

Ciudadanía y pobreza ante el avance de la derecha neoliberal: los escenarios de América Latina y México

Citizenship and poverty in the face of the advancing neoliberal right-wing: scenarios of Latin America and Mexico

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Resumen

La modernidad fue un recurso que fortaleció a los grupos de la derecha. El poder de esta ha crecido al amparo de los estados hasta apoderarse de los recursos del planeta e iniciar el despojo del resto de la población más vulnerable, la cual en su marginalidad es cada vez más incapaz de oponerse y de buscar alternativas al desequilibrio. Las acciones orientadas a restablecer una correlación de fuerzas son cada vez más escasas e ineficaces, las luchas sociales son hoy, en el mejor de los casos, solo sueños y recuerdos; los movimientos sociales son esporádicos y de poco alcance, meras válvulas de escape, incluso ya disfuncionales al sistema global. Los países pobres son productores de migrantes hacia países desarrollados. El Estado y sus instituciones se han vuelto comparsa de los grupos dominantes en un escenario de globalidad neoliberal. Ante este panorama, la democracia y la ciudadanía son conceptos carentes de contenido. Por otro lado, la academia y la intelectualidad universitaria son forzadas a servir a los dominadores, pues ya no ofrecen alternativas que desvanezcan un escenario sin límites que proyecta un casi inminente colapso de la humanidad. Es imprescindible que reflexionemos y actuemos al respecto.

Palabras clave: ciudadanía, democracia, neoliberalismo, Estado, pobreza.

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Abstract

Modernity was a resource that strengthened the right-wing groups. The power of the aforementioned has grown under cover of the States to take over the planet's resources and initiate the plunder of the rest most vulnerable population, which is increasingly unable to oppose and seek alternatives to the imbalance in their marginality. Actions to restore a correlation of forces are becoming more scarce and ineffective, social conflicts are today, in the best of cases, only dreams and memories; social movements are sporadic and little scope, mere exhaust valves, even already dysfunctional to the global system. Poor countries are producers of migrants to developed countries. The State and its institutions have become companions of dominant groups in a scenario of neoliberal globalization. Faced with this panorama, Democracy and Citizenship are lacking content concepts. On the other hand, the Academy and the University intelligentsia are forced to serve the dominators, since they do not offer alternatives in order to fade a scenario without limits that projects a near imminent collapse of humanity. It is imperative that we think and act in this regard.

Key words: citizenship, democracy, neoliberalism, State, poverty.

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Introduction

The world lives from end of the century XX and what goes of the 21st a process of exhaustion of speech and of them forms of social action. The social balance historically lived and defined by the existence of a correlation of forces is each time is lower as a viable resource in the face of the domination of the forces conservative that are wining today all the spaces of the planet.

Nation-States are no longer barriers or obstacles, their institutions have weakened, economic power groups add up victory after victory, its ideology of win-win is imposed in all corners of the planet and they find no limits. The political classes of the most vulnerable

States that still retain some power, when they are not defeated joined the winners and holders of wealth, which each day builds up even more. The world is polarized, politics everywhere has shown again and again its failure, to a situation where economic power here and there imposes rules. Traditional electoral processes are becoming less credible, democracy is shown as a Word without content, the concept and the practice of citizens who gave meaning to the society and the traditional State have turned into caricatures, moving only for pecuniary interest or for survival in the face of the growing poverty and the political ineffectiveness. The Protective State is nothing but someone else's memory of what the reality of the European Old World proposed and that in the colonial countries not had time to mature; it was born caricatured and without political life, reality where the needs have prevailed historically.

A central historical factor has been the ideological speech that separates the reality in parts, in one hand the economy and in the other politics, as fields that do not touch each other, even when the daily reality of everyone requires both of them. The separation that brought us the modernity has ripped apart the world and led to the domain of the few, those who have created the discourse of political and social order, at their service, that order implemented by the right-wing, which has taken over all, of the resources of the planet, water, air, forests, seas, earth minerals, petroleum, and wills of the population. This is a world of hopelessness where there is no protection anymore for those who by force have turned into the weak ones; however, in this scenario of imbalance there is a danger to both rich and poor survival.

On the other hand, it is a sad reality that the various sciences with all their advances at the service of the dominators of the right-wing, fail to find a solution to the problem of excess ambition of the dominators. The Academy University and its social theory are dispensable for tho who have have attained world domination, their knowledge are seen today without apparent correlation with the logical of do business and win.

Politics, democracy, citizenship, elections that legitimized the State yield to the rightward in the world, and instead growing violence, despair wins; buy and sell securities becomes a new business, a big business, a "new goods" not objectified that began in the formal field and not content with that has invaded the informal market. We're back at the beginning, the

merchandise was mediated gives money back to the good, because money has become fiction, the commodity-money-commodity circle became money-commodity-money. Today at the peak of development back at the beginning, the money is gone and it is increasingly a fiction. We are modern primitives.

With this scenario permeating the world, this analysis focuses on the realities constituted by countries of weaker political class, where this happening is more and better expressions of the new barbarism as in the case of Latin America, and shows we the particular case of Mexico, where it is happening at different scales and intensities what happens around the world. The effects of increasing polarization wealth-poverty reporting Oxfam,² It is wealth in tax havens and not productive investment, worst of all, safely only thing that grows is the control of the rest of the world's population. The dominant powers so require, it seems that an irreversible reality. Mass migration from north to south are an indicator of the crisis in the global economic model, people trying to save devalued the only thing that remains: life. Desperation seems to be controlled, the media are being used to model the actions and reactions of the masses, fear has become the closest companion of all, no one is safe, who values his life and has the resources invested in their security.

In this essay, the text of Marshall: Citizenship and Social Class will serve as a good reference point to argue the situation that has led us to the events of the global world and the effects caused on the concepts of citizenship, state and democracy, among others. All of them in the process of transformation away from reality, a concrete and actual citizen, a democracy and a state that went beyond the liberal principles; in a global world where political and economic discourse are already insufficient to keep the economy from politics separate and independent and deny the facts that homo economicus is the homo politicus time.

Socioeconomic factors of civic transformation

While the concept of citizenship and real citizen, have the obligation concerning the political situation in the former City Greek State, these are very different in our modern

² **Oxfam** es una confederación internacional formada por 17 organizaciones no gubernamentales nacionales, que ha destacado la desigualdad creciente entre países y entre la población, producida por el modelo económico vigente, sobre todo las desigualdades de la población al interior de los países más pobres.

world, especially when industrial production appears as the product of science turned into technology, which it has generated historical moments of great breaks.

One such moment is undoubtedly the Second World War, after this, the concept of citizenship has as its most influential TH Marshall in his paradigmatic book *Citizenship and Social Class* written in 1949 exhibited, however, he had no great relevance since the end of the seventies of the twentieth century had fallen into oblivion. Kymlicka and Norman (1997) state that the concept of citizenship by 1978 was virtually obsolete in the field of academia.

However, from the decade of the nineties of the twentieth century, the concept has become a word that sounds all along the political spectrum and among thinkers in this field, according to recover authors as Heater (1990, p. 293) or Vogel and Morgan (1991, p. x), who argue that there are a number of reasons for this renewed interest from the last decade of the twentieth century (Kymlicka and Norman, 1997, pp. 1-7).

This interest reorients the political discourse based on the changing reality of the modern world, systemic polarity capitalism-socialism was exceeded, the struggle between states is also no longer the centrality, the enemy of stakeholders has been reconfigured to the panorama globality. Politics and economics are increasingly undifferentiated, conservative and neoconservative forces focus their batteries to the observation of specific individuals who live their wants and needs, as citizens demanding justice and define their sense of community social belonging.

Today, the concept of citizenship is undergoing a process of reconfiguration to the domain of economic groups. Thus, the concept becomes again the central to the transformation of the economic world affecting the livelihoods and prospects of social and political action; according Kymlicka and Norman (1997), "interest in citizenship has also been fueled by a series of political events and recent trends that are recorded throughout the world: increasing voter apathy and chronic dependence on wellness programs" (Kymlicka and Norman, 1997, p. 6).

A series of events have been crucial to revisit the issue of the transformation of citizenship, among which we highlight: the fall of the radical right-wing discourse, based on the bipolar world of capitalist and socialist system, the US failure War Vietnam, the ideological

weakening of the Western world based on democratic liberal state, and the fall of the socialist bloc.

The deconstructed the ideological foundations of capitalism, this partly chose to steal the flags of socialism with the implementation of the welfare state, which has generated a significant change in traditional stocks. However, in practice this fact led to the emergence of new rights, in Europe, the US and Latin America. The new right, to say Finkelkraut (1982), is a conservative reaction to the fading of its ideological and political force, and the gradual advancement of social welfarism for individuals and poor classes. Hence the reaction of the new right of the Thatcher-Reagan era, which considers that the liberal state has a weak position and that rather than promote progress, that state has slowed and has become an obstacle. That same idea held the Chicago boys, critics of the Keynesian state by excessively intervene in the economy (Finkelkraut, 1982, p. 44).

The new right held the idea that the state had become an obstacle to capitalist development and its interventionist role was harmful, opined that "in the era of state intervention, capitalism is dying. We must breathe life "(Finkelkraut, 1982, p. 45). According to the New Right, the major flaw of the Keynesian state or welfare state, it is have included the poor, when these are lacking competitive ability and just wait benevolence of the state. The poor to live off the state have exacerbated the state crisis, this has become passive, has increased its weakness and delayed the progress of the modern world, it has taken a difficult burden to bear, whose particular cases affect the rest of the creative world and with entrepreneurial capacity.

The new right is the origin of the neo-economists, who denounce the lack of productivity of the state, criticizing welfarism and implement counterpart proposed what they called a negative tax that benefits the poorest, without being regale anything. "Such negative tax would have a double advantage: exert a real action on poverty, but would cost less to the community than current methods of redistribution, while up the harmful effects of the principle of gratuitousness" (Finkelkraut 1982: . 48).

Other formulas of neo-economists like French Thomas Piketty (2014), present a proposal to resolve the problem of social inequality that for some economists looks new: a progressive wealth tax, which would operate through fiscal policy worldwide, according to the ways in which globalization operates; however, this proposal requires the creation of global mechanisms to avoid the actual capacity of tax evasion capital. Here the obvious question is: What agency can do this? Taxing capital at the time where capital flows are free and go to those nation states where they offer better deals, accept restrictions when its fundamental principle is freedom, including capital flows?

Similarly, the owners of capital can be arranged, in fact they do, in meetings held periodically in the Bilderberg Club. As clearly pointed Cristina Martin (2008), it seems that the great capitals are above all norms and Acato has multiple cracks. Hence inequality appears to be functional to the productive system, plus the new right has the means to maintain and effective mechanisms for tax evasion rather than submit the facts to any law, because not enough laws, it is necessary sufficient power and superior which is above the capital for submission, is that possible today?

Liberalism as ideological support of the new right maintains a position that goes beyond, has given rise to a political revanchism (Finkelkraut, 1982). The new right, both American and European, is a good justification in liberal ideas put forward by Marshall, which are recovered both in political circles and in academic research. This was a factor that led to the gradual loss of strength of the concept and reality about the social class of workers, prevailing from the theoretical postulates of Marxism.

The attacks of the new right from the political power have been accurate and have influenced the idea and practice of organization and struggle of the workers, but they begin to weaken, thereby enriching the most ambitious has been more easy and the new right now ideologically manifests as neoliberalism.

By Marshall:

... the development of classes, among other things, erodes and limits the ability of citizens to create access to scarce resources and to participation in the institutions that determine their use and distribution. Class and citizenship are opposing

principles of organization are basically contradictory tendencies (Heald, 1997, p. 42).

Attended from the ideas of Marshall recycling of the idea of citizen, a new and unique idea of unity, potentially capable of building another reality from an ideological stance with conservative bases. In this context, citizenship has to do with daily and free of free individuals to express their practical skills.

Marshall, studying the reality of citizenship from the liberal perspective, proposed conceptually divided his study into three parts, namely civil, political and social. Civil conceived as all the rights necessary for individual freedom, individual and expression, of thought, religion, property, and so on. The politics conceived as the right to participate in the election of political power, as a political authority or as an elector of authorities. And the social part referred to as the spectrum that ranges from the right to a minimum economic welfare and security to the right to participate in the social heritage; also it conceives citizens as a result of a constantly evolving process that will have to go changing (Marshall, 1997).

The citizen appears more linked to the economic-liberal vision that has been attached to him the political order of democracy, which serves as the political and legitimizing means of a system whose central unit is now the individual and not the community. Democracy is favored not just a welfare state, since according to the neoliberals "the more increases the influence of public power, are more distorted the elementary rules of democracy" (Finkelkraut, 1982, p. 46).

The withdrawal of the welfare state forced delegate to the individual all responsibility for their fate, the invention of citizenship in its two main meanings: citizenship as a (legal) rights including civil rights that appear in the eighteenth century political rights are affirmed in the next century, and citizenship as a conquest (meritocratic) have been very useful, because linking the individual along with their rights assumptions and their potential capabilities to two fields of the historical trend of the world: politics and economics.

Conceptions of homo politicus and homo economicus, as universalistic and enlightened views, with all the complexity inherent in them, have served to hide the perversity of the ambitious persisting historically the domain of the world, see the world only as raw material for production and economic growth poses no limits.

Christian tone of the welfare state, has been a brief impasse that only served to justify the later stages of greater violence against the weakest, excluded from sharing the products of a schizophrenic measured economic growth in a very general way by gross domestic product (GDP), because, as noted Dahrendorf, the most ambitious find it inconceivable that "China and India have a per capita GDP as the US" (Dahrendorf, 1997, p. 139).

However, the growth rate and consequently social change has not stopped, science and technology have so far failed to solve the problems of production of various goods, including food, but the distribution of these goods and food presents a regressive trend. The ambitious speech has resorted to the purchase of scientists who deny the finiteness of natural resources on the planet. The reality is that this will lead to collapse if the natural resources that the production system has exploited ruthlessly depleted, and if it continues to insist that there is no conflict between economy and ecology. The neoliberal discourse spreads unfounded optimism confident that, ultimately, science and human intelligence can solve any contingency.

In this scenario, the most likely solutions do not provide for the equitable distribution of wealth, and justice to the world's poorest; Under no circumstances the most ambitious renounce their freedom to get rich, and for this are willing to use state violence in the name of freedom, and thus become social activists enemies. As we predicted Thomas Jefferson: "The tree of liberty must be watered from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants" (Jefferson in Dahrendorf, 1997, 140 p.). The liberal ideology is justified and supported by the Liberals themselves, who have convinced themselves that the distribution of accumulated wealth is wasteful and waste that further impoverish the world.

Development and Citizenship in neoliberalism

It is a fact that social rights have not yet managed to consolidate throughout the twentieth century, and that in the XXI initiate a severe setback; the obsession with growth is causing

survival actions of the inhabitants of the poorest countries, which gives rise to two processes that affect the reconfiguration of citizenship: firstly decreasing their politicization as individuals, and on the other its gradual conversion into consumer goods entities.

The concept of a citizen as part of a politically constructed with state participation, is virtually nonexistent category and, as such nation-state, which was based on the imagination of the possible. Today it is necessary to emphasize the central role of development and economic achievement has worked incentive, bait for the poorest states and their governments have been convinced and consequently taken action and created institutions and organizations for development.

However, these actions are characterized by lack of horizontality and autonomy of potential beneficiaries, and consequently the results were insufficient to eliminate inequality of the modern world. It is noted that in so-called developing instability grows for reasons of survival, and to alleviate the recipe is more of the same, have had to open their borders to global companies, which individuals or citizens have become more vulnerable and poorer. Even T.H. Marshall recognizes that "citizenship itself has become the architect of legitimate social inequality" (Marshall, 1997, p. 302).

It is clear that growth without equitable development of the contemporary world, affects the reconfiguration of citizenship, which has caused the old politicizing a kind of civic consciousness that supports the environmental movement becomes, which are more identified with the middle class of society, sector of the population that has received an education that allows you to be more aware of what is happening on the planet. This threatens not only the poorest but also those social layers in different countries of the world, which speaks of that unconscionable and inequitable growth is producing greater social awareness, both from the phenomenon of survival, as by movements linked to the preservation of the environment.

They are the local political classes of individual states, but especially the business class, which now coalesce and handled so owned the world's resources, such as water, air, energy and biodiversity, all basic resources for existence . This occurrence of excessive and unnecessary unconscious and point to some progress, is depleting natural resources, is also to outpace the capacity of coexistence of all levels and social strata.

Today we are in the presence of the formation of the new citizenship, not necessarily produced by the participation basically moments and electoral facts, nor by the action of individuals in enclosed spaces or delimited the territorial and state institutions and their legal rules, but rather by "space, which is the product of practices, paths and interrelations. [...] We make room through interlinkages at all levels, from local to global calls called "(Massey, 2013, p. 30).

It is a fact that is emerging citizenship produced by environmental awareness, as well as by the actions and relationships motivated by enormous needs, which no longer necessarily tied to the boundaries of a passive electoral and citizenship. The movements for survival are divided between those who remain in their spaces created by their interrelationships and creating new spaces in their migration processes. Both survival and awareness, both catalyzed by the economic model, are affecting the reconfiguration of citizenship.

The United Nations Organization (UN) says it is fully proven that food resources produced in the world are still sufficient for all mankind.

Food production has continued to increase steadily, at a higher population growth rate; however, worldwide there are 925 million people who are hungry. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that losses and food waste worldwide reach 1 300 million tonnes per year, about one third of world production of food for human consumption” (ONU, 2012, p. 2).

Food is put on the market for profit, which much of the world's population is marginalized if it lacks the resources to acquire them. However, return to the welfare state is something that is not in the plans of conservative groups that have got possession of the planet's resources.

Democracy and Development in Latin America

In the countries of Latin America, democracy and development are more speeches than realities, the main protagonist of this result is the new right emerged as a replica of European and American, in line with conservative ideologies in the world Western, so he proposes a liberal democracy in the historical framework derived from whatever ideological polarization that generated the Cold War. The new version of conservatism is

not defined itself as an ideological stance, but rather supports the idea of the end of ideology (Fukuyama, 1992) as a path that points towards social change radically to the disappearance of subjects as entities with social change projects.

The new right is characterized by a neo-economistic stance that postulates a declining political power of the state, which leads to a crisis of nationalism. Thus, "the national and regional crisis in Latin America has attracted the attention of researchers, governments, regional and international organizations, as well as the various social and political forces of the region's countries" (Jimenez, 2002, p. 1).

In this context the idea of democracy emerged in Latin America, which was born in a historical environment that is shaping and making different from other Western contexts, to say Hinkelammert in Latin America, especially in the Southern Cone, "the new right is heir to the military dictatorships of Homeland Security, and its mission is to ensure the scheme originated by these dictatorships under democratic forms, for the benefit of elites and with the blessing of the United States" (Hinkelammert, 1988, p.1).

Therefore, what has been termed democratization processes in Latin America, it is rather a democracy that can be placed in two main situations. On the one hand they are framed in the territorial context and legally established democracies of nation states, from which an instrumental and functional groups or political and economic elites democracy is channeled. To Hinkelammert (1988), "the current stage of democratization in Latin America is characterized by its instrumental sense, leaving aside any genuine participatory integration of the population" (Hinkelammert, 1988, p. 1). On the other hand, we see a demand for democracy from a trapped citizenship without a visible output which excludes the participation of citizens in building democracy, by which they seek to rebuild their own political and participatory spaces from its reality and daily action.

The New Right in Latin America is an ideological stance against attempts to release internal colonialism in the region denounced by leftist intellectuals like Pablo Gonzalez Casanova in Mexico, who raised since the sixties a national alternative development focusing social development of a sociology; Fernando H. Cardoso or Enzo Faletto in Brazil, which pose a vision of development from dependency in the region (Werz, 1995).

Take the sixties in Latin America alternatives for the creation of states and societies in the region outside the historic American influence is perceived. Thus, "before the advance of alternative projects of nation in Latin America, analyzed suggesting be (re) articulation of the right not only internally as opposed to alternative governments, but the region in general and sometimes with clear link, especially Americans, "foreign interests (Roman and Delgado, nd, p. 1).

Since the sixties the influence of the socialist model wowed several countries in Latin America, saw this as an alternative to the historic US interventionism over the region, which dates at least from the project of Pan-Americanism from the late nineteenth century (Smith, 1977). Still systematically:

Since the early sixties, the Agency for International Development (AID) was one of the entities in charge of training the police in the capital cities of Latin America, in order to ensure "internal security" (United States Department of State. Foreign Relations, 1961-1963, Vol XII, Doc. 90), contributing to the destabilization of democratic governments were replaced by military governments (Romano y Delgado, s.f, p. 2).

In this way, every country in Latin America has experienced a democracy overseen by the new American right and the new right of the region, which in many cases has become state. Mexico is a history of less direct than Southern Cone militarism, interventionism economic mechanisms here have replaced the use of force. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed by Mexico and in force since 1994, includes key aspects for corporate ownership of natural resources in the country, and has an important influence on the economic, political and institutional (Aboites , 1999) to almost nothing escapes, and if other "capital friends" come to Mexico are monitored by a sophisticated entire espionage system that keeps them under control.

Democracy and Citizenship in Mexico

Mexico is one of Latin America, however, geographical position makes it more vulnerable to US pressure, which affects the reconfiguration of citizenship. Economic factors worldwide are fundamental and even plants, while local economies depend on imponderables of capital flows where NAFTA and the various blocks are now, so to speak, the new mega-states.

The macroeconomic trend has led to the progressive weakening of the nation-state; in Mexico, for example, it happens targeted by Kymlicka and Norman (1997) for global events: globalization is causing a resurgence of citizenship. But in this case, the state can no longer championing not cohere and less protected, to such abandonment is operating an awakening of citizenship, unlike the objectives and interests of the state and globalization. This citizenship seeks to form collective identities for themselves in local spaces.

In the era of globalization, the search for the community is given conjugated manner with its role of individuals, these linking citizenship to an end: achieving democracy, different from that intended by the state, where political participation it is directed toward the political and electoral processes and citizen is passive and just wait indications.

Political parties in the era of globalization have lost representation as traditional media for the renewal of government; parallel the Mexican state is transformed and becomes present only through security discourse, both citizen and national level, which serves as a foundation for deploying repressive actions indiscriminately against what it calls crime and organized crime. But in fact not observed efficacy to solve this scourge emerged as an effect of globalization. Both globalization and organized crime are causing migration of poor and marginal population, beset by threats and fulfilled in many cases of organized crime, all before a witness inexplicably indifferent State.

Migration, Citizenship and Development

One of the effects of globalization is migration, both voluntary and forced denominated; "In weak economies, people go out to escape both impoverishment and abuse of human rights" (Gzesh, 2012, p. 232). The reasons for migration may be multiple, making it difficult to distinguish between economic migrants and refugees. Migration, whatever its cause, has effects on the development of both host countries and the ejectors. With respect to the social part, specifically to citizenship, it shows an interesting dynamic that accounts for the problem of vulnerability, as the State of migrating ceases to give coverage and arriving denied rights and discriminates against them, so therefore it remains on tenterhooks their civil right to citizenship, also becomes a human rights issue.

In the era of globalization, migration is a growing phenomenon, especially in poor countries to rich ones, based on principles of a sort of natural right of individuals, who seek their welfare sometimes migrating from their country of origin. The Universal Declaration of 1948, in its article 13 proclaims: "1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the territory of a State. 2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" (citado en (Velazco, 2013, p. 28).

Speaking of the right to free movement of people in the world is like stepping into a minefield of paradoxes, not to say of glaring contradictions. Outset that the whole surface of the planet we inhabit all be accessible to anyone who can move intended and should be completely normal. At the end of the day, the whole Earth is the common property of mankind (said is that with the permission of the other animal species that inhabit the planet), a property that each generation receives as undeserved inheritance (Velazco, 2013, p. 28).

From the entry into force of NAFTA signed by the United States, Mexico and Canada, became relevant discourse on the pursuit of development in Mexico and was projected as a

means of improving overall population, however, as they go phases of TLC, this reveals that development is not possible in the short or even medium term, but only maintaining and increasing consumption of goods, which is not necessarily linked to development, and yes triggered the phenomenon of migration, especially the excluded population, marginalized and unemployed that the development model produces. Especially it has increased the historic emigration to the United States in exponential magnitudes in search of employment is not achieved in the country.

The neoliberal economic model implemented by the new right emphasis on advertising to speed up consumption of goods produced. Eating has become a condition of the new state and the citizen an obsession in which they are immersed both producers and potential consumers, and advertisers who play a major role.

You can link the desire for consumption caused by commercial advertising as an important migration, both from rural to city and from one country to another reason. "Studies on migration to the cities reflect this phenomenon. The ability to consume, even once in life something different, or the ability to see objects on display, make the individual prefers to live badly in the city rather than stay indoors "(Barreto, nd, p . eleven). Now rampant migration, both internally and outside the country for reasons of survival and consumer desires.

Social citizenship has become a practice of individuals with needs and with some degree of environmental consciousness, the action of these does not expect the concept to be fully defined by scholars, nor by the legal systems of States. In reality we can state a kind of economic citizenship³ that is ahead of the theoretical concepts of political science and sociology. In reality, citizens have taken action from their life situations and needs, whether

³ El término "ciudadanía económica" es referido por Adela Cortina en su libro *Ciudadanos del mundo. Hacia una teoría de la ciudadanía*, editado por Alianza Madrid, donde expone que en la nueva etapa del desarrollo de la economía del mundo global no es posible continuar encasillando el término ciudadanía en una noción ética política. Es decir, no es comprensible que se aisle lo económico de lo político tratándolos por separado. Al respecto, Pablo González Casanova señaló en su libro *La democracia en México* que la democracia guarda relación con el hecho de si el individuo tiene zapatos y para comer. Sin embargo, existen aquellos a los que no les agrada hacer esta relación por considerarla obvia, y por lo tanto la ignoran.

migrating within the country or emigrating to other countries in search of better living conditions.

In addition, Mexico has become a transit country for migrants, mainly from Central America to the United States, which formally are not citizens of Mexico and therefore are without legal protection of their country. Thus they create a reality where the State in which disclaims de facto and, by passing can not recognize them as citizens because they do not fit its definition of citizenship conceived territorially. Costa (2010) says about:

The modern concept of citizenship have been born from the hand of nationality as concrete legal and participatory content that is tied to the membership of the individual to the community, and tends in the current era postnational to untie their theoretical basis of nationality and create different levels of membership in the political, social, economic, cultural community, etc. (Costa, 2010, p. 73).

In the era of globalization, migration appears as a constant pointing irreversibility. Nationality in practice is exceeded and can not hold citizenship as something only political, individuals migrate primarily for economic reasons and social general, however, according to some political analysts citizenship must continue framed exclusively within the political because "it would have to do is avoid contamination of economics, because economically it would be dangerous, even evil, therefore the public should not include economic" (Conill, 2009, p. 274). This presents a challenge to the status of citizenship that still responds to the system of national states currently displacement by blocks of states with economic and political objectives.

Therefore, the sense of citizenship needs to be rethought in relation to the current reality and concrete actions, as we see an active citizen who moves impelled by some degree of environmental awareness and survival; de facto we see a profile of economic citizenship, a citizenship that seeks correspondence with the effects of globalization (Wallerstein, 1999, p. 151). "What is needed [...] it is not to learn that we are citizens of the world, but we

occupy a particular niche in an unequal world" (Wallerstein quoted in Velasco, 2013, p. 109).

You recognize this vulnerability and create a new sense of the migratory situation came to stay, already it manifested as a necessity. However, "the real situation facing many migrants from embarking on their journey and seek to settle in a new country, and even after it has achieved, shows that the implementation of the principles of -including justice, of course, rights humans-is still restricted conceived from the perspective of the interests of each State "(Velasco, 2013, p. 109).

Globalization is largely, which detonates migration of individuals that the economic system has marginalized, and therefore it is necessary to use human rights as the basis for modifying the positive international law, while we do not see a correspondence between globalization and global citizenship, which could contribute to think the status of migrants and their rights as citizens. Coinciding with this idea, Estevez (2012) insists on resuming human rights as the basis of a universal citizenship that arises from the current processes of globalization.

So for migrants who are passing through our country, "states make deaf ears and the migrant is trapped de facto in the midst of their journey in a passageway in a diffuse regulatory area where their rights are at least suspense "(Velasco, 2013, p. 29).

However, individuals who are not so stop acting and performing civic actions,⁴ wherever they are. Thus, these new realities of migrants are creating spaces passing facto citizens, with actions that can qualify as citizens. The current concept of citizen is overtaken by reality, which does not agree with "the written and unwritten public administration on public space rules [which] are persistently altered and called into question by the actions" (Alvarez, 2014 , p. 63). The public space is not owned by the state or the governments, but who builds, migrants can not override them their capacity for action and less disown

⁴ Este tipo de acciones ciudadanas las entendemos aquí como las acciones que realizan los individuos migrantes como parte de una cultura política adquirida en su lugar de origen o entorno sociopolítico, las cuales llevan consigo y reproducen en cualquier otro espacio físico para buscar su supervivencia.

through local laws, this is the case of migrants induced reality phenomenon of globalization, causing unemployment and consequent migration of those seeking better livelihoods.

Economic is engaged with politics, we find that the mass media have a decisive influence to create the new needs of the population, and it is the poorest that tends toward migration to meet new consumer rogatory. "For a lot of people, a citizen is entitled to possess what others possess. Today being a citizen is not just being under the State where the subject was born into it and have political rights, civil and social. Citizenship refers to the social and cultural practices that give sense of belonging "(quoted in García Barreto S. F., p. 1). Such social practices of very different types are the foundation of citizenship practices, which point to a redefinition of the citizen and citizenship in the age of globalization.

Conclusion

The process of globalization that the world is shifting the political centrality of the nation-state, especially in economically weak cases such as Latin America, where the new right has taken the domain countries. Therefore, in these states, as in the case of Mexico, there are no public policies for citizenship education, even considering the specific political-electoral citizenship. Along and conversely in the field of economy measures, it is giving way to the formation of mega-states such as NAFTA, which are unions of states with economic and political differential formed basically by economic objectives power.

The ideological positions that have gripped the globalized world are conservative, the world has derechizado, so individuals and their citizen role defined today by essentially economic and not political reasons, Citizenship passes through the sieve of the enormous need, and the autonomy of politics has become an increasingly less tenable argument, which outlines the state violence disguised as organized violence, which the state shows less and less will to eliminate.

The newest economic formulas do not provide the means or mechanisms to operate the reduction of social inequality, because over the power of capital there is no other power that can submit an order. In any case, the strategies are accepting rules, but in practice there is no power that can force them.

This marks a milestone that is deconstructing the poorest nation states and, consequently, its population tends to migrate to more developed countries. This situation is forcing to make changes in the positive law based on human rights, which should take place and operate globally because migrants while in transit are not recognized status of citizens since citizenship is still tied nationality even though the national states, globalized today, are no longer closed units. In this regard, Mexico is a transit country, which phenomenon deserves to be studied as part of a new citizenship in transit, caused by migration generated as perverse effect of globalization and its economic model.

In short we can say the following:

Citizens can no longer be defined only from the three parts proposed by Marshall: civil, political and social. It is a fact that macroeconomics has become superlative these parts. On the civilian side, Marshall included economic, but thought a thing of individuals and not large business and financial corporations that exist today and dominate individuals or people with what the individual property of citizens is often violated and nullified by the great economic powers. The world has become more complex greatly.

In the political party he considered the political and electoral aspect, however, today the party system has accumulated great distrust, as has partnered with large groups of economic power. And in the social part, he considered the economic welfare of individuals or citizens, but warned that it is constantly changing, did not foresee that such welfare today is canceled with the introduction of technology that the production system has been implemented, which moves labor, so that private citizens have to migrate to areas where they can find employment. Theoretically every player in today's global world should be "citizen" is a requirement for inclusion in the game, which is played in a very uneven field where freedom no longer equates to individuals, but makes them more unequal.

It is noteworthy that, of the three parties that according to Marshall up the activity of citizens, both contain economic elements and civil social, so, in the strict sense are only two main parts: economic and political. Thus the economic side has managed to influence politics, previously under state control, as it has obtained enough power. Thus requires no longer be subordinated to politics, his actions are already direct and increasingly open and hurried to get their benefits; although this increases the risks, they finally can be neutralized

with most personal protection for its individual members. In the context of the liberal model of citizenship, the vast majority of citizens are vulnerable, marginalized and at risk of social, economic and political exclusion.

Migration is the hope of the excluded, especially when the most ambitious in the global world have taken over almost all resources for everyone's life, because only a few consume the resources that others want to have. Thus, the citizen of the era of globalization and the domination of the most ambitious is one that has what you can.

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