SERBIA	LIECHTENSTEIN	ICELAND	RHODESIA	PHILIPPINES	CANADA
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM	ITALY	HUNGARY	PORTUGAL	AUSTRIA	MALTA	BRAZIL	AFGHANISTAN	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	PHILIPPINES	CANADA
RUSSIAN FEDERATION	JAPAN	BELGIUM		DENMARK	ECUADOR	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	UKRAINE	IRAQ	PHILIPPINES	CANADA
ALBANIA		IRELAND		GREECE	PERU	MALDIVES	INDIA	HONG KONG	PASAPORTE	PASSEPORT
MALAYSIA		POLAND		CROATIA	THAILAND	CHINA		ANGOLA	PASSEPORT	PASSEPORT
								COSTA RICA	PASSEPORT	PASSEPORT
								INDIA	PASSEPORT	PASSEPORT
									PASSEPORT	PASSEPORT
									PASSEPORT	PASSEPORT



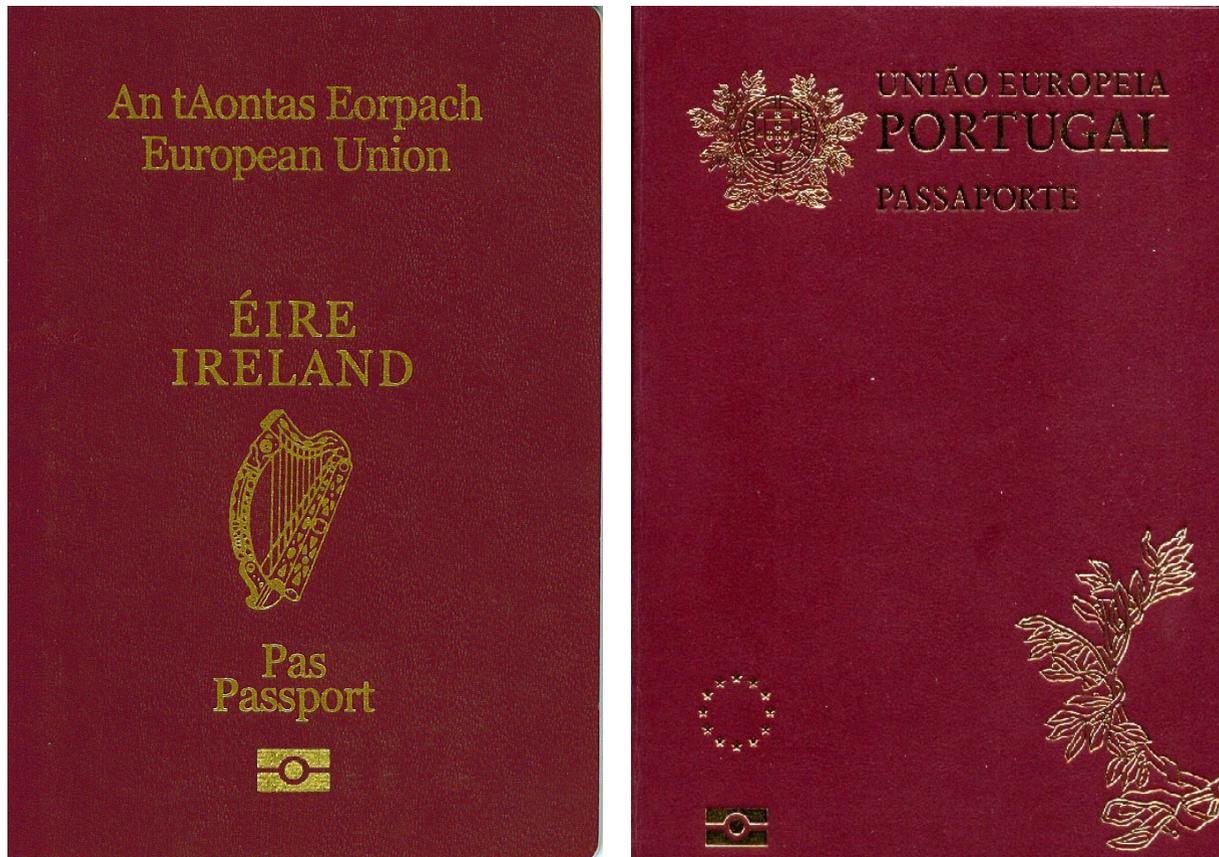
### CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Passport covers are generally red, green, or blue. Many nations have multiple passport colors, each designated for a different class of citizen. In the United States, for example, regular passports are blue, official passports are maroon, and diplomatic passports are black.



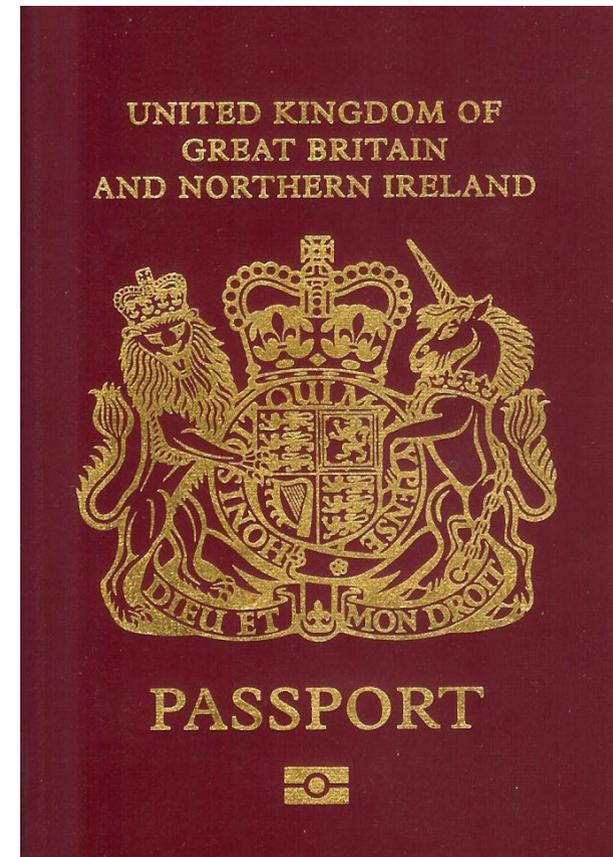
### SHADES OF RED

China has hired Roger Pfund, the designer of the most recent Swiss passport, to consult on the design of its new passports. In 2007, the Swiss government's corporate design guide designated Pantone PMS 485 as the official shade of red. The color red, of course, has many ideological and cultural connotations. It is not known whether China plans to copy Switzerland's choice of red or claim its own shade.



### STANDARD ISSUE

Although members of the European Union have agreed upon a standard burgundy red passport cover, individual nations' symbols, fonts, and layouts vary. Continental unity—and uniformity—must be balanced against distinct national (typographic) expression.



### FALSE IDENTITY

The British government issues “lookalike passports” with burgundy covers to individuals who have links to the United Kingdom (usually through colonial legacies) yet do not hold EU privileges. These “not-quite” citizens include:

- British overseas territories citizens (such as residents of Gibraltar and Bermuda)
- British overseas citizens (such as residents of Kenya)
- British nationals (overseas)
- British subjects without the right of abode (including individuals with links to British India and Southern Ireland)
- British protected persons (including individuals with links to Brunei, Togo, and Nauru, among others)





*Animals/creatures*  
 Russia  
 Thailand  
 Germany  
 Chile  
 Australia



*Flora*  
 Venezuela  
 Lebanon  
 Japan



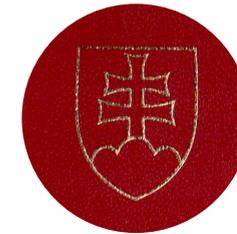
*Weapons*  
 Finland  
 Iran  
 Guatemala



*Geography*  
 Bangladesh  
 Honduras  
 Nigeria



*Native people*  
 Suriname  
 New Zealand  
 Jamaica



*Abstract*  
 Slovakia  
 Georgia  
 Korea  
 Ukraine  
 Switzerland

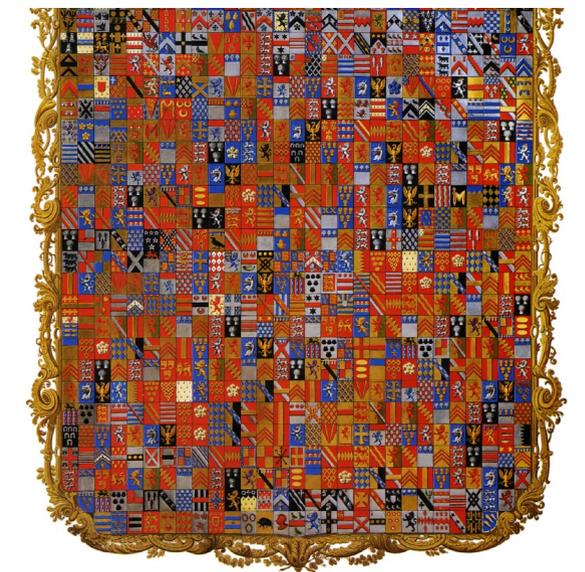


*Crown and herald*  
 Hungary  
 Belgium  
 United Kingdom  
 The Netherlands  
 Norway



### THE COAT OF ARMS PREVAILS

In 1920, the League of Nations established a common passport format that included a coat of arms in the center of the cover. Coats of arms were a European tradition extending back to the Middle Ages: Knights used the symbols to identify each other, since individual fighters' faces were obscured by armor. In modern times, most countries use coats of arms as symbols to represent the nation and to certify official documents such as passports, treaties, and currency.



### MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

In traditional heraldry, a coat of arms can be quartered when multiple territories come together to form one nation—the arms of the United Kingdom, for example, is quartered and includes symbols of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In the case of some family emblems, the process of quartering has resulted in an image of polygenism verging on nonsense.

Left: Coat of arms of England

Right: The coat of arms of the Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville family features 719 quarterings.



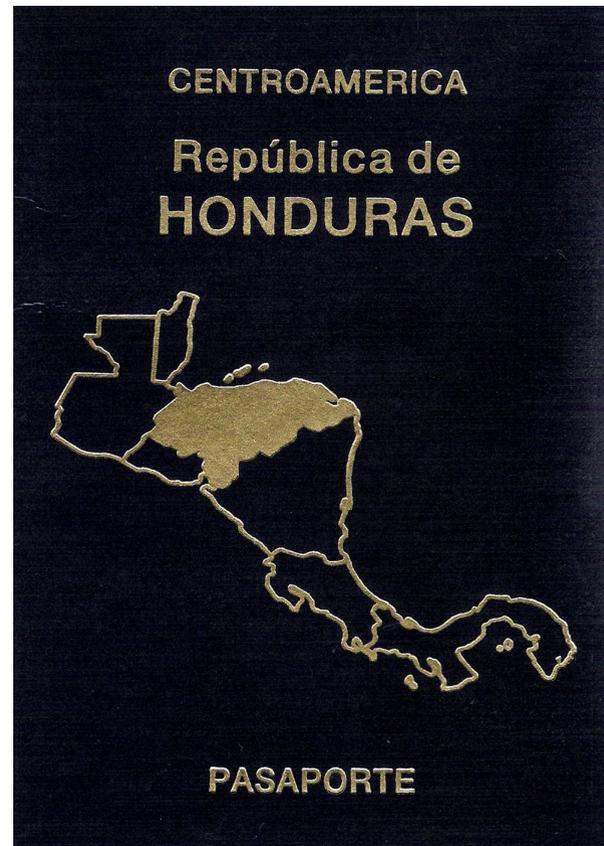
### COLONIAL FIGURATIONS

New Zealand's symbol features two figures—one European, thought to have been modeled on Grace Kelly, and the other a native Māori warrior holding a ceremonial spear.



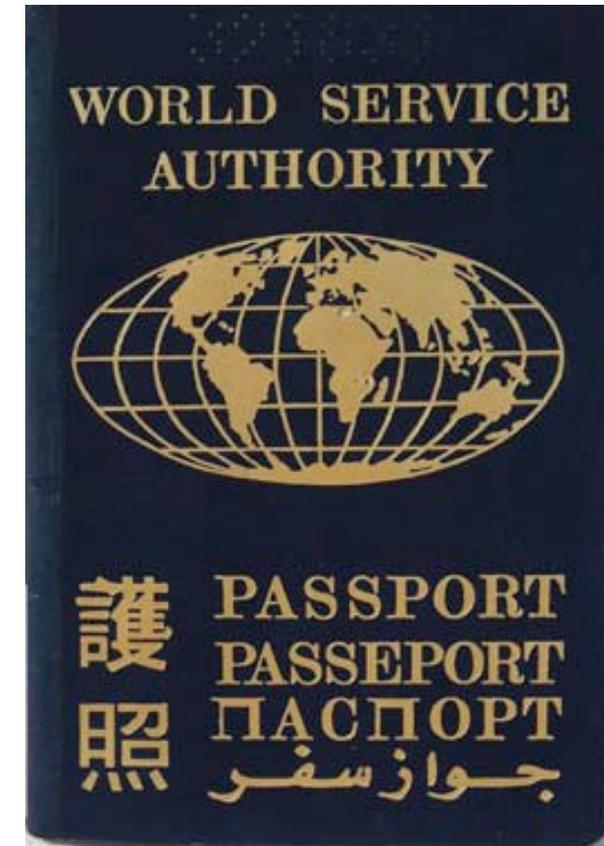
### NEW WORLD ANIMALS

The Red Kangaroo and Emu that support the shield of Australia are the nation's unofficial animal emblems. Not only are they native to Australia, but these animals are said to move only forward, not backward, and thus connote progress. When Australia's coat of arms was redesigned in 1911, one politician fretted that these New World animals were too undignified to "fit into the heraldic atmosphere."



### SYMBOLIC NEW ALLIANCES

The members of the CA-4 Treaty (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua) adopted a common passport design in 2006. The passport features a navy-blue cover with the words "Centroamerica" or "América Central" and a map of the region with the issuing country highlighted in gold. The new passport thus substitutes a map for four national symbols. Alliances of the Andean and Caribbean nations are following suit, adopting new common passport symbols and formats.



### THE WORLD PASSPORT

The symbol gracing the cover of the World Passport is a homalographic projection map of the globe. Homalographic projections, also known as Mollweide or Babinet projections, were popularized beginning in 1857. They sacrifice fidelity to angle and shape in favor of accurate depiction of area.

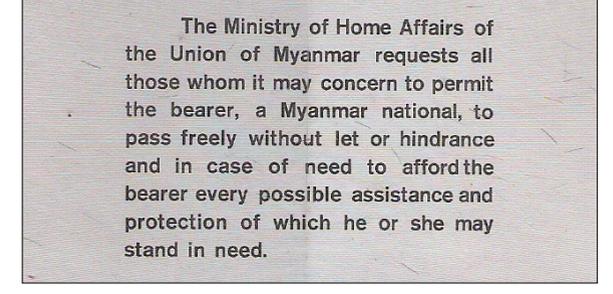
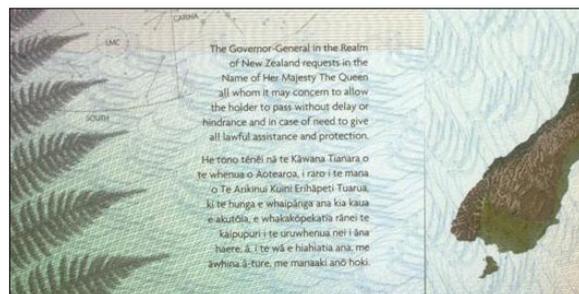
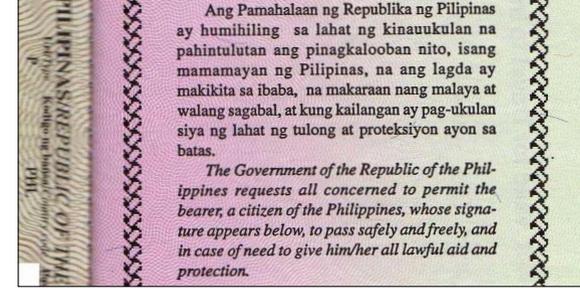
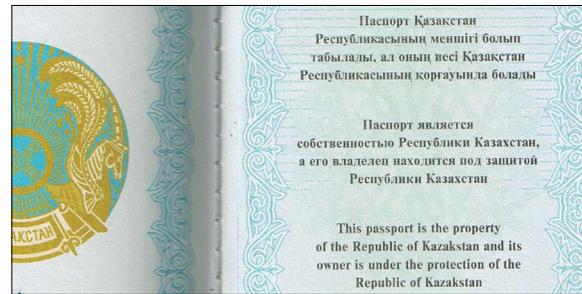
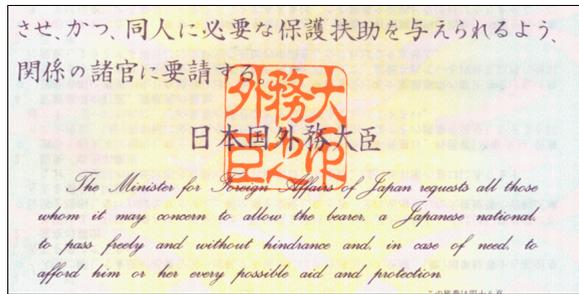
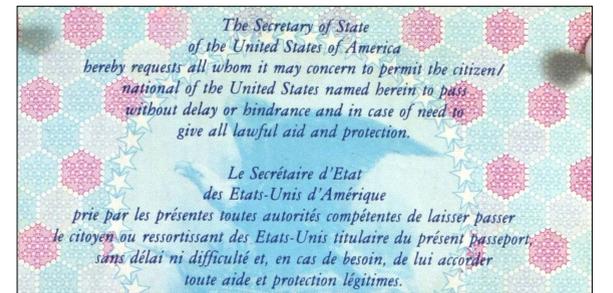
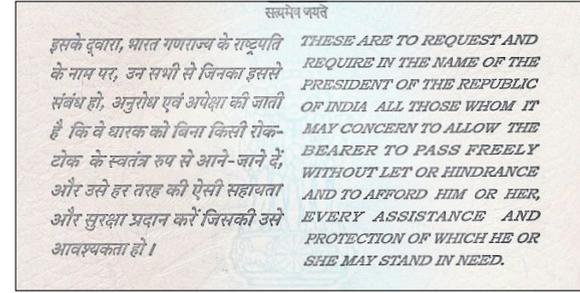
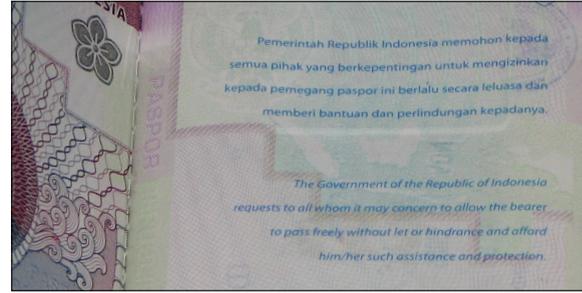
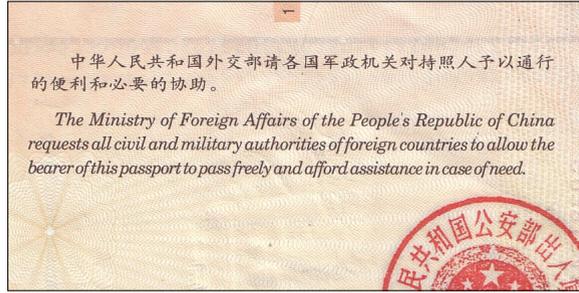
The World Passport is a 30 page machine readable document issued by an organization

called the World Service Authority. The document was created in 1953 by peace activist Garry Davis, who argued for a world government composed of world citizens in place of the existing system of nation-states. World Passports have purportedly been accepted on a case-by-case basis by over 150 countries, and have even received *de jure* or official recognition by such nations as Ecuador, Zambia, and Togo.

WHAT SHOULD A PASSPORT  
BEARER BE CALLED?

# THE LANGUAGE<<< OF ALLEGIANCE<<

Embedded in the phraseology  
of ceremonial statecraft  
are propositions about the  
relationship between a state and  
those residing within or passing  
through its borders.





### CITIZEN, SUBJECT, NATIONAL

What is the difference between a citizen, a subject, and a national? *Merriam Webster's Dictionary* offers the following disambiguation: "CITIZEN, SUBJECT, NATIONAL mean a person owing allegiance to and entitled to the protection of a sovereign state. CITIZEN is preferred for one owing allegiance to a state in which sovereign power is retained by the

people and sharing in the political rights of those people <the rights of the free citizen>. SUBJECT implies allegiance to a personal sovereign such as a monarch <the king's subjects>. NATIONAL designates one who many claim the protection of a state and applies esp. to one living or traveling outside that state <American nationals working in the Middle East>.

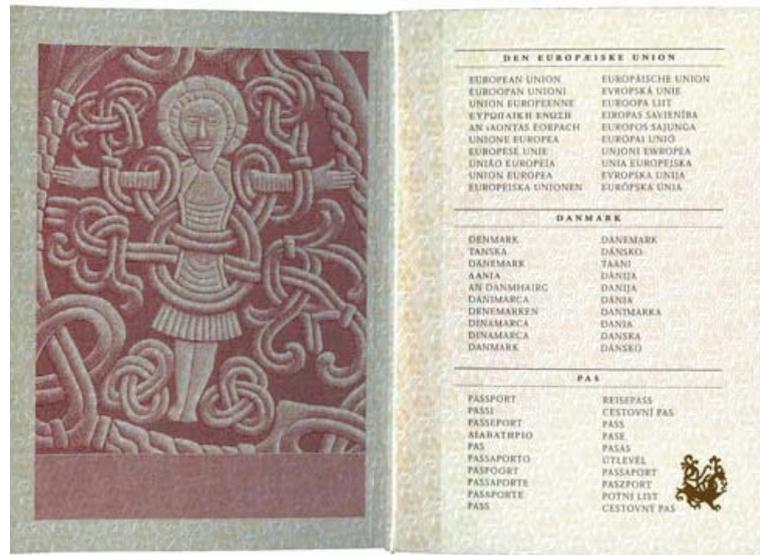
Above: Frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* showing a sovereign power constituted by a multitude.



### NON-CITIZEN NATIONALS

Bearers of US passports are called "citizen/nationals." All US citizens are considered nationals but not all nationals are citizens. The US State Department specifies that certain "persons born in or having ties with an outlying possession of the United States... defined in Section 101(A)(29) INA as American

Samoa and Swains Island" are nationals but not citizens. Noncitizen US nationals may reside and work in the United States without restrictions, but cannot vote in elections.



## MULTILINGUAL

European Union standards call for member countries to issue passports with the words for “passport,” “European Union,” and the name of the issuing country reprinted in all the official languages of the EU. As of 2007, there were 23 EU languages. Each member nation has developed its own graphic way of accommodating this requirement.

## WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE

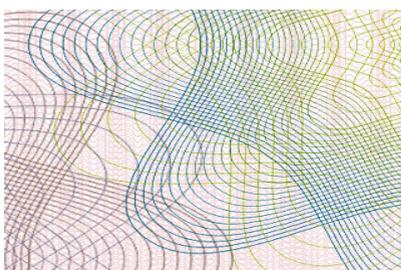
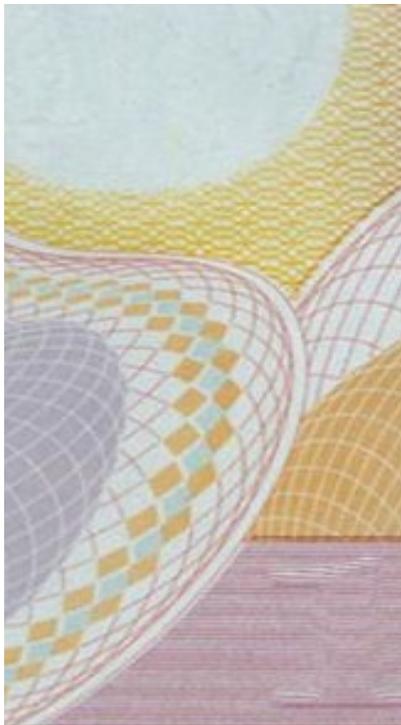
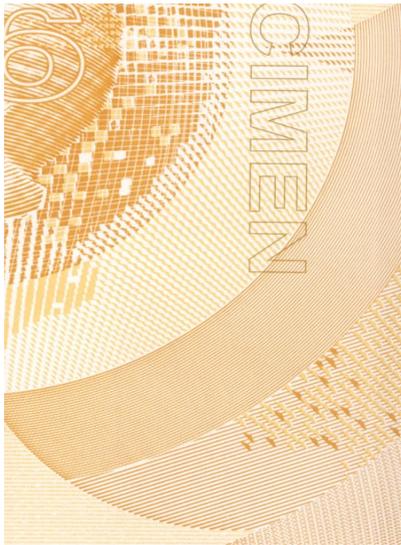
Whereas the primary purpose of the modern passport is to certify the identity and nationality of its bearer, early modern passports were essentially semi-formalized letters of recommendation issued by a king or noble person asking foreign entities to allow the bearer safe passage. Almost all modern passports bear the vestiges of these origins by including a formulaic ceremonial phrase that

varies only slightly from the wording of an 1860 passport:

We, Charles, Augustus Lord Howard de Walden and Seaford, a Peer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland...request and require all those whom it may concern to allow Dr. Loney, British subject and officer in Her Britannic Majesty’s Navy going to Germany to pass freely without let or hindrance, and to afford him every assistance and protection of which he may stand in need.

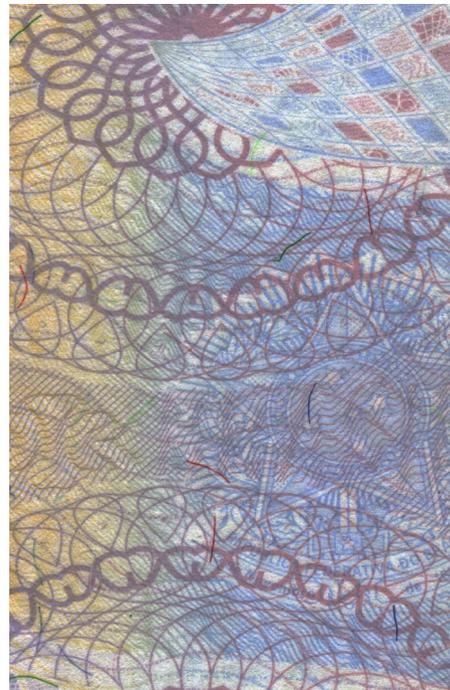






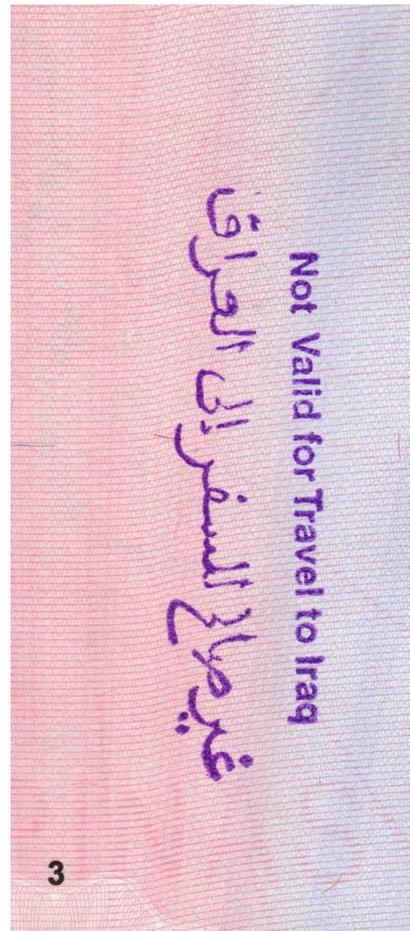
GUILLOCHES

Honduras  
Australia



FLUORESCENT FIBERS

Iceland  
Brazil



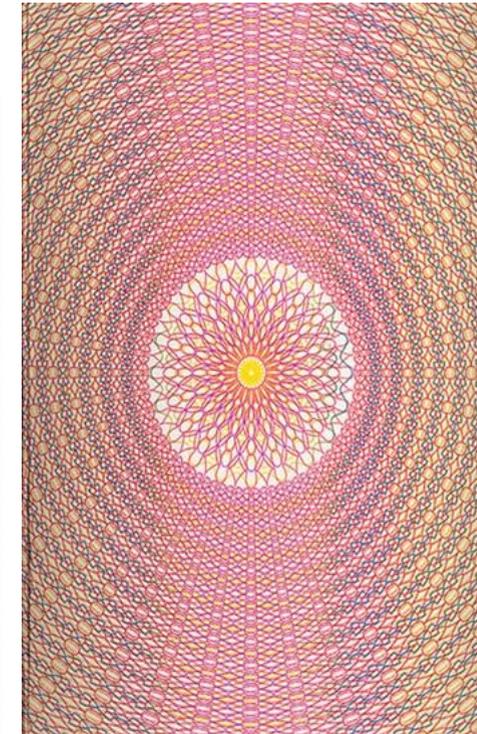
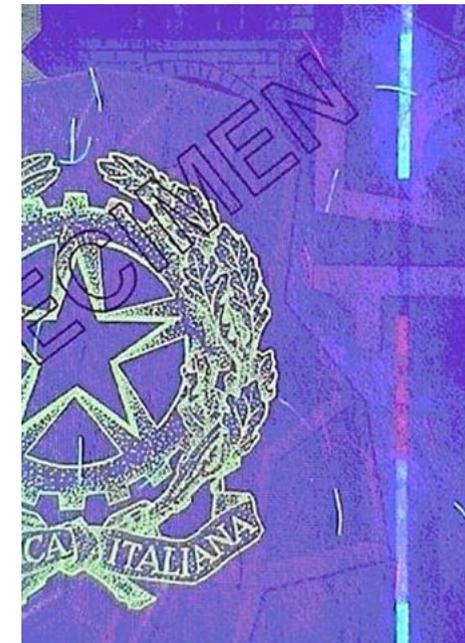
RAINBOW COLORING

Philippines



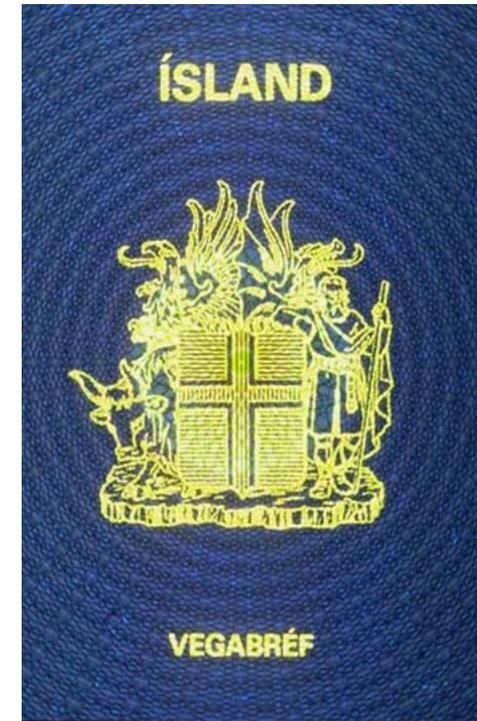
PERFORATIONS

Belgium



ULTRAVIOLET INKS

Italy  
Iceland





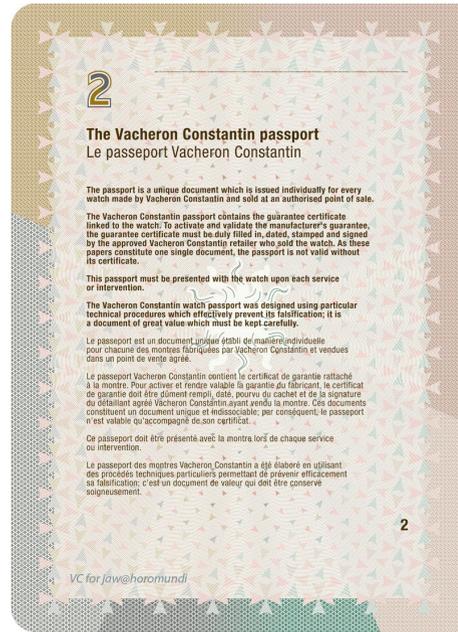
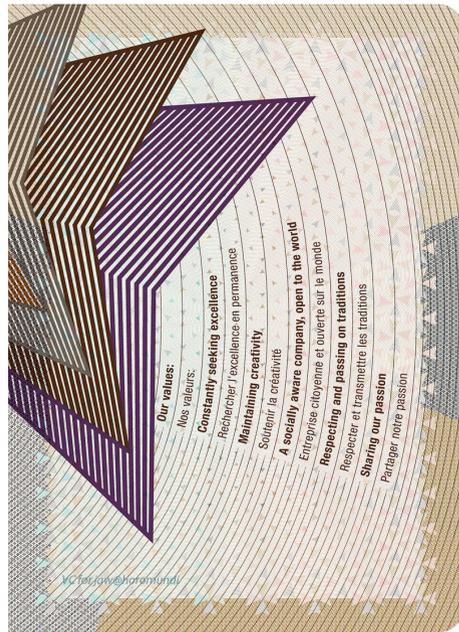
## AESTHETIC DISCRIMINATION

Almost all modern passports are printed with several security features intended to prevent counterfeiting and tampering. Typical forms of security printing include watermarks, microprinting, holograms, laser-cut pinhole images, ultraviolet inks, and security threads. Some of the oldest security printing measures rely on fine design details that produce aesthetically sophisticated effects. Rainbow coloring, also called split duct printing, subtly merges hues to protect against color copying or scanning.



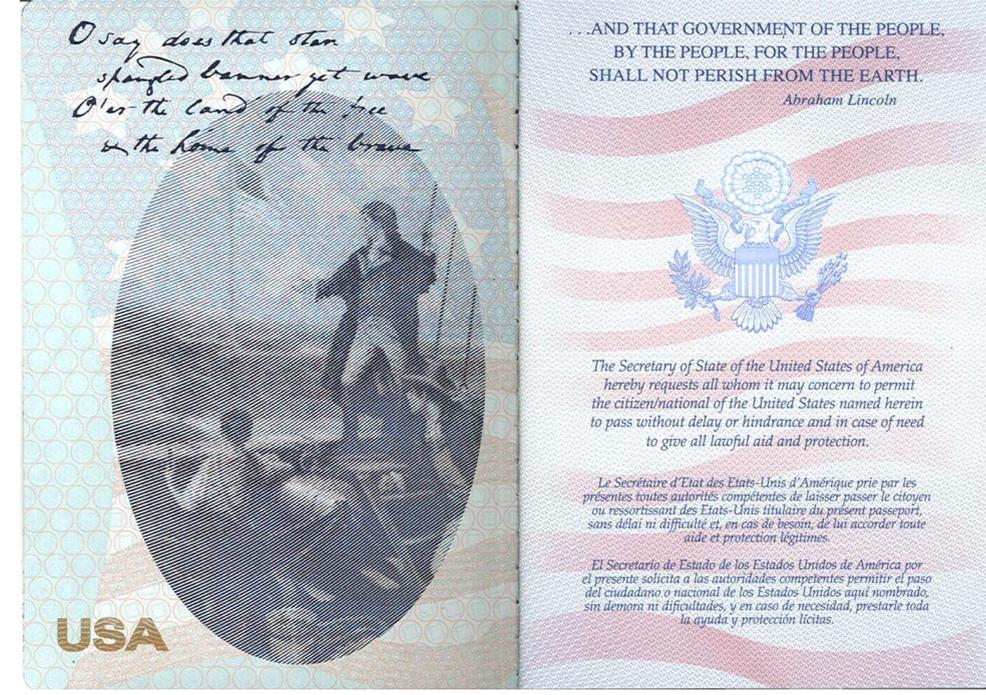
## MARGIN OF ERROR

One purportedly common security feature is an easily overlooked spelling error inserted somewhere in the microprinted text. It is said that the old Finnish passports and the current Belgian ID cards contain typos introduced purposely to confound potential counterfeiters.



**PASSPORT TO LUXURY**

It seems no coincidence that luxury goods and passports employ similar graphic conventions: the name of the brand (or country) printed repeatedly to form a pattern. Producers of both kinds of objects are concerned with branding and counterfeiting. In fact, Vacheron Constantin, the luxury Swiss watchmaker, recently hired the designer of the Swiss passport to create a “counterfeit-proof” watch with UV marking, laser perforations, and special high-security inks. The watch comes with a security “passport” to guarantee its authenticity.



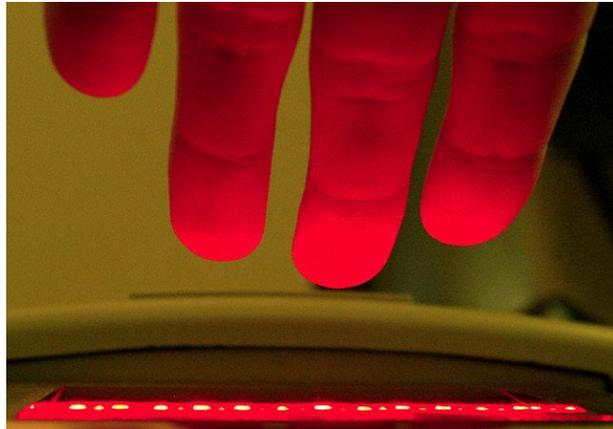
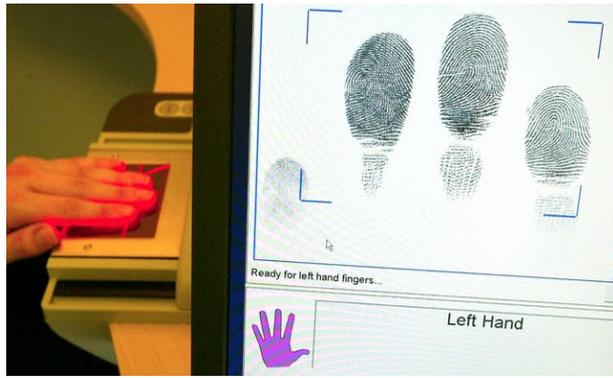
**PASSPORT PROPAGANDA**

While some countries apply security printing techniques to create abstract designs in their passport pages, other nations see the passport as a canvas for patriotic inculcation. In 2007, the United States redesigned its passport according to the theme “American Icon.” Visual emblems printed onto the pages include a bald eagle, sheaves of wheat, the flag, a clipper ship, Mount Rushmore, and a long-horn cattle drive. The images are accompanied by snippets of patriotic texts such as the national anthem lyrics, the opening lines of the Constitution, a Mohawk Thanksgiving speech, and inspirational quotes from former presidents.

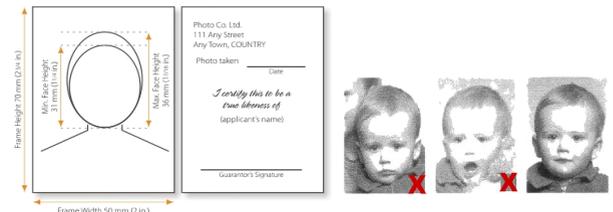
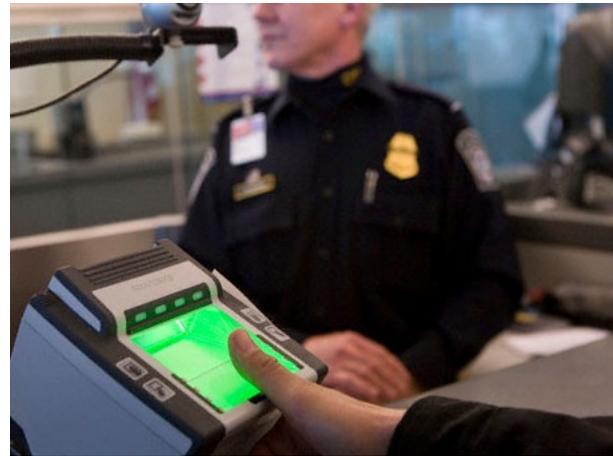
WHAT DATA SHOULD A STATE  
BE ABLE TO COLLECT ABOUT  
INDIVIDUALS PASSING THROUGH  
ITS BORDERS?

INDETERMINATE <  
BODIES <<<<<<<<<

One of the principal tasks of the passport is to verify and fix the identity of its bearer. Despite increasingly invasive and technologically sophisticated techniques, however, the core of an individual's identity remains elusive.

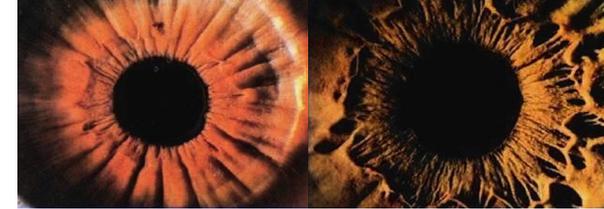
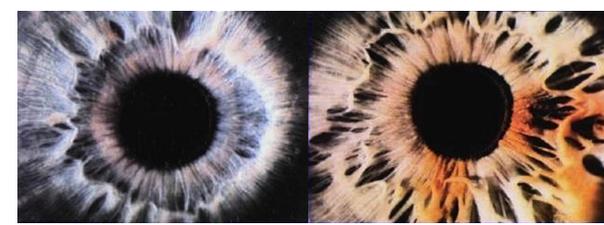


FINGERPRINTS and FINGERSCANS

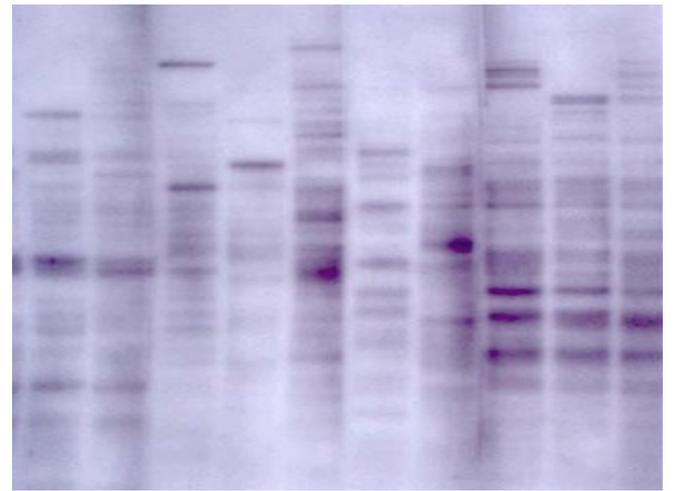
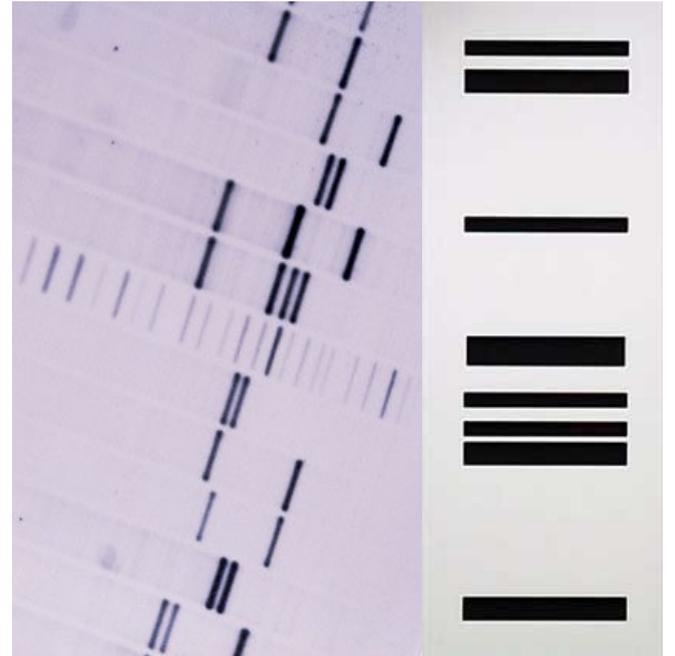
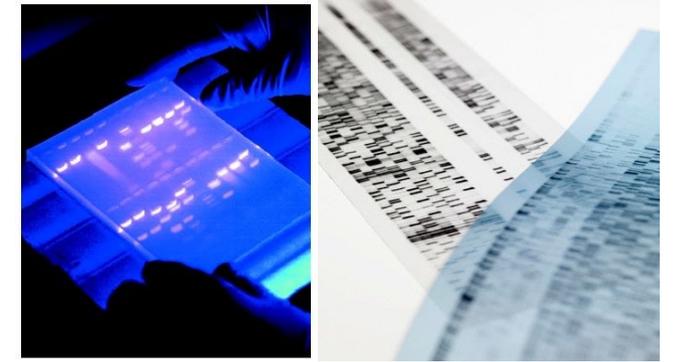


Not actual size. Refer to measurements above.

PASSPORT PHOTOGRAPHS and FACE SCANS



IRIS SCANS



DNA



*Translation:*  
 Faith orthodox  
 Years 27  
 Stature tall  
 Face round  
 Hair black  
 Eyes black  
 Nose ordinary  
 Mouth  
 Moustache brown  
 State married  
 Personal marks  
 Lasts for: three years  
 Announce to all and everyone, who about it is entitled to know, that wearer of this Nikola Jakov Kovačević of Lješanska Nahija

travels to  
 Greece  
 Asked is, so, of all Foreign Governments that to said  
 Nikola

not only free to stated place passage and return to his Fatherland, but in case of necessity, protection as well to give.

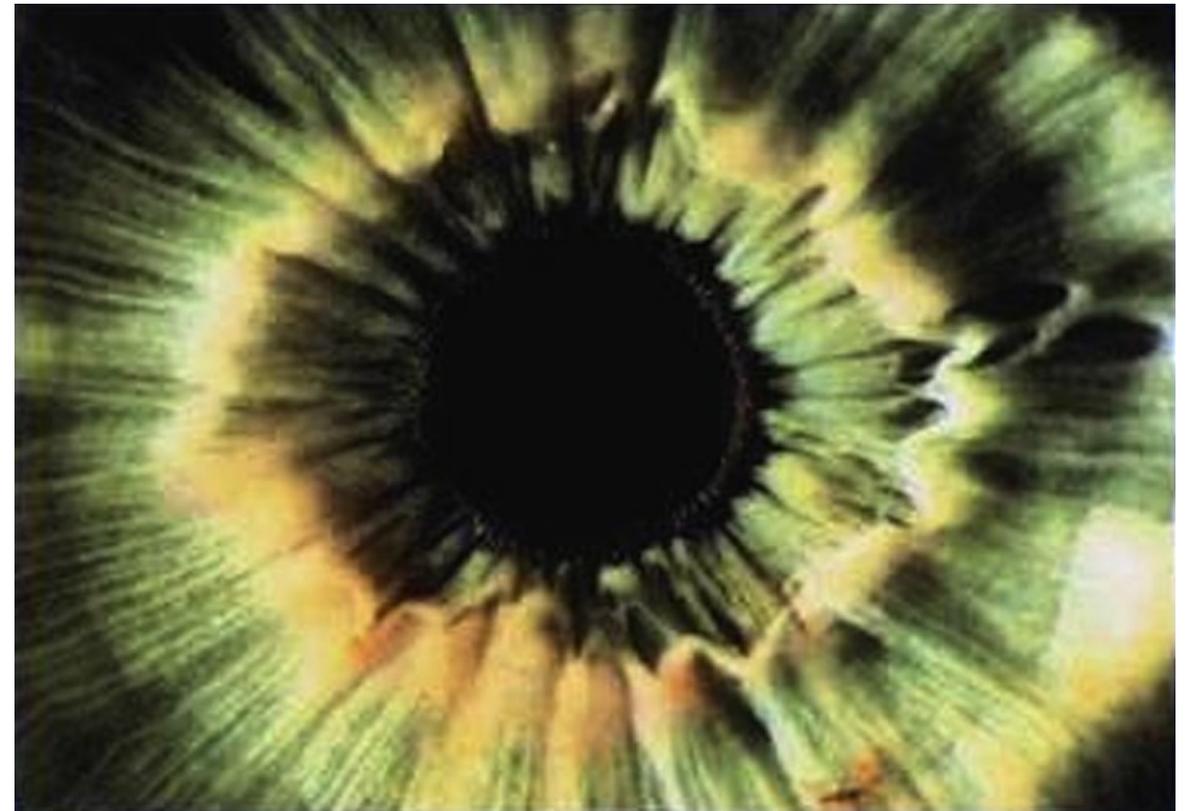
Cetinje 16 January 1887  
 By command of His Highness.  
 Minister of foreign affairs:  
 M. Plamenac

## PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Before the advent of photography, and even into the 20th century, passports had to rely on physical descriptions of their holders. One passport from 1795 described its holder, Robert Planchon, as:

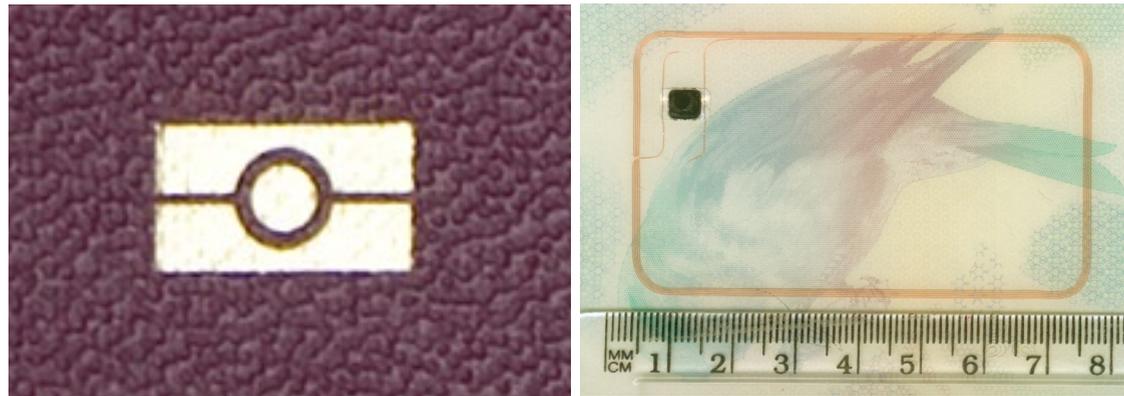
“Aged forty eight years height four feet eleven inches brown hair and eyebrows brown eyes nose like a duck large mouth wide chin round forehead round face with a small spot on the right cheek and going a bit grey...”

Above: Montenegrin passport from 1887



## BIOMETRICS

Since 9/11, increased attention has been paid to biometrics—methods for recognizing humans based upon one or more unique and intrinsic physical traits. Currently, face, fingerprint, and iris scans are the standard biometric measures used in passports. Some countries have begun collecting DNA information from selected citizens (usually those who have committed a crime), leading to heated debates about the expansion and limits of governments’ access to individuals’ biological information.



### **RFID**

The United States, European Union, and numerous other countries now require electronic passports in which biometric information is embedded in a contactless RFID chip. The RFID chip has raised security concerns from those who fear that information can be scanned and stolen from a distance. Currently, the International Civil Aviation Organization, which regulates passport standards, stipulates that an RFID chip can only contain information that is also printed in the passport itself—in other words, only information available to the naked eye.



### **FAKE EYES / FALSE SMILES**

One of the problems of biometric verification is ensuring the authenticity of scans. In the area of iris recognition, experts have been developing “liveness detection” measures to address the problem of “fake eyes” printed onto contact lenses. Facial recognition systems are sensitive to variations in facial expression and angle, leading some governments, like Canada’s, to prescribe that passport applicants must show “a neutral facial expression (no smiling, mouth closed).”

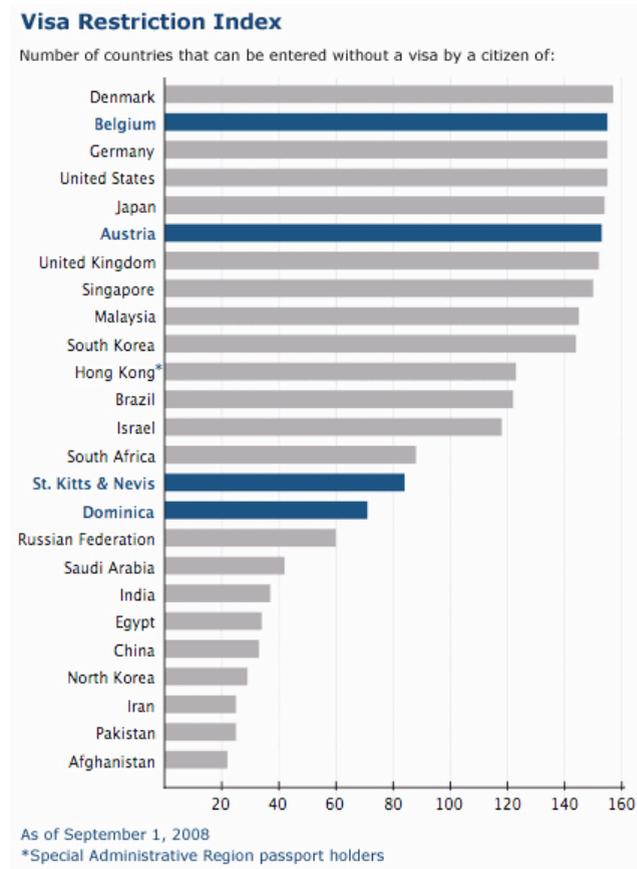
WHAT RIGHTS AND  
RESPONSIBILITIES SHOULD  
CITIZENS HAVE?

UNEQUAL <<<<<<<<  
MOBILITY <<<<<<<<

A passport typically promises passage “without delay or hindrance” to its bearer. Yet some passports offer more mobility than others, creating uneven conditions of migration and movement.



——— NO VISA REQUIRED (reciprocal relationship between countries)  
——— VISA REQUIRED (reciprocal relationship between countries)  
- - - - BLUE - NO VISA REQUIRED, GREY - VISA REQUIRED (reciprocal relationship between countries)



## HIERARCHIES OF FREEDOM

The Henley Visa Restrictions Index is a global ranking of countries according to the freedom of travel enjoyed by their citizens. According to this index, holders of a Danish passport enjoy the greatest freedom of movement, since they can obtain visa-free access to 157 other countries. Afghan citizens have the least freedom of movement, with only 22 visa-free destinations available to them. The ranking was produced by Henley & Partners, a law firm specializing in “citizenship planning.” The firm’s website informs potential clients: “Today, a person of talent and means need not limit his or her life and citizenship to only one country. Making an active decision with regard to your citizenship gives you more personal freedom, privacy and security.”



Legend:  
■ Countries that reject passports from Israel  
■ Countries that reject passports from Israel and any other passport which contain Israeli stamps or visas

## GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

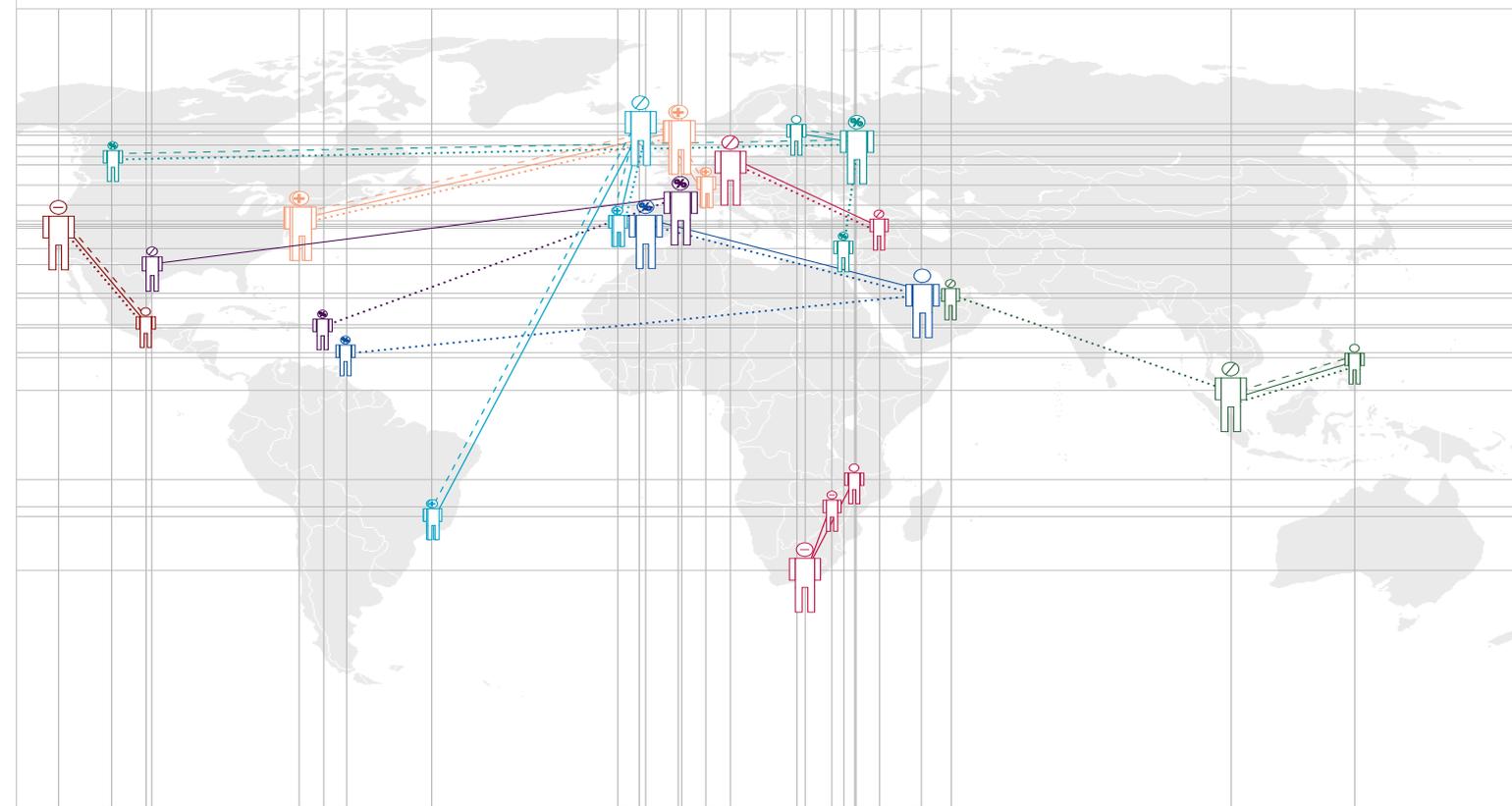
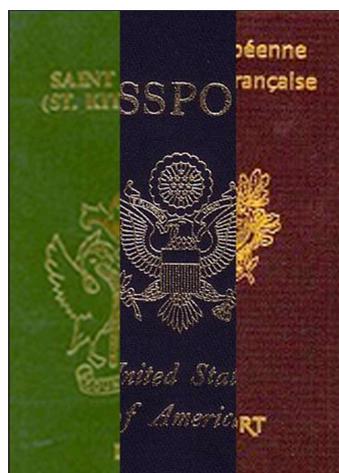
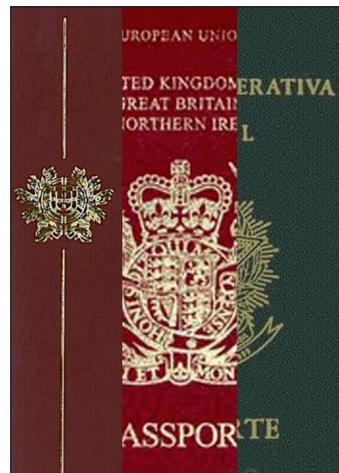
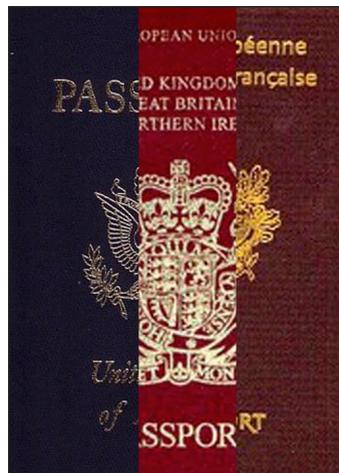
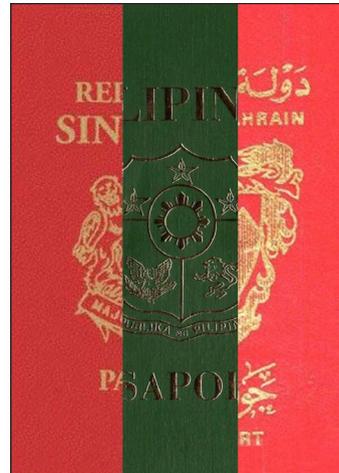
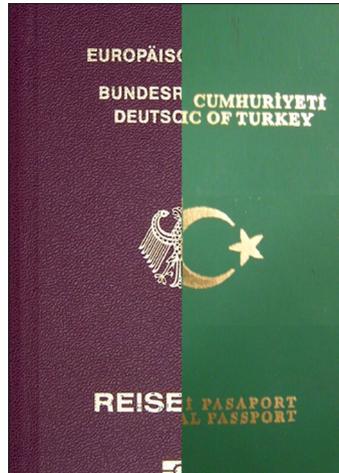
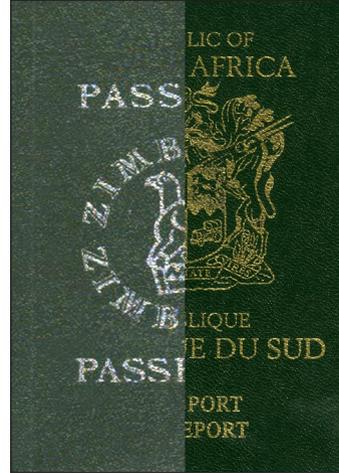
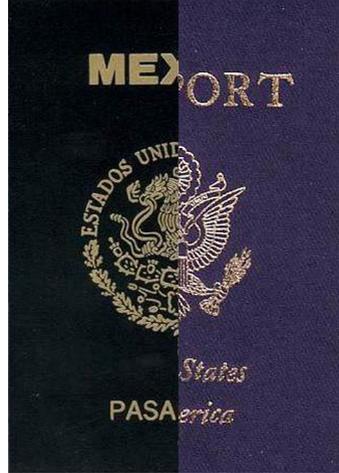
While many countries do not accept passports from states that are considered “unfriendly” or even “enemies” (for instance, the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China do not recognize each other’s passports), some nations take these prohibitions a step further. Nine countries, including Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, and Saudi Arabia, not only refuse to recognize Israeli passports, but also do not accept passports that contain Israeli stamps, visas, or other indications that the bearer has traveled in Israel. To help visitors overcome these problems, some Israeli border guards will reputedly stamp pieces of paper instead of the passport.

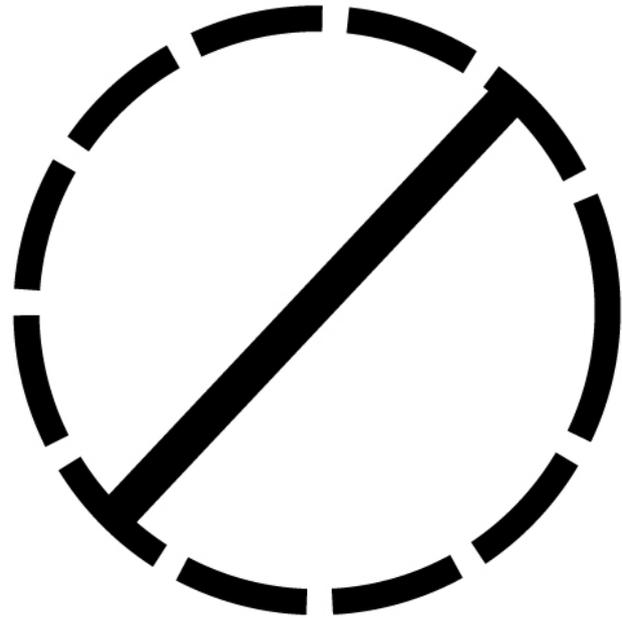
WHO IS A CITIZEN TODAY?  
WHO IS COUNTED? WHO IS  
UNCOUNTED?

# POLYMORPHOUS << CITIZENS <<<<<<<

Today many kinds of polymorphous citizens fall between or outside officially recognized categories. On one end of the spectrum are undocumented immigrants whose views are often “not counted” in the public sphere. On the other end are “discounted” citizens who seek the shelter of tax havens.

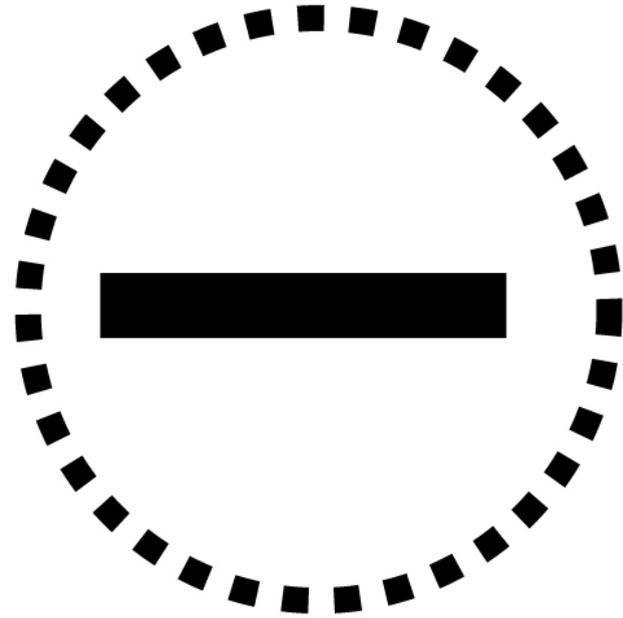
The following semi-fictional accounts of several polymorphous citizens have been culled from news reports and other media sources. Narrative texts are accompanied by maps diagramming the individuals’ multiple national affiliations. Each person is treated as a network, located somewhere but connected to many places at once through ties of blood, money, and law.





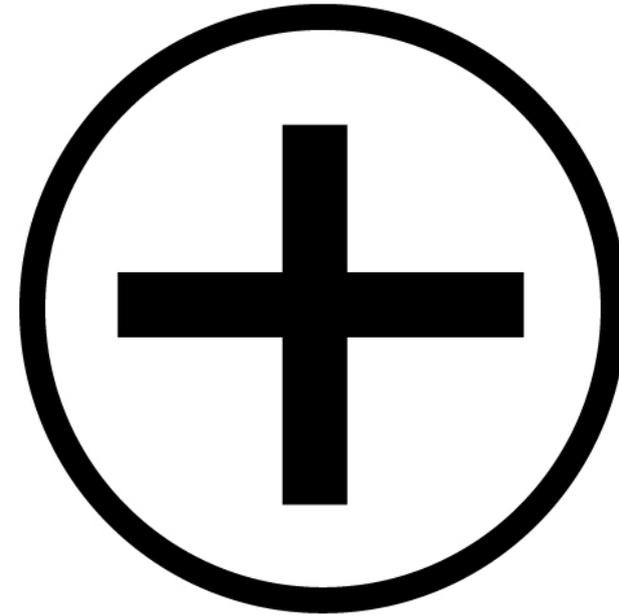
### **NOTCOUNTED**

Undocumented workers and refugees are Not Counted, not only in the sense that their exact number is unknown, but also because their status and views are insufficiently accounted for in the public sphere.



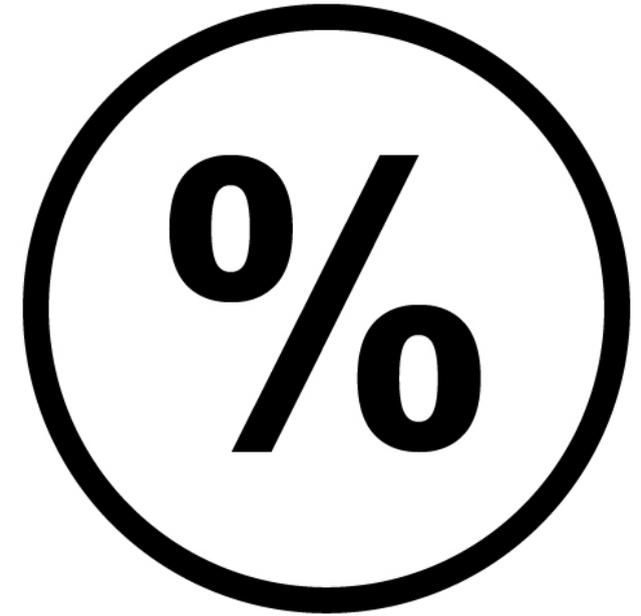
### **UNDERCOUNTED**

The Undercounted include guest workers and permanent residents. They are legally permitted, and even required or encouraged, to live and pay taxes in a country, but are not entitled to the same political and social rights as citizens.



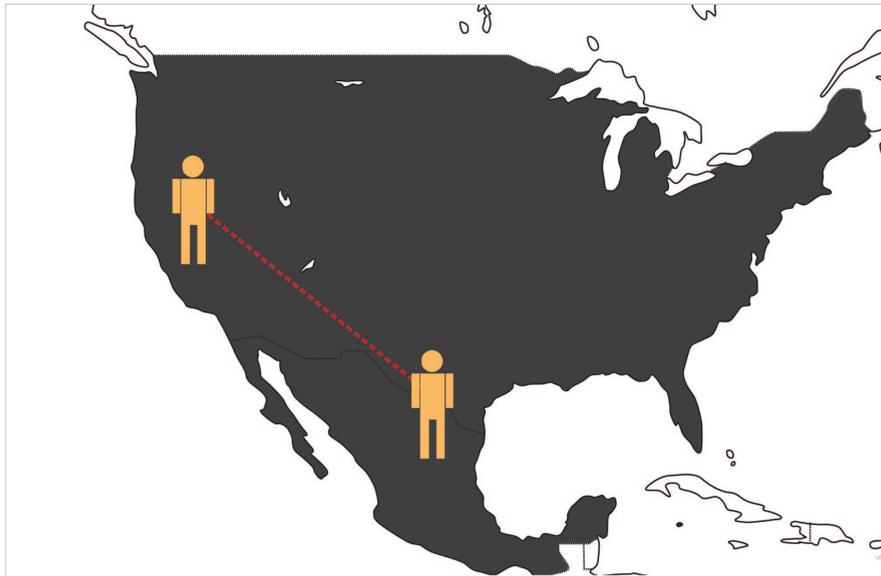
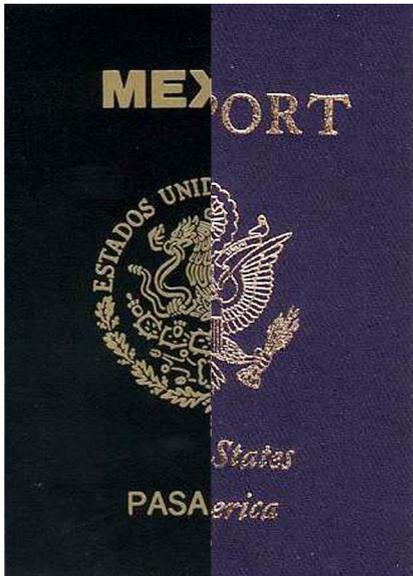
### **OVERCOUNTED**

Mobile by choice rather than by need, the Overcounted are entitled to work and to receive social and political benefits from multiple nations, but they are not necessarily politically active in all of their “affiliated nations.”



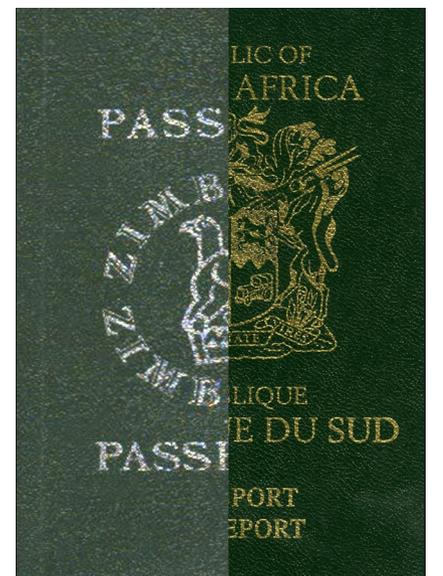
### **DISCOUNTED**

Discounted citizens roam the world in search of tax havens and minimal state interference in their private affairs. They take what benefits they can from each country in their “passport portfolios” but contribute as little as possible in return.



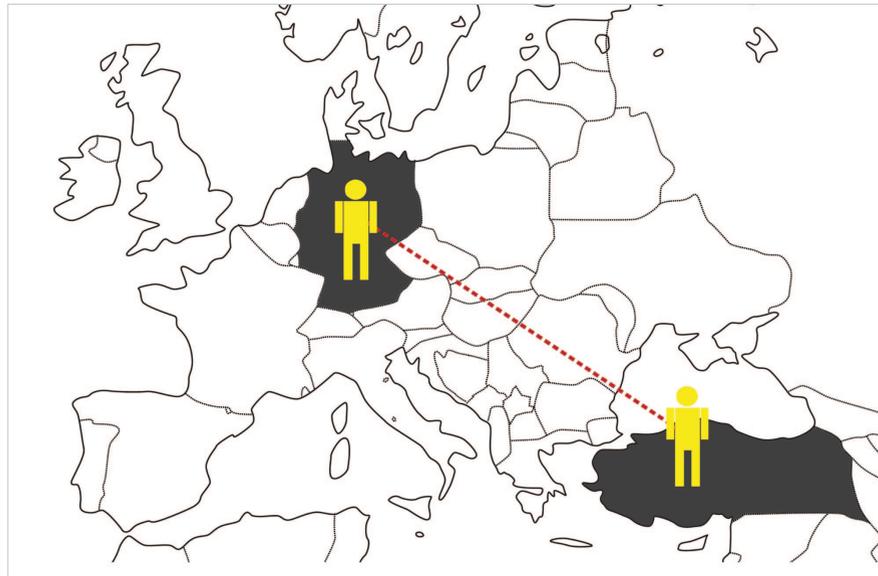
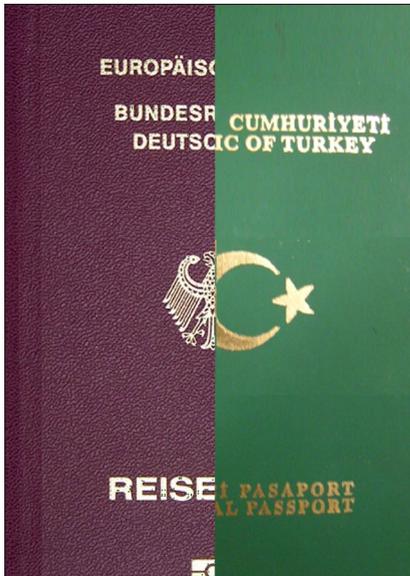
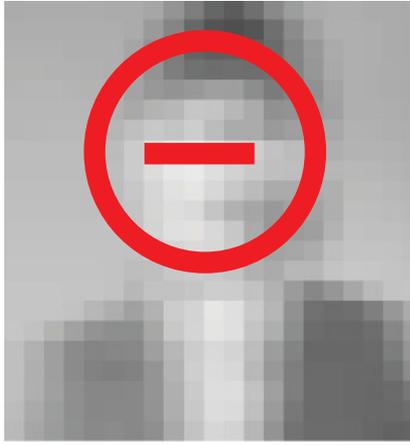
### NOTCOUNTED

Maria was born in Mexico City and immigrated illegally to San Diego. She has two children: one was born and lives with Maria in the United States, while the other remains in Mexico. Maria sends part of her paycheck back to Mexico each month.



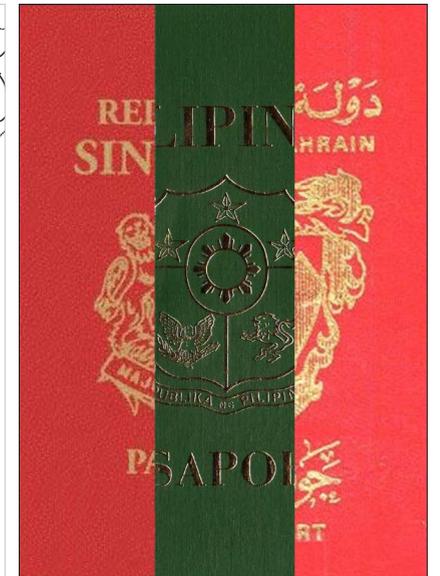
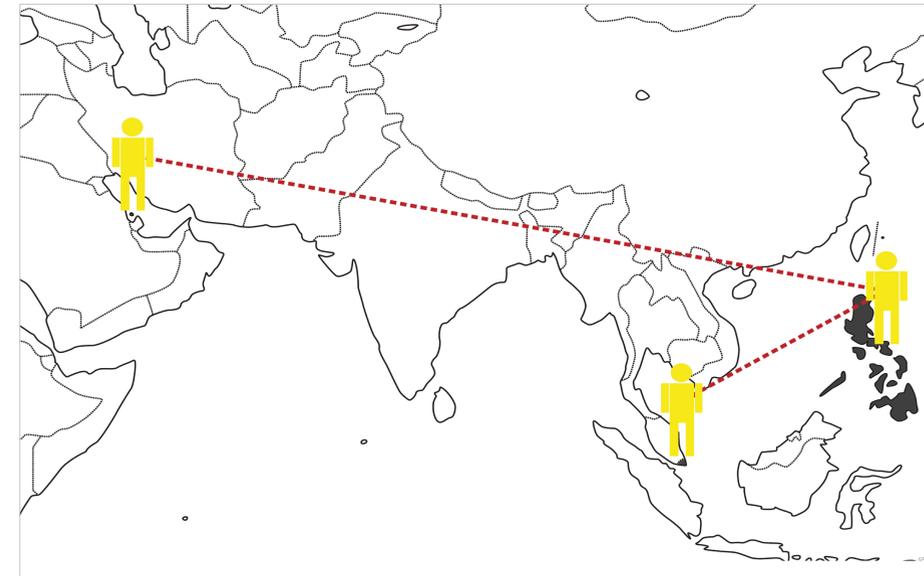
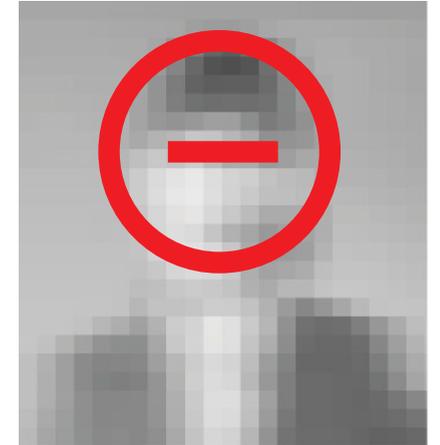
### NOTCOUNTED

Gideon was born in Harare, Zimbabwe. His parents moved to Zimbabwe from Malawi; thus Gideon holds a passport from Malawi. Because Zimbabwe does not allow dual citizenship, he is not able to obtain a Zimbabwean passport. He recently fled Zimbabwe's political persecution and failing economy, crossing the Limpopo River to South Africa in search of safety and farm work. He was deported back to Zimbabwe, but soon found his way back to South Africa.



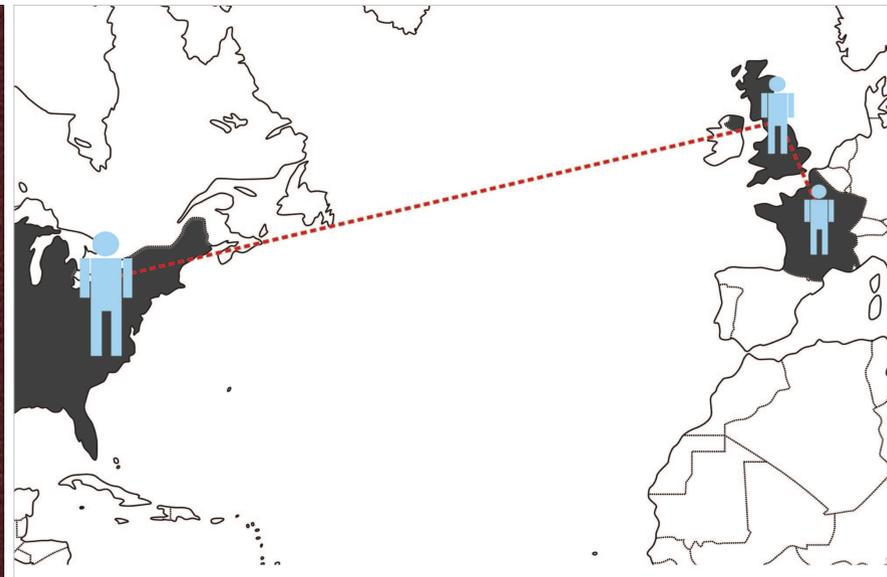
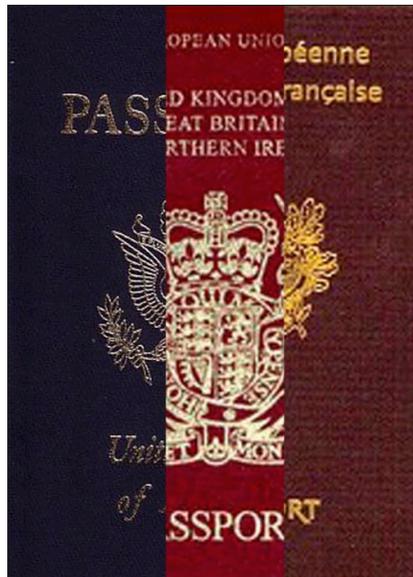
### UNDERCOUNTED

Ali was born in Turkey and holds citizenship there. He immigrated to Germany in the 1960s under the country's guest worker program. He is now retired and receives social benefits from the German government. Ali is reluctant to give up his Turkish nationality and therefore has not attempted to obtain German citizenship. His two children were born in Berlin and are dual German and Turkish citizens; they will have to choose between the two nationalities when they reach age 23.



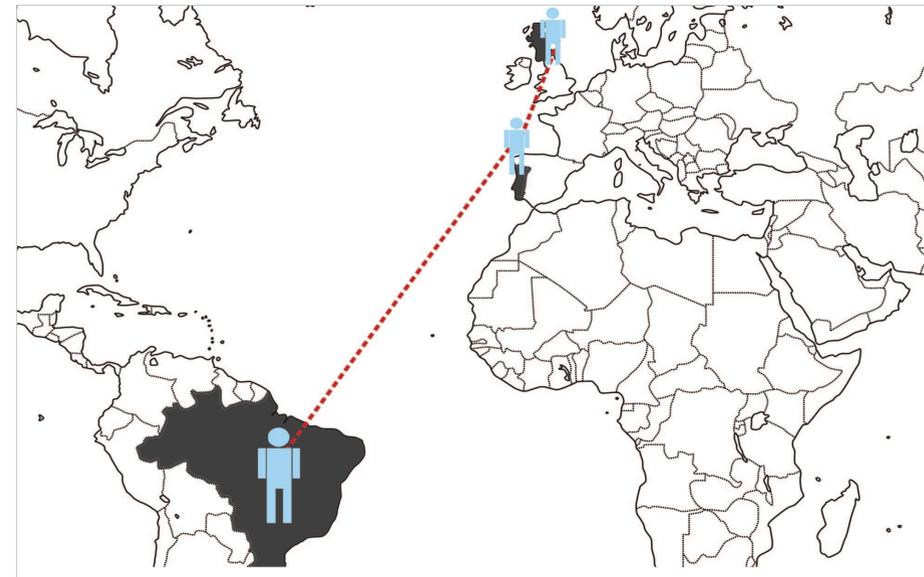
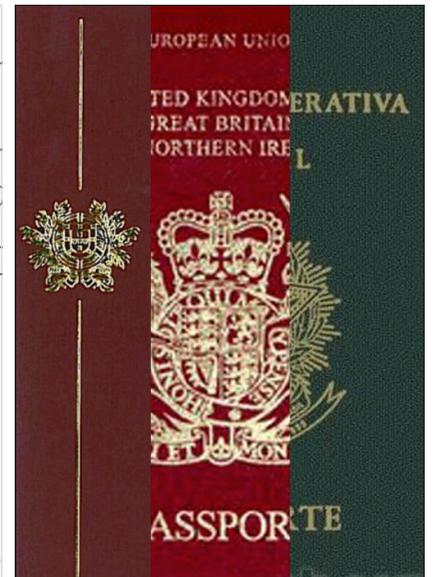
### UNDERCOUNTED

Rafael was born in the Philippines. He worked for some time on a US naval base in Luzon; however when the Philippine government refused to renew the lease on the base, Rafael lost his job. He immigrated to Bahrain and found employment as a construction worker. After a few months, he returned to the Philippines. Today he lives and works in Singapore, as part of the country's guest worker program. His children still live in the Philippines, and he sends money home to them each month.



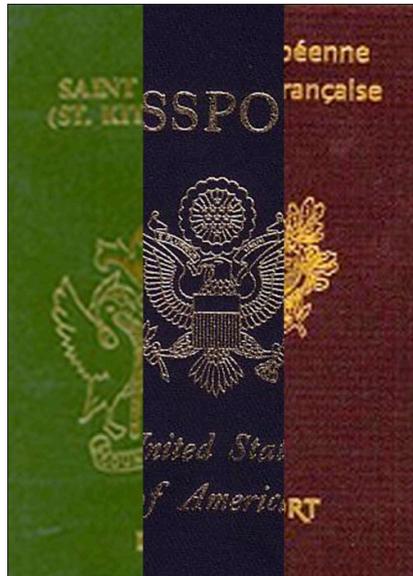
### OVERCOUNTED

Emile was born in and is a citizen of the United States. His mother was British by birth, so he also has UK citizenship. His father was French and therefore he also has French citizenship. None of these countries prohibits multiple citizenship, so he holds passports from all three. Emile divides his time between London and New York, and pays taxes and votes in both the UK and the US. His children live in the US



### OVERCOUNTED

Sofia's mother is Brazilian (ethnically Italian and Brazilian) and her father is Portuguese. She has dual nationality, and holds Brazilian and Portuguese passports as well as European Union citizenship. After she lost her job in Brazil, Sofia moved to Lisbon to work in a textile factory for four months. Because she is a dual citizen, she did not have to apply for a work permit. After several months she found a job through an agency in a food processing factory in Edinburgh, where she now resides.



### DISCOUNTED

Roger was born in Houston, Texas. His work as an investor frequently takes him to Germany, France, Hong Kong, and the United States. He now lives in France, but recently renounced his citizenship in the United States, which taxes citizens regardless of their place of residence, and acquired economic citizenship in St. Kitts and Nevis, which does not tax income. Roger's assets are distributed in numerous foreign bank accounts in Switzerland, Andorra, and Monaco.



### DISCOUNTED

Nadia was born in Latvia, then part of the USSR. She now lives in Russia, where she is the president of a trading company. Concerns about the stability of the Russian government and economy led Nadia to begin developing a "passport portfolio" with the assistance of a professional adviser. She has since acquired citizenships in Cyprus, Canada, and Latvia. Each of these citizenships affords her specific benefits: tax shelter, access to good educational opportunities for her children, and ease of travel.

# INCONCLUSIVE << SURVEYS <<<<<<<<

Surveys are typically taken to answer a question objectively and definitively. In contrast, the following survey questions are designed to provoke uncertainty and to open up new lines of interrogation about the nature of citizenship today.

**1**

**WHICH CITIZENSHIP PROFILE DO YOU THINK BEST DESCRIBES YOUR STATUS?**

**NOW SELECT ANOTHER CITIZENSHIP PROFILE THAT IS A STARK CONTRAST TO YOURS.**

You may select multiple

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NotCounted <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NotCounted e.g. Refugees, Undocumented Workers	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NotCounted <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UnderCounted <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UnderCounted e.g. Legal Workers, Permanent Residents	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UnderCounted <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Counted <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Counted e.g. Legal Citizens of One Country	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Counted <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OverCounted <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OverCounted e.g. Dual / Multiple Citizens	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OverCounted <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DisCounted <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DisCounted e.g. Economic Citizens of Tax Havens	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DisCounted <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Do Not Know <input type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Do Not Know <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTIONS

**2**

**WHAT SHOULD THE HOLDER OF A PASSPORT BE CALLED?**

You may select multiple answers

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Citizen <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Subject <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> National <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Taxpayer <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Dependent <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Protected person <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

**3**

**WHAT SHOULD DETERMINE A PERSON'S PASSPORT COLOR?**

You may select multiple answers

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual preference <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Citizenship status <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> National affiliation <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Regional affiliation <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Multinational affiliation <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

**4**

**WHAT SHOULD THE SYMBOL ON A PASSPORT COVER SIGNIFY?**

You may select multiple answers

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual identity <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nation's population and ethnic groups <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nation's flora, fauna, or main industries <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Arcane medieval heraldry <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Regional, economic, or political alliances <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

**5**

**WHAT SUBLIMINAL INFORMATION SHOULD BE EMBEDDED IN A PASSPORT?**

You may select multiple answers

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Name of country in microprint	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Historical/patriotic montages in pastel intaglio	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Concealed subversive messages visible in UV light	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Holographic patch obscuring photo of passport holder	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RFID chip embedded with biometric information about passport holder	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Only images visible to naked eye	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

**6**

**WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD A STATE BE ABLE TO COLLECT ABOUT INDIVIDUALS PASSING THROUGH ITS BORDERS?**

You may select multiple answers

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DNA <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Iris scan <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Face scan / image <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fingerprint <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Signature <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Only information visible to the naked eye <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Verbal description of individual <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/>

**WHY?**  
COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

1

WHICH CITIZENSHIP PROFILE DO YOU THINK BEST DESCRIBES YOUR STATUS?

NOW SELECT ANOTHER CITIZENSHIP PROFILE THAT IS A STARK CONTRAST TO YOURS.

You may select multiple

NotCounted

NotCounted e.g. Refugees, Undocumented Workers

UnderCounted

UnderCounted e.g. Legal Workers, Permanent Residents

Counted

Counted e.g. Legal Citizens of One Country

OverCounted

OverCounted e.g. Dual / Multiple Citizens

DisCounted

DisCounted e.g. Economic Citizens of Tax Havens

Do Not Know

Other:

You may select multiple

NotCounted

UnderCounted

Counted

OverCounted

DisCounted

Do Not Know

Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

OUR FAMILY, LIKE SO MANY OTHERS, IS "MIXED STATUS" - UNDER/NOT/OVERCOUNTED

OverCounted

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

THE UNCERTAINTY OF ALL OF THESE CATEGORIES MAY BE WHAT MOTIVATES SOME TO BECOME "OVERCOUNTED."

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION COMES INTO CRUCIAL PLAY WHEN THE "NOT COUNTED" ARE CONCERNED. ARE NOT NECESSARILY THE PRIVILEGED OPPOSITE.

2

WHAT SHOULD THE HOLDER OF A PASSPORT BE CALLED?

You may select multiple answers

Citizen

Subject

National

Taxpayer

Dependent

Protected person

Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

Passport Holder. I feel it gives the most general name to a detailed complex then

Other: Passport Holder   
WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
Return to literality! -based on individual!

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
Who is hailing the holder to this passport? Is citizen more universal? ~~is it~~ is it to French? Why not abolish the passport?

3

### WHAT SHOULD DETERMINE A PERSON'S PASSPORT COLOR?

You may select multiple answers

- Individual preference
- Citizenship status
- National affiliation
- Regional affiliation
- Multinational affiliation
- Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

LESS ~~DISCRIMINATION~~ DISCRIMINATION

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

Graphic Design

Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

Country of Birth + Country of residence. It makes for more paperwork however

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

WHATEVER THE COUNTRY SEES FIT TO DISTINGUISH AMONG THEIR CITIZENS.

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

FLAG

4

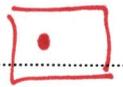
### WHAT SHOULD THE SYMBOL ON A PASSPORT COVER SIGNIFY?

You may select multiple answers

- Individual identity
- Nation's population and ethnic groups
- Nation's flora, fauna, or main industries
- Arcane medieval heraldry
- Regional, economic, or political alliances
- Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

MAP / PLACEMENT IN THE WORLD



WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

Secular ... very important

Nation's flora, fauna, or main industries

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

A COUNTRY IS DEFINED BY ITS PEOPLE -

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

FINGER PRINT

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

NO SYMBOL

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION

THERE SHOULD JUST BE TEXT. LOGISTICAL INFO ONLY.

5

WHAT SUBLIMINAL INFORMATION SHOULD BE EMBEDDED IN A PASSPORT?

You may select multiple answers

- Name of country in microprint
- Historical/patriotic montages in pastel intaglio
- Concealed subversive messages visible in UV light
- Holographic patch obscuring photo of passport holder
- RFID chip embedded with biometric information about passport holder
- Only images visible to naked eye
- Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*WHY NOT?*

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*WHAT? SUBLIMINAL MESSAGES!*

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*Because passports have been used historically in evil ways*

Other:   
*TRAVEL HISTORY*

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*INCLUDING LOCATION DURATION*

6

WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD A STATE BE ABLE TO COLLECT ABOUT INDIVIDUALS PASSING THROUGH ITS BORDERS?

You may select multiple answers

- DNA
- Iris scan
- Face scan / image
- Fingerprint
- Signature
- Only information visible to the naked eye
- Verbal description of individual
- Other:

WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*QUALITATIVE INDICATION OF THE AUTHOR'S P.O.V.*

*VERNAICULAR*

- Signature
- Only information visible to the naked eye
- Verbal description of individual
- Other:
- WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*Slippery slope about when we rely on Biometric data..*

- Face scan / image
- Fingerprint
- Signature
- Only information visible to the naked eye
- Verbal description of individual
- Other:
- WHY? COMMENT ON YOUR SELECTION  
*WHY NOT?*



**EXHIBITIONS**  
**PUBLIC**  
**INSTALLATIONS**



**AESTHETICS OF CROSSING**  
Land Ports of Entry / Citizenship by Design  
Van Alen Institute, New York, 2009



## AESTHETICS OF CROSSING

**Land Ports of Entry / Citizenship by Design** pairs two projects that examine border crossing points and the individuals who pass through them. Although developed independently, “Land Ports of Entry” by Smith-Miller + Hawkinson and “Citizenship by Design” by Kadambari Baxi and Irene Cheng nevertheless were both incubated amid current debates over immigration, globalization, and national security. The projects are both responses to the provocative question: What do aesthetics have to do with the politics of global migration?

**Land Ports of Entry** features Smith-Miller + Hawkinson’s designs for two border stations that facilitate the inspection and control of passenger and commercial vehicles traversing the border between the United States and Canada. As both ceremonial gateways and sites of surveillance and regulation, the ports must convey a sense of openness as well as security. The architects use aesthetics—particularly material effects of transparency, translucency, and opacity—to negotiate the contradictions of the program and to gesture towards the buildings’ equivocal, post-9/11 geopolitical landscape.

**Citizenship by Design** examines the techniques that states use to inspect and to identify subjects. The project considers the design of artifacts such as international passports, identification technologies, and regulations regarding naturalization and travel. By highlighting the aesthetics of these objects and rules, and by remixing their graphic elements into multinational hybrids, the project calls attention to the ways that citizenship is designed—and the ways it might be reimaged in an era of proliferating global crossings.

First exhibited together as a two-project show at the **Van Alen Institute** in July of 2009, **Land Ports of Entry** and **Citizenship by Design** present distinct yet equally engaged attempts by designers to think through the relationship between aesthetics and politics. One project is architectural, concrete, and real; the other is graphic, intangible, and narrative. Both provoke viewers to reconsider the aesthetic dimensions of how nation-states regulate individuals’ movements and identities.



**AESTHETICS OF CROSSING**  
**Land Ports of Entry / Citizenship by Design**  
 Van Alen Institute, New York, 2009

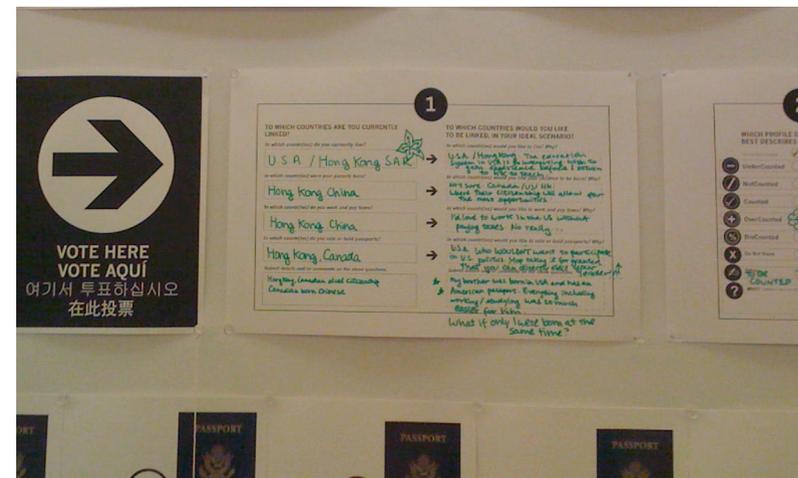


**AESTHETICS OF CROSSING**  
**Land Ports of Entry / Citizenship by Design**  
 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 2010



**UNCOUNTED COUNTS:**  
**Redefining Citizenship**  
 Tunnel Gallery, Barnard College, New York.

In a busy hallway connecting two ends of the campus, the installation encouraged students to write directly on ballots posted on the wall and to respond to questions on citizenship.





**UNCOUNTED COUNTS: Redefining Citizenship**  
Outdoor public installation in Columbus Park,  
Chinatown, New York, 2008.

Collaboration with AAFE (Asian American for Equality).  
The installation engaged residents and visitors in  
discussions about citizenship through bilingual ballots  
and an instant display of “voting results.”

