

The violence of the Mexico's global south as performance

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Abstract

Objective of the article is to interpret violence as a symbolic social action (performance). Method. Analysis through the binary narrative established by its protagonists, which has a meaning organized by an imaginary structure shared collectively, which turns out to be alien to social reality, but constructed through the discourse of Mexican public insecurity. At the same time, information from the written press was used not as a resource for power; rather, as a binary narrative that expresses motives, relationships, and institutions. Theory. It is used in the so-called civil sphere, visualized as a set of values and beliefs, synthesized as ideals, linked to citizen rights in a democratic society. Findings / Conclusions.

Key words: Violence; Performance; Binary Narrative; Civil Sphere.

1. Introduction

The objective of this article is to interpret the presence of a Mexican social representation of violence, considered as a fact-signs, that is, as beliefs and feelings, which have collective meanings, causing a symbolic social action (Alexander, 2011). But this symbolic social action can only be studied through its binary code expressed as a narrative, which in turn defines its protagonists as heroes or villains, as good or bad, and in the case of their social practices, as pure or impure, as plausible or implausible.

From the perspective described, social phenomena are independent of the so-called factual reality because they are meanings that are heard and expressed; meanwhile, that through theories its meaning can be constructed. For this reason, social facts are signified but some of their signifiers are organized in theories.

In other words, theories are cultural structures that help to establish the social meaning of events because the latter are visible (actions, recorded events, collected data), however, they are not things; if not, signs (Alexander, 2011).

For this reason, the theory that is used is that of the so-called civil sphere, visualized as a set of values and beliefs, synthesized as ideals, linked to citizen rights in a democratic society, which originate solidarity, and which allow, at the same time, find its meaning in the narrative of the uncivil sphere, which to a greater or lesser extent denies the ideals of liberal democracy (Alexander, 2006).

For this reason, the values of inclusion and equality of an institutionalized citizenship¹ they show a dual tension in the face of a scenario that denies them through particular organizational forms. that turn out to be less inclusive, and consequently, closed, creating an uncivil sphere through icons that specify the exclusionary or discriminatory social beliefs (Alexander, 2013).

For this reason, the binary narrative is useful because it allows to distinguish, from a methodological point of view, the autonomous or manipulated motives-aspirations on the part of the protagonists-the relationships-open or closed-as well as the space where the actors are registered- that are regulated or not by personal or impersonal norms. (Alexander, 2006).

¹ Citizen rights create expectations linked to basic economic needs and representation of the people, which must be recognized by the State creating positive and negative obligations, that is, to do and not to do to satisfy them (Pisarello, 2007, p. 11).

On the other hand, and from the chosen perspective, the collective representations emanating from the uncivil sphere have expressed motives and beliefs such as distrust, fear, risk and danger, which has ended up denying the value of trust and cooperation. .

In this case, there is a narrative that has interpreted the feeling of fear and social risk as a derivation of the absence of state control in neoliberal economic dynamics in post-industrial societies (Lyon, 2004). And from this narrative, the situation of violence in Mexico has been seen as a problem derived from the lack of state control in the different territories of the country, which has supposedly been favorable to the expansion of criminal social actions (Buscaglia, 2015) . Therefore, some consequences of this narrative is that Mexico has been classified as part of the global south.², where their particular socioeconomic context permanently denies the rights of a democratic citizenship (Durand, 2010).

The narrative of the supposed weakness of state control has created, in turn, another that expresses that in the face of the situation of risk and social danger, state surveillance must be improved through the intensive use of technology to monitor the social behaviors that have been classified as criminals (Laval & Dardot, 2009/2013).

However, within that narrative, social behaviors are also visualized as individualized risks and also interpreted through the information marketed by private insurance companies, that is, it only shows that there is no state commitment to protect against social risks. citizens (Beck, 1999), as has been studied from the theory of the welfare state (Sotelo, 2010).

Therefore, the existence of various binary narratives has shaped public opinion, where the public sphere is anchored, allowing the presence of the actors' discourses and narratives about the familiar and the acceptable, through generalizations and abstractions about civil society. , but its possible denial is also located (Alexander, 2006). That is, the journalistic discourse generated by various actors, also accompanied by their differentiated access, manifests a binary narrative that can only be understood not only by the points of view expressed; rather, because of their bond with those who do not behave and even deny them through counter-discourses and also through social interactions or practices (Torre-Cantalapiedra, 2018).

Journalistic information is not used as the only documentary source when showing a systematization about an event of particular interest (Río, 2008); if not, because it is the expression of the beliefs and values of society as a civil sphere (Alexander, 1999/2000).

In this sense, performance is a symbolic social action, in other words, the audience could interpret it as authentic or inauthentic, in other words, as credible or not credible and the cultural context, consequently, would become important to elaborate said interpretation. (Alexander, 2006, p. 44).

For this reason, violence as performance registers symbolic social action as meaningful interpretations, which in Mexico and elaborating a generalization, the actors show their strength outside the institutional democratic order and justice, which turns out to be ideal because it does not regulate social behavior ; Rather, it works poorly as informal solutions predominate (Escalante, 2017, p. 73).

These informal solutions are not linked to an abstract democratic model, based on political rights and linked to the civil sphere, but rather to the uncivil sphere, where violence acquires different meanings, in a neoliberal, individualist, technocratic context or scenario, where legitimacy It no longer depends on economic and social rights, but more on the functioning of the electoral system (Escalante, 2017).

For this reason, the narrative of public security as state punitive control has been built on assumptions that start from the denial or weakness of economic and social rights, as a cause of the expansion of poverty and misery, considered as a threat in the neoliberal setting. But this narrative, according to Wacquant (2009/2010), has created a social upheaval around security, where the forces of order are praised, the leniency of the judges is criticized and only the rights of victims of crimes and it is also called to strengthen the prison system to restore the power of the State in areas where there is no law or order, criminalizing its inhabitants.

The interpretation of violence through some binary narratives allowed this work to be divided into three parts. In the first, the scenario prone to the realization of some performances linked to violence was described; In the second part, performative violence is exemplified through the analysis of different cases,

² The construction of the idea of the global south has been based "... on the image of unjust, systemic and global suffering caused by capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy, and of resistance against the causes of this suffering" (De Sousa, 2017 , p. 274).

using the methodology of motives, relationships and institutions, and in the third part, some final reflections on the subject were presented.

2. The Mexican context of performative violence

From a general point of view, the Mexican scene of violence can be interpreted through the consolidation of an uncivil sphere, which has been contrary to organizational values, whose referent is solidarity and inclusion, which has created a space or civil sphere.

The Mexican civil sphere was for decades limited by the state legitimacy derived from the realization of economic and social rights through authoritarian corporate control exercised through a hegemonic political party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) (Altamirano, 2010).

However, this situation changed in the 1980s, when neoliberal economic reforms established competition and efficiency as new organizational principles, as well as individualism, promoting a new redistribution of political power, based on a system of parties, which has allowed partisan alternation at the municipal, state and even the federal executive level in 2000 (Woldenberg, 2012).

But the consolidation of Mexican electoral democracy has only provoked respect for political rights, as well as cultural and minority rights, leaving aside social and economic rights, which were important as a source of legitimacy, for the regime. corporate authoritarian politician, which has widened social inequality (Escalante, 2017).

For this reason, the binary narrative has emerged, which has linked violence with the expansion of poverty and misery, and in turn, the other narrative that establishes that the State has resumed its regulatory function through the use of punitive mechanisms (police and army) to “combat” the multiplication of criminal acts (Müller, 2016).

Both narratives show that life as a human right has been permanently denied, which does not invalidate neoliberal democratic legitimacy, above all, due to the existence of a weak security system, which cannot guarantee the right to life, and that Nor has it been able to be the basis of the authority of the Mexican State, which has been concealed thanks to the strengthening of individualism, which denies the interest in public life, accompanied by the belief that it has identified justice with the market (Escalante, 2017). The weakness of the Mexican justice system cannot be viewed as the direct cause of Mexican violence, however, it can be analyzed as a scenario that has facilitated the emergence of certain violent social actions, which has led to another negative narrative by interpreting violence as a systemic problem, that is, of the functioning of national institutions, which has ceased to be attributed only to individuals, given the need to maintain the neoliberal economic system driven by the so-called globalization (Salmerón, 2017).

In this case, the fault would lie in the operation of democratic institutions not only in Mexico but in the rest of the Latin American countries. But in parallel to this interpretation, another narrative has been constructed that describes the presence of various violent actors who carry out their actions within politics and who have managed to establish various ties with state institutions and with political leaders, as well as with segments of the public. civil society, so violence is plural, in other words, it is not a matter limited to the actions of the police or the military (Desmond & Goldstein, 2010).

On the other hand, from a more economic perspective, the Mexican scene of violence has been linked to the neo-extractive actions of capitalist companies, which have deployed repressive force against social resistance, to apply their methods of dispossession of land and natural resources. (Aguirre, 2013).

Said violent actions on the part of capitalist companies are also the result, according to this narrative, that in the global south they have transferred, from the establishment of the neoliberal economic system, the production methods most harmful to the lives of the populations of the world. global south, which would also provoke violent social opposition movements as a reaction to this type of transnational regional economic development (Gledhill, 2015/2017).

From the interpretation of Gledhill (2015/2017), violence in Mexico is the result of the State not applying the law, which has fostered the social belief that justice institutions only increase social injustice, for this reason, the Most of the population relies more on the protection of criminal organizations.

In sum, the failure or deficit of the institutions of social justice would be, from the perspective analyzed, the cause of the reproduction of the different scenarios of violence. In other words, due to the absence of state protection for life and individual patrimony, where there is no commitment, as has been indicated, with the values of the civil sphere related to the development of the so-called public life.

The principles or uncivil values are those that have organized Mexican symbolic social action in a general way, and their meaning is not found in the so-called legal order, but in the various informal, illegal orders, which show the denial of social and social rights. economic for broad social layers.

Some interpretations of economic informality, as a problem of non-application of the law, has been broadened to give meaning to criminal violence, for example, as a problem created by the government or of territorial state control, which has supposedly influenced the appearance of illegal territories (Maldonado, 2010).

But these narratives have not considered in their analyzes that the weakness of the justice system has not been able to protect life, which has become reasons for some actors to take care of their own security in an armed manner and justify themselves, in turn, due to the reference that has been made to the links between the government and criminal organizations (Míguez & Isla, 2010).

Beyond an interpretation linked to the lack of state enforcement of justice, Mexican violence has also been viewed as part of the daily negotiation of order and control between elites and leaders of social organizations, which has worked to maintain stability, for what the exercise of force would be more focused against some groups or individuals and only in some parts of the national territory (Gledhill, 2015/2017).

But there is also in the Mexican imaginary a positive interpretation of those who act outside the law, as has been the case of bandits turned heroes: "they rob the rich to give to the poor", "they redistribute" wealth, a function that the State has not been able to fulfill (Domínguez, 2015). And even when an armed individual acts to defend a group from a criminal, he has been considered an "anonymous hero", and for this reason, his murderous action is not socially condemned, although it is punishable by law.

Finally, another interpretation derived from the previous ones is that the neoliberal economic system established after the economic crisis of 1982, has created an individual who does not guide his actions by the values of inclusion and solidarity, which has caused that any attempt to convert part of your benefits in public policy encounters an opposition. Therefore, in this perspective, violence is a problem experienced only as individualized fear and that would affect their person and their assets and that could be caused by what has been socially classified as organized crime.

The organized crime³ as a narrative, it has been constructed through words such as: "plaza boss", "hawks", "protests", "executions", "heating the plaza", "financial operator", etc. (Escalante, 2012, pp. 32-44).

At the same time, according to Bartra (2012), in Mexico selective non-compliance with the law has been the benchmark of a narrative that has explained violence as a consequence of the crisis of the authoritarian and corporate political system, in other words, selective state management the non-application of the law continues; But now the violence has disordered the so-called organized crime because the democratic transition has not created a new way of negotiating with criminals, but since 2008, former President Felipe Calderón declared war on drug traffickers. At that time, organized crime was identified with drug trafficking and its fight, within that narrative, was justified because it was the cause of the alleged generalization of violence in the country. Above all,

Thus, the social meaning of the civil sphere linked to the values of inclusion and legality, in the narratives analyzed in a general way, and which should be guaranteed institutionally, have also found its opposite meaning in the presence of a sphere. uncivil, which is organizing and disorganizing society, however, violence as an action against life and property has found its justifications in the values of the uncivil sphere, which has produced the following social belief: Mexican electoral democracy is a failure. But that judgment has been elaborated from the uncivil values.

The binary narrative has built a scenario where violence as performance, that is, as symbolic action, shows us its uncivil meanings that have influenced the Mexican disenchantment with electoral political democracy.

3. The performance of Mexican violence and its narrative

The contexts or scenarios that facilitate social interactions involve differentiated symbolic narratives, where the uncivil has been identified with non-compliance with the law due to its discretionary management from the political and economic power.

³ Organized crime is defined as the union of three or more people who organize themselves to carry out permanent and repeated behaviors that, by themselves or together with others, have as an end or result some crimes, and would be punished as members of organized crime (Diario Oficial of the Federation, November 15, 2011).

But leaving aside the characteristics of the scenarios, the symbolic action of the armed self-defense groups of Tierra Caliente (Michoacán), at the level of motives, found its justification in the discourse of national public insecurity, manifested through the actions of dispossession carried out by the Knights Templar against the communities, tolerated, at the same time, by the local and state authorities. From this fact was derived the belief that both levels of authority were accomplices of the Knights Templar. From the narrative that criticized the armed actions of the Michoacan self-defense groups, it was argued that it was a strategy of the federal government to end the Knights Templar; above all, because they had an important presence in the communities of the region (Gil, 2015).

On the other hand, at the level of social ties, the previous narrative said that the self-defense groups had strong relationships with the criminal organization they were fighting, which made the self-defense social movement unlikely. In other words, it was contaminated by the criminal organization and also by the government by being used by both parties to confront them against the Knights Templar.

But when the self-defense groups were transformed into rural police, as it finally happened, under the scheme of the federal government, the institutions showed their opacity, private interests, turned into a solution, preserving the weakness of human rights in a non-functional justice system. the problem posed by regional violence (De Mauleón, 2015).

On the other hand, in another event, the inhabitants of the town of San Gregorio Atlapulco, located in the mayor's office of Xochimilco in the south of Mexico City, organized as night guards to armed guard their neighborhood, using rifles, sticks and machetes, seeking to avoid the crimes of robbery. In the binary speech, the authority in the voice of the then Secretary of Public Security of Mexico City (Jesús Rodríguez Almeida) said: "We are going to send Participación Ciudadana to talk with them and find out what their demands are and, above all, to solve them (...) he warned that these movements actually have political funds"(Quintero, 2014, p. 30).

Meanwhile, the neighborhood council of the town expressed the reasons for the actions of the night guards: "robberies of businesses and assaults, especially women.... (Adding) the surveillance has had results: three alleged criminals were apprehended, who were submitted and handed over to the police..."(Quintero, 2014, p. 30).

At the level of relationships, it was shown that their neighborhood watch was articulated with that of the authorities, seeking only greater efficiency in the arrest of thieves. However, at the level of the institutions, they showed their openness to meet neighborhood security demands, through a greater police presence, but to control the night guards and be able to displace them from their surveillance tasks. In other words, the authority was only interested in regaining control of its surveillance function lost due to the presence of the night guards. But the authority also delegitimized the night guards by saying that there were political interests unrelated to the "just and accepted" demand for public security. From the narrative that indicates that organized crime has carried out more tasks of violent dispossession of natural resources from rural communities, social representation linked to the absence of the State has been reinforced through its police and army or through the application of the law. Such is the case of the forest area of the Sierra Tarahumara in the state of Chihuahua. An inhabitant of the area explained: "Organized crime began to reach the area in force at the end of 2014... Appropriating, and in some cases, forcing people to work for them... forest production is sold (to organized crime)... They seek to launder money... organized crime (...) is involved everywhere, not just in the sowing of narcotics (...) obviously organized crime is in this relationship between loggers and businessmen.

In this complaint it can be seen that the word "organized crime" has become part of the discourse of public security, both governmental and social, in addition to the fact that the business of dispossession has not only been carried out in a violent way, but has been possible because of a common articulation of interests between illicit and legal businesses, which has also given meaning to the action to defend the collective rights of indigenous communities (rarámuri) through a non-governmental organization (Alianza Sierra Madre), which has denounced the dispossession before the state authority, whose response was the creation of an Executive Commission for Attention to Victims (CEAV), whose task was to determine the number of displaced inhabitants, according to Commissioner Irma Villanueva Nájera, there are 686 cases, equivalent to 126 families and the reasons that made them flee were: threats to their lives and dispossession of their lands to plant drugs or to cut down trees (Arredondo, 2017).

The creation of government commissions to address a particular public security problem shows the opacity of the institutions because they have a limited capacity for inclusion and transparency (Martínez

and Armenta-Ramírez, 2019a; Martínez, Armenta, Mapén, 2019b; Alvarado and Moreno, 2017; Alvarado, 2011; Martínez, Álvarez, Hernández and Tagle, 2020).

For this reason, the reasons that have configured the social meaning of the so-called organized crime are violent actions such as robbery or dispossession, kidnapping and death or executions, whose concrete basis has been articulated with the absence, which is actually a weakness, of the justice system; Meanwhile, the government side has sought to rebuild its legitimacy only through punitive actions, that is, to combat so-called organized crime, becoming another way of introducing violence at the regional level (Bartra, 2012).

The binary narrative of public security has also been expressed in the speech of the candidates to become candidates for the country's presidency for the elections of July 1, 2018. For example, the pre-candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador (now president-elect) on the part of the National Regeneration Movement (Morena) said that it would end the failed strategy to combat organized crime: "I am going to achieve peace (...) and I am going to end the war, we are not going to continue with the same strategy as it has not yielded results. In the middle of the six-year term there will no longer be war (he even proposed amnesty for the bosses) (... while the PRI candidate, José Antonio Meade answered him).

For its part, the Ministry of Public Education released a manual to prevent drug violence from entering schools, recommending to students when there is a shooting or the irruption of a commando in a school: "Lie face down on the floor, away from doors and windows, as well as remain silent and turn off the cell phone. Avoid acts such as running or leaning out of windows, coming into contact with aggressors, taking pictures or videos of the event. Inform the teacher if he or she or a classmate has been injured" (García, 2018, p. 8).

This manual has reinforced the social belief that the main source of violence in Mexico is drug trafficking activities, as well as the main cause of public insecurity, and how they act, using armed violence, their spiral could only be stopped through of the armed force of the State.

The government discourse of the punishment has found its counterpart in the speech of the then presidential candidate of Morena to offer to end a failed armed strategy, establishing the possibility of granting amnesty to those who caused the war.

At the level of relations, López Obrador's proposal is open; Meanwhile, that of José Antonio Meade is closed because the fight against organized crime would continue to be carried out by the army and the navy, as an armed force, identified with a guarantee to reestablish the public safety of citizens.

But both proposals show the weakness of the security institutions affected by opacity, and consequently, by their inability to deliver justice that defends the life or human rights of Mexicans.

The neighborhood perception of the increase in public insecurity has established failed performances. For example, in the Buenos Aires and Doctores neighborhoods, located in the Cuauhtémoc mayor's office in Mexico City, criminals ask for compulsory cooperation from businesses and passers-by and users of collective transport, or some do it in the common way: robbing or robbing. Those who act by intimidation and using the method of forced cooperation have not succeeded in getting victims to hand over valuable belongings compared to those who carry out robberies. But the neighbors have also carried out a failed performance when they have placed yellow and red tarps to threaten the criminals: "Stop, criminals (...) We are watching you. United neighbors (... others with personal dedication) Ratero, However, the method of canvases as a threat to criminals has its reasons, as well as the use of neighborhood alarms and cell phones: "There are three kids who come and ask us for money. About 80 people are organized in a WhatsApp group to share photos or notify when they come here (... this was expressed by an auto parts dealer from Colonia Buenos Aires)" (Ahedo, 2018, p. C6).

Neighborhood surveillance has shown the opacity of public security institutions, although the then spokesman for the Citizen Security Council of Mexico City (Francisco Hoyos) said that in order to inhibit crime, the mayor's authority must be asked better public lighting, good paving, and above all, reporting to the police. For this reason, from his point of view, the blanket / threat could work for a few months; but if the offender is not punished he would ignore the warning. But the one who gives the punishment is the authority, not the neighbor.

Finally, violence as a symbolic action is not limited to organized crime, it has its particular meanings for those who exercise it in a different way. To analyze this, let's see the performance of a group of "thugs" who appeared at a rally in support of the then pre-candidate for the head of government of Mexico City on behalf of the Morena party (Claudia Sheinbaum), in the Coyoacán mayor's office, on January 3, 2017.

The objective of those who carried out the violent action was to prevent the organization of the meeting of the Morena candidate, however, the civil and uncivil motives of those who were transformed into protagonists were expressed. To begin with, the Electoral Institute of Mexico City (IECM) issued a bulletin disapproving of the acts "(...) raised in the Coyoacán delegation (... today the mayor's office) has no justification and thickens the climate for adequate political participation of all the contenders, and above all the citizens (... while,

Meanwhile, the leader of the PRD of Mexico City, Raúl Flores García, separated his party from the violent events and demanded that the IECM and the Mexico City Attorney General's Office intervene to determine the responsibilities and identity of the aggressors.

For its part, the Secretariat of Government of Mexico City, through its Twitter account, promised to investigate all the violent acts in the pre-campaign events. Meanwhile, Morena's representative in the IECM, Agustín Ortiz Pinchetti, condemned the acts of violence and warned that there are clear accusations against the PRD deputy Mauricio Toledo (Servín, 2018).

The violent action served to appeal to civil motives and also to reject them, requesting the intervention of the electoral and justice institutions to apply the law to those responsible. In this case, an uncivil action reactivates civil motives, however, it failed to displace uncivil motives from public life.

The above has been supported on a scenario created by 20 years of the PRD government in Mexico City, according to Rock (2018), using the government administration and local representative positions to build a mafia that has only dedicated itself to extracting money by placing unconditional. This model strengthened the deputy Mauricio Toledo in the Coyoacán mayor's office and was replicated in the rest of the delegations governed by the PRD: "(...) Toledo (...) arrived accompanied by a group called Los Buitres, whose members charge (...) in the delegational coffers or in the capital Assembly, they are the authors of at least three attacks against acts of Morena's candidate for the head of Government, Claudia Scheinbaum (... however, Morena is appealing) in the temptation to agree to power quotas for representatives of what he claims to fight, as shown by the case of the delegation (... today mayor) Miguel Hidalgo, and his former head, the then PRD Víctor Hugo Romo and now " regional coordinator "of Morena in the area. Mr. Romo (...) is widely singled out for corruption cases, however he was accepted without much elegance in Morena "(p. A13).

The leaders (Lorenzo Montiel Ramos and Luis Alberto Montiel Andrade) of the group that exercised violence against those attending the Morena rally in the Coyoacán delegation expressed that their motives were not partisan politics but money, that is, they work as "thugs" and they accused, through a criminal complaint filed with the Mexico City Attorney General's Office, that they were hired to avoid the meeting by Carlos Castillo and Gerardo Villanueva, supporters of Morena. The complaint was because they paid us the agreement: "Right now we are in very serious problems, because it is not worth it that they occupy you and do not pay ... said Lorenzo Montiel Ramos" (Valdez & Almazán, 2018, p. 14).

The foregoing shows that uncivil and civil values are articulated as reasons that justify or legitimize performances, but they are credible to the extent that they have the desired effect on the audience and they are not when their falsehood is shown by not meeting the objectives. established by their protagonists, and the latter is what happened in the case of the PRD's "thugs".

In Mexico, the normative or institutional framework has been transformed into a liturgy that functions independently of the specific attributes of the character, who seeks to exercise political power, once electoral legitimacy has allowed it (Agamben, 2012). For this reason, the uncivil acts of Mexican politicians have not annulled the ceremony to invest them as president, governor, deputy, senator, which has its meaning more as a political performance.

4. Conclusions.

Violence as a symbolic action has its social meaning because it generates performances interpreted through a binary discourse that manifests itself as motives, relationships and institutions. They can be plausible or implausible acts that find their meaning in a social imaginary anchored in the civil or uncivil sphere.

In Mexico, uncivil values are superimposed on civil values, which can be observed in the different representations and social beliefs that validate exclusive particularisms, contrary to solidarity and the universality of legal norms.

For this reason, in Mexico as part of the global south, violence in its binary discourse denies the right to life and instead validates it as a method of force used by political and economic elites, as well as by

some groups in Mexican society. , to show its strength, legitimizing it through the shared belief, which maintains that public insecurity is a fight of good against bad, the latter grouped under the term organized crime.

The narrative of the violence scenarios only showed the beliefs that have motivated the different social actors to interpret it as a problem caused by the neoliberal system or by the weakness of the state justice system.

What was sought was to highlight that beliefs and values configure symbolic actions, which are independent of economic or political contexts, but as scenarios they influence the interpretation of collective actions without direct determination.

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