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HUMAN SECURITY AND EXCLUDING INCLUSION:THE BORDERS IN THE ACTIVE AND PASSIVE CITIZENSHIP EXERCISE

Abstract:

This article considers two current topics: citizenship and security, in relation with a phenomenon denominated here as Â«excluding inclusionÂ». The first topic emphasizes the active participation while the second one, conceived as human security, highlights the acceptance of oppression due to fear and insecurity, in accordance to diverse situations in which an individual can be involved. Thus, human security will be studied as one of the main elements required by the exercise of democracy, devoted to its basic principles. In this sense, a democracy needs some givens to exist. Therefore, human security reinforces an active citizenship or even a critical citizenship, whereas an excluding inclusion provokes a lack of citizenship, or even a limited one as a result to the prevailing conditions of being marginalized. This provokes that both variables are considered as mutually exclusive, with direct consequences in the participation and involvement in the decision-making process from a State. Hence, the guiding research question will be: How to constitute true active citizenship in the midst of pseudo-inclusive processes? As an hypothesis to solve this query, we would propose that: There is a positive proportional relation between security of any kind and the rise of participation and development, thus, the absence of security, specifically of human security, brings to those who undergo it, to allow acts of excluding inclusion. As a consequence, they become less active or participant. In this sense, is the latter type of inclusion an unavoidable obstacle in the construction of citizenship? Does human insecurity firstly drive to the acceptance of excluding inclusion, and then to its consequential lack of security, that finally develop a vicious cycle? How to reconcile democracy, human insecurity, and a kind of inclusion that differentiates between the citizen who is currently constructing its economic, social and political community from a citizen who is considered as vulnerable and, therefore, as someone who could be sacrificed?

Keywords:

I. As an introduction…

Nowadays, the study of democracy and its random perform in those countries that embrace it, has led to highlight the deficiencies and contradictions precisely between its theory and its praxis. Most of all, it shows the conflict between the strict application of its recognized principles, both fundamental and meaningful. As an example, we could emphasize the tension around the exercise of citizenship of those who form part of the population of a State, but whose participation is limited, if it exists, to electoral processes, thus restricting their participation and active citizenship.

The topics to be covered here have been extensively addressed by numerous authors and do not respond to recent problems. The dichotomies security-insecurity and exclusion-inclusion have always been present at any country. We cannot therefore overlook that it was precisely security, or even its absence, what gave origin to the State as it is explained by Hobbes (Hobbes, 2001). His theory will be one of the basis of our theoretical framework. Meanwhile, even when the «excluding inclusion» was not considered as one of the main components of a State, it has arisen steadily as an important element in each State of the world, making more difficult the exercise of citizenship, and thus becoming and unavoidable obstacle. Is it possible to end segregation? To solve this latter question, the analysis proposed here will recall the work from Giorgio Agamben (2003).

It is noteworthy to mention that this study takes place in the context of a democracy, because, in terms of participation, citizenship cannot be conducted in a State that does not belongs to this form of political regime. Therefore, even though democracy is not our main topic of discussion, it will serve as a framework because a country's development should be promoted by those who are inside and outside of a State's government, but that indeed form part of a State; these persons are also involved in the design, application and follow-up of public policies to ensure human security.[1]

This work finds its *raison-d'etre* on behalf of the Mexican democracy deficiencies, as its weak citizenship. Studying its causes, such as exclusion, allows us to uncover another set of variables that will lead to a proposal for a review of this process. However, this analysis is not limited to a "passive citizenship" later explained through this text. The concept of security, or actually the lack of it, has been a recurrent topic in the country, though security as the absence of criminality is not the one discussed here. Due to this, if human security is considered as a *sinequanone* for development, then exclusion will become the core concept to study all social problems existing in a national and international level, as: poverty, migration, lack of health, basic services, and scholarly fitted persons, just to mention a few. These are some of the problems that must be reviewed as a form to achieve a better quality of life, and consequently, to improve a commitment in public matters.

1. Regarding citizenship, security and «excluding inclusion»

In this section, we will address these three major topics, as we consider citizenship is the key element to demand its application in different countries, as well as one of the elements that encourages its development, if an increase in the participation in the decision making process is present.

Talking about citizenship nowadays is fairly common. It is a word that has become part of the daily language of both governors and governed, not only in Mexico, but at the international level. However, do we really know what we are talking about? Do we know what being a citizen implies? In most of the occasions, due to a blurry line that separates both concepts, we tend to make equivalent the notion of citizenship with the one of civil society. In order to avoid this inaccuracy, we will develop here the concept of committed citizenship that would, or at least, should lead to the one of civil society. We understand civil society as the organization of society in order to promote its interest, and not as Hegel's conception of the bourgeois civil society in which "all society members seek the accomplishment of their *own* needs, such as, to live with security, to own certain goods and to lead exchanges not limited to economy but to religion, culture, etc" (Hegel, 2011). Thus, the civil society of which we will be talking about is the one committed towards all of its members, formed by a citizenship concerned with its community and in a broader sense, with the country they belong to. As a starting point, we will begin to talk about citizenship because acquiring human security can enhance it.

What does it mean then to be a citizen? This quality, just as any other, should be cultivated to seize it at its peak, meaning that if it is not exercised, it will get atrophied, thus conducting to a wrong practice or even to its entire absence. Citizenship is a *status* that is adopted in a "natural" manner, so to speak, while arriving at a certain age, 18 or 21 depending of the country we are dealing with, by being recognized by the Constitutions. This condition springs from the very fact of being born in a given country, who will at its time bestow this condition once certain requirements are covered. In this sense, citizenship is obtained, not asked for. Therefore, citizenship can be exercised in those territories with outstanding participation and cultural endorsement, avoiding those cases in which being a citizen is nothing more than a label and where the individual scope focuses on his own progress.

Being a citizen is an acquired status but it implies a huge difference between being one and just being part of the population, a distinction that arises legally once a person becomes old enough to be considered as a citizen. However, it is not only a matter of age. The acquisition of citizenship entails also responsibilities, obligations and rights, whose exercise is an exercise developed from the conscience of belonging to a community. So, this belonging that starts naturally, shall evolve due to the contribution and the involvement of the individuals in the needs of their place of residence, thus generating an improvement in the quality of living of both the person and the community. Hence, citizenship is exercised firstly by the voluntary action in order to comply with the law, but also by participating in the betterment of the circumstances of the place of residence. Citizenship, therefore, implies a sense of belonging but foremost of identity, and commitment with the other and its consequential actions, directed towards the development and the common good, thus it has more opportunities to be strengthened in societies that are more egalitarian.

Citizenship is the difference between individualism and collectivity; the first one will prevail in an ambience of self-interest and individual benefits, without the articulation or association with another fellow citizen. The second one shows the recognition of the other through a framework of social organizations, which underpin the civil society that will try to attain common good. As Adela Cortina states it, a citizen is: "the one who talks to and with others, the one who works together, the one who is neither a subject nor a

vassal, it is the one who assumes the protagonism of his own life" (Cortina, 2003). Hence, the concept of citizen will be used here is the one that recovers the three first dimensions of Cortina's concept: the legal protection of the individual inside its territory; the political participation; and the social dimension, "through which the citizen will assure the protection of his second generation rights"(Cortina, 2003); this social dimension is important in the sphere of justice, defined as the "adequate distribution of rights and duties by the institutions that establish the basic framework of society" (Caballero, 2006: 5). "Justice as «fairness» is based in two principles: the guarantee of basic liberties that coexist with everyone else's rights, and that must fulfill two other conditions: to be associated to open positions for everyone in equal opportunities, and to maximize benefits of societies' less fortunate." (Rawls, 1999: 52-53). As a result, it is impossible to separate citizenship from justice, in which the last one, at its turn, should be the end of civility. The relationship between citizenship and justice is a form to exercise equality in political terms and equity in the economic realm, that at the end will allow the integration of people living inside the same territory, regardless of their origin or customs, specially in the case of those societies that have more than one civilization living together, as almost every society nowadays; a coexistence that takes place under rules and norms. In this sense, Hobbes argued that justice emerges from the *Law of Nature*, "[f]or where no Covenant had preceded, there had no Right of been transferred, and every man has right to every thing; and consequently no action can be unjust. But when a Covenant is made, then to break it is unjust; and the definition of injustice is no other than the not performance of Covenant" (Hobbes, 2001: 118).

However, even though the dimensions of citizenship used as the framework to our case of study, the concept of citizenship implies "to consider other essential elements such as a citizenship aware of a self-consciousness, to be conscious of the other and of the entire community to which one belongs; the dichotomy between trust and distrust in the rest of the citizens, as well as in its representatives, in accordance to the interaction with them; the lack of responsibility towards a culture of responsibility, and the element that will allow the development of each individual: education" (Palavicini, 2014). This arises another question: Is the practice of citizenship a cultural trait? In other words, does it depend on other elements such as political regime, education, economy and the human security offered by States, or is it inherent to the individual, who seeks to participate, detached from the aforementioned factors? This will also lead us to classify the exercise of citizenship depending on the degree of involvement of the population in the decision making process regarding the public sphere, and considering the consequences experienced directly by both, the individual and his community:

1. **Active citizenship**.- Recalling the concept from O'Donnell (O'Donnell, 1994), this type of citizenship emphasizes a straight participation in the process of taking decisions, besides the continuous and constant involvement in all the activities related to the population. An example of this citizenship could be found in Switzerland. Active citizenship is equivalent to an integral citizenship, "with full recognition of political, civil and social citizenship" (O'Donnell, 1994: 26), as long as it covers certain characteristics that can only arise warranted by specific pre-conditions such as those related to "human development: food, health, housing and education" (Palavicini, 2004). Thus, it assumes that democracy leads to development, even though there is not a direct correlation between these two variables.

2. **Feeble citizenship**.- In here we have the self-recognition of the population as "citizens," by covering the legal requirements. Nevertheless, their participation is limited, which in most of the cases only emerges in electoral processes, and even in these instances, not all the people participate. Besides, they are not involved in the task of taking decisions performed by the State. This is the case of Mexico. As an example of this behavior, there are numerous civil associations that have appeared lately, mainly as a result of current insecurity issues. These associations, as part of the organized civil society, identify themselves as a form of an exercise of citizenship that could be institutionalized or not. However, these organizations do not imply any action neither in The Union Powers nor in other governmental institutions, thus remaining inefficient. In this sense, these associations, as well as the government, do not offer results in terms of the transcendence of actions regulated by the law, as if it is not observed cautiously, it will lead to the punishment of people who does not obey the established behavior.

3. - **Passive citizenship**.- In this case, even when the population perceives itself as citizens, once that they have fulfilled certain characteristics, they still do not participate. In here, we would find countries that have a dictatorial or an authoritarian form of government, thus inhibiting its population to participate, and to even get involved in the decisions making process pursued by the State. This kind of citizenship is more an apparent and formal one, than a real and *de facto* one. It is a context in which no one knows what to do or how to practice citizenship.

In this way, citizenship is linked with its practice in the prevailing possibilities to carry it. In this sense, it depends on the context that defines both, the way we act, and specially the way we think, which also depends on the political, economic and social development. Hence, the nature of the citizens is a predominant factor in their behavior as such towards their society; therefore, the analysis is focused on the atomization of the citizen. This is, whether each individual perceives himself in this way, independent from the rest, or whether each one sees himself as to be connected with his peers. Regarding this, Thiebaut has pointed out in relation to communitarians that "they have stressed and continue to stress that the citizen of complex societies cannot be understood without taking into account the social links that make him, precisely, a subject" (Thiebaut, 1998: 39). This also determines the way in which the citizen manifests, which is different in every country, and is related with the auto-conception of the individual in terms of his relationship with the others. However, as all universal concepts, citizenship is founded in the aforementioned dimensions amongst many others, defined by Cortina herself (Cortina, 2003). Nevertheless, according to Thiebaut, being conscious about the existence of the other also implies realizing their differences, which will ultimately mean to accept them as variables that underpin particular identities. Those differences will be addressed in the case study with the intention of directing the analysis towards what it should be, as the author explains. This by acknowledging that the *praxis*, derived from a critical thought, conscious of diversity, brings the person to develop both, an image about himself and his environment. As a result, this generates a kind of compatibility, as it consciously faces difference, pushing forward to a higher dimension that allows discerning between an individual and a citizen: the private and the public spheres, respectively. Finally, we can transit from the private identity to the public one, which also

implies the other as well as the responsibilities owed to him. In this sense, Thiebaut says that:

> "Being a citizen is to belong and to support (…) belonging to a city is not a passive action, but rather a powerfully active one: the citizen is made by him making his city; he is not an object of possession of the thing-city, for he belongs to a system of actions from which he himself is a source. The aim of an action is not what a citizen does (in the city), but to become a citizen; to construct the city is the way in which one becomes its citizen (…) Political identity is then derived from our actions: from the exercise that implies our participation in what we do, the city" (Thiebaut, 1998: 25)

in either an environment that supplies the conditions to foster this citizenship, or through an environment that limits it and promotes an «excluding inclusion». It is deemed to be inclusive because, except for a few cases, we are all born in a State and as part of belonging to it, we are subjected by its rules, then we are implicitly considered in its legal framework. However, it is excluding because, in one hand, it does not provide the basic elements for its own growth regardless that such exercise is detailed in its laws and norms, and thus blocking this exercise. On the other hand, and above all, this exclusion prevents the development of the individual inside the community to which he belongs. In this sense, a citizen has «to be» and «to act» as a citizen, by showing himself as the «owner» of his rights as part of his possession and *praxis*, which belong to him as a person and as a fact from his existence, paired up with his development as a human being. In other words, being a citizen implies that the own dignity must be respected, which leads us to another guiding concept of our study: security. What does it mean? Is the association of security and citizenship a determinant element of progress and development of a nation? Is that condition enough or merely a stepping stone in the attainment of development? Before going any further, we shall define this concept, because in a broader sense, it will encompass more than just what emerges facing its opposite: insecurity.

Even if citizenship is an acquired quality, the *praxis* of citizenship depends not only on the prevailing political regime but also on the political culture each individual has, and above all whether we have the appropriate conditions for development, provided by the State. The exercise of citizenship is found in the middle of bordering concepts: the human security and its limit, a topic that will be develop in the next section. Therefore, the frontier between being a citizen able to participate, and being a discriminated citizen, this means that someone who fulfill all legal requirements but who is victim of an «excluding inclusion», which prevents him from converting his reasoning to action as a result of his will. (Kant, 2007: 248). What happens when the will of a human being is being inhibited by his own context? Will this human being tend to be more passive by not participating, or will he try to break the *status quo*?

These questions arise because inclusion, diversity and the capability to fully exercise our rights in a community rely on respect and on the form in which the dignity of people is handled. Following this, "the modern assumption of dignity as a right and its subsequent on «equal dignity», Taylor proposes as a counterpoint, his «politics of difference», in which the recognition of the «other» as well as of diversity and its acceptance, are all fundamental elements in the process of understanding the idea of dignity more as a value than as a mere right: dignity, according to Taylor, is a capability that we all share as human beings. It is a «human universal potential» that must be equally respected by all, but that has to include in the form it is conceived some central elements such as the notion of emergence, development and the process of its constitution" (Taylor cited in

Thiebaut, 1998: 130). In this sense, we can avoid what makes current States vulnerable: the internal and external conflicts due to the lack of respect of the dignity towards some persons or groups, as well as the awareness of this absence of respect. Therefore, this lack of respect to the other as a human being, raises a wall that highlights the border between the possible and the impossible, between what is considered as far and as close, between reality and illusion; a border between inclusion and exclusion.

As previously seen, the concept of «security» recalls a notion of protection from a given danger, even if it is studied through the perspective of Hobbes. In the case of this author, this idea is present when he argues that "[…] as small families did then; so now do cities and kingdoms which are but greater families (for their own security) enlarge their Dominions, upon all pretenses of danger and fear of invasion, or assistance that may be given to invaders (Hobbes, 2001: 138), thus, the need to strive for developing a community becomes crucial in order to protect life and property. The concept of property also comes from this author, who conceives the state as an integrating entity, regardless of the apparent loss of freedom that the individual might suffer in the sense that his liberty seems to dilute in the midst of laws and the others, while at the same time it also increases as he develops the capability to direct his actions for his sake and the one of the community where he belongs. So, as Hobbes argues, in the *res pública*, a concept that could be also identified as common power, the individual is able of evolving in an ambience of equality, justice and certitude of both, his life and his belongings. Furthermore, this author differentiates between the public and the private spheres, setting apart the individual from the particular process of making decisions. As a result, this also leads to distinguish between the individual interests from the collective one.

The concept of security was used up until the 1990's in the sense that Hobbes had thought about it by conceiving the man in a state of nature, thus having to protect himself from both internal and external threats of invasion; this notion derives in the concept of national security as understood during the Cold War. Therefore, this concept made reference to the protection of what was considered as national and particular property, and it should also protect both, the individual and his property. Nowadays, this arises as one of the challenges that every State has to face, being Mexico one of the main ones unable to address its problem of victimization due to the lack of fulfillment of some needs, among which we can even find the basic ones.

By analyzing the meaning of security, we realize that it is understood as the absence of risk, which implicitly leads to «certainty», «certitude» in any aspect, individual or collective; in acquiring a job, a good, in life preservation, in having what is required to have a level of life that can develop, by having already covered the basic needs, towards Maslow's conception of self-realization (Maslow, 1943: 370-396). However, it is noteworthy that even Maslow includes a notion of «security» in his hierarchy of needs, a notion that he understood as the "physical security, of employment, of moral, family and health resources and of private property" (Maslow, 1943: 370-396), which allows us to say that the feeling of being risk-free is, among some other things, the certainty of having the means to provide ourselves with what we already mentioned. In this sense, the certitude of well-being fulfilled through these aspects will lead us to the concept of security as it will be applied in this paper: the one of human security, understood also as the absence of uncertainty and, as a consequence, of fear for the lack of the

aforementioned goods. This human security is accomplished due to the framework of institutional infrastructure, planning, public policies and follow up provided by the State. These conditions are also known as an efficient governance of given resources that should generate other resources from them. This concept of human security was created in the very recent year of 1994 (UNDP, 1994), by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), as part of its Second Report on Human Development, which states that in order to achieve this kind of security, there should be a sustained development oriented towards the progress of the individual in his society. Here we would like to add that once the active citizenship is achieved, the individual will be able to contribute along with the rest of the members of the State towards the evolution of his society. In this sense, Kofi Annan made reference to this type of security in his speech of 2005, by expressing that development "is only possible in conditions of freedom and that people can only benefit from political freedom if they have at least a good possibility to achieve a decent standard of life (Annan, 2005: 2).

For this reason, one main controversial issue is the fact of providing security for citizens as well as endorsing a form to access it. The absence of security as well as other concerns that usually were considered to be in between the borders of a National State, now have become international issues because they are part of the problems that attack all the countries and whose internationalization aggravates them, as a consequence. One example of this situation could be the problem of drug and weapon trafficking between Mexico and the United States. If it could be enclosed to a specific zone between both countries, or even in just one country, then it would be easier to quickly tackle this problem. As the Report says, "the threats to human security are no longer just personal or local or national. They are becoming global: with drugs, AIDS, terrorism, pollution, nuclear proliferation. Global poverty and environmental problems respect no national border. Their grim consequences travel the world" (UNDP, 1994:2).
Thus, the emergent difficulties, as those mentioned before, do not reinforce a proper governmental administration in order to achieve a better life standard for their acknowledged population. This also prevents the individual achieves what Kohlberg calls «the stage of ethical-universal principles», identified as part of the post-conventional level of moral development, an stage that highlights the social agreements between individuals, (Kohlberg, 2002: 1) and prevents that citizenship is only carried on completely as a full exercise of rights and obligations attached to fear. Under these circumstances, instead of decreasing the risk of supporting those difficulties by increasing the sense of security in certain aspects, it seems that the risk actually gets stronger due to the «excluding inclusion» that inhibits equality; besides, the so called sense of security is considered as a minimal element, especially in those States that have an inefficient governmental administration and a weak institutional infrastructure in project planning, public policies, accountability and inefficient results.

Hence, human security is relevant due to the daily fears of the society in which we live in. Mexico is one of the countries in which those fears are constantly present in every sector of society as they are shown in a sense of apprehension that may vary due to the different layers of the social structure. Nevertheless, these fears affect everyone equally, one way or another, as they also affect the core of different states: "human security is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and in poor. The threats of the security may differ –hunger and disease in poor nations and drugs and crime in rich nations […]

some threats are indeed common to all nations –job insecurity and environmental threats, in particular."(UNDP, 1994: 3) These threats must be eliminated or at least diminished in order to actually reach human security, in a broader sense, "security facing hunger, sickness, crime and repression, side by side with protection from daily life happenings" (UNDP,1994: 3).

Due to this, at an international stage, human security has become an imperative for development, from which a minimal starting point is required to guide public policies towards diverse basic and non-basic areas, such as the ones we have talked about. Notwithstanding, even when all countries are involved and their problems affect each other, they also share the responsibility to solve those problems. This responsibility does not imply a division of tasks or duties; instead of, it highlights the commitment from each part to address a solution. In spite of this, we cannot ignore the responsibility that every State has with its own population, because the awareness of this duty will allow the State to reduce insecurity levels in some areas, while it will help to stop the increase of insecurity beyond the national boundaries by limiting the problems, besides it will allow to work out a more efficient solution.

Even though ending with insecurity is difficult because it underlies internal changes that must happen inside societies, the world juncture does make it necessary for us to reconsider the way we have been trying to achieve development, since in some cases it has brought an economic growth rather than social prosperity. As social prosperity we conceive the inclusion of each and every individual, firstly, as the legal recognition of his citizenship and then, as the exercise of this citizenship in a context in which providing stability to population is a duty, facing an ever-growing uncertain globalized world. Consequently, as the UNDP also considers, "human security requires social contracts at the global level" (UNDP, 1994: 30), in order to fulfill the pact through which we agree to leave the Hobbesian «natural state» towards the State, without forgetting those duties that must happen at the national and local level within each country. In this sense, human security is a concern about cooperation which implies that every State must be involved, thus they should focus their attention in the common good, understood in terms of Aristotle as the "virtue and happiness of citizens"(Aristotle cited in Casar, 2010: 2), in order to avoid the dissolution or obstruction of the social contract that will lead to the discrimination and exclusion of the other due to the prevalence of a particular interest. In this way, exclusion is also related to intolerant attitudes against whoever is different. As a consequence, there is a tendency to raise, even through a violent form, all social conflicts; besides, this tendency increases the fear of individuals to suffer a specific set of circumstances. Then, the eradication of this fear is exactly the goal to be pursued at the moment we talk about security, as it is settled in the Millennium Report of the United Nations (UN)(Annan, 2000). However, what does exactly cause this fear? Human security implies the development of an individual inside its community, as it also suggests his truthful inclusion, instead to pretend one that can actually affect all the society and that leads to exclusion itself, in accordance to the characteristics of impact and *habitus*, as they were analyzed by Bordieu (Bourdieu, 1971/1983) and which reflects the State where they occur. To not be considered «part of something» is a feeling endorsed by the lack of human security because, this kind of security helps to overcome any adversity that a person may suffer at a particular context, even if it comes from the interior or the exterior.

Then, the lack of inclusion and tolerance becomes, as Trías(2005: 50) pointed out, "the shadow of politics," as it is forgotten that this shadow includes what implies the *polis*, and and consequently, it also considers those who enables it, as part of setting their relation with the other; through this context, the community stops to being a public one as this space founds its limits in the exception and injustice, as well as in the individual and collective fear, instead of highlighting confidence. As Agamben argues, this situation is found through the frailty of the individual's life that can be found on the context where he lives in, as it reflects the conditions considered as part of his *zoe* and which denies him the access to lead a «politically qualified life». This situation also nullifies individual's biopolitical condition as it reduces this modern human being, in terms of Foucault, to "an animal that puts at stake his condition as a living being, through the type politics in which it actually lives."(Foucault cited in Agamben, 2003: 11). In this sense, the *bio-politics* imply the active exercise of citizenship which- as we have stated- can only happen in a State that gives certain conditions for this; a State in which inclusion is real instead of a disguised exclusion, and in which this inclusion is not longer used as a form to maintain the structures of poser. Recalling Agamben, inclusion should be considered as an end in itself; as part of a State that makes no distinction between races, classes or cultures; a condition that helps to eradicate the shady environment that surrounds the public space and affairs of every individual; a condition that faces the uncertainty and the fear of remaining marginalized; it is the border between the achievable and the impossible; a border in the middle of law and fact, of internal and external. This current state of affairs is part of a pendulous context between accessibility and inaccessibility to equality through a legal system, as well as in opportunities. This context is also reinforced by the lack of definition of ideologies and the diffuse practices of modern politics, which enhance security as its counterpart; this same security becomes the beginning of human security, which allows avoiding the state of exception argued by Agamben (Agamben, 2003: 32). Under this perspective, we shall see how all these aspects are present in Mexico.

2. **Citizenship in Mexico: reflect of security or the excluding inclusion?**

In this section we will analyze how citizenship takes place in Mexico through some characteristics such as the economic, political and social level, in order to consider some proposals for an improvement. As it was explained, citizenship and its exercise implies the involvement of the individual in pursuing the common good, which will also derive from the prerequisites of being included, and the feeling of being taken into account. In addition, this citizenship also emphasizes the fact of acting in behalf of the other, considering that whatever is done has consequences on us, either directly or indirectly. However, is still possible to exercise this kind of citizenship when there is inequality amongst people? What does actually happen in a democratic regime like the Mexican one? Is it enough to legally recognize the exercise of citizenship, mainly by including it into the Constitution, to reinforce the sense of belonging to a political system?

It seems that this legal condition is insufficient, because following Hobbes, even when the sense of citizenship has been established in the law. It should allow, in a daily basis, the individual to live without fear, to exercise his freedom, to feel secure if there is any kind of aggression against his person or his property. Then, a legal framework with no adherence or commitment results in a 'juridical illusion'. Hence, it is not enough that certain aspects of citizenship are included in the legal framework, because it has to be

translated to the reality by going from reason to practice through the will of the individuals who observe these laws.

In the Mexican Constitution, there is an explicit reference to the type of regime to be observed in Mexico, as it is stated as a democratic one in the art. 40. Nevertheless, analyzing how it is exercised, numerous authors argue that Mexico continues to glide into democracy which has not only be desired but also idealized. Therefore its consolidation, in terms of Schmitter, means those processes of institutional reconstruction that will systematically reinforce the political regime (Schmitter cited in Tulcin,1995), or in terms of O'Donnell (O'Donnell, 1994: 41), it should be characterized by the performance of constitutional mechanisms. In the case of Mexico, this transition to democracy seems farther and farther away for governmental actions that move constantly back and forth from the authoritarianism towards the so called ˈpeople's government'. In fact, Mexican democracy as well as its political system have also been *sui géneris*, even as to be considered in times of the hegemonic party, as what Schmitter called a 'dictablanda' or a soft-dictatorship. The elements that are characteristic to a totalitarian regime have not been completely eradicated regardless of the time that passes by, the governments, and the change in the political party in power. This leads us to wonder about the factors that difficult the Mexican democracy.

In the case of Mexico as mentioned before, the Constitution legally establishes who the citizens are, so to identify oneself as such should be easy as you are included in it. However, do we have conditions to exercise this citizenship? In other words, is there, as in any element of power, a sense of legitimacy? Is citizenship a power? The latter question will lead to an affirmative answer within a democratic context, because the people hold the supreme and perpetual power as Bodin said (1583). Nonetheless, in order to fully embrace this right, we do not only need conditions given by the system; we must have a certain inclination to participate, which should be implicit to the political culture of a country, and in a more rooted way, in the development and application of the very culture of citizenship.

We must not forget that the construction of The City is the essence of citizenship. (Trías, 2005: 13). In this sense, Mexico is a country where, due to the traditional long governments in power (fistly the Porfirio Diaz's regime of 30 years; and then with the PRI's regime of 71 years long, taking into account the difference between the first one as the impersonation of power of one individual while the latter is a whole political party in power), participation of citizens has not been active in State issues, as they limit their actions to electoral ones. Under those circumstances, they cede to representatives their capability to decide. Following this, the practice of citizenship is recent and scarce, as it does not strengthen the existence of civil society who could take decisions to influence public policies, or to issue law initiatives, among other actions. Thus, there is a need to develop values based on something more than just the issue of participation but, as part of the search for a better environment, that look to reinforce a civic culture of obligations and rights with the community where citizens belong, until the benefit arises on social and administrative levels that form the Mexican State: community, municipalities and provinces.

However, are these changes possible in the country's current conditions? Actually, which are those conditions? In order to answer these questions we will analyze the economic,

politic and social elements, related to the factor that we suppose ignites the fault of participation. Participation is understood here by Sartori's definition, which is to be involved actively, effectively and by self-initiative (Sartori, 2009).

2.1. Democracy in Mexico: active, feeble or passive citizenship?

Mexico, after twelve years under the rule of the National Action Party (PAN by its acronym in Spanish), which potentially could have improved the XXI century newborn democratic regime, could not achieve it and continues waiting its' consolidation, even if PRI is actually at power since 2012. This, because of events that avoid the State to fulfill its main function: to provide security as understood during the first part of this paper, which of course prevents development in a number of related issues. Hence, citizenship has backed off to its trench and only manifests through some civic movements once one of their participants is affected on the first quality that should be preserved, regarding Hobbes: life itself; in these cases the fact arises mainly against the life of one relative.

Until 2000, Mexican democracy limited itself to electoral participation, meaning that people understood that democracy implies having periodic elections. However, little by little democratic representative practices such as freedom of expression and dialogue, among others are increasingly encouraged. Despite this, political conditions have not been and still are not the best to allow participation in the decision-making process in State's matters. Today, political institutions, mainly political parties, have an internal decomposition which makes voters perceive them as unsuccessful channels of communication between society and government, thus awarding them the 14th place in the Index of Trust of Institutions at 2012. The case of direct representatives is similar, awarding the 15th place to deputies and the 12th place to senators (Mitofsky, 2012).

Following this, more than just highlighting an specific position in the Trust Index, results like these increase an awareness concerning the development of democracy as a political regime, where, as Schmitter argues, institutional consolidation is highly linked as a form to reinforce this development. Likewise, lack of trust resulting from deception that comes from the divergence between expectations and reality, leads to lower participation levels, thus confirming Rousseau's argument about that "under a bad government no one wants to take a step to get to them [assemblies], since no one takes an interest in what happens there, for it is predictable that the general will won't prevail, and that in the end domestic citizenswill endure it all"(Rousseau cited in Bobbio, 1999).

In this sense, the representativeness from the way of government in Mexico, established in the Constitution seems to be ineffective in terms of trust towards institutions. As an example, Congress' members do not help reducing the fear of the society that elects them, especially at the moment of tackling basic issues for the human security as hunger and crime. Thus, representatives' capacities are diminished facing a collectivity who feels to be excluded and unrepresented in the decision-making process, or in the fight for public security and in the strategies to reduce poverty. "In recent years, particularly in some states, Mexico has faced a painful phenomenon that primarily captures our attention: the increase of violence connected to criminal organizations." (Poiré, 2010). Nevertheless, even when this quote addressed a truly focalized phenomenon when it was written, nowadays it sadly applies to most of the territory, leading to conclude by some authors that Mexico could be considered as a failed State (Kurtzman, 2009). This

affects the political institutions such as the political parties, the legislative power, and in a lower degree the judiciary[2] and executive[3] powers, which seem inefficient for a society that suffers directly the fractality of the State. Due to this fractality, the illegal actors have more permeability, making more difficult to achieve a coexistence within the society; in addition, the application of the law becomes truly hard due to the lack of legal significance (Williams, 2010) in certain topics or, even because these actors, who infringe the law, find themselves in a legal borderline, whereas a Modern State should give more stability and consequently, more development through its legal framework.

Following this perspective, nowadays in Mexico, democracy is seen mainly as a *seed in infertile soil*, because institutions –at least the political ones– have lost their ability to reduce the perception of vulnerability of legal social actors, despite the increase of legitimacy during the last 18 years of ruling governments.[4] In this sense, there is a decrease of the recent improvement in representativeness and participation, enclosing them to a condition just stated «de juris», but not «de facto». Indirectly, the situation of uncertainty, which affects the population, intensifies as well the factor of exclusion by a third-party and the auto-marginalization, in order to avoid difficulties in the public sphere; it is precisely the public sphere what Hobbes (2001) defines as the space settled as an arena to resolve conflicts as well as individual concerns. Regarding and in accordance to all this, the context could not be overlooked that the main goal for living in community within a State emphasizes that whoever is legally recognized as a citizen, should be able to exercise his citizenship, which in the case of Mexico could be put into doubt. Therefore, Mexican democracy could be labeled as a deficient one in most of the values which define it, especially if it follows a specific model: a representative democracy.

2.2 Mexican economy: Is it a limit to human security and frontier between inclusion and «excluding inclusion»?

In this section we will analyze the conditions that have an impact at the social level, but which come from an economic stance and that are linked to our object of study: the exercise of an active citizenship.

For about ten years, economy and politics have become increasingly intertwined due to processes of markets opening up and globalization. This has provoked the spring of studies that analyze the importance of the economy over politics as the hegemonic force that ultimately shapes them. In this sense, the Mexican case could be considered as an example that shows how economy exerts influence on political changes. Politics is everywhere and no one or nothing can be excluded from them because every decision that implies the State, brings up effects, either huge or small. Hence, during this «lengthy» transition of the Mexican democracy, economy has become an influential element, even when it is not a dominant one.

This argument can be sustained by observing what happened with the open market policies since the signature of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), in 1994. Since then, Mexican politicians recognized the need to also «open» the political regime in order to accept pluralism and the possibility to exchange the ruling political party in the Executive Power. This will lead, in fact, to establish a more real democracy. However, as previously mentioned, this regime demands the existence of some specific

values, which in this case seem to fade instead of improve; as a result, this arises the incertitude about the country's economic and social future.

Following this argument, as the commercial agreements tried to improve the democratic processes, the economy determines the anxiety or trust of citizens about their own development. However, this perspective emphasizes the individual and particular success instead of the social one, which implies that only if individuals feel certain about their development and the capability of their collectivity, then the exercise of citizenship would be ensued.

Then, what does allow connecting economy and human security, inclusion and «excluding inclusion»? Just as politics with individuals, it is impossible to separate these variables as they are inherent to one another. Politics is all over, as well as the economy because it has clear influence in security, inclusion or exclusion, and vice versa. Security, in its broader assumption, is related to the sense of «certitude» about something, in this particular case, about the country's economy, which «worsened» during the last years, as *Monitor Mitofsky* says (Mitofsky, 2012), and it seems that these expectations will prevail and the situation will be the same. These results may have two different interpretations.

It could be argued that if expectations will not worsen, then people might have more security about their own development. However, due to variability of GDP rates, which oscillate between important decreases in 2009, and decreases around 3 and 4% in 2011 until 2013(INEGI: 2014); -according to experts, until 2010, these results are not enough to recover what is lost (…) the public sector does not have enough resources, programs and vision to improve the economic growth, and in consequence, to generate new employment" (De la Cruz, 2011). This adds another variable that places the national unemployment rates above the 5%, from 2009 until today, without considering the underemployment rates, which will lead to endorse a «negative» perspective for the future economic performance increasing people's fear of not finding a job or even losing the one they already have, with the consequences that follow as it is shown in Randstad Workmonitor world poll. This survey shows how more than half (56%) of the Mexicans expected –at the time the survey was done- that the economic situation in Mexico will deteriorate in 2014 (Randstads Workmonitor, 2013: 34). The latter shows that "in our country, 30% of workers are afraid of losing their job during this year" (Randstad, 2014).

Moreover it could be seen that the fear present in Mexican population implies different aspects, showing itself through diverse forms as in the economy, but also in a social form and a personal one; this is connected to fact that "[we live] obscure times which lead us to see with fear the future of our quality of life due to insecurity and crime" (Romero).

Thus as part of this analysis, the economic variable will be included in the definition of security, this means: to understand security in terms of hunger, as well as combining it with the rate of poverty declared in the country. In the case of Mexico, this rate rises to 47.4% of the population, according the National Council of Political Evaluation, (CONEVAL, 2014).

However, even of what has been argued before, this poverty is measured by variables such as the amount of income, the type of floor inside houses, and the access to health services, just to consider some of the variables – which are actually truly diverse –.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to contemplate that the main element to determine the presence or absence of poverty should be the capability to cover the first stage of Maslow's needs, the physiological one, such as "those needs that are essential to fulfill in order to maintain the organic equilibrium of a person: hunger, thirst, sleep, air, housing, clothing" (Maslow, 1943). According to specialists, in the case of Mexico, these needs are not being fulfilled when the State presents "28 million people who don't even have anything to eat." (Sánchez, 2014). From this amount of persons, the indigenous children are by far the ones more affected by food poverty, as it is shown by the study of UNICEF, in 2010: "At a national level, the index of food poverty in kids between 3 to 17 years old is of 25.3%; but inside the indigenous communities this index rises to almost 70%." (UNICEF, 2010: 12; SERVINDI, 2014). In this sense, it is plausible to consider the definition given to food poverty by UNICEF as "the inability to obtain a basic food nourishment, even if all the household income were to be used for that purpose" (UNICEF, 2010: 12; CONEVAL, 2014).

Therefore, it could be assumed that in the country, there is a breach of one social right for individuals, the one of nourishment – besides the right to work – without even mentioning housing, education or health; all this fundamental rights are ultimately related to human security, and they will be reviewed on the next part of this paper. In the meantime, we must always be conscious that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that affects every population in the world, and even if there are some persons who do not suffer from «food poverty», they could be facing «asset poverty» or «capacities poverty»[5] (UNICEF, 2010) that undermine the individual's development. Thus, he deals with the impossibility to be competitive against those who do not have to face these kinds of poverty; in other words, this individual should face an initial inequality, thus limiting him the access to a meritocratic inequality and to pass through the illusory equalitarian process of democracy. In this sense, he is immersed in a process of fictitious or «excluding inclusion». Due to this, it is important to rethink terms such as justice, acknowledgement and security that have been established throughout this text. Even though there is not specific data about the fear to hunger, this linked with the lack of security about keeping the current job and the rate of unemployment, lead us to suppose that the fear to hunger is present in populations affected by the other deprivations mentioned.

Thus, the self-exclusion from participating in politics is, in this case, a superior stage symptomatic of a feeble citizenship, which is only attainable or chosen if one has already surpassed the limits of intrinsic discrimination centered in the economic context of individual survival. Then, it should be considered to design public policies that take into account a notion of justice and human security, and that are ultimately focused on beating down poverty, by regarding the three aspects already mentioned. Consequently, once this is done, it will be more feasible the citizen participation as an active exercise; besides, it will avoid falling in a vicious circle that repeats the model of «excluding inclusion», which could even lead to one of exclusion that reverse all the improvements gained in the practice of the actual political regime.

2.3.   Society and citizenship: Bordering concepts of the «Territorial State» and the «State of people»

Talking about citizenship and society may seem redundant; nevertheless, in contexts as the one that arises nowadays, it demands to make this distinction. Following the thought of Norberto Bobbio (Bobbio: 2) we may say that society refers to an element of population in a well defined space, and with very particular interests among individuals who share this given space.

Besides, there is a civil code, established by the State, which rules their relations. In this sense, the idea of society corresponds to the concept of population whereas citizenship should refer to the active involvement in the decision-making process, as it was argued in the theoretical part of this text. This involvement is done through various methods and connections between diverse topics, instead of only by electoral processes.

However, which social conditions have to be met in order to exercise this citizenship? There are certain conditions, as the ones that belong to economic and political contexts, that refer to the social context, and which should be covered before the exercise of citizens' participation. Hence, through this part of the text, we will analyze the status of the individual social rights that are considered as elements of this same sphere: education and health, which are elements that belong to the category of «poverty of capabilities» mentioned above. Mexico also has a deficit on these elements, even when they are considered as detonators for the involvement to develop the space that we inhabit, this means, the space for the exercise of citizenship. Once those elements, education and health, are covered and practiced, they reinforce the individual's participation as a compulsory condition; nevertheless, this is not enough because there is not an effective causality or co-relation between both variables: education-participation and health-participation. However, their absence nullifies any kind of intervention or collaboration, hence the importance of these needs to be met by the totality of the population. This extension to the people that should be covered by those rights, demands from them to commit themselves as citizens *de jure* but also citizens *de facto*, as a form to influence society. This commitment, even when there is a lack of it, helps to improve the development of a critical citizenship, which implies a kind of citizen that goes beyond the practice of associating with others in order to gain a common goal and the participation in elections, as it is established by the study on values, citizenship and democracy of 2008 (Moreno, 2008).

Both, starting exclusion and «excluding inclusion» prevent individuals from accessing the essential elements of human security, arising consequences against the individuals' development for their future. This aspect is more present in the element of «education», understood here as the one obtained by means of formal, leveled and progressive instruction (DRAE). Education helps to open the possibilities to reach opportunities, as a form to improve the option to access them in an equal basis, and then, to become unequal as part of the process; in other words, to attain Sartori's concept of liberal freedom (Sartori, 2009), as part of the development through capabilities. This kind of

development refers to the possibility to count with the tools needed to actively participate either directly or indirectly in the society.

However, the fact of counting with those tools depends on the economic possibilities that the individual has to access education; it also depends on the extent of justice and injustice experienced in a given context, where the first one makes reference to the level of equality, and the second one to the level of inequality, as a starting point. In this sense, the Mexican State has no possibility to provide all its eligible population with education. Even improvements in elementary education, there are still deficiencies in accessing to a higher education, as well as important differences of access between genders. This is shown through an analysis performed by the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI) in 2010: "In 2009 more women (8.4%) than men (6%) over 15 years old have not been able to pass a grade due to presumed gender inequalities of past generations (INEGI, 2010: 49). Besides that "in groups 15 to 29 years old, illiteracy of men and women are 1.8 and 2% respectively. Illiteracy gender gap significantly rises in groups over 75 years old with a rate of 26.1% for men and 35.3% for women" (INEGI,2010: 55). Having this statistics in the 21st. Century, means that little can be done for these groups without access to this fundamental right, and who will not be even able to exercise institutional citizenship because they are treated as objects of exclusion at the moment that the State has not endowed them of starting conditions which help to diminish the levels of poverty and sickness. Thus, the access to health will be analyzed as part of security, especially through the labeled definition of «human security».

As previously seen, human security refers to the certitude that the individual has in different aspects of life; or in other words, it is the absence of fear to lose them, which as group refers to the protection of life. In this same trail of thoughts, any medical or perceived disturbance will cast a shadow on the individuals' existence; thus, having the means to face those fears is part of the equal opportunities that should been provided to the population by the State. Therefore, there must be the fulfillment of another fundamental right: health. This will be a form to motivate, by inhibiting individual and familiar concerns, a wider vision than its particular context. This vision will allow actions with a broader impact in their community, and which generate a broader effect in States and finally in the Country. This is because the concept of health must not be considered only through the absence of clinical affectations, which means that there should not show a sickness in order to be classified as «unhealthy» because its meaning leads us to a deeper significance; health must be understood in the framework of Machiavelli's concept of fortune, (Macchiavelli, 1990) meaning the well-being of people.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), health is defined as "the physical, mental and social well-being"(INEGI, 2010: 73), thus it has a direct implication in a country's development. In this sense, Mexico, in this case, presents symptoms of affection in the last condition analyzed: the social element, as it implies the deficiencies in the exercise of social rights, as it has been seen before. Furthermore in the simplest meaning, the clinical dimension, there are still deficiencies despite recent efforts held by the Government of President Calderon focused on achieving universal coverage through the *Seguro Popular*. (Popular Social and Medical Care). This program pays attention to the people who has no other social medical service, or who has no economic means to

cover a private one. In this sense, the program tries to address the insufficiencies on the public social services provided by the State, as the Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS) that covers 77.4 % of the labor force, the Institute of Social Security for Workers of the State (ISSTE) that covers 7 %, and 9 % covered between PEMEX, the Military Forces and some other states; in total, they only represent the 45 % of the whole population (INEGI, 2014), despite the reforms that have taken place since 1995. This situation also reflects the alterations held by the society, which since some years ago shows itself in disequilibrium, and affected by the inequality, inequity, violence and crime. Even when these conditions are not clinical ones, they generate a *mental discomfort* due to living in a constant disorder, out of the legal framework and without respecting the elements related to human dignity. Hence, lack of security in this area prevents people from involving in citizen participation due to society perception of its own vulnerability.

In this sense, we face a participation that is more forced rather than voluntary, due to the characteristics of Mexican legal framework, which lacks of penalties against those who oversee their obligations, or those who prevent the fulfillment of individual guarantees; in addition, the citizen participation is also forced by the violent facts that overcome the State power, which does not have the capability to answer or eradicate them. These conditions encourage certain reforms or to address some legal aspects that actually are not considered. An example of this reform is the Law against kidnapping, as well as Social Movements that fight for social stability and public security, considering their own life and the one of their relatives, which is not secured by the law. Therefore, it could be observed a certain kind of participation that arises from exclusion. In other words, the emergence of this participation responds to belonging to those who suffer from the absence of legal protection or, to those who even if they are included in the legal framework, but who have no possibilities to exercise an active citizenship. These are people conceived in a legal and normative framework, but who become unable to develop their opportunities, a condition that resembles the idea of exclusion and threshold argued by Agamben (2003 : 38).

3. Final reflexions

As it has been seen throughout this text, security and discrimination are mutually exclusive because if the first one is present, the second one will decrease, or hopefully it will disappear. The inverse relation is also true, because they both are essential elements that allow or prevent life conditions for the evolution of the individual. In this sense, the mere presence of a population or citizens who fully exercise their rights, serves as proof of the presence of security or the lack of it.

Population is, in a sense, the primary element of a State. As such, population must be protected through the observation of the laws. The population's development is limited if social fundamental rights are not ensured. Following this assumption, low levels of health and education limit the involvement of population in public affairs, and in citizens' exercise of rights and obligations. Therefore, citizenship is represented through the formation on civic values, which reinforce the commitment with their society. These values are shown in the *praxis*, but also they depend whether a political culture has been developed or not through the history of the country. This history could manifest vicissitudes due to not only the internal context of the country –as favorable conditions

with advantages, or unfavorable ones with disadvantages–, but also influenced by external conditions that, in one form or another, shape the current economic and even political ideologies at a given time, in a global scale. Even though there is a dependency between States, as the one Mexico has with the United States mainly in the economic level, the negative consequences from external factors would not be so harsh inside a nation if this one reinforces a more solid and continued evolution in the internal level; such qualities have proven to be actually absent in Mexico through our case of study.

In the economic dimension, there are still a lot of shortfalls that should be covered in order for people to focus their attention to other activities rather than the mere survival through the fulfillment of basic needs such as food, employment or housing. Let us not forget that the feeling of insecurity is higher mainly when people feel they could lose precisely these basic needs. Therefore, as a form to combat this fear, the State should provide human security through public policies oriented towards the decrease of the gap between the richest and the poorest population.

At the social level, even though health insurance has improved, this seems to be insufficient because there are still important gaps to be covered. Besides, public policies must enhance the quality of the services. Talking about education, besides its insufficiency, it still presents high rates of illiteracy, even in the 21st. Century. In addition, its quality has been seriously questioned, even though an education with quality is essential to become aware and to let people participate in public affairs. Mexico could be considered as a *moratorium debtor* in the starting points that lead to reinforce democracy based on equal grounds for all the population. Hence, education should be guaranteed at least for all population in scholarly age as a form to assure this population to actually have access to decent jobs that will guarantee a life with dignity and the sufficient human capital that could ultimately contribute to the country's development. Education here also has an impact in health, for basic public education contributes to decrease certain sicknesses of public interest, which can lead to an overall improvement of health at the national level because they would not have to deal with some diseases due to prevention.

There are important deficiencies at the political level, as the fact of not having political parties that truly stand by a clear ideological position, thus causing high fragmentation at the interior of said parties. Hence, people cannot identify with them due to lack of values, beliefs and practices as well as, a consequence, these parties promote actions that are not oriented to fulfill of a common interest. An example of this fragmentation could be the Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD) that is highly divided after only twenty-two years of its birth. In this sense, this restrains the perpetuation of power in this group. The lack of confidence in institutions is still an aspect to be solved. However, this level is the last stage that an individual could achieved, as long as he covers *a priori* his basic needs and fundamental rights, besides that he should count with the education to do so. In consequence, public policies should be oriented towards insuring the *bio-politics* of the individual and not only in its *zõè*, in order to develop a truly active citizenship.

In short, which are then the possibilities of the Mexican population to transit from being considered just as an element of the State, and now into an active and critic citizenship, during a six-year term, under the current economic, political and social conditions?

a) Positive scenario: an active citizenship

In order for Mexico to evolve towards a development and strengthening of an active citizenship a number of prerequisites are needed: to secure the basic nourishment for the whole population; to improve levels of employment; consequently, to reduce levels of unemployment and underemployment; to establish policies which allow that every worker count with security in his working life; to improve health coverage and quality of the services; as well as to ensure all kids' enrolment and permanence in the scholar system until high-school, including the indigenous kids; and to eradicate the presence of children on the streets. The reduction of public health diseases through education is also a goal that should be taken into account by diverse institutions. Institutional consolidation must be also pursued, especially those who are the bond between citizens and the public sphere, in order to increase confidence in institutions. This will lead to voluntary participation due to feelings of identification and belonging. Another goal should also be the security of private property and the eradication of insecurity, even the one regarding our lives, through suppressing corruption at all instances. In short, we should eradicate all forms of exclusion and «excluding inclusion» related to basic aspects of individual development; besides, we should count with trustworthy actors that can provide security, in the sense this concept has been analyzed. Once this is achieved, improvements in the quality of life will reinforce voluntary participation. This will also be motivated by an interest in public affairs rather than due to the State's incapacity to solve the problems of its population.

b) Negative scenario: A passive citizenship

If a passive citizenship were to be the actual scenario in a context of world economic crisis, we could expect the increase of unemployment and underemployment rates, as well as the rise of incertitude by undermining the confidence of people, due to job losses and the incapability to find an employment in a short-term period. As a consequence, there would be bigger difficulties to cover basic needs such as food, housing and health. Another aspect that should be considered is the fact that the sons of the family will have to give up education in order to contribute to household income. In this scenario, public policies at school will not tackle discrimination. We will see a rise of participation in illegal or criminal activities as an alternative to cover the needs connected to social rights. Also, there could be an increase of distrust in those institutions that serve as mediators between population and government, as well as in the levels of corruption inside and outside them. This will retract any participation of citizens to their own sphere, which will focus on a constant struggle to survive or to defend their right to live, as it is already happening. In this sense, this scenario allows us to think in a rise of exclusion, the fear, and the insecurity on the different aspects analyzed during this paper, while it shows the inefficient administration of the State to face those circumstances.

c) Real scenario: Mexico today; feeble citizenship?

This scenario corresponds to current situation that tends to highlight more a negative side, even though there are still some elements that could have an impact in the improvement in the quality of life of the Mexican citizens.

The economic crisis is very tangible in terms of the levels of unemployment, and it prevented Calderon Hinojosa to be seen as the «president of employment». Even

though, there were a few improvements, which make us believe that the jobs created could be stable, or at least that they would not be temporal; otherwise this would aggravate the situation about employment. Employment enhancement will always decrease the fear of hunger and disease.

Concerning health, coverage has actually risen but it is still insufficient. Quality of said health coverage is also a pending matter. The reduction of public diseases seem to be far from being eradicated in a short-term period, because precisely the genesis of said diseases lie in bad nutrition and behavioral habits acquired since childhood. These habits are highly linked with scarcity of resources, as part of being victims of the «excluding inclusion» since that time.

Concerning education, there are sufficient conditions to ensure education of all children only until elementary school, but not until high school. However, this is not enough and the attendance to the school should be also guaranteed. Besides, the presence of kids on the street participating should not be allowed. In this sense, to extend the access to education must imply to improve its quality, which means a real inclusion with possibilities to attain an employment and allowing them a life with dignity.

Actions undertaken against the organized crime should suppose at some point the reduction of levels of insecurity about private property and the life of individuals, a decrease that is achieved due to reforms to the legal framework and the strict application of law. This action should also imply the decrease of levels of corruption, the legalization of drugs, and the regulation of other crimes such as human trafficking. In addition, these actions would also contribute to level of trust in institutions, reinforcing them in the sight of citizens.

Nowadays, after this analysis, we can conclude that Mexican citizenship is based in the three following aspects: the vulnerability of people facing the increase of insecurity as a form to attack individuals' life, forcing them to allow those acts of exclusion that subject them; the lack of response from the State in order to protect its citizenship; and the private property. Under this approach, there still starts to arise an involvement from individuals to pursue a common good, which allows a more real exercise of citizenship in Mexico even when it is a feeble one. Nevertheless, this exercise has been forced by the conditions that the population is living today, therefore, it could not be considered as an active citizenship because it is not a voluntary one. It comes from injustice and fear, instead of coming from the inherent individual freedom. This leads to a shadowy and limited citizen exercise bound by the prevailing insecurity, which highlights the importance to fight for enhancing the access to opportunities that represent a standard of equality as a starting point for the whole population, so all who are considered as citizens could exercise their liberty as part of their own diversity; this is a defining characteristic of a democratic regime. The third aspect is mainly based on the electoral process, which obeys to a historical learning tradition.

However, being a fully active citizen implies the absence of shortcomings and full respect for human dignity; this must be present as a right but also in exercise and practice of the value that it represents. In other words, this implies the total inclusion of this individual in the State's strategies for development. Then, security should allow an integral development of a country, being both: citizenship and security, the key elements needed

to ensure this development. Hence, the inhibition of a person's will through exclusion, or through an apparent inclusion, is going to result in the absence of order, and feeble citizens who oscillate in between the border of what is possible and impossible, between access to limited opportunities or the lack of them, due to the absence of basic elements composing human security. As seen in the Mexican case, the increase of the levels of discrimination could be considered as a disease of the State; in other words, this disease sharpens the trend toward exclusion, which puts in risk any possibility to participate, as it reinforces a passive citizenship that dilutes itself with fear and incertitude.

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[1] In order to avoid confusions around the concept of human security, it is necessary to advice that this text does not cover the concept of human development. As a result we will not dwell on it.

[2] The National Supreme Justice Court (SCJN) was situated on the 6th rank.

[3] The Executive power was ranked on the 8th place.

[4] President Ernesto Zedillo and President Vicente Fox were both elected in what are considered so far the two cleanest electoral processes in Mexico. However, the 2006 process remains an undetermined affair due to various fraud claims. The 2012 electoral process was also recognized as a clean one.

[5] Asset poverty is "having a low available income that prevents people from getting basic food groups, invest in health, clothing, housing, transportation and education even if the totality of said income is precisely used to obtain said good and services". Human capacity poverty is "the total insufficiency (…) to acquire basic food groups, health and education, even dedicating the totality of income to said ends." (UNDP, 2010).