

THE SOCIAL VULNERABILITY UNDER THE SURVEILLANCE FROM THE STATE MEXICAN

LA VULNERABILIDAD SOCIAL BAJO LA VIGILANCIA DEL ESTADO MEXICANO

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Summary

The purpose of the article is to reflect on the importance that the surveillance society has obtained within a context of the expansion of social vulnerability, focusing on the problem of political power actually being an issue of public security, creating illegal criminalization situations.

It will also emphasize that social vulnerability is reproduced territorially, as those who suffer from a lack of institutional protections risk their very survival, forcing them to depend on illegal economic activities.

In the case of Mexico, surveillance technology is used by State authorities to criminalize illegalities when the conflict between the legal and the illegal is converted into violence.

Keywords: Surveillance society, social vulnerability, violence.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es reflexionar sobre la importancia, que la sociedad de la vigilancia ha alcanzado, en un contexto de expansión de la vulnerabilidad social, vinculada con el problema de seguridad pública, pero desde el poder político cuando criminaliza las diversas situaciones de ilegalidad.

Por tanto, se destaca que la vulnerabilidad social es reproducida territorialmente a través de actividades económicas ilegales, donde los acuerdos particulares han sustituido la certidumbre, derivada de las protecciones sociales estatales.

En el caso de México, desde un punto de vista general, la tecnología de la vigilancia es usada por las autoridades estatales para criminalizar ilegalidades; sobre todo, cuando el conflicto entre lo legal y lo ilegal se transforma en violencia.

Palabras clave: Sociedad de la vigilancia, vulnerabilidad social, violencia.

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of the article is to make an explanation about of any situations of Mexican social vulnerability, based on the concept of the surveillance society and social vulnerability, and at the same time, highlight the fact that surveillance technology has a social significance when it justifies criminalization from the State of illegal social practices that, from a general point of view, are caused by the expansion of social vulnerability, whose cause was the society work crisis, where the wage laborer has lost his importance as social protection, in other words, as an articulator of social rights, managed by a system of welfare state.

A lack of job security has helped create a state of social instability that has resulted in labor uncertainty, which has been an influence in the emergence of social fear of vulnerability and its transformation into social breakdown. This is considered to be a possible cause of the expansion of criminal acts, which has served as justification for criminalization by the State of some social vulnerability situations related to poverty and misery.

However, the use of surveillance technology by state authorities responds to a managerial control process which follows the frame, characterized by the assumed dangers that are represented in the social order, terrorism and now, those criminal acts which may be interpreted in different ways, and drug trafficking as well.

The main limitation of this article lies in the use of generalizations, however its purpose is to visualize within the general tendencies used in the approach towards consolidation within the international plan for the surveillance society. This will help to interpret some Mexican illegal situations that have been socially justified, in my point of view by its criminalization and generalized use of surveillance technology by the State.

However, the general tendencies are links with the birth of globalizing surveillance, in other words, this mean that the people are being watched in the airport, supermarket, Internet, the workplace and so on (Lyon, 2004: 135-136).

Now, over all after of the disastrous events of 11 September 2001, the government of surveillance in United States and other countries, for example, has become part of the war against the terrorism, whose identification is bound with the criminal that has put in danger the called national security.

The surveillance systems are new forms that depend of a frame that retain face to face or are part of software codes and of algorithmic methods (Lyon, 2004: 138).

The Mexican government has observed to the illegal as part of criminal order and is using the same technologies of surveillance presents in other countries, but with special attention to the social control of crime, link to the universe of the illegal and with special attention to the trafficking of drugs.

From a methodological point of view, newspaper notes are important because are data useful and reliable, based in a standardized system; and at the same time, the theory could help to its interpretation in a context of social research (Río, 2008: 80-81).

The newspaper notes have the following features: data about of places and causes that are behind of social conflicts over its character planning or spontaneous of the collective action so as the slogans, for example, of social protests and other events of social life (Río, 2008: 79).

Finally, the social is the expression individual of the interaction with the other and has been registered in the newspapers with its limitations and particular interests that depends of different news agencies (Coulon, 2005).

Some case studies are used for to show the situations of illegality that are survival strategies and that may be criminalized by the Mexican State. Why? Because are practices illegal. And, among other things, the actors are considered as a risk for the neoliberal social order.

The article is divided into four parts. The first part will analyze the main components of the surveillance society concept. The second part will study social vulnerability as a result of a process linked with the erosion of social rights based on wage labor, considering it as a probable cause of the expansion of criminality, which, in turn, emphasizes the importance of the issue as a variable to consider in the explanation of vulnerability. Some particular characteristics of social vulnerability situations in Mexico will be looked at in the third part, and we will conclude with some final reflections.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONCEPT OF SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

One of the common characteristics which is found in surveillance societies, that is not an external result of the disciplinary society or the control society, is: The expansion of citizen's rights

which has caused the appearance of new surveillance and control mechanisms over the population by the State, a process which has not stopped in spite of the welfare state institutional crisis (Weber, 1993; Morrison, 2010: 488-489).

This characteristic allows the creation of explanations about the role of identification regimes which have established new types of relationships between administrative powers and the everyday life of individuals, which, from a general point of view, were first defined by name, signature, and seal and later, by the use of biometrics and the computerization of an individual's data (Rodríguez, 2010: 41-47).

The institutions excused the discipline exercised over the individual bodies where they were associated, at first, by explaining how the school and family functioned and secondly, the factory, hospital and prison, converting them into the base for the reproduction of what is referred to as the disciplinary society (Foucault, 1980; Ceballos, 2005).

The disciplinary society from a territorial point of view is identified by confinement and imprisonment. However, its gradual breakup was creating a new situation built through new control mechanisms such as computers and cybernetics, creating a virtual reality which later was transformed in part by collective arrangements, having also provoked the emergence of new forms of delinquency or resistance (Deleuze, 1995: 175).

In the control society, what is important is not the signature or individualized number, as in the disciplinary society, but the code. The code is a password, or a digital language that allows it to have particular access to information saved as data.

In control societies, the capitalist production process is fragmented and dispersed, but its coordination depends on information and communication technologies (Harvey, 2005; Duménil, and Lévy, 2007). However, control over the bodies by a political power in disciplinary societies survives in control societies because the bodies acquire new importance, not only as physical subjects, but as a data source (Haesbaert, 2011: 229). This is a consequence of the need to administer the movements of population masses, for example, that have been left to form part of the integrated social groups.

With the disciplinary institutional crisis, individualism as the basis of the neoliberal credo has resulted in the establishment of performance as a new value in the control society, in other

words, individuals being enterprising subjects who can work without limits by means of their initiatives and motivation (Chul, 2012: 25-27). However, the value of individualized performance is sustained by discipline and the control that it generates, so that failure may be visualized either as personal depression, or by individual fatigue, resulting in the absence of strength. The consolidation of the control society is also a result of the expansion of surveillance and control mechanisms of the State over the population (Costa, 2012: 3).

This weakness of the citizenry, from my point of view, has brought about the appearance of diverse “nude life” situations where what is important is not only the meanings derived from biogenetic engineering (Negri, 2007: 120); but the absence of social attributes or citizen’s rights, as in the case of migrants, delinquents, the poor and unemployed (Bourdieu, 2002: 57).

Social attributes are derived from the operation of the state institutions that are promoting equality as well as a sense of belonging to a collective which serves to protect itself from some of the negative consequences of the dynamics of capitalist economy.

For this reason, the weakness of social citizenry has favored the increase in inequality, which goes against solidarity because it has caused an increase in various forms of job insecurity, which is also reflected in an increase in the differences seen between wages earned (Rosanvallon, 2012: 23-27).

The neoliberal economic model and the political model based on limited democracy to political rights therefore have contributed to the multiplication of surveillance and control mechanisms in order to organize contemporary social life by means of the configuration of an identity defined by individual biological considerations such as sex and age, as well as by characteristics derived from some functions which are carried out in their economic or social spheres (Calveiro, 2012: 303-307).

The information and communication technologies that have been used as necessary preventable measures have meant the creation of a definition of public security as sustained through personal identification of attributes and behaviors that are defined as criminal problems, which therefore makes use of state repressive force (Garcia, 2012).

From another point of view, the need for new state control mechanisms is due to the emergence of such unintended consequences as uncertainty and danger. For this reason, the

instrumental rationality (medium-fine) searches for the design of a variety of security means for facing natural economic and social risks (Beck, 2006: 118-121). The control society, however, has been converted into a surveillance society because the authorities exercise surveillance in order to modify the conduct of those watched, conserving its social control function for those who are suspected or followed (Neissenbaum, 2011: 37-38).

Surveillance is carried out through the use of video surveillance technology (closed circuit television), located in strategic places such as streets, plazas, parks and commercial centers which captures real time images, recording and storing them, and is thereby justified by citing the increasing fear of crime and terrorism. What is visible through closed circuit television under these conditions is the influence on the behavior of those observed, which is different from the voluntary visibility found in the blog or social media profile (Morduchowicz, 2012: 47).

In this way, there appears to exist a space or territory watched through surveillance technologies, however, this does not put aside the control or the criminalization by the authorities of those suspects not having social attributes, potentially considering them as enemies of social order, and also integrating neighbors into police surveillance activities (Davis, 2001: 21-22).

However, behind the socialized fear of delinquency or terrorism lies a process of social disintegration whose final result is not only the absence of law but the appearance of organized violence that can weaken the fundamentals of the political power of the privileged.

In the context described, political power has defined new citizen relationships, mediated by public institutions and characterized by a greater surveillance of privacy not only of suspects but also of an important part of those governed (Cotarelo, 2011: 16-17). For that reason, a type of surveillance supported by technology has been institutionalized, which has augmented the observation powers of authorities, who are searching to have a greater impact on the behavior of those watched (Lyon, 2001).

Observation technology has favored the monitoring of individuals through their financial transactions, clinical histories, police archives, consumer preferences and their mobility in public spaces as well tracking them when they are navigating on networks such as the Internet (D. Mehta, 2006:109). The central object of video surveillance is delinquency however, and must be considered as an external enemy to society because gradually it has passed to form part of the same. It is for

this reason that the ideology of security holds firm to the belief that society should be placed under surveillance. In other words, it should be watched and should combat itself (Wajcman, 2011: 91).

The generalized use of video surveillance is in this way thereby justified because it erases the borders between the guilty and the innocent, while at the same time, establishing a policy of prevention in order to determine the persons who are at risk of converting into delinquents. This is to say that a constant assessment of a person's possible danger to society will be maintained, which will never be terminated in spite of the fact that the person being assessed has not committed any crimes during his/her lifetime. When a person does transform himself/herself into a delinquent however, he/she becomes living proof that there was just cause for them to be suspect of being capable of committing a dangerous act. It is because of this link existing between danger and the suspect that security surveillance has been created.

As a consequence, the random visual registering of people also seeks to anticipate the risks and dangers as a means of preventative control through the threat of eventual identification (About and Denis, 2011). The proliferation of surveillance cameras in public places and their influence on behavior is what has configured the surveillance society, where public and private security services exercise surveillance activities over everyday life in order to improve the business management or to respond to security needs.

Video surveillance technology has dematerialized control forms because authorities can now exercise control from a distance, thereby separating the identifier from those being identified, while at the same time allowing identification through the use of controls directed towards behavior or external character aspects.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

Vulnerability is the result of the working class society crisis as manifested in the weakness found in the protection and regulation systems which are supported by the social citizenry. Collective structures in turn, as in the case of unions, are converted into the foundation for the integration and protection of individuals, thus creating a type of certainty for the future (Castel, 2010a: 24-25).

The status of the wage earner as a source of lost social rights is important because it started the process of individualization of social relationships. In other words the individual was liberated from collective pressures in order to supposedly display his/her abilities. What happened however was that the worker was transmuted into a vulnerable state because social protections were absent, thereby forcing him/her to live precariously, which could in some cases, lead to delinquency (Castel, 2010b: 16-17). However, the wage laborer was important because of the organization of guarantees and rights which covered all members of society. In other words, they had social attributes that were favorable to integration, which diminished vulnerable situations or situations with no social protection.

The concept of social vulnerability means not only unemployment or underemployment, i.e. job insecurity, but also a weakening of the state institutions² that grant social attributes, which strengthen the supports of collective identification.

The instability of state institutions to regulate collective welfare has not lessened the state use of various means for establishing its domination in the lives of those vulnerable, however, and on occasions justifying it as the only way to control criminal behavior (Rosanvallon, 2007: 47). On the other hand, the criminalization of those made vulnerable by political power look to convert poverty and misery into risky situations for social stabilization, which makes the generalized use of surveillance technologies among the privileged more attractive (Wacquant, 2000).

Social vulnerability not only loosens the ties between the individual and society, but also reproduces situations of exception which, from a general perspective, mean an absence of rights and collective agreements made against those who have been defined as enemies of the social order, and who are, at the same time, not integrated into the system and have no identity as citizens (Agamben, 2007: 23-28).

But, when political power defines exception as a social danger, and blames those who live within the society, it legitimizes the use of a branch of state force that is not regulated by law because a part of the environment of those vulnerable has stopped having social attributes. This denies the fact that situations of exception are considered a consequence of a reduction of opportunities for inclusion in the new model of neoliberal economic development.

² Institution means a particular way of socializing and its programs have the objective of transforming the values and principals into action and subjectivity (Dubet, 2006: 31-32).

On the other hand, the vulnerability situation have increased because inequality has stopped having income as its only criteria and now responds to such variables as age, gender, ethnicity and religious beliefs.

Social vulnerability does not generate criminals; however political power has the capacity of criminalizing a part of the vulnerable population, thereby creating new criminal categories which work on maintaining the cohesion of society in order to show that it still conserves the need for punishment by the State (Collins, 2009: 125-137).

In consequence, social solidarity has been left to lie in the welfare state system, creating social insecurity which has been considered a public security problem. The State has used surveillance technology in order to push forward its punitive actions, thus increasing the probability of the anticipation of non desired behavior in individuals (Mattelart, 2009: 233).

Social vulnerability is created by individuals who suffer from unemployment and underemployment in societies where the foundation of sociability are found to be unstable or fragile, but their ordinary life occurs in deteriorated areas that do not have the importance for the real-estate market (Wacquant, 2007: 29-56).

On the other hand, in Latin America, the territorialization of social vulnerability has been viewed through the existence of a duality between the legal city inhabited by privileged groups, and the illegal city located in periphery where there is no public infrastructure or what exists is of low quality, and recently has been considered as a focus of criminality (Caldeira, 2010: 14-15, Castro-Gómez, 2008: 150).

I insist that illegality only provokes criminality when the authorities consider it such. This is true above all, because in Latin America, where illegal actions are allowed that help some poor groups, for example, to have access to urban land and dwellings, to services, education, employment and health. This has happened during moments in which illegal actions interweave with legal ones. In other words, behavior is sometimes prohibited by law, however, in other moment's actions that were not sanctioned before.

The authorities criminalize behavior and social conditions but tolerate the occurrence of crimes against the law, which has created a situation that suggests that the rules do not have a generalized observance.

This has been the result of the use of the rules and institutions by political actors who have sought to develop ties between the legal and illegal in order to achieve personal benefits. The rupture of the ties between the legal and illegal can create situations of conflict that could be resolved through violence, which justifies the use of state public force directed at punishing those who have lived under the rules of disorder (Duhau and Giglia, 2008).

The authorities have also established a formal and informal administration; which means that the urban space for example, is used in accordance to particular social logic that holds on to unspoken agreements.

In the case of Mexico, it is necessary to understand the meaning of ties developed between the legal and the illegal, because violence is not caused by the absence of government in certain localities of the country, nor by the struggle for the monopoly of the violence between the authorities and the armed groups of organized crime (Herrera, 2010: 26-27).

The latent conflict between the legal and illegal, in other words, between the formal and informal, can be converted into violence when the ties between the two spheres are broken. The informal exists however because social vulnerability has been expanding which translates into a growth in job insecurity and social inequality.

The above statement does not rule out the fact that state authorities have the ability to criminalize certain groups which suffer from vulnerability and also stigmatize them because of the neighborhood in which they live in. Corruption and impunity are parts of the conflictive coexistence of the two above mentioned orders and cannot be considered as the main cause of the public security crisis in Mexico (Calveiro, 2012: 208-223).

Mexican social vulnerability also means a metropolis inhabited by people whose property, human and political rights are vulnerable because of the illicit or illegal, but the illegal also has another way of gaining access to goods and services that legal mechanisms deny to the poor (Alvarado, 2012: 512-529).

The links between the legal and illegal lie behind the thinking that Mexican rights are not universal because they do not guarantee justice for all, creating a situation where behavior does not abide by the rules and authority does not apply. As a consequence, the exception is the rule (Durand, 2010: 34-35).

The legal and illegal are part of the social relationship that has generated a State of rights that has legal exceptions and which favors the reproduction of the social vulnerability. In Mexico there exist socially vulnerable situations where the legal rules do not apply and the exceptions range between the use of public force and the negotiation of individual interests.

THE SOME CASES OF MEXICAN EXCEPTIONS UNDER THE VULNERABILITY AND THE SURVEILLANCE SOCIAL

The Mexican government of surveillance is mediated by the militarization of public security, using different technical advances, in a context of social insecurity, caused for the weakness of system of social integration and generalizing the cases of exclusion that are part of illegal order. In the illegal order there are absences of attributes, derivatives of the citizenship. The Mexican citizenship is absence in social action and only exists in the law but not in the reality.

In consequence, the violence, coercion, insecurity, and impunity are the informal elements of state-making in Mexico, united with the formal democratic processes, but in situations of multiplications of the illegal (Pansters, 2012).

The proliferation of social illegal is outcome of the expansion of social vulnerability that related social conflict, and at the same time, described different cases of exception. The Mexican reality is a heterogeneous collection of conflicts that converged and diverged and allows the employ methods developed by the impunity and the authoritarianism of Mexican elite (Tuckmam, 2012: 89-91).

A situation of exception occurred on December 1, 2012 in Mexico City during the change of presidency to the president elect Enrique Peña Nieto. The exception not only caused the Congress of Deputies building to be surrounded by federal forces previous to the presidential changeover, but also caused its encirclement with a steel fence to impede the approach of protesters. This event was also accompanied by special police squads that controlled the access of bystanders and of those residing close to the legislative chamber. Control was afterwards limited to fewer streets than was originally planned for by police authorities, due to neighborhood protests.

When the confrontation on December 1, 2012 occurred between the groups protesting the inauguration of the new president and the show of public force which surrounded the Chamber of

Deputies, there were no detentions, however, and only a few injuries among the protesters. On the other hand, other demonstrations who wanted to go to the National Palace, seat of the Executive Power, could not accomplish their objective because the Mexico City local police force stopped them, starting a confrontation which ended in arrests, as well as the destruction of urban street fixtures and looting of business³.

The police operation and the use of surveillance cameras helped in the arrest of suspects and of some transients that protested individually against the operation (Bolaños, 2012: A8). The flaw in the situation originated not only in the unjustified arrests by public forces of some people, but in the penal laws that the authority applied for accusing those detained in the disturbances⁴. These laws were not sustainable because the video camera images from the Safe City program located in the Historic Downtown of the capital city were not able to prove that 55 of 69 detainees participated in the damages caused to building facades, historic monuments and the looting of some businesses. Only 14 of people who the penal authorities accused, not for disturbing the public peace, but for robbery, resisting arrest and damage to private property were put in prison (Martínez, 2012: A16).

The release also influenced the agitation of the families of the arrested and civil organizations such as #YoSoy132 together with human rights defenders. Their defense arguments can be stated as follows: the crime of disturbance of the public peace was used by the State for repressing social protests, the investigation and punishment should have been for those responsible for the provocations. Also, a group of lawyers who took charge of the defense of those detained showed images taken by video cameras of cell phones from some of the protesters that where posted on social network sites where it can be observed that the riot police force detained individuals who faced the police stopping their actions, however, there were no interventions during the acts of looting businesses or the destruction of urban fixtures. These were passed on to

³ The confrontation took place in Madero street which is a pedestrian commercial corridor and the Alameda Central (remodeled public park) surrounded by businesses and where the Hotel New Hilton is located. Both zones were watched by police with the help of video cameras (Xolalpa, 2013: C2).

⁴ Article 362 of the Federal District Penal Code penalizes attacks against the public peace and imposes prison sentences of 5 to 30 years plus suspension of political rights up to 10 years for those found guilty (Legislación Penal D.F., 2013: 141).

the Federal District Human Rights Commission who documented that in 32 cases there were arbitrary arrests without justification (Otero, 2012: A14, Olivares, 2012: 14).

Finally, of the 69 people arrested, only 14 stayed imprisoned who later benefitted from the modifications introduced in article 362 of the Federal District Penal Code⁵ by the capital city congress deputies⁶. In other words, 14 of the detained gained their freedom because the crime for which they had been committed was changed, but as the penal authority held that the convicted had committed attacks against public peace, with the decrease of jail time that came with the new reform, they were set free on bail.

This fact illustrates that the Mexican exception does not depend on the will of the authorities for applying the law, but rather on how social agents impede or negotiate⁷ its application with benefits both for the authorities as well as those assumed to be affected. This has become part of Mexican social peace and stability.

From another point of view, there exists a generalized acceptance of illegality, which encourages illegal practices and crime, the result of which is the inexistence of a State of Rights, which has consequences over urban development. We cite as examples, the illegal sale of land for the building of living space for low income social groups on one hand, and on the other, developments constructed legally where theft of electrical and water services exists, as well as the illegal discharges of highly contaminated drainage, including some public institutions (Siqueiros, 2012: 81).

⁵ Now a sentence is imposed of 2 to 7 years in prison as well as suspension of political rights for up to 10 years for those who use toxic substances for burning, by flooding or violence done against persons, public and private buildings and public services that disturb the public peace (Gaceta Oficial del Distrito Federal, 2012: 3).

⁶ The Federal District Legislative Assembly Commission for the Administration and Procurement of Justice is made up of 9 deputies, 6 are from the leftist party that governs Mexico City and the rest are from the opposition. The 6 voted for a ruling in favor of the reform, but the rest did not attend the meeting. For this reason, the modifications were presented and passed without any problems (Herrera, 2012: 1-2).

⁷ In a protest by the families of the detained, accompanied by the movement #YoSoy132 in front of the Federal District Legislative Assembly, the protestors gave the deputies of the left a proposal made by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers for reforming article 362 of the Federal District Penal Code. Finally, the leftist deputies who make up a majority in the local parliament carried out the petition of the protestors (Llanos and Gonzalez, 2012: 35). In this way, the crime which they were charged with was transformed into policy attacks against the local government whose sanction was a fine, paid by the deputies that promoted the changes to article 362 (Mercado and Damián, 2012: 1-5).

Social relationships based on illegality slow the consolidation of Mexico's citizenry. For example in the Xochimilco neighborhood located in the southern part of Mexico City, part of an ecological reserve zone which has been divided up and sold, which is prohibited by law, constructing precarious housing with deficient streets and avenues without services; which has induced the emergence of illegal taxi services which in reality are private cars in bad condition transporting the inhabitants to the high areas at high prices. Electrical energy is stolen and potable water is bought from private sources. Some of its inhabitants dedicate themselves to informal commerce in high traffic zones, however, they are found in a vulnerable situation due to the fact that the authorities can evict them from occupied streets or when a conflict exists because of an increase of illegal vendors and the loss of profit. The right to free transit is violated because the street vendors use the streets and avenues for their own private use, as well as the clandestine use of electrical services. Given this the authorities do not act despite protests from neighbors, showing the evidence of the denial of their rights as citizens (Durand, 2010: 156-158).

The private appropriation by street vendors of public spaces such as streets found close to public metro transportation stations in Mexico City is the consequence of the expansion of vulnerability, that is to say the lack of formal employment and social protection⁸. For example in the last trimester of 2012, 6 out of 10 workers were employed in the informal economy. From another perspective, this situation can also be interpreted as the inability of the local governments to create the number of jobs demanded by their respective economically active populations (Franco, 2013: 33).

Another recent manifestation of the Mexican exception with its features as is the punitive practices carried out by local communities against delinquency. This has occurred in the mountain regions of the state of Guerrero, where the inhabitants accuse the authorities of being accomplices to delinquency and for this reason, have organized a Citizen Movement against Delinquency of Ayutla, covering their faces and armed with rifles, pistols and machetes. They create checkpoints in

⁸ In the recently built line 12 of the Mexico City Metro, the Tláhuac, Calle 11, Periferico Oriente, Tezonco, San Andres Tomatlan and Lomas Estrella stations located in the Iztapalapa delegation, 358 informal commercial stands have been placed, their number increasing with the passage of time, and were sold by the leaders of an organization called the Francisco Villa Popular Front, which was made possible by negotiations with the metro authorities. The general director of the metro service justified it this way: "Many stations have been recovered; I mean that when you leave the station it is not full of street vendors within less than 50 meters" (Herrera, 2012: 10).

the Iguala-Ciudad Altamirano highway which violates the citizen's right to free transit. The human rights of those detained have also been violated because they were put in safe houses owned by the inhabitants against their will, and one who tried to flee was even killed (Flores, 2013: 27-29).

These armed self-defense groups also have appeared in the communities of Chihuahua, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero, Morelos, Oaxaca, Veracruz and the State de México. This has forced the National Human Rights Commission to say that an armed group substituting for the public powers and taking justice into their own hand is not legal. Their fear is that these groups will transform themselves into paramilitaries assuming the right to put on trials and to execute sentences as they see fit (Trujillo, 2013: 34).

These incidents may be interpreted as a reconstruction of the illegality from self management of public security by the impoverished and vulnerable inhabitants facing an authority which is fragmented and which has developed links with informal powers that answer with economic benefits such as drug trafficking and kidnapping. However, in the case of the State of Guerrero, the governor has tried to establish ties with the self-defense groups wanting them to integrate them with community police, organizing through the Regional Community Authority Coordinator (Núñez, 2013: 10).

FINAL REFLECTIONS

The link between social vulnerability and public insecurity is the result of the crisis of the labor society, which has created a precarious situation which has shown that state institutions are incapable of guaranteeing collective wellbeing. This precariousness is manifest in the absence or weakness of social protection for the unemployed and underemployed. This means that the labor worker has ceased to be the main source of social rights.

However, social vulnerability has been transformed into illegality when political power criminalizes the survival strategies of the vulnerable through illicit actions. From a sociological point of view, those suffering from the absence of the social attributes needed for integration into a social dynamic are also socially vulnerable. On the other hand, a way of confronting the problems derived from social vulnerability by the State, which focuses on the disintegration of the ties of solidarity, has been through surveillance technology used to influence social behavior and at the

same time to control some of the criminal behavior through the use of personal information in police databases.

A controlled society also means the limitation or absence of citizen's rights, which has allowed the expansion of State control and surveillance over their population. But the cases of Mexican vulnerability are the result of links established between the legal and the illegal which in certain junctures is converted into conflict that leads to violence. In this context, surveillance technologies have been used to criminalize the illegal; above all, when there is a break with state legal order.

However, the violence and coercion are part of "dark side" of state in Mexico, support in surveillance technology, which has organized its punitive actions against the crime and the social movements.

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