

## **SECURITY: BUSINESS AS SOMETHING REAL**

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Although we live in a stage of securitization, as never before, the term security is very hard to grasp for scholars. One of the most paradoxical situations seems to be that security is an evident impossibility. Despite of the efforts done to mitigate the effects of crime at the urban cities, criminal rates have risen considerably over the last decades. As Zygmunt Bauman put it, marginal groups are being penalized by their inability to embrace mass-consumption, instead of their proximity to robbery or offense. We live in a world that alludes to a liquid-surveillance to draw a circle between the heaven and hell. The chosen peoples are those who can dedicate their life to consuming (Bauman & Lyon, 2013). In this vein, the fear of crime is more wholly present in Latin American cultures than Anglo-world, which is more concerned by international Islamic terrorism (Korstanje, 2010; 2013; Kessler, 2006; Entel 2007; Murillo 2008). This validates the assumption that fears take diverse shapes depending the cultures or nations where they are hosted. Beyond the two earlier terrorist attacks that killed almost 91 persons in Buenos Aires, Argentinians believe terrorism is a problem of United States alone. (Skoll & Korstanje, 2012; Green 2010).

A point like this begs a more than interesting question: what do we mean when we talk of terrorism?

The Italian philosopher, Andrea Cavalletti, suggests that the modern city surfaces as a bio-political dispositive of control where inner and outer forces coexist. Whatever its nature, cities allude to the economy of discipline, whose maximum expression means security. Modern nation-states encouraged the belief that rationality will lead to the collective well-being, or the maximization of happiness. The epistemological basis to cement the modern discourse was given by the needs of detecting and mitigating those threats which may jeopardize the social system. At the same time, the world beyond the protection of walls was hostile, cities offered everything one needed to live. The expansion of modern city allowed a rational planning that draws a hierarchal line of authority, centralized following the top-down logic (Cavalletti, 2010).

However, the process of globalization not only has altered the daily behavior of ordinary people, but also the ways cities are constructed, and lived. Following this argument, Zygmunt Bauman discusses how concept of panoptic, which by fewer ones gaze the whole, has set the pace to a new one, where the whole watches to a small group. Certainly, modern capitalism recreates a global mobility, granted for global elite, while subjecting rank-and-file workers to glaring conditions of exploitation. See further in the example of the reality-show, Big Brother; Competitors are gathered in a house to be watched by a wider audience 24 hours per day (in real time). But what most important is, they are not familiar with the real skills to defeat the other. The thirst for glory, while promoting competence, is conjoined to a cruel war of all against all.

Big Brother, like late-capitalism, rests in the same discourse, which over-valorizes the glory for the few in detriment of the rest. And of course, this is an ethical dilemma, liberal scholars have not successfully addressed. Bauman adds that 80% of produced wealth is only on hands of the 20% of the world population. It is safe to say that the theory mobility is a project, which limited to few selected persons, pretends to be extensive for the whole (Bauman 2008). In earlier studies, Korstanje established a more than interesting thesis. To what an extent, Big Brother represents the cultural values of modern society does not depend on the gaze, as Urry precluded, but its anthropological logic of subordination, which is introduced by modern capitalism. The workforce is tamed by the adoption of disciplinary mechanisms. This submission rests on two main factors: the sentiment of exemplary and the psychological fear. Max Weber pointed out that this sentiment of superiority stemmed from the protestant ethos. Unlike Catholics, Protestant and puritans, believe in the doctrine of predestination, where the name of those human souls selected by God for salvation lies. The uphill city not only is morally superior to other cities, it will guide the humankind to God's grace. This is the ideological discourse constructed in the United States. In the ongoing quest to reach a covenant with God, as chosen folk, humans lack of any instrument to know what names are written in the book of life. Achievements exhibit a valid sign of recognition that the achiever is being chosen by God. To some extent, protestant logic of predestination not only engenders a new economic style, unknown by traditional societies, but also founds the meritocracy as a political structure for human relations. As the previous argument shows, the concept of security for Anglo-Saxons is not based on the present-time, but also it is enrooted in the future. What is important is not what is happening now, but what will happen tomorrow. At the time, any threat is encrypted in the future, achievers become in the sacred-guardian of uphill city.

The same quandary does not exist in Catholic Church. The salvation of souls depends on the present acts of charity and assistance to the poor. This subtle but important difference of cosmology recreated two diverse ways of considering poverty. While the Anglo-world sees the poverty as an expression of laziness, backwardness and lack of virtue, for Catholics, it represents the doors to enter into heaven (Korstanje 2014). It is not an exaggeration to affirm that Protestantism derives from because of its proneness to exemplarity and achievement but also its non-egalitarian dynamic where few ones concentrate the distribution of wealth. The sentiment of glory for the sacred-elite equals to the hell of the whole. Historically, social Darwinism formulated the survival of the fittest, a dogma which has been tergiversated as the survival of strongest. Korstanje, Tzanelli & Clayton (2014) explained that modern games as FIFA world cup emulate the cultural values of new Darwinism that proclaims only one winner. The same logic, observed in Big-Brother applies for the labor market, which has been decentralized to weaken the influence of worker unions over capital owners. Today, there are less workers amongst permanent staff. The workforce has been outsourced and put in causal conditions in order for capital owners to maximize their profits. These flexible contracts not only produce further

poverty, but also conflicts and political instability. The ideology serves as a mechanism to mitigate this discontent. Workers believe they are special, candidates to reach glory, in the same way, are competitors of reality shows, or the teams playing FIFA world cup. The ideology works expanding the belief to workers they are an unique, outstanding, part of something special. This is only possible by stimulating the struggle of all against all. However, this system of production causes a lot of discontent that can't be controlled by ideology. To fix the problem, the elite appeals to the use of a second but not for that less powerful disciplinary mechanism, fear. Lessons are learned; the radical changes proposed by the manifestations against World Trade Organization in Seattle set the pace to 9/11, and the pertinent application of Patriotic Act. This event not only weakened the worker unions, but also buried the criticism about the asymmetries generated by capitalism. The fear of being excluded, fear of death, fear of loss paved the ways for the advent of a new state of competition, more radical, where competitors have marginal probabilities to win. This fear, unlike other times, works in the future. Workers do not change their courses of action, scared to death about what is coming.

As the previous argument given, here is where the concept of security appears. Latin American nations have adopted an Anglo-view of how the market should be ruled. This view-point is based on the Protestant logic of salvation. Although in both cases, Latin and Anglo-world are attached to property, and fear of material losses, fears take different forms. While Anglo-Saxon societies understand terrorism is the main threat to face in the next years, Latin Americans move their resources in struggle to defeat local crime. The fear of loss becomes in the ideological instrument of subordination pressing the workforce so that the competition would never be abandoned.

In Latin America, the mask of terrorism sublimates to local crime. For popular parlance, economies have historically been subject to diverse crises and cycles of instabilities. This engendered political conflicts that led to coup de etat. Unlike America, elites in Latin America are not an organized unit of power, well-consolidated to monopolize the means of production as Marxists claim. They are pressure groups organized to achieve certain goals alone. (Imaz, 1964; Palacios 2003; 2012; Korstanje, 2006). This type of individualism evidences in the object they project. To understand this better, we have to explore the psychological world of terrorists and offenders. Whereas the former is educated to be obedient, respected of the norms, the latter one is selfish, purposing its own interests. Donald Winnicott (1958) argued that offenders have been socialized at homes characterized by the lack of discipline, interest for the others, and respect for hard-work. In fact, offenders seek the limits they had never received from their parents. The terrorist is more altruistic, even sacrificing one's life for what is considered a superior goal (Baudrillard, 2003). In a text brilliantly discussed by McCauley & Moskalenko (2008) it is clear how a person becomes a terrorist. Basically, terrorists have radical views about the external world. The present and irreversible decline of West, formed by the developed nations, will leave the world in the apocalypse. Normally, a person who had a bad image of its society will seek shelter in similarly-minded groups. Whenever these groups turn small, members may be isolated

from society. If leaders do not allow a fluid communication with outside, the terrorist mind flourishes. This represents the first step towards the radicalization of viewpoint, which led to terrorism.

Starting from the premise that local crime is an act that develops individualism, terrorism appeals to collectivism. Far from the brutality of its methods, the efficacy of terrorism consists not only in exploiting the human emotions, fear, happiness, and sadness but also their abilities to keep small groups working together. This is the reason why terrorism is the main fear of well-consolidated elites, which is based on economic stability, while local crime is the main concern proper of under-developed countries. Fear serves as psychological projection of economic structure. Individual-oriented societies are prone to crime and collective-oriented societies relate to terrorism, which appeals to construct a state of emergency by the adoption of a collective-ethos. To put this in bluntly, it jeopardizes more than a group of subjects; it is oriented to the society as a whole. Rather, offense is a behavior that exploits individualities, where both theft and victim are mutually compromised by the value of merchandise. In Argentina, for example, claims for security are accompanied by stiffening penalties to offenders. Beyond this sentiment, underlies a manifest attachment to private property. People only enter into public scene whenever their interests are somehow affected. The problems of insecurity always are seen as a problem of others. Theft is considered an unacceptable act only whether it hits me. Capitalism exploits the fear to close its hermeneutic circle of pride and fear. The popular opinion asks for surveillance cameras, more strong penalties, even for death penalties as a result of a securitization stage, encouraged by elites for their legitimacy not to be waned.

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