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The everyday life of the witnesses of the 2010 earthquake in Chile: rupture, recovery and restoration

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Abstract. This article examines the ways in which the 2010 earthquake in southern Chile affected the everyday lives of its witnesses, focusing on three categories in the progression of post-disaster everyday life: rupture, recovery, and restoration. Drawing on 32 in-depth interviews with direct witnesses, the study attests to their role as biopolitical actors in the neoliberal everyday, and to the use of biopolitical strategies to produce normality within this socio-political regime. Ultimately, the shared post-disaster experience does nothing to alter the substrates in which the neoliberal everyday unfolds.

Keywords: Everyday life, disaster, witnesses.*

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Introduction

Living through a disaster is part of a set of exceptional situations that transform citizenship. The events of the early hours of February 27, 2010 in Chile caused a severe rupture in the everyday lives of the communities affected. Inhabitants of the Biobío region and especially metropolitan Concepción were direct witnesses to the shaking ground, the tsunami that destroyed coastal communities, and, in the latter case, subsequent looting in various parts of the city. They are the sole witnesses of the disaster and its immediate aftermath. As is to be expected, they bear the memories of the disruption to their lives and the series of subsequent events in which a new normality emerged based on how the emergency was governed (Saavedra & Marchezini, 2020). The disaster witnesses constructed a shared and social memory of the event, as an occurrence that is both definable and identifiable in time. Aróstegui and Koselleck (1993, in Concha & Henríquez, 2011) distinguish between direct and acquired memory. The former is related to direct experience of an event, while the latter concerns an inherited memory in which recollections and remembrance are influenced by other narratives, passed on by other persons or groups and through the information about the event that is currently known.

With regard to the Chilean disaster of 2010, few studies have focused on the repeated and binding social practices that are delimited under the concept of "the everyday." Indeed, as Santos (2014) has pointed out, the everyday is "a concept that is vague, problematic, polysemic, and, therefore, elusive or even imperceptible" (p. 173).[1] In any case, in the various references to this concept in the humanities and social sciences, one encounters a range of theoretical positions that aid our understanding. Supposedly, everyday life is "homogeneous for all members of a single community" (Villegas & González, 2011, p. 37), yet it is composed of practices featuring unique elements that are defined by aspects of identity and relations. De Certeau (1984) notes that everyday practices "depend on a vast ensemble which is difficult to delimit but which we may provisionally designate as an ensemble of procedures" (p.43).

From the perspective of Berger and Luckmann (1986), the everyday can be understood as an intrinsic and subjective reality, determined by an individual's thoughts and actions. This reality—the reality par excellence, as the authors put it—is established independently of the subject, in that it acquires meaning by way of language and social interaction.

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1 All translations from Spanish are by *Apuntes.*

Writing from a Marxist perspective, Heller (2002) proposes that the everyday represents the given conditions in which men and women create their own stories. Following on from this author, Veroneze (2015) argues that any revolutionary project must be asserted within a different everyday experience that represents a new state of consciousness vis-a-vis "the alienated and alienating everyday life" (p. 139). Along the same lines, Lefebvre (1984/2017) notes that we have "asserted that everyday life is the object of philosophy precisely because it is non-philosophical." (p. 17) In the Marxist interpretation of the everyday, Lefebvre's proposal is linked to the possibility of a revolution prevailing (Goonewardena, 2011). Everyday life is viewed through the lens of critical geography as a field of importance: for instance, in studies on minor geographies (Núñez et al., 2019), on the relationship between citizenship and the ordinary space (Staeheli et al., 2012), and on the representation of the everyday in the possibilities represented by the Indigenous cosmovision (Barrera, 2018), among others.

In Foucauldian thought, everyday life is problematized in relation to the notion of "technology" (Foucault, 2001), which allows "governmentality" to construct truth on the basis of discourses and practices. In this way, the normalization of life manifests itself in the everyday through the mechanisms and strategies embedded in the technological frontiers of biopower. Agamben (2000) alludes to the concept of the everyday by observing that "the single ways, acts, and processes of living are never simply *facts* but always and above all *possibilities* of life, always and above all power" (p. 4). The author, with reference to the idea of the concentration camp, points out that, under certain conditions, the exceptional becomes the everyday. Similarly, Butler (2003) proposes that "power is not stable or static, but is remade at various junctures within everyday life" (p. 14). The everyday is imbricated into the context of the neoliberal regime in the case studied. Indeed, neoliberalism is at once a historical stage of capitalism and a general cultural framework. Neoliberalism, among other fundaments, models the market as a parameter of life in society, weakens social and community bonds, and establishes a coercive framework of market normality. According to Brown (2016), neoliberal ideology promotes competition over collaboration. To this end, neoliberalism avails itself of a set of biopolitical tools and instruments that, in Foucaultian thought, refer to the government of life and the living (Serrano, 2017) and to the disciplinary control of the population as a collective entity.

The relationship between everyday and biopolitical life allows us to contextualize a critical reading of the 2010 earthquake in Chile. The rupture of the everyday following a disaster represents a strategic problem for

the sort of parsimony with which neoliberal normality is associated. As a result, strategies of everyday control operate under rubrics of subtlety, whose framework of disciplinary control is established by judicial institutions and various mechanisms of contractual coercion. In accordance with this principle, post-earthquake policies have been oriented toward not only reconstruction but also control of the population's knowledge and the victims' submission (Arriagada, 2012). Therefore, the disaster's repercussions on the everyday lives of the population should be observed from the experiential margins of these processes. This means reconstructing the history of the 2010 earthquake through the voices of its witnesses and the ways in which they allude to their individual, social, and historical memory (Concha & Henríquez, 2011), beyond the viewpoint of institutional actors.

In the discourses of the witnesses to post-disaster events, everyday life is situated as an evolving processual dimension at a remove from the decisional core of emergency management. Indeed, the everyday means that the witnesses are actors of habitual practices, vulnerable to the rigors arising from the series of events triggered by the earthquake. It is interesting to approach the question of neoliberal normality in terms of the reproduction of the conditions required to stabilize a population susceptible to pathologization (De la Fabián & Sepúlveda, 2018) and, therefore, intervention. As such, the attainment of normality is an aim of the temporal projection of capitalist economies, for which governmentality turns to the available repertoire of security technologies. On this, Lemke (2010) points out that security mechanisms create the conditions both to ensure market exchange and to compensate for insecurities or bodily risks. In our view, in the Chilean case this is related to post-disaster recovery policies and control of potential subversion of the neoliberal order at the hands of the population affected by and dissatisfied with the measures intended to address the earthquake's consequences. Thus, normality is connected with the post-disaster period through attempts to recover the illusion of freedom created by neoliberalism (Foucault, 2011), in that individuals in their everyday lives act as entrepreneurs of themselves (Estrada, 2014). With regard to the experience retrieved through research on the 2010 earthquake, this means that the subjects focused their efforts on assuring the wellbeing of their families, to the detriment of other matters such as participation in community life. Government action has the capacity to dismantle social foundations and silently dispense with this central component of democracy (Brown, 2016). This condition of the recovery process is consistent with the tenets of neoliberalism, in that it privileges production and consumption over social participation, networks of exchange, and self-care (Foucault, 2011).

The goal of the present research is to examine the ways in which the 2010 earthquake affected the daily lives of its witnesses. This study may be of interest to a wide range of disciplines within the social sciences with an interest in collecting longitudinal data about the earthquake's consequences, as well as to those responsible for managing post-disaster intervention in light of the notable historical recurrence of such events in Chile. As part of a project financed by Chile's National Research and Development Agency (Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo, ANID), the study gathered important qualitative information to identify the continuities and discontinuities in the daily lives of subjects in the coastal areas of southern Chile following the 2010 earthquake.

Method

The study draws on interviews with witnesses to the earthquake of 2010 and is framed in the post-structural epistemological perspective, employing qualitative case study (Stake, 1998) and historical discourse analysis (Jäger, 2003) methodologies for information production. The qualitative strategy, recommended for the study of everyday life (Villegas & González, 2011), is conducive to interviews that reconstruct the life stories of witnesses.

To obtain our information we used a section of the interviews from the research program on which this study is based, and validated it by way of expert judgement and instrument testing prior to the mass data collection process. For the specific purposes of this article, we used information from 32 in-depth interviews administered to witnesses from Dichato, Penco, Coronel, and Lota as well as the coastal part of the Talcahuano commune: all localities in the Biobío region of Chile. The locations span a range of 120 kilometers from the epicenter of the earthquake–tsunami. Dichato, Penco, and Talcahuano were areas affected by the tsunami, while no tsunami damage was reported in Coronel or Lota, the furthest locality from the epicenter.

This heterogeneity allowed for a point of comparison between different localities. Together, the interviews yielded extensive, qualitatively dense material with which to sustain the analysis. We processed the data through pragmatic content analysis, drawing on the procedures proposed by Cáceres (2003). In this author's methodological process, the texts obtained through the interview transcriptions are procedurally adjusted. In the present case, this process involved the following:

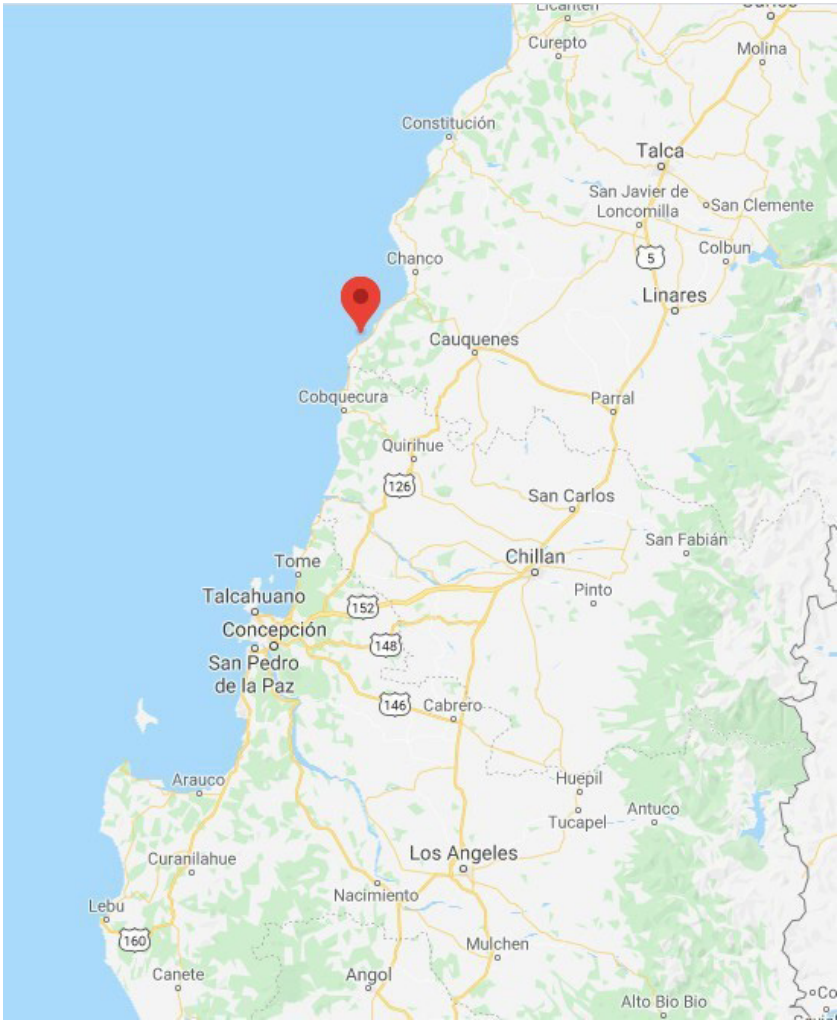
(a) carrying out a pre-analysis that took into account the categories identified a priori based on our interview model; to this end we utilized the interviews conducted, excluding those topics that lacked the level of depth required to assure the qualitative reliability of the study

(b) determining the units of significant content within the transcriptions, for which we delimited the items of interest to the study
(c) establishing the rules of analysis and codes of classification with the aim of reducing incorrect interpretations and increasing the qualitative reliability of the analysis. At this stage, we created a codebook containing the labels and the precise definitions of each code, as well as a pillar to aid understanding of the criteria used and their classification. And finally:
(d) sorting the codes into categories linked to the research objectives. The resulting categorization, ordered into three groups of content, corresponded to the rules of exhaustiveness, exclusivity, and relevance.

We employed the Atlas-ti 8 software package as part of the analysis to order and classify information. To assure the robustness of the research, we triangulated the data produced by different subjects (for example, emergency-response professionals and technicians) in the localities affected by the earthquake, in line with the framework of the aforementioned research program. This review confirmed that the witnesses' responses fall within an equivalent range. In addition, the results were reviewed through an internal validation procedure conducted by project experts. In conformance with ethical criteria, the interviewees expressed their informed consent to participate in the study.

Results

Figure 1
Map of the area affected by the 2010 earthquake. (Pin denotes epicenter: 35°54'32" S 72°43'59" W)



Source: Google Maps.

1. Rupture in the everyday

The locality of Dichato exhibited close-knit neighborly relations prior to the disaster. Relational activities were largely based around tourism, especially artisanal fishing and retail.

At the time of the earthquake in the summer of 2010, visitors had flocked in large numbers to Dichato's beach areas. They evacuated to the town's peripheries to escape the immediate impact of the tsunami. They express concern over their families' health and the loss of their belongings.

> […] it was super fast. The sea retreated, and in a couple of seconds it came out. The waves were enormous. We ran towards the highest hill and there were some enormous black waves and they made a terrible noise, because they were carrying stones, I don't know, I don't know what they took from the bottom of the sea, but it was strong, really terrible, and suddenly my sister, she lived next door to me, said: "There go our houses," and I said to her: "But, how?" "There go our houses," she said: "They're the first to go." And I said to her: "That can't be," and when we started looking, yup, there went the houses […]. (Informant 9, woman, Dichato)

Talcahuano's port status as well as its historical economic activity shape personal connections in confined spaces, as the witnesses point out. In daily life, the length of the regular workday and the distance from certain amenities (such as educational and commercial activity) hinder the consolidation of close relations. Therefore, pre-earthquake ties were primarily between family members or close neighbors. When the earthquake hit, the interviewees were in the company of their families, sleeping or preparing for the resumption of school in March. All accounts reveal the alarm caused by the movement and the noise underfoot, and the dangers posed to personal and family safety (Venturiello & Ferrante, 2018). The interviewees vividly recall the impossibility of leaving the area, since the public highways had been severely damaged. The subsequent tsunami flooded the city's coastal district and penetrated many houses in the area. The waves, according to witnesses, were more than a meter in height, generating fear among the inhabitants. The tsunami marked a profound break in Talcahuano's history, and, as a totally new experience for its residents, it was a source of great uncertainty. The witnesses recall the loss of life (human and domestic animals), homes, and belongings.

> [...] and suddenly the bed… the bed started to move.“ Oh," I said, "it's shaking," the usual. We here live in a seismic country; we're used to tremors [...]. (Informant 1, woman, Talcahuano)

> Of course you can maybe recognize your next-door neighbors. We had more contact with the family from the next house over, because they had been married for a very long time and, well, they left here due to the earthquake. They didn't want to live here anymore [so] they sold their house quickly and left [coughs]. They, the family from a few doors down. But this had to do with the fact that I was out all day, so there was little time to socialize with, with the other families in the barrio—I mean, the neighborhood. (Informant 4, woman, Talcahuano)

In Penco, the witnesses note that the elements of everyday life affected by the disaster were closeness, familiarity, and "healthy cohabitation." They describe having to adapt to new daily work routines, such as starting at a new place of work or facing unemployment. This, in turn, created a context of uncertainty, given that work is the sphere that structures a life cycle (Fridman & Otero, 2019). When the earthquake happened some people were caring for children and elders, which, given the travel restrictions, caused great concern. Moreover, the witnesses point out that the collapse of the cellular network thwarted habitual contact with family members, compounding anxiety over whether or not they were safe.

> […] there we saw how high the sea rose up and… and it wasn't like a seaquake per se, like I had thought a seaquake would be, which I had imagined to be a giant wave that came out and covered the houses, but it was, it was that the sea itself came in with great force and the force was what destroyed […]. (Informant 15, woman, Penco)

In Coronel, everyday life before the earthquake was characterized by the interviewees as close and familiar. According to the accounts, even those who were not blood relatives were considered part of the family because of the length of time everyone knew each other.

> There are, at that time there were five houses that were in my family. My aunt and uncle, my grandmother, my great aunt and uncle. So, very... very close, let's say, the relationship I had with my neighbors. And apart from that […] the rest of my neighbors were neighbors that had known me since I was little. And I spent time with their grandchildren, so really familiar. And…and that, like, no, no. We were very close when someone got sick or... or the neighbors visited when there was some problem. (Informant 6, woman, Coronel)

When the earthquake occurred, some of the witnesses from Coronel said that they were asleep at home. Some said they were watching the Viña del

Mar Song Festival, while others were unable to sleep due to an increasing series of burglaries in their neighborhoods. They describe the evacuation to safe zones after the earthquake, some in their nightclothes, getting wet due to broken piping.

In the city of Lota, before the earthquake, everyday life was characterized by closeness, unity, and solidarity. The interviewees from this locality also allude to the intergenerational bonds, a result of the age of the settlement and the many family members of prior residents who moved there. The labor activities recalled by the witnesses are varied, though some reminisce about the city's mining past. The things people were doing in the run-up to the earthquake range from sleeping, watching the festival, or enjoying the Semana Lotina music festival. When the disaster struck, initial concerns centered on the refusal by some elderly residents to evacuate, and on others who were trapped in their homes and needed help to leave the area.

> […] there was life in the community, there was… barrio life, um… there was organization, um… solidarity between the residents, so there was this great thing that there isn't any more, you don't get it so much. (Informant 19, woman, Lota)

> […] because along the way my brother was opening the doors [of houses] for people who were trapped, so it took us a good while to get to the corner of the plaza, which is a couple of blocks, where we met a police officer, [who was] like in shock, and we told him that my grandfather was disabled and didn't want to leave, and could they send a patrol […]. (Informant 20, woman, Lota)

2. The process of recovering the everyday

The aim of the initial post-disaster actions, according to the witnesses, was to ensure basic needs were met. One such action was the creation and revival of local and family linkage structures.-

For instance, there were organized group or committee actions, which were also driven by the need for representation to recover homes and sources of work. This is in keeping with the ideological substrates of the neoliberal discourse (Brown, 2016; Estrada, 2014), which holds individuals responsible for their own achievements and failures (Montes, 2019). Collective action emerged as a way of responding to the complexity of the destruction and basic needs (such as food, water, and medication). One example of this organizational power can be found in Dichato, where, according to the witnesses' accounts, territorial organizations were strengthened and new

groupings emerged to support trade. The interviewees spoke of the social unrest that followed government decisions regarding new urban planning and a reconstruction process for the town.

> […] help was asked for. Help came, I remember. My children and their classmates from university lent their support and came to take to the streets and kick up a stink. And the ladies in the neighborhood, cutting lemons to give out for [treating] the tear gas [used by the police force] and making food for the little ones who came along […] because people were arriving to support the Dichato residents. (Informant 11, woman, Dichato)

> Every month there were meetings […] but always with hope. [The government said] "No, of course we are going to give you homes." First, they were going to give them there where we used to live, then here, then there. So, when we saw that there was very little time left before Mr Piñera left office[2] [….] So, we started to step it up. Everyone in their sector had a leader, someone to represent them [….] We started to lead the way, we started to do various things to speed up the provision [of homes]. (Informant 9, woman, Dichato)

Within community organizations, the witnesses' narratives point toward gender-differentiated roles based on a traditionalist perspective that, in both cases, restricts everyday life. For instance, women were assigned to the private sphere in response to the social demands for maternity and domesticity, where they took charge of tasks such as household cleaning, acquiring and preparing food for families others, and childcare. In turn, the men, in line with Aguilar et al. (2013), played an instrumental role in relation to protection and security in the public domain, carrying out activities such as searching for items to keep people warm and clearing public roads.

Security was provided through organized self-defense groups that worked in shifts and prioritized overnight protection of the barrio. The interviewees cite self-defense as a response to perceived threats amid rumors of mob activity and domestic looting. These actions consolidated the neoliberal rationale by criminalizing individuals from territorially excluded sectors, as Ortiz (2014) proposes. They accounted for some of the population's biggest fears, as the witnesses pointed out, for whom the possession of different types of firearms by the self-defense groups was a clear sign of the scale of the threat.

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2 Translator's note: President Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014).

Returning to the early actions taken after the earthquake: daily activities at this point were orientated towards meeting the basic needs—not least access to water—of the earthquake victims. In addition to government support, which was oriented towards fulfilling basic wants, a kind of "non-institutional social assistance" emerged based on community solidarity and involving the distribution of food and services.

For example, witnesses in Penco and Coronel spoke of how water was shared around after the supply was cut off at the district level. The scarcity of tap water prompted residents to search for natural water sources independently, to use for personal hygiene and food preparation.

> Damn, there wasn't any water. "OK, where to?… let's go up the hill [where] there's a stream." So we had to go up the hill with buckets to look [for water] for boiling, to have for cooking, or for drinking, and also for basic necessities. (Informant 14, man, Penco)

> Eh… well, there we all helped each other out […] there was a pond in Essbio and we started to take water from there, so all the families went to help to take it out of the pond […] taking out the buckets, tying them to rope to lower them and then raise them. (Informant 21, man, Coronel)

The early declaration of a constitutional state of exception by the Bachelet administration limited freedom of movement, imposed curfews, and restricted the right of assembly. These measures affected routines, such as walks and visits to people nearby. According to the witnesses' accounts, identity checks by the police and armed forces were frequent. These institutions contributed to restoring social order; in particular, the interviewees recall that the presence of soldiers in the streets served to eradicate looting. However, the witnesses mentioned that this presence, given the historical memory of military personnel, stoked fears; many associate post-disaster stress with the violence and precariousness they experienced during the Pinochet dictatorship. The everyday, paradoxically, was recovered through the implementation of a curfew and constant street surveillance: the interviewees noted that public security improved and they were able to sleep with greater peace of mind. In Dichato and Coronel, closer relations with the armed forces were forged as a result of the assistance they provided to community organizations. These bonds were strengthened through the constant surveillance that soldiers provided in certain parts of these localities, which meant time spent alongside residents. In the words of witnesses, the military presence gave them security, containment, and support, both in clean-up activities and in group organization, resulting in high levels of

trust on the part of the leadership of community organizations. In Coronel in particular, once the state of exception came to an end, activities were organized to thank the armed forces for their work.

> […] they had my cellphone number, and I called them and said: "Look, you know what? [We have] an emergency [….] They equipped us with our first aid things, because accidents also happened [….] We felt much safer […], we even prepared […] some goodbye elevenses[3] [….] The children gave them gifts because they did themselves proud […]. (Informant 5, woman, Coronel)

The formation of new everyday experiences entails a return to the practices realized before the catastrophe. The restoration of basic services also symbolized the resumption of normality, as it did away with the need to search for other ways of obtaining water. On the labor front, daily activities began to return to normal with the gradual reincorporation of habitual workplaces and workdays.

Socially, after the earthquake, witnesses' stories reveal a transformation of community ties as time went on. These connections, as a practice of citizenship, were rapidly transformed from community cohesion to the disintegration of social foundations. Thus, the cultural components of neoliberalism can be glimpsed in the interviews, as individualization canceled out the community response to the emergency. Social fragmentation was catalyzed by the reorganization and the residential displacement that occurred in places like Dichato and Lota. This process exemplified the restructuring of the localities, in that the group of families whose houses became uninhabitable after the earthquake were transferred to Coronel.

In Dichato, urban planning resulted in the expropriation of private dwellings along the coastline, and the relocation of their inhabitants to the peripheries of the city. In both cases the new forms of local organization broke down the bonds that had shaped local social life.

3. The restoration of the neoliberal everyday in the long term

The long-term reconfiguration of everyday life reveals routines similar to those in evidence prior to the 2010 earthquake, albeit with some specific differences. One of the areas where this trend was most pronounced, according to the witnesses' discourses, is in the disintegration of community connections. This shift in interrelations, still ongoing to this day, in

3 Translator's footnote: "Las once" is a snack traditionally enjoyed in Chile at 11 a.m.

most cases meant a return to an individualized everyday life, marked by little-to-no contact with the people with whom they had established close ties during the disaster recovery stage. And this process was exacerbated by the displacement of families due to neighborhood reorganization, as occurred in Lota and Dichato. Notable in this respect were the urban transformations in Dichato, which affected the community relational structure. This has also been noted by the witnesses in Talcahuano. In this regard, we glimpse from the interviews that the rapid acquisition of material and immovable goods directly affected the emerging community life: witnesses characterize the recovery of the city's everyday life as distant, indifferent, and with limited scope for solidarity. However, this experience was subject to certain singularities in some of the localities. For the witnesses of Coronel, the organizational power that was developed in the wake of the 2010 emergency still exists, and affects daily practices by motivating engagement on the part of local residents as a collective.

> […] the number of participants who went along was no higher than ten [….] Now participation is much higher, eh, I'd say that, for example, the last meeting, which was the Thursday before last, there were more than 50 people, at an assembly for a population of… of 180 apartments, OK? So, eh, there is increasing interest; interest grew because of the issue of neighborhood committees, the organization. People even say "Hey, why don't we organize? For security reasons." so there's another viewpoint in the issue of organization. (Informant 6, man, Coronel)

> Eh… the thing is that, unfortunately, up here in this area there is a very young population, young marriages, and the girls are, how can I put it? They've got eh… strong characters. They're, eh, stuck-up. If they have a car, they're even worse. There's no humility, no camaraderie [….] There are very few of us who can help each other out […] but it's always the same group that helps others out. [The rest] are indifferent to everything and the more they could help you, the more they walk over you—above all the young girls, the young marriages. Older people are always more united, we're more in tune with each other. We're more... We help each other, but the others, everyone, how can I put it, everyone lives their own lives. (Informant 9, woman, Dichato)

In the long term, work is continually identified as a central everyday activity. Issues related to changes on the labor front are commonly cited, such as adaptation to a new place of work, different responsibilities, and unemployment. Examples of community learning are expressed in the inter-

views, such as cases of neighborhood leaders who placed value on learning as part of the post-disaster territorial reorganization, as a complement to the knowledge of public authorities and institutions. On the other hand, fear is one of the main factors that prevails in people's current lives, especially among the group of elderly adults who witnessed the disaster. This manifests itself in feelings of unease whenever a tremor occurs, and in a general sense of insecurity caused by living near the coast.

> No, of course… with what happened, older people say "No, dear José, I'm not going down there. It would take a lot for me to take a stroll down on the beach, no… I was left traumatized," they say.
>
> "No… I don't want to anymore. I can look down on the town from up here." (Informant 12, man, Dichato)
>
> […] But I do know that this happens with elderly people, they were left even more afraid, more fearful. So deep down they developed an attitude of fear, of anxiety. I see it in my mom, for example, who has not been able to get over it. The smallest of tremors occurs and she gets really upset, she gets nervous, she stands still, she sits down, she wants to go outside. She doesn't know how to get over it, and I know there are many other people like my mom, generally the elderly […]. (Informant 30, woman, Talcahuano)

The witnesses recognize that some people have internalized preventative behavior in their everyday lives. Thus, they seek to anticipate the consequences of a future catastrophic event by storing water in containers, keeping a stock of food for emergency consumption, and even affixing furniture to the walls.

Finally, another important aspect that emerges in the discourses is the low public approval of emergency institutions. The accounts are notable for the absence of confidence in the abilities of government institutions, especially the National Emergency Office.

> […] Before the earthquake, well, maybe there were a couple of bottles in case the water was cut off. But now, of course, from what I hear, because I do it myself, my household and all, my mom, neighbors and, I don't know, people I know, are, clearly, are more prepared in case of... They've got more bottles of water there on standby, food as well. Many people also have a first-aid kit, which generally not everyone has, stores of non-perishable food. That sort of thing […]. (Informant 30, woman, Talcahuano)

> […] so I prefer to screw [the furniture] to the wall and have the doors well secured, so that, if anything happens and the door doesn't open and everything falls down, because I know they're all going to go about barefoot and they're going to hurt their feet. They're going to injure their feet with the glass. (Informant 16, man, Penco)

Discussion

Having consulted the literature on disasters, we find that studies related to everyday life focus primarily on the themes of resilience and mental health (Dornbach-Bender et al., 2019; Sugiyama et al., 2020), without necessarily taking into account the practices and norms shaped by the population. Yet these aspects are of interest for related disciplines such as ethnomethodology, as well as discourse-based psychosocial approaches. Analysis of the narratives provided by witnesses of the 2010 disaster allows us to link these observations to Foucauldian approaches related to discourses, biopolitics, and neoliberalism. This analysis, with regard to the rupture and recovery of the everyday in the localities studied, "will stress the importance of adopting a strongly empirical perspective that pays the utmost respect to the logic of the situated action and reconstructs the meaning of each situation 'from within' it" (Martínez-Guzmán et al., 2016, p. 517).

The reconstruction of these local memories also serves to visibilize the changes to the everyday that occur in the neoliberal post-disaster period. In this regard, it is of interest to explore the attachment between the communities and the devastated/recovered locations.

Quezada (2020) studies the "place-making" of the inhabitants of Chanco after the disaster of 2010, alluding to emotional attachment, or "topophilia" (Tuan, 1990) as a component of the reconstruction of memory. The latter study's qualitative data show that emotionality associated with the barrio, the community, and the home can influence the way in which the reappropriation of the everyday unfolds. Although the question of topophilia is not the focus of our study, there are clues that it contributes to a differentiated form of recovery of the "everyday world" that existed before the disaster. Thus, in line with Quezada (2020), the patrimonial imaginary of Lota or the coastal–summertime representation of Dichato converge explicitly in the reconstruction of the everyday in these localities.

And in relation to this, in Dichato community resistance to the relocation measures can be viewed from two different angles. On the one hand, in accordance with place-making, it can be seen as a reaction stemming from the victims' emotional attachment to their homes and relational

places. On the other hand, it expresses the practice of community resistance, especially on the part of women (Andersen, Rodríguez, & Balbotín, 2020), as a collective response to the urban redesign of the locality oriented by neoliberal policy frameworks for post-disaster recovery (Contreras & Arriagada, 2016). In this regard, it is possible to relate the idea of Klein's (2012) disaster capitalism with Moulian's (1997) image of the Palacio de la Moneda bombing in September 1973. That is, the disaster presents an opportunity for a *tabula rasa* with which to negotiate transformations of the everyday adapted to the neoliberal regime.

In the study of the 2010 earthquake, the perspective of its witnesses is an avenue worth exploring in the long term. Although categories such as "victims" and "survivors" are a constant in several studies conducted following the disaster, the status of witness does not appear to have been addressed in any of the publications reviewed, besides some references to observers of the phenomenon (for example, Contreras & Winckler, 2013). The idea of the witness can be linked to the notion of the "event" proposed by Foucault, in that it constitutes a radical rupture "manifest only in its discursive senses" (Castro, 2011, p. 26). In the narratives about an event—such as the 2010 disaster—the witnesses express, in an authentic manner, the discourse negotiated by the direct subjective narrator of the occurrences that break with the everyday.

In the words of Pérez (2018), "the event breaks the structures of our experience and the foreseeable" (p. 208), and it is the witness who narrates the event as well as how the phenomenon molds and transforms it. In the case of the 2010 earthquake, the status of witness went through more communitarian instances of the everyday in the process of recovering the more fragmentary and individualist neoliberal normality. This is in opposition to other perspectives that are particularly widespread in Latin America, such as the social economics approach, which proposes a more associative logic, removed from private benefit and the accumulation of wealth (Fridman & Otero, 2019). The results of our study, in this regard, are consistent with Grove (2010), in that biopolitical technologies also affect the ways in which the everyday is inundated with discourses about security/insecurity in the face of uncertainty, and in the face of the threat posed by nature. The witness narratives show how biopolitics serves the post-disaster recovery strategy, defined within the confines of the Chilean neoliberal project.

The study of the recovery of the everyday also leads to discoveries related to the rupture of community practices following the 2010 earthquake. With a view to containing the immediate effects as well as the aftermath of the

earthquake and the subsequent tsunami, ties in the localities were reshaped and tightened. However, over time, ways of life underwent changes in this respect and fissures in community relations became visible, as noted by Berroeta, Carvalho, and Di Masso (2016). Again, the contradiction between the community everyday and neoliberal normality is expressed, in the terms of Silveira et al. (2015), in the application of various security mechanisms that seek to erase such collective expressions in order to channel emergency response toward a normalization of the "market society" in the everyday. What also matters is the use of exceptionality as a mechanism for the production of normality (Agamben, 2001). In this way, close relations are weakened by the management of different types of benefits disbursed at the family and individual levels, facilitating the resumption of hyper-individualization as one of the central characteristics of the neoliberal everyday (Ortiz, 2014). Our results differ somewhat from the observations of Villagrán et al. (2014), as we find that the beneficial community effects on mitigating post-earthquake psychosocial impacts cannot be sustained over time amid the process of neoliberal normalization in the everyday.

Moreover, as the witnesses express, everyday life in the immediate aftermath of the disaster is framed by social malaise, which is related to the neoliberal framework and the use of security technologies, as proposed by Foucault and Agamben, among others. This is expressed in the restoration of the spaces most affected by the tsunami, as the studies by Berroeta et al. (2016), Ugarte and Salgado (2014), and Contreras and Arriagada (2016) show. It is also expressed in the way in which governmentality employs different strategies to ease the subversion that emerges in these communities. Thus, both aid and repression are part of the biopolitical inventories, associated with the rearticulation of forms of the everyday under the rules of the neoliberal regime.

An example of this can be witnessed in the locality of Dichato, in which there have been public demonstrations to denounce the lack of clarity in the provision of information about reconstruction. Women in this locality played a central role in community expressions of discontent within the public sphere. In this respect, the results of our study coincide with the findings of Andersen et al. (2020) and Fuentes (2010). The latter author notes, with regard to the same disaster, how dialogue with the government in power at the time was perceived as unproductive and far less effective than protest in ensuring the community was heard by the political authorities. Fuentes describes a process characterized by confrontations between the community and the forces of law and order, in which the police was accused of high levels of repression.

This pattern emerges in the rupture or the civic unrest of October 2019 in Chile, when questions of order were seen to be relevant to the reconfiguration of the everyday. Indeed, it is important to note this milestone, which occurred almost ten years after the earthquake of 2010. Popular social demand sought to break with the political ethos of military dictatorship, continued during the transition to democracy and sustained for decades (Jiménez-Yáñez, 2020). Just like the localities following the 2010 earthquake, during the civil unrest of 2019 the recovery of order operated strategically through the use of force. On both occasions measures were implemented by the national government, which nonetheless had the effect of aggravating discontent, prompting increasing numbers of calls for protest. One discerns a learned pattern in the quelling of social protests without dialogue or negotiation in which, instead, the use of violence by the armed and police forces prevails based on a kind of public discourse that appeals to order as everyday normality.

The recovery of the post-disaster everyday is marked by the culture of neoliberalism, which delimits the individualization of the response, the lack of spaces for negotiation with organizations, and the use of violence to resolve possible conflicts. The lived experience of the earthquake reinforces notions that permeated everyday practices, measured by government actions that operate through a social policy which is "highly modeled in terms of regulatory mechanisms associated with economic performance and calculation, such as rationalization, assessment, individualization, and utilitarian forms of social interaction" (Rojas, 2018, p. 141).

Conclusions

The everyday lives of the witnesses of the 2010 earthquake were deeply affected by the event. If after the earthquake there was a revival of traditional community practices, ultimately, inherently neoliberal elements came to delimit the structural conditions of the return to everyday life following the disaster. Consequently, the restoration of everyday life in the five localities studied must be understood based on individualization, the market, and the need for security, despite the differences observed by some of the witnesses (such as in Coronel). The retrieval of memory through the witnesses' stories is part of the reason why the social sciences—such as the sociology of disasters—are increasingly interested in the study of the everyday, as social disaster research attests. In the narratives of the witnesses studied here, we classified three moments in the long-term progression of the post-disaster everyday: rupture, recovery, and restoration.

The experiences of the witnesses of the 2010 earthquake coalesce around topics of importance for strategies aimed at tackling situations of

territorial vulnerability. It is therefore important to single out the role of the witness as a privileged observer of the everyday, set apart from other actors in the disaster management process such as victims and emergency response services (firefighters, sanitation services, information services, and so on). In this study we analyzed the ways in which witnesses reported on how their everyday lives were affected in the localities of Dichato, Penco, Coronel, Lota, and a sector of the commune of Talcahuano. The study's initial hypothesis was that the community practices that emerged in the aftermath of the earthquake had an impact on modeling everyday life in these localities. However, the qualitative data reveal that the adaptation of the everyday is subject to the terms demarcated by neoliberalism.The shared post-disaster experience did nothing to shift the cultural, ideological, and practical substrates of the neoliberal regime in which the everyday unfolds in these localities. Chile's geographical characteristics necessitate policy and response tools for situations of disaster that at least take into account some of the tensions expressed by the witnesses. There are notable aspects that overlap in the stories of witnesses from the five localities, including emotionality, uncertainty, fear, degrees of desperation, anxiety, worry, and helplessness. The initial decisions and actions reflect the aim of protecting families and organizing alongside others. However, the rhetoric in which neoliberalism is couched influences the way in which the recovery of the everyday is expressed. For this reason, in the localities studied, the witnesses remark that the eradication of looting and the restoration of basic services consolidated a gradual return to normality following the earthquake. From a post-structural point of view, the unfolding of biopolitical strategies affects the capacity of the everyday to evolve into more supportive, cross-cutting and democratic forms in these territories.

The response to the recovery of the everyday poses a challenge that is theoretical as much as political for the various disciplines that study community phenomena. This is because the problem that emerges amid a situation as transversal as this disaster lies in the mounting contradiction between the community everyday and the neoliberal everyday. Thus, consideration of the modes of production of normality requires observation of the paradoxical use of exceptional measures legitimized by governmentality as a way of responding to disasters (such as the armed forces and individual aid). This debate is important not only because of the possibility of new earthquakes in Chile in the years to come, but also given the growing threat of climate change.

Finally, it is necessary to interpret the remission of the community in the way in which everyday life recovered following the 2010 disaster. In

the long term, the ways in which the breakdown of the communitarian operates, as well as the manner in which the reintegration of neoliberal normality unfolds, may ultimately turn against democracy itself (Brown 2016), compelling subjects to resume their practices based on the hyper-individualization that, from the perspective of Ortiz (2014), constitutes a central characteristic of neoliberal culture.

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