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**Title:** Orden y patria es nuestro lema : construcción de alteridad en la gramática del legalismo y del enemigo interno en Chile  
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Summary

Most scholarly studies indicate that Chile is a country with a strong legalistic tradition. The legalism of the Chileans has become a cliché in discourses on the identity of the country and the character of its people. Chileans are proud of their traditional respect for the law, their institutions and the authority. Chileans distinguish themselves from their neighbouring countries in terms of the construction of a homogeneous and stable institutional order. This identity discourse considers the other as the outsider what is well portrayed in the slogan ‘Chile is a country where institutions operate’. On the other hand, the legalist tradition is perceived in Chile as an excessive punitive control that acts as an exclusionary internal discipline. Traditionally, this discipline has been applied to certain social segments that are seen as potentially disruptive of the order. Those social segments are groups of subjects associated to marginality, insecurity, lawlessness and conflict, and who would conform in the same logic, another category of the other as an internal enemy. This idea can be summed in the sentence ‘Order and Fatherland is our motto’, that starts the institutional anthem of Carabineros de Chile; the Chilean police force, that the population associate with the task of maintaining the public order.

The outsider as the other is a category that rises in relation to the space of the nation, its geographical and symbolic territory that in Hispanic America was consolidated mainly throughout the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th. Thus, ‘We’ is determined by legal-administrative and geographic-political exclusion created by the nation-state, crystallized in the nationality. From this sight, the other appears as a strange, as something that does not have the essential features of the national character. In addition to the political and historiographic discourse, cultural industry and the cultural production have provided the corresponding cohesive and distinctive signs of what it means to be ‘Chilean’.

The expression internal enemy was developed by the doctrine of national security that inspired military dictatorships on the continent, including the one headed by Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). However, the logic of this doctrine is embedded in the cultural and political traditions of the country whose roots date back to the Spanish colonial period, acquiring systematic character and national leadership from the Republican project during the 19th century. These traditions were shared by the elite in the 19th century and achieved a clear consolidation and national legitimacy during the 20th century, crystallizing in a citizenship linked to development and modernity. The internal enemy constitutes a biopolitical perspective, conceived from the keys of the social and political coexistence. Science, humanities, and technology have oriented and nurtured successively, this perspective.

Does Chilean society, in fact, have a legalistic culture? To answer this question it is necessary to analyze the evolution of national identity and the sense of internal order. This means to analyze the discourses that different agents have developed in relation to the
social knowledge on the other and the resources and strategies used to address historically the difference, and the subordinate sectors in the national context. In this sense, the category of the *internal enemy*, implies not only a reference to the territorial space but also a reference to the normative space (public space, private space; the sphere of the forbidden, of the ideally promoted and effectively allowed), founded and promoted by the creation of symbolic communities that are presented as antagonistic society, on the one hand, and their enemies, on the other. In the case of Chile, these axiological attributes seem to be articulated from a particular ‘grammar’ that is based on legality. Thus, the sense of order in Chile is articulated by means of the legality. According to various authors it has been called ‘legalism’ or the firm belief that laws are ideal mechanisms to guide social behaviours, to satisfy community needs and to resolve their disputes.

From the identity formation perspective, at the internal level the other tends to be seen as a threat that embodies the fear to chaos (*horror vacui*). These feelings of threat and fear serve as agglutinating axis for that Chilean us and deploy different control mechanisms. These mechanisms become references on daily interactions, interpretation of social conflicts, legislative decisions and on the design of public policies, as well as on the guidelines of the market and the media and cultural industries.

The above is part of a broader process in the current context of cultural change produced for the global neo-liberalism, in which the Rousseanian thesis of the social contract is replaced by a new disciplining discourse of security and fear. This episteme of control implies a style of communication that emphasizes the control and the criminalization of the conduct of the other, and transforms the fear to the other and the ubiquitous phenomenon of insecurity in large sense construction phenomena.

This study makes a historical review across the discursive trends that make up a corpus of *literature* in relation to the construction of the Chilean nation, ergo, the trajectory of the discourses about the national order. This corpus is formed from two perspectives: a diachronic perspective, that corresponds to the four historical periods in which have been split the two first centuries of the Republican history (1810-1990); and a synchronic perspective, that corresponds to the diversity of discursive agents present at each stage, which have been grouped around the four dimensions that facilitate its contextualization: time, space, identity-otherness and order. These dimensions place the national discourses in their respective cultural genealogical currents, and identify their social and institutional register.

The national order consists of two closely interrelated axes that operate inside of each cultural context: a normative level, and a symbolic level. The former directs the conduct of the social body through different disciplinary mechanisms, while the latter tries to give justification, legitimacy and projection to the discourse in pursuit of its support and the generation of meaning.

In the first period, the *founding time* (1810-1870) the discourses were relatively homogeneous and limited. Those discourses were produced by the *elite*, mostly composed by wealthy families of Santiago who dominated the mining, agriculture, and trade. They also controlled the activities of the Government, the armed forces, the press and the emerging intelligentsia. The elite were linked to the law and the humanities. Although this elite allocated in Santiago competed with the provincial ones for political prominence, it imposed its power from the geographical and symbolic centrality of the capital. The elite
discourses sought to create the nation according to a political project that broke with the colonial time. The school, the press and then the university were the main instruments to create the cultural image of the new temporality. These instruments also acted in the construction of the space: the geographical nation, with vague and unknown limits, was converted into the territory of the Republic and into the stage of the nationality. In this dimension, the landscape was used in the production of patriotic emblems and geography was first explored and manipulated by foreign naturalists, engineers, technicians and artists working in the service of the state. Following the political-philosophical currents taken by the local elite, the Republican liturgy spoke about a homogeneous people with a remote past. The protagonist of this representation was the elite, along with the Indian of epic poetry as phylogenetic archetype, but in a controversial relationship with the real Indian and with the colonial Spanish ancestor. The constitutional process and the civic codification as well as the educational and linguistic processes during the 19th century show that Chile was more a project than a reality, because the country and the Government needed an order. The order was the best way to overcome barbarity and walking towards the civilization, progress and happiness of peoples.

Discourses of a foundational time appear in predominantly written sources, and therefore, they report the restricted group who generated them and the central position of the elite as national lyrical subject. In addition, the artistic and intellectual production reproduced those same discourses. At this stage the referent of otherness was the Spanish monarchy, but also the countries with which Chile dispute the territorial borders. Both groups outlined the enemy on the external front, while de opponents to the centralist, authoritarian and civilizing political project identified the internal enemy.

At the time of integration (1870-1930), began to emerge new social actors who later came to challenge the elite hegemony, as a result of the modernization. The national historiographical canon was established in the first stage of this period (late 19th century). This canon was the vision of the Chilean oligarchy, whose ancestors formed the gallery of heroes, martyrs and greats men that forged the independence and the Republic. These personages of colonial ancestry began to be gradually surrounded by a group of mesocratic upstarts who achieved spaces in the administration, political parties, press, education and culture. This social sector resulted in the Generación del centenario (Generation of the Centenary), an intellectuals group pessimistic and critical of this time. At this period racist nationalism, oligarchic snobbery, political dilettantism, suburban abject poverty and workers massacres questioned the expectations about the country and its people. During the celebrations of the centenary of independence (1910) the Chilean oligarchy resorted to a French Europeanism, while the emerging mesocratic intelligentsia denounced the moral political crisis of rulers and governed. The political and cultural changes of late 19th century and early 20th century (particularly the War of the Pacific, 1879-1883) formed a new territory and generated a new type of Chileans. The plebeian sectors that participated in the War of the Pacific served to create a kind of nationalist folk hero, the roto. The roto and the Indian were transformed into figures that were analyzed in the narrative and poetry through the positivist scientific discourse. The modernist trends introduced new categories that were oriented towards the direction of science, progress and order. In the subsequent period the state adopted these trends in various state policy areas.
The time of transformation (1930-1973) brought along the industrial development and the modernization driven by the state. The oligarchic and elitist political regime, associated with the corruption of the local parliamentary system, was suppressed by military insurrections headed by populist caudillos that had been formed under the auspices of the oligarchy. The emerging middle class began to operate in the administration of the state and was positioned as the reference for the mesocratic urban Chilean. The administration began to shape a country that left the rural life and that was transformed into a country in order and numbers thanks to the economic planning, the industrialization and the educational policies which operated from the university, in relative harmony with the growing cultural industry, driving force of the mass culture. In parallel, the international politics had impact in the local political groups, the professionalization of the armed forces and episodic restrictions on political pluralism. Also the culture became diversified and ideological, the cultural market grew, the sports became massed and institutionalized, the media were developed, the state introduced reforms in the land ownership and cities were modernized. However, certain groups warned about the limits and risks of the political regime to respond to social demands and the expectations of the most profound changes. Some sectors considered the democratic order endangered by internal forces. For the progressive sectors the threat was represented by the traditionalist groups that hindered the changes, while for these sectors the threat was represented by ideological currents considered strange to the national ethos and that brought the country to the loss of their identity, authority, tradition and order.

During the industrial development the idea of modernization substantially changed the dimension of the space through the communications, public works, tourism and bureaucracy. The identity was redesigned according to new needs and references of that period. The sense of loss of the agrarian tradition was offset by the folkloristic bucolic version of the national identity, but this new version did not escape the ideological debates about how it should be included to the popular sectors, especially the urban segments.

Finally, the military time (1973-1990) was motivated by a strong reaction against the government of Salvador Allende. An important sector of the political class described his government as chaos and anarchy and reacted to impose an authoritarian order against the so-called internal enemies of the fatherland. Pinochet’s dictatorship opened an antagonistic bipolarity which made visible and extended the rift on the projects of the country and the interpretations of its memory. For some people it was the recasting of the order; for others, the betrayal of a democratic tradition. This duality was extended to all dimensions of society. The military junta considered the coup as a second independence and turned to the traumatic memory about the previous reformist governments and to the reformulation of the remote past to create a militaristic ideology. Restrictions on public and political space gave new meaning to the private space. The restricted official public space coexisted with the clandestine space and the absence space of the victims. The official discourse centralized the versions on good Chileans versus the enemies of the fatherland. The former were represented in the figure of the soldier, the huaso (peasant) and the Chilean women; the latter, by the Marxists and the politicians. But it was the order dimension which prevailed across the other dimensions: new institutional order, new neoliberal economic order, and new cultural order, all of them coherent and functional to the new military order.
Is there discursive continuity among the four stages of the history of Chile in spite the apparent spatial-temporal breach?

1. The first element of continuity is the nationalist essentialist reasoning that underlies these discourses. The essentialist perspective considers the national nature as a fixed and pre-existing thing, which is developed in a territory and a historical period that coincide with the space and time of the country, the nation-state. According to this logic, the country coincides with a unique homeland containing and reducing differences, and whose destination is the Republic. The Republic would be a kind of historical intuition of the homogeneous nation. In this way the independence is presented as an inevitable fact. The paradox of this approach lies in the fact that the philosophical model that guided the affirmation of the Chilean identity through independence had nothing of Ibero-American or Chilean, or even Hispanic.

This discourse on the nation appropriates the colonial time, the discovery and conquest periods, and even the pre-Columbian time. In this way the ancestry of the origins legitimizes the appropriation of the territory and everything there is on. The territory, in this logic, would have always belonged to the nation, even before that it exists under the Republican independence formula. In this way, the Paleo-Indian of the pre-Columbian culture becomes ‘Chilean’ ancestor; the Mapuches and the Selk'nam are transformed into Indians ‘of Chile’, in the same way as the moais of Easter Island, the Andes, the nitrate or the species of the local flora and fauna are converted, respectively, into ‘Chilean’ monuments, geographical phenomenon, natural resources or species. All of them make up the national heritage. Nationalization generates a link of appropriation/possession and gives the national character to the existing assets in the territory.

The nationalist reasoning considers that each national identity is different, but, in addition, such a difference is necessary and obvious, and therefore, indelible and unwavering. National identity is ‘exclusive’, in other words, that the nation is unique, only equal to itself. Thus, nationality is defined as a system of principles, values and socio-cultural and spiritual manifestations that should be respected, preserved and projected, in other words, it is a kind of moral nationality. During the 20th century the intellectual production and academic discussion about the national identity question dealt with two tasks: at first, the creation of the national canon (historiographic, literary, musical, legal, ethnographic, scenic, pictorial, museological, sociolinguistic, etc.) thanks to the work of the state; secondly, the formation of a space for intellectual debate about the authenticity, the evidence and the exclusivity of the national nature and about its claimed identity. The national identity as social identity, in its pretension of ancestry, projection and truthfulness, speaks of the being (permanently) in a way, no matter most of the time it is just formal (it is a temporarily being).

The natural incorporation of the nationalist discourse explains why it has not been considered so far the symbolic and material costs of the construction of the national identity. Without a doubt, its advantages are in the fact that it has facilitated that entities such as Chile were possible in the emotional field and viable in the political arena.

2. A second common aspect is the ontological opportunism of nationalist identity discourse. His opportunism is evident, at first, in the process of inclusion/exclusion and remembrance/oblivion about what he considered more representative, more authentic, more uniform or more cohesive in terms of nationality. Secondly, this is evident when the
homogenizing characteristics of the country are emphasized and confronted with the atomizing and differentiating features of particular identities (regional, ethnic or social class, for example, requiring their own recognition). Finally, it is evident in the idea about the centrality of the periphery: the trope that Chile is a country placed in the finis terrae, alien to its South American neighbours, but for the same reason, close to the European context which aims to standardize, purged of all folkloric Chilean or Latin American character.

3. A third permanent aspect relates to the national historiography. This is one of the most important sources in the process of natural incorporation of the national identity discourse and in the production of modern political imaginary; it nourishes the other discourses and gives continuity to the myths and topics, and provides historical density to the identity argument. The canonical historiography is not aware of its own historicity or of the visible moral judgment that invades its social analysis. This resembles it, a corpus of nationalist conjectures which have developed a design country, in which construction the past can even be approached as a literary or doctrinal source. The borderline between literary and historical sources is fragile, for example, in the epic poem La Araucana or the work of historians of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Many features that were attributed to the national character are based on discourses that don’t have the necessary empirical support to explain the mechanisms and processes that generate them and validate them. However, the high level of adherence that the shared error generates is found in them. On the other hand, the natural incorporation of the myth eludes the Gordian knot of the identity, namely, the inability of the positivist scientific disciplines to explain the identity elements, and which have chosen to attribute psychological characteristics to collective subjects, often by creating or projection of stereotypes and ethnocentric speculations. It is therefore possible to say that national identity is not sociological evidence, but a discursive construction that resolves itself in an identity assertion.

4. A fourth aspect relates to the construction of otherness, in particular, with the difficulties of incorporating the popular subjects in the great identity narration of the nation. Indeed, since the founding time the popular subjects and sings have in Chile a paradoxically ambiguous nature. The reference to the popular culture alludes and contains a number of versatile and diffuse boundaries associations: populace, social marginalization, poverty, rural banditry, suburban crime, indigenous people, etc. On one side, is what is excluded from the construction of us in so far as that represents an obstacle to the historical country’s evolution: the Indians represent the barbarism, the racial inferiority and the uprising against the civilizing undertaking; the populace represents the backwardness and ignorance of rurality, and it has innate vocation for looting; the poor people of the slums represents the threat to the patrician city seeking to the progress; the rotos violate the order with festivity, lust and alcohol; the workers of the industrial development, manipulated by subversive ideas of left-wing parties, threaten the capital owners; the inhabitants of the miserable suburbs are focus of criminal poverty, unhealthiness or sedition against the national development project; the poor masses who do not work are labelled with the category of underclass, etc. On the other hand, however, the popular subject and sings are treated in the epic, in heraldry, costumbrist literature and folklore and even in the cinema and political discourse with intentions of inclusion, through the neutralization of its pre-modern or disruptive components. Thus, the Indian becomes a epic warrior; the mestizo peasant becomes the ‘heroic Chilean

456
roto'; the industrial worker is transformed, thanks to the sport, hygiene and work discipline in 'example of race'; the lowly pawn becomes folk huaso; the inhabitants of the suburbs, the worker, the miner and the fisherman are converted, through the revolutionary ideology, in heroic emblem of the oppressed and in the true face of the working class. Within this logic, the construction of folk tradition is an effective strategy of pasteurized inclusion of popular and ancestry subjects in the national macro story.

The duality of this otherness can be explained by the same challenges of the historical journey that followed the national project: gradual socialization toward the base of the social pyramid in order to adapt behaviours and values of the population to the guidelines of its erudite homogenizing project.

5. A fifth aspect, also related to the otherness, refers to the constant paradoxical relationship with external aspects; with the foreign subjects. In the modernizing undertaking the local elites and the intelligentsia adopted and adapted foreign paradigms (Europeans, after all), who admired and wanted, as well as the revolutionary rationalist liberalism, Enlightenment ideas, military professionalization, scientific positivism, social Darwinism, hygiene theories, artistic-literary modernism, anarchism, Marxism, etc. But, at the same time, the foreign influence is the target of criticism and the argument used often to substantiate the origin of the crisis, decline or dangers for the country and its identity. Outside is strange to the national ethos and can be harmful or represents a clear enemy. From this point of view, the external enemy tends to incite and conspire with internal otherness, the internal enemies. The most recalcitrant expression of this interpretation was, during the 19th century, the hostile attitude against the indigenous of La Frontera, and throughout the 20th century the anti-communist currents, which the doctrine of national security proved to be its most systematic corpus. This oscillation from the fascination until the rejection of the foreign, eclipses with another swing: in a pole, the glorification of the national character, and the other, the deep mistrust in the morale (as also 'racial') quality of the national character to carry out the illustrated modernizing project. One of the clearest examples of this approach was the long process of colonization with European population to the chilenization of the southern territories.

6. A sixth aspect refers to the permanent statehood to address the order dimension. From the founding time the Chilean nation was understood as nation-state, and the colonial time has been interpreted analytically as the period of the nation in search of a state which gave it the necessary form and order. The order dimension refers to the control logic, logic that possesses a diachronic matrix successively related with guiding concepts such as civilization, progress, civic morality, decency, modernity, development, modernization and market. Two interpretation axes converge in this matrix: the first one is the disqualification of the experience of the poor social segments as mode to be included in the national narrative, with its consequent devaluing labelling of otherness; the second one, the excessive faith in the perfectionist value of the rule, represented in the disciplining symbolism of the law. The overvaluation of the law leads to make negative assessments about the other since this one does not conform to the normative ideal or lacks it.

Some consequences that result from the logic of control are: [a.] the weak or marginal positioning discourse of those who make up the otherness (the others do not speak, but they are spoken); [b.] the political will of the state to intervene the reality to categorize it
and channel it from its dysfunctional insecurity towards repressive integration; [c.] the idea that in the otherness underlies an enemy capable of subverting certain order, and finally, [d.] the gradual internalization of moralizing discourse between those who constitute the otherness (expressed in a decent existence or a worthy life). This discourse driven by the modernity has been managed by the state and it is conceived as mechanism in order to be included. Its most paradigmatic routes are state education, formal employment and political activism, and later, consumption patterns. Examples of this process are the development of workers’ movement, which adopted the moralizing and legalistic discourse of enlightened modernity; the transformation of emerging sectors of súticos (snob), that gave rise to a middle class covered by the state apparatus; the folklorization of peasant identity and rural experience in the Central Valley as inputs for the performance in terms of national icon; or the slum-dwellers movement, whose members were a few destitute usurpers of a piece of land in the urban periphery and became political actors that addressed themselves for their rights of citizenship and legal regulation of inhabiting.

7. Finally, the seventh aspect, linked to statehood and control, is a superstitious value assigned to the legal rule (legalism) used both as a way of analyzing the social conflicts as a way to display intervention mechanisms. Legalism is understood here as the almost utopian faith in the force of the law and the right to create citizens and Nations virtuous and supportive as well as the idea of the right is justice and reason, while politics is passion and interest. This legalistic scruple has allowed the state to formulate principles and ideals of conduct using the historical legacy of the processes of constitutional experiments and civil codification of the 19th century which were regarded as illustrious mechanisms of strengthening and greatness of the country, carried out under the aegis of Diego Portales and Andrés Bello, respectively. Therefore, the constitutionality acts as an argumentative approach in the disputes in the political field and sets the limits of manoeuvre for the political action, and criminalization and administrative restrictions are used in the social field to punish or neutralize the conflicting processes. The law materializes and socializes the institutional framework as symbolic system that can become the support of the order. From this logic, normality is read as stability and procedural regularity, as respect for the institutions and the principle of authority, rather than as compliance of de norm with social demands that emerged from political, social, economic or cultural dynamics. The more concrete effects of this logic are in the political and administrative determinations that it generates, as well as in the meaning creation and in the level of argumentation, and not, as one might think, in an adaptation of own behaviour to the legal mandates. In other words, legalism is an argumentative basis for intervention in the social sphere, not necessarily an ethical code to regulate de conduct of the same operators who wield it. In this way, the legitimacy tends to be reduced to the legality and mingles with it.

About the seven aspects of discursive continuity above, it is necessary to analyze some traits of the military period (1973-1990). This has usually been designed and analyzed by his critics as a break-up of the normality of the development of Chile, as the abandonment of its traditions or as a political-military outburst ex nihilo. These same critics have argued that the installation of an authoritarian culture was conceived based on the experience of the military dictatorship, something that has become a commonplace for many Chileans. The emergence of the coup d’État (1973) took place in the field of political and academic
reflection more questions than answers, as well as the collapse of a fair amount of national myths. This epistemological stupefaction realizes the level of natural incorporation of the nationalist categories in the social sciences. These had assumed unquestionably many of the clichés about the nature of the Chilean and his national spirit; all of them are complacent with the myth of the exceptionality of Chile. This analysis concludes that the military dictatorship provided continuity to a ubiquitous but concealed authoritarianism in the country’s tradition, buried by national historiography and self-complacency of the essayists. It is further concluded that its symbolic resources to dissuade and persuade came precisely from that historical and cultural heritage capable of generating both sense and collaboration between its followers and duration to his authoritarian political project.

The obstinacy in legitimizing the political regime through a constitutional fortifying; the doctrinal and media exacerbaration of anti-communism; the demonization of the socialist experience of Allende, branded as party, chaos, ruin and felony; the contempt for politicians and the confidence in the technocracy; the re-appropriation of folk traditions, stripped of its subversive or impoverished elements; the re-reading of the past in warlike, xenophobic and chauvinist code; the reverential link with the United States as the allied power in the international political alignment, or the allusion to a Catholic messianism that is incompatible with the rules of the democratic game and the republican earthiness are some examples of a wide variety of resources that have served for a long time for the formulation of a grammar, a mechanics and a liturgy of the national order of Chile.

This is not new in the history or exclusive to Chile. In the modernity national stories and generation of sense and cohesion around the historical, political and cultural project of the nation are structured precisely according to the logic here described. Similar and parallel processes have been developed in all Latin America, and in many cases, copying others or disputing the authorship of formulas and achievements against each other. It is novel—but not new—the evidence of this logic and the identification of the particular—but not exceptional—characteristics in each of the various national formations. The nation-state and national identity and their order are not simple projects, discourses or symbolic buildings separated from the experience (a soft data series, as we may arise from a post-modern culture theory), or only a few geographic data, certain and true chronologies or any objective entities of pre-modern and pre-discursive dimension (a series of hard data, as it could hold according to the positivistic social sciences). They are, in fact, a dynamic relationship between the experience in a particular historical context and the performative discourses generated about it. Such discourses have been raised here as an hermeneutic and explanatory exercise: understanding to explain and explaining to understand, two moments of the same hermeneutic-semiotic process that not only tells us how aspects of the culture work but why they work in a certain way. This is an analysis that does not places emphasis on the question of what is identity and order but how that is a society comes to define itself and to regulate itself in such a way. With that purpose is emphasized culture in its communicative dimension, that is, the system of codes, languages, texts, contexts and expressive mediation mechanisms of varied nature.

Now however, the concatenated relationship of various discourses throughout the analyzed periods has sought to respond to those issues claiming relationship with the cultural limits of democratization; this relationship speaks about the link between identity and otherness; it reasons on the margins and limits of inclusion/exclusion; it explores the
flexibilities and rigidities of the idea of order and the configuration of its internal enemies. Its projection is relevant to the following historical period here analyzed. In Chile the democratization of the state, at first, and the society, then, has not been exempt from persistent discourse that points out that there are enemies that threaten both selectively to democracy (terrorists, rebels) and indiscriminately to the population (criminals, offenders). Political parties, parliamentarians, media and common citizen demand panoptic and coercive intervention by the state, through the law enforcement agencies, legislative initiatives and the concerted action of the community of neighbours. The allusion to a drastic and instantaneous punishment has gone from being a desire of residents to become an electoral vindication of citizens. Securitization logic in the context of risk society has given a new mining to the discourses about fear and otherness, so the new relations and social conflicts are analyzed from a punitive criminalizing perspective. Among the elites the chaos sense has also adopted a moral character, for which both the Catholic curia and the secular conservatives groups have enthroned the defense of the family as an articulating axis of the disciplinary discourse, with clear effects on public policies, legislative policy and media agenda. All this happens in a country that seems to be the danger of democracy is that she becomes democratic.