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Rosalind Fredericks, *Garbage Citizenship: Vital Infrastructures of Labor in Dakar, Senegal*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018. 200 pp. ISBN: 9781478002505.

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Rosalind Fredericks' *Garbage Citizenship: Vital Infrastructures of Labor in Dakar, Senegal* progresses on an anthropological footing. The book critically examines garbage infrastructure as a vignette of the "larger political questions" of contemporary struggles over urban planning and urban citizenship in Dakar, Senegal. The book positions the valence of garbage on two opposing trajectories; on one hand is the obsession to rid the city of its putrefaction, most evident in the 1988 – 1989 *Set/Setal* ("Be Clean/Make Clean") social movement in which youths cleaned garbage from the streets of Dakar. On the other hand is the use of garbage as tool of protest, demonstrated in the 2007 garbage dumping frenzy in opposition to President Abdoulaye Wade's elite politics. The author argues that this waste infrastructure frames vital questions of urban citizenship including citizens' concerns about disposability in governance, labor and dignity, and the valence of spirituality in political questions. The 2014 collective bargaining agreement granting trash workers formal contracts, higher salaries, and health care benefits, the author argues, instantiates a response to these very questions and a new era of political governance and citizenship in Dakar.

Overall, this book implements a highly integrated approach in studying the way African cities and citizenship politics are linked. Through its rather novel perspective, urban garbage infrastructure, the author penetrates the otherwise opaque political spaces of Dakar and keenly uses this infrastructure as a tool for discussing citizenship under uncertain political crisis.

The first chapter, *Governing Disposability*, is set in the milieu of the massive cleaning effort in Dakar in the period before the 11th Organization of the Islamic Conference (Organization de la conférence islamique; OIC), a summit of global leaders from the Islamic world held in Dakar in 2008. The chapter discusses the history of the structural adjustment program from 1988 to 2000 and the liberal era of president Abdoulaye Wade between 2000 to 2012. The author points to the involvement of Senegal's President, Abdoulaye Wade, in gentrification and the cleaning of the city's elite spaces to exemplify the linkage between infrastructural arrangements and performance of state power and politics. The chapter suggests that the ambition to showcase the physical and visual aspects of infrastructural development and the concomitant tinkering with garbage management institutions represents an effort to govern the disposal infrastructure through political interventions. Such actions indicate a detachment of the president from Dakar's public. The processes of organizing the city, specifically garbage management during these two time periods provide useful allegories of labor and infrastructure politics as fundamental platforms for appraising the radical reconfigurations of state power and democracy.

In chapter two, *Vital Infrastructures of Labor*, the author describes the controversial 1988 elections and the subsequent 1990s devolution of the city's garbage infrastructure to the fetishized participatory *Set/Setal* movement by Dakar's mayor. This historical moment portrays the

implications of these arrangements on the city's youth labor, leisure norms, communities and relationships, and political subjectivities that arise in using people as infrastructure. Discussed under the concept of "vital ecology of trash infrastructures", these transformations engender a perilous link between material technologies of garbage and human bodies involved in this process. The end result of such participatory infrastructures is reconfiguration of the relationship between state and citizens in the process of expending and using human capacities. The author discusses Set/Setal to exemplify the symbiotic arrangement between the youths involved in political activism against state corruption and mired in an unemployment crisis conflict while the government invoked it to appease the youth and avert a revolt by granting them jobs. In subsequent periods, this dynamic would prove pivotal in changing Dakar's political proclivities from the degrading stigmatization of trash workers, which the author discusses in detail in chapter three, to a humane infrastructure with clear and appropriate rewards discussed in chapter four.

The author analyzes the material and sociopolitical capacities of community-based waste infrastructure at the Enda trash collection project in his chapter on "Technologies of Community." The author draws on the notions of community, participation, and empowerment to articulate the new agendas emerging from garbage infrastructures. In detailing the local practices of communal coherence and the gendered hierarchies of power, the replacement of advanced technology of the trash collection infrastructure with women as the garbage infrastructure is revealed. The resulting power relations between local customary authorities and local development both generated and reinforced communal divisions. This new line of power, the author reiterates, presents the female garbage collectors as embodiments of long-lasting force of waste, thus dehumanizing trash workers and a majority of Dakar's households caught in this increasingly dysfunctional low-tech garbage infrastructure as well.

The fourth chapter refreshes the audience's memory of the May 1, 2007 strike by the National Cleaning Workers Union (le Syndicat National des travailleurs du nettoyage; SNTN) and the participation of the city's public in dirtying the city. These actions, the author suggests, amount to a refusal of precarious conditions and marked the beginning of the reversal of austerity management trends. The chapter addresses three key issues: the disruptive potential of the general trash strike, the communication channels used to mobilize the public in support of trash work and protest, and the spiritual valence of the trash labor as an act of piety. The author uses the concept of "material spirituality" to render Dakar's trash disposal infrastructures as simultaneously performances of piety. The conclusion is that since cleanliness is key to Islamic faith, garbage workers who commit themselves to rid Dakar of its filth should refuse to be degraded as if they were, too, garbage. In this sense, the trash crisis and refusal to be mistreated by political leaders frames new ways of contesting neoliberal politics and asserting incipient citizenship thoughts.

As the author concludes, he comments on the role of garbage in communicating the history of political contestation and the over-arching relationship between infrastructure and urban citizenship in Senegal. Furthermore, the author argues that Dakar's garbage ecologies embodied by workers, the urban communities, technological materials of trash, and ritual performances binding politics to spirituality provide a broadly useful model for theorization of city infrastructure. The organization and operation of garbage as conceptual raw material for theorizing urban citizenship in Dakar presents a unique opportunity to reveal the political and spiritual imaginaries of citizenship.

In considering the agenda which the book sets for itself in the introduction, one may ask, to what extent does it meet these critical obligations? Based on the author's discussions cited so far, this book achieves two unique contributions to the studies of the Global South and urban

citizenship theory. The first concerns the wider debate of urban citizenship in so-called Global South cities. Fredericks suitably discusses the social and embodied discourses of garbage infrastructure through the chiasmic symbol of “discard and filth” vs “cleanliness and purity.” In the former, the author points out that the politicization of garbage through selective dumping and the resulting stigma through infestation of decay, constitutes a form of resistance against state political maneuvers. Indeed, the disruption of environmental ideals is concurrently tied to the disruption of the spiritual. In the latter, the author describes the way urban youths mobilize in cleaning activities serves as a metaphor for political cleansing. Clearly, then, this book invites introspection into the valence of urban waste at the physical and political levels, which may reorient urban theory to challenge the view that African cities are exceptional. Fredericks’ chiasmic view of garbage is quite provocative in the implications it elicits, namely, to dare the reader to see garbage beyond its physical, environmental existence. Perhaps garbage is philosophical and its circulation has the capacity to generate meaning that resonates with political ideologies, human bodies, physical spaces, and spiritual processes. Garbage citizenship, the most immediate parlance deriving from this triad, underscores the very notions of garbage as a critical portion of Global South theory.

This work should be commended for its ability to band together Global South theory, human labor, neoliberal politics, and anthropological urban research within the trope of garbage citizenship and neoliberal political economies. In this approach, the author argues that politics of garbage in Dakar, Senegal, offers a real opportunity to witness a complex web of neoliberal proclivities in the wake of structural adjustment programs. The ideas of statehood and powerplay, and resistances to hegemonic maneuvers evidently critiqued through the allegorical reading of garbage in the public spaces engages the customary view of structural adjustment programs as malevolent waves detrimental to Africa’s urbanism. Indeed, the book suggests that upsetting these practices during the 2000s ushered in a new political paradigm in Dakar, enabling the trash workers to counter the degrading processes of slave-like labor and enforce a departure from the socialist to neoliberal political posture. In this sense, the book provides unique theoretical material for comprehending cities of the Global South through garbage ecologies.

This book resonates with critical urban theories, most notably Global South theory. The ideas of citizenship, people as infrastructure, bricolage, and chaotic infrastructures prove to be useful in understanding the relationship between politics, spirituality and urban communities. The book is very valuable, and highly recommended for scholars of Global South urbanism, urban citizenship, and Global South theories. Certainly, many other disciplines concerned with cities would also benefit from the author’s anthropological insights.

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